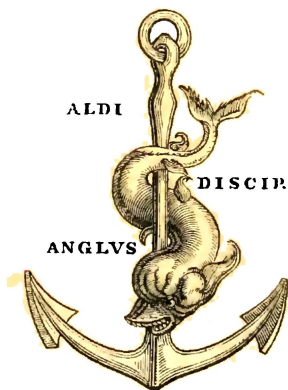


THE ANNALS OF
The English Bible

BY

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

VOL. I.

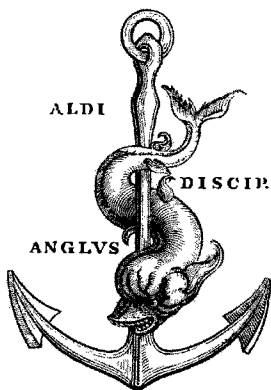


London
WILLIAM PICKERING
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THE
Annals of the English Bible

IN TWO VOLUMES


VOL. I.

MDXXV—MDXXXVII.

“ I CAN scarce think any pains misspent that bring me in solid evidences of that great truth, that the Scripture is the word of God, which is indeed the GRAND FUNDAMENTAL—And I use the Scripture, not as an arsenal, to be resorted to only for arms and weapons to defend this, or that, party, or to defeat its enemies ; but as a matchless Temple, where I delight to be, to contemplate the beauty, the symmetry, and the magnificence of the structure, and to increase my awe, and excite my devotion to the Deity there preached and adored.”

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

P R E F A C E.

HE work which is now offered to public attention, has been drawn from authentic and unpublished manuscripts, from the original printed authorities in succession, and the editions of the Scriptures themselves. It will be found to contain the historic Annals of the English Bible, viewed in contrast or connexion with national affairs; including Memoirs of Tyndale, his contemporaries and successors; the first introduction of the Sacred Volume, as printed in the native language, into England, Scotland, and America; the earliest triumphs of Divine Truth, and its progress down to the present day; the imperative obligations of British Christians in such extraordinary possession of the Word of God.

In the literature of this country, although it has been so often felt and regretted, a more observable deficiency does not exist, than that of there being *no* history of the English Bible. It may have been imagined, that such a narrative could embrace no heart-stirring incidents, or incidents laid as the foundation of a great design, no frequent peril of life, no hair-breadth escapes, nor, especially, any of those transactions in which the vital interests of this nation have been involved. No mistake could have been greater, but whatever has been the cause, the defect is notorious. The people of every city alike, have never been informed, at what time, and in what a singular manner, their ancestors first received the oracles of God, as printed on the continent for their benefit. As for their subsequent prevalence and effects, these form a vein of British history which has never been explored.

The Sacred Volume, indeed, carries internal evidence of its divine origin, and that in abundance; but still, with reference to the Bible now being used daily, and read so long, throughout this kingdom, no questions can be more natural than these—When was this volume first translated from the original, and put into print? Who was the man that laboured night and day to accomplish this? Like his Divine Master, was he betrayed unto death? If so, who betrayed him? What became of his betrayers? Or, was there any one man who befriended him, in his last days, or final trial? And since all this, and much more, did take place abroad; in the first transmission, in the secret and singular conveyance of the heavenly treasure to our shores, what were the distinct tokens of a superintending Providence to be observed and adored? What were the notable circumstances connected with its earliest triumphs over the prejudice and passion of our common nature? Or, in short, *how* has this Sacred Volume, revised, and re-revised, after three hundred years, come down into our hands? And yet, up to the present moment, should any individual throughout this country apply to his Christian teacher, or any child to his Parent, and put these and other deeply interesting questions, no definite answer can be returned; nor is there a single publication, which, if it lead not astray, will not leave the inquisitive reader nearly as far from satisfaction as when he began. If a Translator, in whose train all others have followed, must be allowed to rank far above all mere Reformers, it is strange if, on such a subject, historians generally should have slumbered or slept; yet the histories of Halle and Foxe, of Stowe and Strype, of Burnet and Collier, of Turner and Lingard, or Soame, as well as the history of Translations by Lewis, Herbert, or Dibdin, with the Biblical literature of Townley, of Cotton, or of Horne, may all be read, and they must be, when such a period is explored; but from all these sources put together, still the reader can form no conception of what actually took place, with regard to the Scriptures. The incidental circumstances mentioned are not only few in number, but scarcely one of them appears in its true light or appropriate connexion. Many, and by far the most curious and productive incidents, have remained in utter oblivion.

After reading, in succession, even all these works, no one

can possess any adequate or correct idea of that mighty phalanx of talent, policy, and power, so firmly arrayed against the introduction of divine truth in our native tongue into this Kingdom; and consequently no reader has ever had before him the most powerful display, in comparatively modern times, of the irresistible energy of the Divine Word. This remark applies with equal force to Scotland, of which nothing has hitherto been known, as it does to England, of which there has been known so little, and that so incorrectly narrated. This energy, too, in both countries, having been exhibited at a period when the truth was unbefriended by a single human being, in office, nay, when the judges and rulers of the land were up in arms, or raging against it; the detail, if justice could be done to it, must form one of the most curious and impressive, if not the most valuable chapters in British history. The times changed indeed, and have often changed since, and yet, it is presumed, no reader will find the story begin to droop in point of interest; much less forfeit its peculiar character, as an undertaking of Divine Providence, down to the present hour.

Certain portentous signs, unexpectedly marking our own day, and at which not a few have been startled, very powerfully invite the general mind to the sacred text, in its all-sufficiency, by itself alone, or to "the Bible without note and comment." But without even glancing at these here, to the Sacred Volume, in our native tongue, considered simply in the light of a *printed book*, there happily belong two peculiarities, more than sufficient to fix the mind, with intense interest, on its origin and history. These are the *number* of its copies, and the *extent* to which it is now in perusal. Neither the one, nor the other, has yet been rendered so palpable, as to engage the notice they deserve, and which they will, at last, certainly secure.

After the commencement of the present century, when attention was awakened to the obligation imposed on this country, of giving the Sacred Volume to all nations, or of attempting to do so; with regard to the Scriptures in our own English, it was even *then* asserted, that the number of copies already in existence, was greater than that in all other languages put together. The number, at all events, had passed beyond human calculation, while every one agreed that other

nations were comparatively but ill supplied, and that many more were entirely destitute. The moment, however, for combined exertion had come; this has continued ever since, even with growing energy; and it is now assuredly more than time for the contributors to observe the result. Notwithstanding all that had been printed and sold for more than two centuries and a half; the number of English Bibles and New Testaments separately, which have passed through the press, within the perfect recollection of many now living, has exceeded the number of souls in Britain! It has been more than double the population in 1801!

Should we suppose the printing-press to have been employed incessantly every lawful day, or three hundred and thirteen days in the year, and for ten hours daily, throughout the four seasons of all these years; then has it been moving, on an average, at the rate of more than *three* copies of the Sacred Volume, whether of the Bible, or New Testament separately, *every minute*; or five hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred annually! But the speed at first, or for several years, was slow, when compared with that which followed. For some time past, it has nearly doubled, so that in the space of twelve months the press has sent forth more than a million of copies; or say above nineteen thousand every week, above three thousand every day, three hundred every hour, or five every minute of working time! At this rate there has been producing equal to an entire volume, and *such* a volume, in less than twelve seconds! To the minds of many in recent years, velocity or speed, in various forms, has proved a subject of ardent study and delight, but here is *one* form, which, when viewed in its ultimate moral consequences, will not admit of any rival competitor. Yet compared with its importance, it has been but little regarded; and never yet, as it ought to have been, in connexion with the state of other nations. Before thousands, or rather millions of our countrymen, the process, from day to day, has

“ Mov’d on unheeded, as the bird
That cleaves the yielding air unheard,
And yet must prove, when understood,
The harbinger of endless good.”

To a certainty, however, it had never entered into the imagination of a single individual, that more copies of the Scrip-

tures would be demanded in the English tongue alone, than in that of all other nations put together ! And, more especially, as the number of versions now called for, and as contemplated by Britain, is above one hundred and fifty ! At the outset, had any individual suggested the propriety of printing *twenty millions* of English Bibles and Testaments, what would every other man have thought or said ? The *proposal* would have been fatal to the *design*. The general result which so many have concurred in producing, was foreseen by no one. Thus it is, that, by the agency of man, the intentions of Providence are wrought out, in the guidance of a nation, or the government of the world. In all our movements, or combinations, His hand and power appear at last, conspicuously ; and if any seek for evidence, that, with all our supposed shrewdness, we are still a governed race, he may find it here. Like some of those great operations in nature, which proceed unnoticed, amidst all the turmoil of this ever shifting scene, this work has gone on, and arrived at a height, which in the light of an *event*, is sufficient to arrest the attention of every intelligent mind, exciting, as it ought, to deeper inquiry and reflection.

But if the English Bible be so distinguished for the number of its copies, it is equally, or rather more so, by the *extent* to which it is now being read. With the movement of the press, we have *another* movement, not less worthy of notice, and one which renders the subject doubly interesting, or rather momentous. It is about nineteen years ago, since it was remarked by an acute living writer, Mr. Douglas—"The world has not witnessed an emigration like that taking place, from this kingdom to America, so extensive in its range, so immeasurable in its consequences, since the dispersion of mankind." He compared it to the principle of attraction in the material world—"an influence which like that of Nature, was universal without pause or relaxation ; and hordes of emigrants were continually swarming off, as ceaseless in their passage, and crowded, and unreturning as the passengers to eternity." Since then, however, and especially with every returning spring, has come as certainly the season of migration ; and from many seaports, our countrymen have been sailing far and wide as the winds and waves could carry them. In short, with the exception of the most remarkable of all

rally verified? Such, at all events, is the present high and momentous position of Britain and her sons.

If, from this moral elevation, we could once look down to the valley below, and, guided only by impartial history, observe the singular path by which the nation has been led up to such an eminence, we should better understand what, and how much, is involved in the history of Divine Revelation in our native tongue; to say nothing of many reflections which could never before have occurred to any mind. The following pages form an attempt to furnish the reader with such a history, from the first sheets thrown off at the press, down to the millions now dispersed and in use, whether at home or abroad.

But, even here, and before we descend—before we begin, where the Almighty, in a manner so peculiar, began with this nation—if, from this summit, we now look round, is there any parallel case to be discerned?—any nation upon ground so high? No, not one, nor by many degrees: not even Germany, with all her Bibles. Yet is there nothing on which the eye may and should rest, in the way of comparative contrast? Assuredly there is, for there is one other European language upon which the sun also *never* sets. It is the Spanish, and the contrast may be soon expressed. The Bible in Spain! The Bible in Britain! Two languages on which the sun shines with no intermission, yet, in point of supply, are they wide as the poles asunder! What a contrast is presented here, whether we look to Spain herself, or to her offspring in those colonies *once* all her own! In the history of Europe at this moment, no two facts of similar magnitude can be placed in opposition before the human mind. One is almost reminded of the sun, in comparison with a star of the smallest magnitude. Let the contrast, the indescribable contrast, at once humble and inspirit a people whom God has so distinguished.

To all those, therefore, who regard the Scriptures, printed in our native tongue, to be infinitely the highest boon ever bestowed on Britain; or to the English Christian, whether he be at home or abroad—in Britain, Ireland, or America—in India, China, Australia, or New Zealand—the *providential origin* of that Sacred Volume to which he daily turns his eye, cannot be a subject void of interest. Its progress to completion he will find to have involved a struggle, with which there is no other to be compared—its history since, one that bears directly and

with great power on the present day ; and, once aware of circumstances, when he himself sits down to the perusal of the sacred page, whether in the temperate, the torrid, or the frigid zone, he will be better able to regard the favour, as one of the innumerable happy consequences of its original triumph over all the enmity and rage displayed of old, and the barriers which were raised in vain, against its reception into his native country or fatherland.

With respect to the commencement of the following history, the first half of the sixteenth century, embracing one of the most eventful periods in the annals of Europe, is familiarly known to have produced, in this country, a number of conspicuous characters, and the lives of almost every one of them, have been given to the world again and again. One, however,—and, in the proper sense of the term, as it regards his influence on posterity—by far the most eminent, has been hitherto all but overlooked. Often confounded or linked with other men of very inferior consequence, there has been no reader of English history who could possibly estimate the amount of his obligations, to the modest and immortal William Tyndale. Independently of his ability as one of the most powerful writers of the age, when his name is connected with the Sacred Volume, which he first translated from the original text into English, which he first put to press, and then sent into his native land, we have no other man to be compared with him at the time ; and when to this is added, his unspotted personal christianity, his uncompromising spirit, and genuine patriotism, it is altogether unaccountable that every incident in his valuable life has not been gleaned, and arranged into a distinct memoir, long before the present day. Such a work, including his noble convert and young companion, John Fryth, ought to have been a household book for many generations back.

But in neglecting Tyndale personally, an object infinitely above him has been neglected. In the course of her varied and singular history, there is no favour, we must repeat, bestowed upon Britain, that is ever to be compared with the Bible in her vulgar or vernacular tongue ; to say nothing of this being now her most distinguished and distinguishable feature. But for its free and unfettered perusal, the eminence to which she has attained among the European nations, or confessedly above them, had never been reached. Her rise and progress, in all

that is worthy of possession, can never be separated from this heavenly gift or deposit. Yet, if this be granted, and the best of her sons with one voice will do so, then, in the introduction, or first importation of the Sacred Scriptures in type, at *such* a period, and by *such* means, there must have been certain paths, certain footsteps, in divine Providence, corresponding to the *greatness* of the boon bestowed. In other words, though the cause itself, in the morning of its origin, might seem only like "smoking flax or a bruised reed," one might expect to witness even national affairs, or the Crown itself, and the movements of Government, treated, in many instances, as altogether subordinate. As far, then, as men in power and place were concerned, the reader must now be left to judge whether he does not observe the cause, emphatically in its commencement, and upon all necessary occasions *ever after*, like the star in Joseph's dream, to which "the sun and the moon, and the eleven stars, made obeisance." These, and other singular occurrences, it is true, ought to have been marked and recorded long before three centuries had passed away; but though they have required to be sought out in the pages of original manuscript, and of rare books, and to be traced with scrupulous caution, they are not the less worthy of observation now, and more especially in the existing state of our country. Perhaps some unknown benefit may be involved in so many important incidents having been left for disclosure to the present hour.

The Scriptures in English *manuscript*, the revival of Letters, as well as the Invention of Printing, preceded, by many years, any application of that noble art to our English version. But the entire period may be, or rather ought to be, regarded as containing a series of events, *preliminary* to that memorable occurrence, and, therefore, though but slightly sketched, they require to be noticed in the light of a deliberate, yet appropriate introduction. This, accordingly, has been attempted, as due to the history following.

It is, however, the English Scriptures in print, and their first introduction, especially into England and Scotland, with their subsequent introduction to North America, which are about to claim particular attention; and as the path has never been trodden before, some explanation becomes necessary, with regard to the sources whence materials have been derived. Having looked into the histories already named, as well as

other kindred works, and observing not only the paucity of facts, but various discrepancies among all these authors, the writer's first resort was to that unrivalled store of original manuscript in the British Museum. It was impossible to entertain any previous theory. Various details were expected, though not the slightest hope was then indulged that any very connected series of events could ever be drawn out. On discovering, however, to what extent these manuscript pages had been permitted to remain in oblivion, he persevered. Important original documents, both in the Chapter House of Westminster, and in the State Paper Office, have also been consulted; and, of course, the State Papers, or Correspondence, in five volumes quarto, relating to England, Scotland, and Ireland, printed since 1830, by the Government Commission. After having gone over the entire surface of Tyndale's age, the writer was highly obliged by the perusal and use of various extracts of correspondence, collected by the indefatigable industry of the Rev. Thomas Russell, A.M., the editor of the works of Tyndale and Fryth. It was no trifling corroboration when the author found himself not only unmoved from a single position he had taken, but confirmed in his statements by several incidental circumstances, some of which might have escaped notice.

With reference to rare printed works, as well as scarce editions of the Scriptures, besides the British Museum; the Bodleian at Oxford; the University Library, that of St. John's College, and others, at Cambridge; the Baptist Museum of Bristol; the Althorp Library of Earl Spencer; that of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, while yet entire, with those of Lambeth and St. Paul's, have been consulted in succession; but to no other collection of Bibles and Testaments has the author been so much indebted as to that of his friend Lea Wilson, Esq. of Norwood Hill. In early days an English merchant of *Antwerp*, will be found to occupy a conspicuous and honourable place at the commencement of this history; and it is in perfect keeping with the entire narrative, that a collection so rich, and in such a perfect state, should now be in the possession of a *London* merchant. Without his assistance as to various minute particulars, the list at the close of this work could not have been so complete. It will be found to contain many authentic editions, which, altogether unknown, have

if they can find another walk, in past times down to the present, of such a character as lies at the root of all that has ever existed under the name of Christianity within the kingdom; and so important as in vital connexion with its progress throughout the earth. If with the changing scenes through which the history will be found to pass, it had ever forfeited its original cast or character, there it might have terminated, and there it ought. But, on the contrary, as the continuation so singularly corresponds with the commencement, there was to be found no halting-place before the present day.

In point of time, the history of our English Scriptures, from the date of their first appearing in print, will be found to take precedence of all the Institutions, Establishments, or local interests, within our shores. The noble contest, so singularly commenced and conducted, was nearly decided before their origin; at least, the first brunt of the battle was over, and Divine truth had been so effectually sown and rooted in our native soil, that, from that early period, all the power of the enemy has been in vain. This, of itself, gives the story a preference, or a prior claim to consideration, before any other narrative in the form, or under the name, of religious history. Nor is this its only peculiarity. Ever since, the continuation will be found maintaining a higher place, describing a larger, and therefore a loftier circle, than that of any mere class or denomination whatever; embracing, without any interruption, the Christian community of Britain in its widest sense. It will continue throughout as independent of all local interests, as it was before they had existence. That the history of the English Bible has never before been viewed in this light, is freely granted; nor had the author himself the slightest idea of this, its marked or distinguishing peculiarity, before he began. It is now the more worthy of notice, and may prove of some service, in different ways, beside that of promoting modesty of statement by any single community in Britain. No section of Christians, it will be seen, of whatever name, can possess any title to rank itself as having been essential, either to the progress or to the general prevalence of the English Scriptures, much less to their original introduction. This is an undertaking which has been uniformly conducted above their sphere of judgment. Should this general prevalence turn out to have been almost equally independent of the civil power,

from Henry the Eighth down to Charles the Second, or rather to the present hour, it will form altogether by far the most singular fact, as such, in the annals of the kingdom. It is a feature in the history of our Bible, claiming supreme attention from the existing age.

Upon the whole, the present forms a department in past history, with which every Minister of the truth, in English, ought to have been familiar long ago, nay, and every Parent throughout the kingdom. As it regards instruction, as well as ground for new reflections, it will be found to occupy a course or channel peculiar to itself. Perhaps the fifth book in our New Testament Scriptures, may in part explain its character. Men, indeed, have entitled that book "the Acts of the Apostles;" but it is in reality a history of the way and manner in which "the Word of the Lord *grew and multiplied*,"—the Apostles themselves, whether as individuals or as a body, being treated in perfect subordination to the grand or leading design. In some faint resemblance to this manner, so ought the history of the Divine Word, in our native tongue, to have been attempted long since; leaving men and things, whether great characters or national events, in the subordinate places which have actually belonged to them. At the same time, such men and such events, viewed as they have now been, sometimes in contrast, and at other times in connexion with the progress of Divine Revelation itself, lend a peculiar zest or life to the entire narrative. Upon the characters of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, of Warham, Tunstal, or Sir Thomas More, of Cranmer and Lord Cromwell, with many other men well known under all the subsequent reigns, certainly no such additional light could have been thrown, till they were brought into immediate contact or contrast with the printing or circulation of the Scriptures in our native tongue.

Should the reader, therefore, at any time, wish to view only the progress of that unequalled conflict in our national history, which ended in the English Bible being given to Britain, and extends to the close of the first volume, he may do so, by following throughout the largest letter of the text; but if to understand also the existing state of the nation at the moment, or those circumstances which render that progress doubly striking, the smaller type must not be omitted. While thus proceeding from year to year, he will see how

unavailing were all the efforts of human malignity; and how feeble a thing is human nature, though armed with power and pride, when striving to stem the progress of divine truth. In the midst of enemies, from the throne downwards, all along shewn to be so contemptible in themselves, when the moment fixed for victory has come, the reader will share in the triumphs of a conquest as perfect, as it seemed improbable.

But even from the commencement, and down to our own times, or the close of the second volume, some such history has become positively essential to a just estimate of our present peculiar condition as a Nation, now by far the most responsible under heaven. It may, and it will furnish motives to action, such as can be drawn from no other retrospect. It forms a key, if not the only one, to our highest imperative obligations; and it may well be pondered, as the path by which Jehovah led our forefathers, in a way of his own devising, with more than "the pillar of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night." In this view, the history, though never written before, and therefore not understood, can never be out of date. It involves the commencement and continuance of a Cause, which is but pursuing its course in our own day, not only to a wider extent, but with greater energy than ever before, and yet to be pursued with greater still.

In conclusion, the author, it will be evident, is far from placing any reliance on the *mere* dispersion of Bibles, even by the million; but although no man can measure the consequences of the immutable standard of divine truth having been exhibited to the eye of this nation, the spirit of the age loudly demands, that the history of that exhibition should now be more accurately known. Once understood, it must be left to the judgment of every discerning reader, whether, at the present crisis, in such unparalleled possession of the Sacred Volume, British Christians can close their eyes with impunity on the existing state of other nations—the condition of a world.

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INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE AGES WHICH PRECEDED ANY PRINTING OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE—INCLUDING THE REVIVAL AND TRIUMPH OF CLASSICAL LEARNING AND THE ARTS, CONTRASTED WITH THE TIMES OF WICKLIFFE, WITH HIS VERSION OF THE ENTIRE SACRED VOLUME, AND ITS EFFECTS—THE INVENTION OF PRINTING, ITS RAPID PROGRESS TO PERFECTION, AND THE POINT TO WHICH THE EUROPEAN NATIONS, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND HAD BEEN BROUGHT, BEFORE EVER THIS INVALUABLE ART WAS APPLIED TO ANY VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY THE PEOPLE.

THE darkest hour in the night of Europe, is an era respecting which historians are not even yet agreed. It has been regarded by many as being in the tenth century. One or two other writers consider the seventh or eighth century to be the lowest in point of depression, or the *nadir* of the human mind; and they suppose that its movement in advance began with Charlemagne, while England can never forget her own Alfred the Great. A few moderns, too fastidious, or by no means so affected by the gloom and barbarity of the middle ages, profess to be tender of allowance as to the *extent* of this darkness, and would fondly persuade us to adopt a more cheerful retrospect. But speaking, generally, with reference to the people at large, the entire period, from the fifth or sixth to the fourteenth century, presents at the best, but a tedious and dreary interval in the history of the human mind. Individual scholars, indeed, like stars which shed their light on the surrounding gloom, there ever were; and wherever there existed any marked regard for Sacred writ, in the vernacular tongue, there the life-spark of Christianity was preserved. The Albigenses, the Waldenses, and other parties, might be adduced in proof; the persecution and dispersion of whom, had considerable influence in diffusing the light which its enemies laboured to extinguish.

It was not, however, till after a long and profound sleep throughout the dreams and visions of the middle ages, that the human mind was at last effectually roused to action ; and in none of the countries throughout Europe more decidedly than in Italy and England. But still, for some great moral purpose, worthy of infinite wisdom, and to be afterwards disclosed, that mind, throughout all these western kingdoms, was first to be permitted to discover what was the utmost vigour of its native strength.

First came the age of the chisel, and the painter's pencil, and the pen, not to say of the music of the human voice. Those stupendous fabrics, which began to be erected from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, in which the massive dullness of the Lombards, was giving way to the influence of the Saracens of Spain, still stand out in proof, that many hands were already busy, under the guidance of some presiding ingenious mind. Literature and the fine arts, more especially classical learning, painting, and sculpture, were then to enjoy that triumph, the spoils of which now adorn the walls of every palace, as well as the cabinets and libraries, the galleries and public rooms of every city in Europe. This triumph, too, must take place in ITALY, or in the very seat of that extraordinary power which had ruled for ages, with unmeasured sway, over all the west ; for, throughout the long preceding night, it could never be said that Rome herself had been either asleep or inactive. The Eternal City, as it was styled, the Lady of Kingdoms, like the Assyrian of old, having " found out as a nest the riches of the people ; as one gathereth eggs that are left, so had she gathered all the earth ;" and, generally speaking, it was only here and there that some solitary individual " moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped."

There was, however, one singular peculiarity belonging to this power. Ruling over the mind, its vigour seemed to increase with its remoteness from the seat of government ; and the thunders of the Vatican, unlike those of nature, often struck terror in proportion to the distance at which they were heard. This much at least is certain, that though Great Britain and Ireland formed the utmost confines of that power on the west, there was no country between these islands and Italy where the Roman Pontiff felt such confidence of his strength, nor one which was more harassed and oppressed by his pecuniary exactions. The western states of Europe, even the most remote, had, indeed, all couched down under their burdens, and that for ages, before the full claims of the *Rota*, or pontifical conclave, were admitted upon Italian ground. Nor is this mystery inexplicable. Kings, however despotic, had by degrees been moulded to subjection ; but the stern Republics of Italy, composed of a metal

least of all malleable, long remained hard, unbending, and most vexatious neighbours. To say nothing of Florence, Pisa, or Genoa, it is well known that even in the diocese of Italy, properly so called, the Milanese had resisted the claims of the Pontiff down to the eleventh century; and during the twelfth, the country was covered with cities still fighting for liberty; but that, so very near to Rome, there should have been such a power or form of government as that of Venice, at once arrests attention as by far the most extraordinary point in European history. As this remarkable State, less than two hundred and fifty miles distant from Rome itself, "arose before the old empire of Rome was swept away, endured through the barbarism of the northern irruptions, as well as through all the darkness ensuing, and was only extinguished by Napoleon within our own times, its history forms a connecting chain, if not the only one that can now be traced, between the Europe of the Romans, of the middle ages, and of modern history."¹ With its internal feuds we do not interfere; but no survey, however brief, can be complete where Venice is overlooked.²

An insignificant band of fugitives, in the fifth century, took possession of the rocks and little islands on the north-west shores of the Adriatic sea. Cut off from all possessions on the mainland, not possessing one foot of laud there for eight hundred years, but surrounded by their own marshes, they were at first ruled by magistrates sent down from Padua. This people, resolved to provide for their own security, form a government for themselves. "Detestation of the despotic authority or government of one man, and an inflexible determination to remain a separate and distinct people, were the two principles by which the Venetians were guided, and upon which they continued to act with the steadiness and success of a natural principle." At the close of the seventh century, indeed, they elected a chief magistrate, (the Doge, Dux, or Duke,) whose office was to continue for life, and the people to choose his successor; but his powers, though vast, were rendered next to nominal by those of the Council and the other magistrates. Without his Council the Doge durst not open an official letter, and much less do any thing official. Yet here, and at a moment when every prince in Europe was a vassal to the Emperor, either of the East or West, the Venetians, unsubdued, were rising to greater opulence and strength. Though Pepin fought against them with all his strength, they conquered, and

¹ As early as the year 1268, a law passed in Venice, enjoining the Ambassadors of the Republic to note down and communicate whatever they could observe, and these curious as well as valuable reports, well known as the Venetian *Relazioni*, referring to all the courts of Europe, continued from time to time for above five hundred years. The last, full of striking and accurate information, relates to the commencement of the French Revolution in 1792. — *Banke*.

² For most of these facts as to Venice we are indebted to Daru or Sismondi, and an able article on the Venetian constitution in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xli.

put an end to all claims on their allegiance ; Charlemagne had no choice left except to declare them independent.

At a much later period when we turn to Rome under successive Pontiffs, and their insatiable thirst for power ; while the Doge of Venice convoked the people, whether from the different islands or the districts of the capital, for the purpose of choosing their own pastors and bishops ; not one of whom, by fixed and original laws, could hold any *civil* office, whether of honour or emolument ; to him belonged the power of installing these Bishops, as well as of awarding all ecclesiastical punishments. The assertion of such rights, of course, could not be easily maintained, and more especially in the neighbourhood of a power which had determined to overshadow all the earth : but as the beginning of the thirteenth century may be truly regarded as the twilight of a better day, Venice, amidst her own rocks in the sea, will serve as a contrast to the entire surface of Europe, and prove the extent to which she had still secured her independence.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

In our own country, at the commencement of this century, poor King John was actually promising to make his kingdom tributary to the Pontiff, with a proffer of not less than a thousand merks, or a sum equal to £20,000 now, over and above the old tribute : and although the Barons soon after wrested Magna Charta from him, to shew how low the kingdom had sunk, we find the Pontiff, at this same John's *request*, annulling the proceedings. The great charters, it is true, were confirmed by his successor, Henry III. ; but the power of Rome was growing every day during his fifty-six years reign. It was then that the Pontiff was exclaiming—" Truly, England is our garden of delight ! It is an unexhausted well ! and where so much abounds, much may be acquired." No wonder that he thus exulted, when his income from England was three times as much as that of the King on the throne."³ But, above all, in proof of the Pontiff's power towards the west, this was the era of that detestable persecution of the Albigenses, pursued with such hideous cruelty. The execrable measure, in which plunder was the grand object, was counselled, planned, and commanded by Rome.

Now, if we seek for any relieving contrast throughout the entire century, it is to Italy itself that we must turn our eye. Even in the neighbouring Republic of Florence, it is true, amidst the surrounding gloom, Dante had begun to sing, in his own style, about

³ Under Innocent IV. his revenue from England was 70,000 merks, that of the Crown was not 30,000.—*Grosseste*. After this it went on increasing.—*M. Paris, Flores Histor.*

paradise and the infernal regions, not forgetting to intermingle certain severe allusions with his poem ; and, besides this, there was his treatise “ Monarchia,” distinctly hostile to the claims of Rome : but for the bolder contrast to the sentiments of all Europe, we must look to Venice. It is admitted that in the commencement of this century the Venetians had chosen to apply to Rome for an indulgence, but this was merely to facilitate a treaty with the Caliphs of Egypt. Eager to retain their commerce with the East Indies, they wished to open a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea ; and had they succeeded, perhaps the trade might never have passed from their hands. Still, this application betrayed no disposition to bow allegiance. On the contrary, this ancient Republic had reigned, for more than two centuries, as Lords-paramount of the Adriatic : and although that gulf washed the shores of various States, those of the *Roman Church* among the number, not one of them dared to navigate it, or even fish in its waters, without a license from Venice, for which they paid a heavy tribute. When one sovereign Pontiff presumed to inquire, by what right *they* pretended to domineer there, the brief reply given was—“ That sea is ours.”

But the sea would not suffice any longer as the bounds of their sovereignty ; and, therefore, about the middle of this century, they began to acquire land. Arvi in Romagna was taken under their special *protection*, much in the same style as the provinces of India have since been taken under that of Britain. This place belonged to the Church, and that in the opinion of the Emperor ; but even he said not a word. It so happened, too, that the Venetians did not approve of any ecclesiastic engaging in war, and if he did, at their hands he must abide the consequences. The Captains-General of the Pontiff’s troops, were dignitaries of his Church. Such a prisoner being taken, with his crosier, sceptre, and sword ; the Venetians condemned him to ride, sitting backwards, on a mule, and preceded by the common crier, proclaiming—“ Behold the wicked priest, who displeased God in his life, and was taken in iniquity.” Such a proceeding, in the year 1274, had no parallel in any other part of Europe.

It was little more than seven years after this when the Pontiff, Martin IV., having, in his customary style, *given* the sovereignty of Naples to Charles of Anjou, and proclaimed a crusade against the lawful heir, chose also to excommunicate the Venetians because they would not unite in the outrage. But was the result similar to that which ensued, in all other nations ? On the contrary, for three long years, no priests officiated, no prayers were offered in their churches, and without yielding, they allowed the Pontiff to die ! His successor, Honorius IV., at last succeeded, and removed the inter-

dict. There had indeed been one condition, and that was no other than that the Inquisition should be admitted. But here, again, the terms were unprecedented, triumphantly sufficient to destroy its character, and point out Venice as an exception, if not a signal, to all other countries. The negotiation for this end, had, in all cases, no other than political objects in view, and the Court of Rome had persevered with Venice throughout the successive reigns of *ten* Pontiffs; but the termination only shewed the superior sagacity and continued power of the Republic. Thus—if three ecclesiastics were to take cognizance of heresy there, then they must be subject to the control of magistrates chosen by the Great Council; and if there were to be three such judges, one of them must be a natural subject of the Republic, the Bishop of Venice. But again, if these three men were to derive authority from the Pontiff, then they could not sit down on their tribunal, without a commission in writing from the Doge. If they were to convict of heresy in any instance, then every *Jew* and even *Turk* must be free, as not belonging to the Pontiff's community; nay, and every member of the *Greek* Church, as their controversy with Rome was still undecided. Moreover, no *usurer* was to be seized by them, though one of the most desirable of all characters; because, though violating the precepts of religion, he did not dispute its dogmas; no blasphemer, because though guilty of irreverence, he was not of schism or innovation; nor even any bigamist, because the second marriage was a violation of a civil bond. In short, at a period distinguished for general blindness or pusillanimity, here was one exception to both. The Venetians negotiated with their eyes open, and were not to be outwitted. The interests of *commerce* were with them superior to every other consideration, and to preserve it from all injury or vexatious interruption, the sovereign Pontiff himself must still keep his distance.

The century closed at Venice by a marked alteration in this singular Government, or the exchange of the Republican form for that hereditary and severe Aristocracy, which became the diplomatic model of its day. But it is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. We have come to the commencement of another century, and our assertion thus far is proved. The Pontiff and his fellows, had been all along more potent at a distance, than at home under their native sky; and the one great lesson afforded by the Italian Republics, and especially Venice, was this, that the power of Rome, when at its height, *was* resistible. This too becomes still more worthy of notice, inasmuch as the freedom enjoyed in these commercial states was not that which we now understand by the term—far from it. In numerous instances, the lives, the property and even the honour of the citizens were not secured; but in ages

when the reason of mankind had been subdued, and their rulers were reduced to vassals, these lesser communities, under an Italian sky, had proved what reason and the power of resistance could do. Two hundred years before Henry the Eighth was born, Venice had shewn that Rome's loudest thunder might fall innocuous to the ground. Immovable and unshaken, and though uniting some of the most odious practices of despotism with the name of liberty, yet bent upon securing certain rights, and prosperity to commerce, a mere handful of people in the adjoining sea had continued to testify to the millions of Europe, that the power they so much dreaded might be braved with impunity.

Thus terminated the thirteenth century, but we are still more than two hundred years distant from the period when the Sacred Scriptures were first printed in the *vernacular* tongue; and yet both centuries may now be viewed with considerable advantage as an approach or gradual *introduction* to that important event.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In the course of the fourteenth century, whether we look to Germany, to Italy, or our own country, the events are equally interesting, and full of promise. Within the first of these, the influence of that singular confederation, called the "Hanse Towns," had begun to be felt. The league, by this time, included more than sixty cities. These had commerce for their common object or bond of union; but they were the germs of future freedom, and ultimately contributed, in no inferior degree, to the protection of individual rights. Thus early was Divine Providence in operation with a view to a better day. At the same time, nothing can be more natural than that an Italian author should claim for his country the precedence of all other nations, whether as to the science of government, or the revival of learning. He is well entitled to speak out; and on account of the result, he ought to be first heard, not only in this, but more especially in the next, or the fifteenth century.

"The science of governing men for their advantage," says one of the ablest native authorities, "of developing their individual faculties, intellectual and moral, for their greater happiness—that political philosophy, began in Europe only with the Italian Republics of the middle ages, and from thence diffused itself over other nations." Again, "The Italians, in the fourteenth century, discovered, as it were anew the ancient world: they felt an affinity of thoughts, hopes, and tastes with the best Latin writers, which inspired them with the highest admiration. Petrarch, and particularly Boccaccio, passed from this study to that of Grecian antiquity; and on the solicitation of the latter, the Republic of Florence in 1360 founded

a chair of Grecian literature, the first in the west.⁴ A passion for erudition spread from one end of Italy to the other, with an ardour proportionable to the dark ignorance of the preceding centuries. It was imagined that *all* knowledge consisted in knowing and imitating the ancient masters. The highest glory was attached to classical learning; and Petrarch and Boccaccio attained a degree of celebrity, credit, and power, unequalled by any other men in the middle ages—not by reason of those merits which we feel at the present day, but as the pontiffs and interpreters of antiquity.”

“ We owe to the learned of the fourteenth century, and to their school, a deep sentiment of gratitude. They discovered and rendered intelligible to us all the *chefs d'œuvre* of antiquity. Fragments only of classic works remained, scattered throughout Europe, and on the point of being lost. These learned men of Italy collected, collated, and explained them; without their antiquarian zeal, all the experience of past ages, all the models of taste, all the great works of genius, would never have reached us, and probably, without such guides, we should never have attained the point on which we now stand.”⁵

In thus writing, the author, of course, had in his eye, not only the close of the fourteenth, but the greater part of the fifteenth century, when Italy, in truth, became the garden of literature and the arts, the wonder and delightful resort of the learned throughout Europe. As a fact, it is of importance, not only to concede, but observe this, and let the precedence be fully understood as holding a place in the course of events about to transpire. The learning and refinement of Italy, about to assume that position in history which the wisdom of Greece had done in the days of old, must enjoy her long reign of a hundred and fifty years without any superior. Now that the human mind is waking up, let the Italian “ *imagine that all knowledge consisted in knowing and imitating the ancient masters,*” and let “ *the highest glory be attached to classical learning;*” let the

⁴ The first lecturer was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, who filled the chair, however, only three years. In returning to Italy by sea, after revisiting Greece, the ship was caught in a tempest. Leo had lashed himself to the mast, but was killed by lightning.—*Berington's Middle Ages*.

⁵ SISMONDI. Such is the exultation of the Italian author. At the same time it must be borne in mind, that certain learned men, far to the west, had not been left ignorant at least of the *facts* recorded in Greek authors. The Arabic translations, and Latin from the Arabic, in the twelfth century, however barbarous in style, might have compensated as to the scientific facts, though the Greek classics had been lost. At least so Scaliger insisted. These were being read, and discover a thirst after Greek science, even in Spain. There the Jew as well as the Saracen had been striving to excel, and it has been remarked by Forster, that as *Isaac* and *Ishmael* met together as brethren, at the *grave* of Abraham, their common father, so, after many ages, the posterity of both had met, not to destroy each other, but to display the full extent of their intellectual power. Under the Caliphs, instead of the canonical policy of proselyting by the sword, both Saracen and Jew were permitted to try the efficacy of the pen. Their career, however, was soon run, and whatever may be said of architecture, as to literature, certainly little or no decided progress was made till the Italians had studied and translated the Greek originals. Then, whatever had been dark or mysterious throughout the middle ages, became clear and defined.

“ chief works of antiquity be rendered intelligible,” and the men of Italy “ collect, collate, and explain them.” In short, as Greece is coming to the assistance of Rome, and “ the great masters” must first rise to show the extent of their powers; since the former, at the commencement of the Christian era, had stood in a peculiar relation to the surrounding nations—so, let Italy now stand in the same relation to Europe. Distinguished for classical learning, and first in the arts, if not the sciences, she claims to be the well-spring of all the less civilized nations in the west. Minute criticism may here be dispensed with, nor does any admirer of the Sacred Volume need to object to the fullest concession. Let Dante and Petrarch for the moment, and Boccaccio and Poggio Bracciolini lead the way.

In all this, however, it must now be granted in return, there was literally nothing of Divine light, properly so called—no reverent, distinct approach to the Sacred Volume; and this becomes the more observable, as the only country in Europe to which we can look for this, was that which, of all others, was held in greatest contempt by Italy; to say nothing of its being at once the most distant from Rome, if not also the most oppressed by that power. This was no other than our native land. Bracciolini, the last of these Italian scholars, had actually visited it, and viewed this country with chagrin, if not disdain, when compared with the enthusiastic love of classical literature which polished and adorned his country.⁶

Yes, so far as the revival of learning was concerned, it is worthy of particular notice that, in England, it was associated, even from this early period, with a special leaning towards the *Oracles of God*, and that on the part of several eminent men, all alike well known, not only at home, but as distant as Italy. Of these, in proof, we cannot omit to notice four—*Robert Grossteste, Richard Aungerville, Richard Fitzralph, and, above all, our own WICKLIFFE.*

The first of these, indeed, GROSSTESTE, died as early as the year 1253, and, three years before that event, made no scruple, when preaching at Lyon before Innocent IV., to arraign his clergy, in the boldest terms, for their ignorance, and arrogance, and flagitious conduct. Now this was above an hundred years before the erection of Boccaccio’s chair for Greek in Florence; and yet certainly Grossteste was not unacquainted with either Greek or Hebrew. He had translated Diouysius the Areopagite⁷ and Damascenus into Latin—had facilitated the knowledge of Greek by a translation of Suidas’s Lexicon—had promoted John of Basingstoke because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed of Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens. Nicholas, surnamed Græcus, resided with Grossteste, to help him in translating from the Greek; nor should it be forgotten that, however humble might be the claims

⁶ Shepherd’s Life of Poggio, 1802.

⁷ A spurious book, it is true, and one upon which Grocyn lectured at St. Paul’s as genuine, till, examining its authenticity, he discovered his mistake, and then, with becoming candour, openly explained that he had been in error.

of this eminent man to the character of a *Grecian*, all this happened above a century before that *Boccaccio* himself had positively asserted of the Italian scholars, that they did not know so much as the Greek alphabet. Nor was Grossteste unacquainted with Hebrew, though we cannot assert, with Wharton, that he was profoundly skilled in it. The number of Jews then in England, as well as of Hebrew manuscripts, fully accounts for what might seem incredible to those who have not looked into the times.⁸ At this early period, however, the chief eminence of Grossteste arose from his being a decided friend to *vernacular* translations of the Scriptures. "It is the will of God," said he, "that the Holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, and that there should be different translations in the Church, so that what is obscurely expressed by one, may be more perspicuously rendered by another."⁹ Was there any other country in Europe where as much had been expressed by any man, before the middle of the fourteenth century? If not, then let Grossteste or Greathead be allowed to have sounded, if not the first, one of the earliest feeble notes of preparation; though more than a hundred years must pass away before the subject be taken up in good earnest, and though England, confessedly, will first sink into greater barbarism.

RICHARD OF BURY, (son of Sir Richard Aungerville) the Chancellor of England and Bishop of Durham, who died before the middle of the fourteenth century, was a man more to the Italian taste, so far as a passion for literature was concerned. If we allow him to express his own feelings, he was "carried away and even beside himself with immoderate love of books, and desire of reading;"¹⁰ though there was one fault, too much akin to the rest of his order, a desire to monopolize every book to themselves.¹¹ This man employed collectors not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. Perfectly familiar with French from his residence in that country, at one period he regarded Paris, on account of its literature, as the "paradise of the world;" at another, he laments over its decline. But he visited Italy also, and there met with Petrarch. The celebrated Italian, indeed, mentions Aungerville in one of his epistles—*Virum ardentis ingenii*.¹²

But there was yet another Richard, well known to the last, of a superior character, and far more diffusive spirit. This was FITZRALPH, an Irishman, too, and the energetic precursor of Wickliffe, in opposition to the Friars. Born,

⁸ From the time of William the Conqueror numbers of Jews had come into England. In the beginning of the twelfth century there were as many as 1500 at York. At Bury, in Suffolk, their synagogue was large. In addition to London, they are mentioned as living at Lincoln, Northampton, and Norwich, at Ramsey, Stamford, and Marlborough, Andover, Derby, and Oxford. Often had they been exposed to wanton cruelty, till at last, in 1290, they were unwisely, as well as barbarously banished by Edward I., when their number amounted to above 16,000. Their residence had been of advantage to the country, if we may judge by a period of only eight years, from December 1265, to February 1274, as given by Sir E. Coke. They had paid to the Crown £420,000, an immense sum in those days. They were branded, indeed, as usurers; but they were not more so than the *Italians*, who remained here under protection. This banishment, however, we have noticed, because it was favourable to the diffusion of Hebrew manuscripts, many of which fell into the hands of Roger Bacon and other friars. The Abbey of Ramsey was distinguished as a depository. The Hebrew Lexicon, compiled by Holbeach, one of its inmates, was preserved from destruction, in 1536, by Robert Wakefield, the first Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. See Warton, Rapin, and Townley's Biblical Literature.

⁹ "Deus voluit, ut plures interpretes S. Scripturam transferrent, et diversæ Translationes in ecclesia essent; ideo ut quod unus obscurius dixerat, alter manifestius redderet."—*Whartoni Auct. Hist. Dogmat. c. 2, pp. 416-418.* See also Townley's Biblical Literature, and Warton's Dissertation, 2.

¹⁰ "Exstatico quodam librorum amore potenter se abreptum."

¹¹ "*Laiicis* omnium librorum communione sunt indigni!"

¹² Petrarch says, that he once had a conversation with him respecting the "*Ultima Thule*" of the ancients, as if he had come from near the end of the earth.

it has been said, at Dundalk, and, at all events, certainly there interred, though he had died at Avignon, Fitzralph, then Primate of Ireland, after preaching indefatigably in that country and in London, had gone to face Innocent VI. himself, on the subject of those exactions and abuses which had become past all endurance. If Aungerville was bent upon collecting and engrossing all books; still farther to the west than even the "Thule" of the Ancients, at the utmost verge of the Pontiff's authority, even in *Ireland* itself, there was then a thirst after knowledge which could not be satisfied. Fitzralph complained aloud, and told Innocent that "no book could stir, whether in divinity, law, or physic, but these Friars were able and ready to buy it up,"—"that he himself had sent four of his secular chaplains from Armagh to Oxford, who sent him word again that they could neither find the *BIBLE*, nor any other good profitable book in divinity, *meet* for their study, and therefore were minded to return home to their own country."

As for the Primate himself, by his own account, "the Lord had taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's philosophy, to the Scriptures of God." "To thee be praise," says he, at the commencement of his life, written by himself, once in the possession of Foxe, and which he meant to have printed,—“To thee be praise, to thee be glory, to thee be thanksgiving, O Jesus most holy, Jesus most powerful, Jesus most amiable—who hast said, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the life,’—a way without deviation, truth without a cloud, and life without end. For thou the way hast shewn me, thou the truth hast taught me, and thou the life hast promised me. A way thou wast to me, in exile, the truth thou wast to me, in counsel, and life thou wilt be to me, in reward.”¹³

Could the assertion which has been often repeated, only be confirmed, that Fitzralph translated the New Testament into the Irish language, or that such a translation existed in his time, it would form one of the most curious facts in the history of modern literature; pointing out Ireland as that country in Europe which had been the *first* pitied, as it has been the *last*.¹⁴ But, at all events, in the very same year, or 1360, in which Fitzralph expired at Avignon, John Wickliffe, at the age of thirty-six, was allured from his hitherto retired life; and when he came to write his "Triologue," he speaks of Fitzralph as having preceded him, in terms of high commendation.¹⁵

We have now, however, arrived at a point in history fraught with the deepest interest, and bearing so directly on the subject of the following pages, that it becomes necessary to pause a few moments, and look round. Let Grecian literature, by all means, revive in Italy, for this will be drawn upon, as soon as the proper time arrives; but, in the meanwhile, something else must be accomplished and very

¹³ "Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Jesu piissime, Jesu potentissime, Jesu dulcissime; qui dixiste, 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita.' Via sine devio; veritas sine nubilo, et vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti; tute veritatem me docuisti; et tute vitam mihi promisisti. Via eras mihi in exilio; veritas eras in consilio; et vita eris mihi in præmio."

¹⁴ Archbishop Ussher speaks of certain fragments of such a translation being in existence even in his own time. For various other particulars respecting Fitzralph, the author may refer to his "Historical Sketches of the Native Irish," or to the *third* edition of that work, entitled, "The Native Irish and their Descendants."

¹⁵ "Ab Anglorum episcopis conductus Armachanus novem in Aviniono conclusiones coram Innocentio 6. et suorum cardinalium caelu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicavit Verboque; ac scriptis ad mortem usque defendit."—Wickliffe's Triologus, 4to, 15, 25.

far to the west. The event which took place was not only a marked and powerful one, in relation to England, but it formed the first of a series in Europe, although more than an entire century passed away before the precedent was followed by other countries. We refer to the translation of the *entire* Sacred Volume into the language *spoken by the people*. Fragments there had been in several languages, but the present work being complete from Genesis to Revelation, intelligible to the common people of that day, and intended for their express perusal, may be regarded as the first positive instance of its kind in modern Europe. It is, at least, the only one in the fourteenth century upon which we can now lay our hand, no continental nation having any thing similar to produce.

JOHN WICKLIFFE, a native of Yorkshire, was born in the year 1324, and, in 1360, at the age of thirty-six, first came into public view, where he conspicuously remained to the day of his death, or the 31st of December 1384. For his life and opinions we refer to other sources, and must here confine our attention to that work which will ever give the chief distinction to his name.

Before the commencement of such a design, the position of Wickliffe should be contemplated. To say nothing of the Mahometan and Pagan worlds, two other communities had extended their influence over the nations. Alike opposed to the right of private judgment, and the rising freedom of the human mind, and now equally sunk into a state of unutterable depravity, both had fixed a malignant eye on that very book which Wickliffe had determined to give to his country. These two, it is well known, were the Eastern and Western, or the Greek and Latin Churches. Both had not only, and long since, utterly neglected and contemned the Sacred Writings, but both had interdicted their translation into any vernacular tongue. That it was not only unlawful, but injurious, for the people at large to read the Scriptures, had, indeed, for ages, been regarded as an axiom, by all these nations. Nor was this idea left to pass current merely as a received opinion. Not to mention other proofs, more than an hundred and fifty years before Wickliffe had finished his determined purpose, or in the year 1229, at the Council of Toulouse, when forty-five canons were passed and issued for the extinction of *heresy* and the re-establishment of *peace*, what were two of those canons? One involved the *first* court of inquisition, and another the *first* canon, which forbade the Scriptures to the laity, or the translation of any portion of them into the vulgar tongue. The latter was expressed in very pointed terms.

“ We also forbid the laity to possess any of the books of the Old or New Testament, except, perhaps, the Psalter or Breviary for the Divine Offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, which some, out

of devotion, wish to have ; but having any of these books *translated* into the vulgar tongue, we *strictly forbid*.¹⁶

In the face of all this, and far more than can now be explained, must Wickliffe commence his heartfelt task ; and so he did, with his eyes open to the prejudices of a world. His translation, which was finished in the year 1380, is supposed to have occupied him, amidst various interruptions, for many years. Some have imagined that this great work employed the translator for ten years only, but Mr. Baber, with far greater probability, has said, " From an early period of his life he had devoted his various learning, and all the powerful energies of his mind, to effect this, and, at length, by intense application on his own part, and with some assistance from a few of the most learned of his followers, he had the glory to complete a book, which, alone, would have been sufficient (or at least ought) to have procured him the veneration of his own age, and the commendations of posterity."

In accounting for such a movement as this, it has been but too common to inquire after something similar which had happened in the earth, and loosely supposing some connexion between them, as cause and effect, thus leave the extraordinary event, without the slightest reference to the finger of God. Any influential connexion, however, between the Waldenses or Vaudois and Wickliffe has never been clearly proved, and probably never will. At all events, before he could be stimulated by their example, he seems to have taken his ground, as it is only in his latest compositions that a few slight references to them are to be found, as to a people with whose sufferings he sympathized. He was on the Continent, at Bruges, it is true, from 1374 to 1376, but he had commenced, and must have been far advanced in his undertaking, long before then. In short, as far as the term can be applied to any human being, the claims of Wickliffe to originality have now come to be better understood, and every Christian will recognise the " secret mover ;" while, in reference to the times following, when tracing the history or influence of Divine Truth throughout Europe, the habit of ascending no higher than *Germany* is past, or passing away.

Down to the period of about two years before Wickliffe had completed his translation, the only ideas or incidents which had any powerful influence upon mankind generally, were such as stood connected with the Pontiff, and his peculiar system of rule or government ; but, in reference to this subject, by the year 1378, among the

¹⁶ " Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti," &c. *Labbei Sacro-Sancta Concilia* ii., p. 1., p. 430. The profane mixture of human composition with the Divine Word is sufficiently characteristic ; and it is of importance to observe that the prohibition expressly referred to the *LATIN* Bible itself. It seems to have been a step taken to prevent *translation*.

European nations, there had sprung up a marked difference of opinion. One question engrossed them all, and it was nothing less than this—*Who* was Pontiff? In the year 1305, through the influence of France, the Court of Rome had been translated into that Kingdom, and there it remained for seventy-four years, to the great damage of Rome as a city, but without any rent or division in the system. Edward the Third had expired on the 21st of June 1377, after a reign of above half a century, and about that very moment Gregory XI. had ordered Wickliffe to be seized and imprisoned, till farther orders. Early in the following year, although our translator of the Scriptures had not only stood high in favour with the late King, but still did so with many in Parliament, and was powerfully protected by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he was summoned by the *Bishops* to answer for himself at St. Paul's. Thus did this body of men first come out, appearing as a distinct interest in the kingdom, and thus they will remain for above five generations to come; proving ever and anon, upon all occasions of alarm, that they were the determined opponents of Divine Truth. As a body, they will oppose its being conveyed to the people, and at every successive step of progress. Their malice at this time, however, was overruled, as it will so often and conspicuously be, a century and a half later; but, in the meanwhile, nothing must prevent Wickliffe from finishing his translation.¹⁷

The year 1378 was in truth an important one as it regarded our translator's design. On the 27th of March the reigning Pontiff had died; an event which not only put an end to the bulls against Wickliffe, but gave rise to what was called "*the great schism*;" so that soon after there were two Pontiffs—one beyond the mountains, as the Italians said, and one at Rome—consigning each other to perdition. Of this state of things Wickliffe did not fail to avail himself. "He saw the head of the body cloven in twain, and the two parts made to fight with each other;" and he immediately sent forth two tracts, one upon "*the schism*" itself, and the other upon "*the truth of Scripture*." Every city and state became agitated, and as the question soon divided the nations throughout, it so happened that *England* and *Scotland* were of opposite opinions: the former holding fast by Urban VI. of Rome, who had been first chosen; the latter followed Clement VII. of Avignon. England and France indeed became the most ardent supporters of the opposite parties, while such was the extent to which the controversy had

¹⁷ The Assembly at St. Paul's having broken up in riot and confusion, there was a second attempt to execute their purpose in a Synod at Lambeth in June, but the Bishops were deterred from coming to any definite sentence by a message from the Queen-Mother by Sir Lewis Clifford.

gone, that some men of the University of Paris had begun to think of a plurality of Pontiffs, and the appointment of one to every kingdom. The idea of *one* power exercising authority over *all* nations had seemed to them untenable, if not injurious.

Soon after this, in the year 1379, Wickliffe, as divinity professor, had gone to fulfil his accustomed annual duty at Oxford, but there he was seized with an alarming illness. The friars, imagining that his course was now near an end, contrived to visit him. Four of their ablest men had been selected, or a friar from each of the mendicant orders, and they were admitted to a patient hearing. After reminding him of the great injury he had done to their order—for Wickliffe was a determined enemy to all idleness and all extortion—they exhorted him, as one near to death, that he would now, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke in their presence, whatever he had said to their disparagement. As soon as they had done, Wickliffe calling for his servant, desired to be raised up on his pillow; when collecting all his strength, with a severe and expressive countenance, and in a tone of voice not to be misunderstood, he exclaimed, "*I shall not die, but live, to declare the evil deeds of the friars.*" Confused, if not confounded, little expecting such a reply, they immediately left him; and Wickliffe recovered, to finish in the year following his translation of the entire Bible.

Extraordinary, however, as the character of Wickliffe was,—a man confessedly far above all his contemporaries, it may still be inquired, whether he was qualified for the task of translating the Sacred Volume? The Scriptures had been originally given in Hebrew and Greek; but so far from the nations of the West furnishing men sufficiently acquainted with either, England at least had sunk into greater ignorance even since the days of Grossteste; nay, an hundred and fifty years later, when Tyndale had translated from the original tongues, some of the priests of the day were trying to persuade the people that Greek and Hebrew were languages *newly invented*. Here, it is true, was Wickliffe, an able and acute, a zealous and determined man, and withal an excellent Latin scholar, but of Greek or Hebrew he knew nothing. Nor was it at all *necessary* that he should possess such erudition, *since a translation from either GREEK OR HEBREW would not have harmonised with the first, or the present, intention of Divine Providence*. A reason there was, and one worthy of infinite wisdom, why not only the English translation, but most of the *first* European versions must be made from the *Latin*. These nations, including our own, had nothing in common with the Greek community, but for ages they had been overrun by the Latin. This language, long since dead, even in Italy, had been the refuge and stronghold of their oppressor,

from generation to generation ; and upon looking back, no spectacle presented to the eye is so remarkable, as that of so many different nations, equally spell-bound by the same expedient. There was a Latin service, and there was a Latin Bible, professedly received, but the possession of even *this* had been forbidden to the people at large ; very much in the same spirit as the Shasters of India are forbidden by the Brahmins to be looked upon, or even heard, by the people. It was the LATIN Bible, therefore, long buried in cloisters, or covered with the dust of ages, which must now be brought forth to view. Confessedly imperfect, it was of importance first to prove that *it* had all along contained enough for mortal man to know, in order to his eternal salvation ; and once translated into any native tongue, not only will the language touch the heart, but the people at last know what that mysterious book was, from which they had been debarred, so wickedly and so long. Although, therefore, the nation was yet an hundred and fifty years distant from the English Bible, properly so called, the present should be regarded as the first *preliminary* step. An all-disposing foresight, far above that of any human agent, is now distinctly visible in drawing first upon that very language which had been employed for ages as the instrument of mental bondage. It shall now be made to contribute to the emancipation of the human mind. Latin, it is true, had been the conventional language of the priests and students of different countries ; but still, so long as this language remained untouched by a translation of the Scriptures into any *vernacular* tongue, it is a historical canon that no nation was ever greatly moved. This holds true of our own country, in the age of *manuscript*, but it will become far more emphatically so, even seventy years after the invention of *printing*, when the Scriptures, once translated from the original tongues, come to be printed in the language then spoken, and spoken still.

At such a period as this the translation of Wickliffe could only be diffused, of course, by the laborious process of transcription ; but transcribed it was diligently, both entire and in parts, and as eagerly read. There were those who, at every hazard, sought wisdom from the Book of God, and their number could not be few. A contemporary writer has affirmed that “ a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wickliffe.” This was the testimony of an enemy, and not improbably the language of hatred and fear combined, uttered with a wish to damage the cause ; it was the testimony of an ecclesiastic, a Canon of Leicester, in reference to an era hailed by the people ; and although the Word of Truth had not “ free course,” there can be no question that it was glorified in the reception given to it by many. “ The soldiers,” he says, “ with

the dukes and earls, were the chief adherents of this sect—they were their most strenuous promoters and boldest combatants—their most powerful defenders and their invincible protectors.” A very remarkable admission, as it accounts for the great progress made, in spite of opposition. All this and much more is uttered in the tone of lamentation; and what was the occasion, as expressed by the Canon himself? “This Master John Wickliffe,” says he, “hath translated the Gospel out of Latin into English, which Christ had intrusted with the *clergy and doctors* of the Church, that *they* might minister it to the laity and weaker sort, according to the state of the times and the wants of men. So that by this means the Gospel is made vulgar, and laid more open to the laity, and *even to wemen* who can read, than it used to be to the *most learned* of the clergy and those of the best understanding! And what was before the chief gift of the clergy and doctors of the Church, is made for ever common to the laity!”¹⁸

It was in the same spirit that another contemporary writer urged that “the prelates ought not to suffer that every one at his pleasure should read the Scripture, translated even into *Latin*; because, as is plain from experience, this has been many ways the occasion of falling into heresies and errors. It is not, therefore, politic that *any one*, wheresoever and whensoever he will, should give himself to the frequent study of the Scriptures.”

These men specially referred to a period which lasted for about twenty years, or from 1380 to 1400, and it was one, though but too short, which distinguished this country from every other in Europe. However transient, or but like an handful of corn for all England, in any sketch of the times it should never pass unnoticed.

While the nations generally were discussing the respective claims of two rival Pontiffs, amidst all the confusion of the times, and although there were many adversaries, for the last twenty years of the fourteenth century in England, no authoritative stop must be put to the perusal of the Divine record. The Bishops, it is true, with the Primate of Canterbury at their head, may rage and remonstrate, may write to Rome and receive replies, but in vain. The entire Sacred Volume had been translated, the people were transcribing and reading, and the translator had frequently expressed himself in the boldest terms. “The authority of the Holy Scriptures,” said he, “infinitely surpasses any writing, how authentic soever it may appear, because the authority of Jesus Christ is infinitely above that of all mankind.”—“The authority of the Scriptures is independent on any other authority, and is preferable to every other writing, but

¹⁸ Henry de Knyghton, “*De eventis Angliæ.*”

¹⁹ William Butler, a Franciscan friar.

especially to the books of the Church of Rome."—"I am certain, indeed, from the Scriptures, that neither Antichrist, nor all his disciples, nay, nor all fiends, may really impugn any part of that volume as it regards the excellence of its doctrine. But in all these things it appears to me that the believing man should use this rule.—If he soundly understands the Sacred Scripture, let him bless God; if he be deficient in such perception, let him labour for soundness of mind. Let him also dwell as a grammarian upon the letter, but be fully aware of imposing a sense upon Scripture which he doubts the Holy Spirit does not demand."²⁰

Many other passages, in terms as strong, might be quoted from his writings; and "among his latest acts," says Vaughan, "was a defence in Parliament of the translation of the Scriptures into English. These he declared to be the property of the *people*, and one which no party should be allowed to wrest from them."

Now that the cause of such a man, as well as that he himself should have been so befriended, was one of the distinguishing features of the present period. The Duke of Lancaster continued to be his shield for years; and although, when Wickliffe, in addition to grievances felt, went on to Christian doctrines, the Duke faltered in his support, yet nearly six years after the translator was in his grave, the same voice was heard in favour of the translation. In the thirteenth of Richard II., or 1390, a bill was proposed to be brought into the House of Lords for suppressing it, when Lancaster, in boldly opposing this, told them, "That he would maintain our having this law in our own tongue, *whoever* they should be that brought in the bill;" and once introduced, it was immediately thrown out. But Lancaster was not the only friend: to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Wickliffe dedicated at least one of his pieces; and on one important occasion, when the former gave way, the Queen-Mother, or widow of the Black Prince, put a stop to persecution. Lord Percy, Earl-Marshal, was also friendly; but perhaps, above all, much was owing to the reigning Queen, and that for ten years after Wickliffe's death. Ann of Luxemburg, the sister of the Emperor Weuceslaus, and of the King of Bohemia, as consort of Richard II., had arrived in this country in December 1381; an event of great importance in connexion with Wickliffe's exertions. If he had so far enlightened England, his writings were also to electrify Bohemia, so that Ann had "come to the kingdom for such a time as this." This lady already acquainted with three languages, Bohemian, German, and Latin, soon acquired that of this country, and for years was distinguished for her diligent perusal of the Scriptures in *English*. This

²⁰ *Triologus. lib. iii.*

much was testified of her by a very notable witness—the Lord Chancellor Arundel, then Archbishop of York, when he came to preach at her interment. “Although she was a stranger,” he said, “yet she constantly studied the four gospels in English; and in the study of these, and reading of godly books, she was more diligent than the prelates, though their office and business require this of them.” The gospels in English, he added, the Queen had sent to himself to peruse, and he had replied that they were “*good and true.*”²¹ Queen Ann’s course of reading was even well known to Wickliffe, before he expired in 1384, so that she must have served as a powerful example to others, for at least ten years. The translator had thus early inquired, whether “to hereticate” her on account of her practice, “would not be Luciferian folly.”

The Queen, says Rapin, was a great favourer of Wickliffe’s doctrine, and had she lived longer would have saved his followers; but the illustrious foreigner once interred, and thus so remarkably eulogized, a different scene immediately opened to view.²²

After his Queen’s death, Richard II., the grandchild of Edward III., had gone to Ireland, there to prolong the misgovernment of that country; and only four months had elapsed, when this very man, Arundel, who afterwards was the main instrument in dethroning the King, and one of the bitterest enemies of Divine Truth in the next century, was in great alarm. In deep hypocrisy, at Westminster, he might choose to twit the prelates with their ignorance of Scripture, in comparison with a Queen who had to acquire the language, and thus please the ear of his Majesty, as well as seem to lament his loss; but he had no intention that the *people* should take the hint, or advance, and shew him, as well as his brethren, the way. The remarkable though transient period, however, to which we now refer, was as distinguished for boldness of sentiment, as for the protection providentially afforded to those who were searching the Scriptures for themselves.

On the 29th of January 1395, a Parliament was held at Westminster, and the time had come to speak out. The sentiments were not those of a feeble band, whispered in secret. They were expressed in the shape of a remonstrance, and presented to the House of Commons. They were posted at St. Paul’s, and also at West-

²¹ This testimony of Arundel is given by Foxe, from an original MS. in Worcester Library.

²² This illustrious Princess, long remembered as “the good Queen Ann,” died at the early age of twenty-seven, to the deep grief of her devoted husband, who then lost his best and only true friend and adviser. She expired on Whitsunday 7th June 1394, and was not interred till Monday the 3d of August. On the tomb at Westminster, the day of her death is stated to be “*July’s seventh day,*” an unaccountable mistake, since the letters of invitation to his Queen’s funeral on the 3d of August, by the King himself, are still in existence—“Given at Westminster 10th *June* 1394.” and a similar one to the citizens of London, dated the 14th of the same month.—See Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. vii., p. 776.

minster. This, let it be observed, was above a hundred and twenty years before Luther's voice was heard; and, taken all in all, the argument throughout may be compared to an arrow, shot from a bow as strong as the intrepid German afterwards ever bent.²³

Richard, still in Ireland, was preparing to take the field again, when Arundel, our preacher at Westminster in August last, had reached him in May, and accompanied by Braybrook, the Bishop of London. Six or seven years before this the disciples of Wickliffe had been congregating in different places, and actually appointing ministers among themselves to perform Divine service, after their own sentiments: while his "poor priests," as they were styled, had been travelling and preaching, *barefooted*, through the country; but this pointed and posted remonstrance had filled Arundel, Braybrook, and their brethren, with dread. They entreated the King, in name of the clergy, to return, intimating that the least delay might occasion irreparable damage. The followers of Wickliffe, they said, had made instance to set on foot a reformation—they had many friends in the kingdom, nay, in the Parliament itself, and the clergy were afraid they would proceed to action. Richard listened, immediately left the management of his war to the Earl of March, and returned. He took certain measures, it is true, to check the rising tide of sentiment, but still the Scriptures were *not* suppressed, nor was there one drop of blood shed for what "they called heresy," till the commencement of the next century, under Henry the Fourth.²⁴

Under a monarch so weak and ill-advised as Richard II., a man who minded only trifles, and thought of nothing save his own pleasures, that the close of the fourteenth century should have been thus distinguished, must appear strange, but it is not unaccountable. This was only the commencement of a series of striking proofs, that, in first conveying to the people of this country the Word of Life, Divine Providence would dispense with what has been called "royal sanction." Certain individuals near the throne, and more enlightened, had been permitted to act, and Richard must have allowed his Queen

²³ After stating that when the Church in this land "began first to dote in temporalities," then "faith, hope, and love, began to vanish and fly away;" they added,—“Our usual priesthood is *not* that which Christ ordained to his disciples. The celibacy of the priesthood induceth *infamy* into the Church. The feigned miracle of the sacrament of bread induceth all men into *idolatry*, except a very few. Exorcism and hallowings are the very practices of *necromancy*. A king and bishop, a prelate and justice, a curate and officer, in one person or worldly office, doth make every kingdom out of *good order*. Prayer for the dead is a false foundation of alms, so that all the houses of alms in England are *falsely founded*. Pilgrimages and oblations to *images* of wood and stone are very near of kin to *idolatry*, and they are not more to be honoured than *Judas' lips*. Auricular confession, the minister of lust, *only* gives occasion to scandalous intrigue. Manslaughter, either by war, or by any pretended law of justice, for any temporal cause or spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary unto the New Testament. The vow of chastity is the cause of horrible vices.”—*Ex Archivis Regiis*. All these positions were enforced by solid arguments at length, as given by Foxe, from the original. ²⁴ See Rapin.

to have had considerable influence, and so gratify her wishes; but, independently of these parties, the King himself, bent upon increasing the royal prerogative, was no friend to any control from abroad. For a hundred years past, under the three first Edwards, the power of the Crown, and the influence of the Commons, as a branch of the legislature, had been increasing by slow degrees, and, more especially, three memorable statutes had been passed, viz. those of Mortmain, Provisors, and Præmunire.²⁵ Now, these, even under this present monarch, had been not merely recognised, but the power of the last two generally strengthened. Some parties having ventured abroad, to solicit their repeal, Richard, by a proclamation, ordered their return to England, on pain of death and forfeiture of estate. Nor could these statutes ever be repealed. Why they lay inoperative or dormant for an hundred and thirty years will be afterwards explained; but there they were, as powerful instruments, to be wielded another day, by Henry the Eighth, upon the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. As for Richard II., he drove on, till the power which he sought rather to reduce than promote, at last, and through Arundel, artfully secured his deposition, in September 1399.²⁶

At the conclusion, therefore, of the fourteenth century, we concede to Petrarch, or Boccaccio and his fellows, all that is demanded as to the revival of learning in Italy; nor has England any occasion to be ashamed of the contrast or distinction between the two countries. The pursuits of both were but in their infancy. In the former, "imagining that all knowledge was to be found in the ancient Masters," they were beginning to seek after Mount Parnassus and their old Romans; but in the latter they were in search of Mount Zion and the fishermen of Galilee. The Italian had become eager after the wisdom of Greece, and the nervous oratory of his forefathers; the Englishman, after the wisdom of God, and the course pursued by the first planters of Christianity. If any of our countrymen were looking to Greece at all, it might be only to such as had proved to "be the first-fruits of Achaia unto God," and if to Rome, it was only to those in the imperial city, once so beloved, "whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world."

²⁵ Statute of MORTMAIN.—By Magna Charta no person was to alienate their lands to the Church. This had been disregarded; and as the clergy alone, by themselves, formed a body called the *Church*, which never died, and therefore never alienated any property, it was demonstrated to the King, Edward I., that all the land of the kingdom might be transferred to this body. To prevent estates, therefore, from falling into *dead hands*, that is, lands of no service to the King or the community, hence the statute of *Mortmain*. PROVISORS.—If the Pontiff presented any benefice contrary to the rights of the King or Patrons, the gift came to the King for that turn. But Rome used to be full of suitors for livings in England. If any now sued for such *provisions* they were to be imprisoned and fined at the King's will. PRÆMUNIRE.—If any one carried any cause, belonging to the King's courts, into any other or foreign court, they were to be imprisoned at the King's pleasure, and their lands, goods, and chattels, were forfeited to the Crown.

²⁶ His escape into Scotland, or his death in 1400, has been a historical puzzle ever since.—See *Tytler's History of Scotland*.

The manuscripts of Wickliffe's version complete, are numerous still; and perhaps not much less so than those of the New Testament separately, not to mention different pieces, or entire books of the translation. In examining some of these, whether in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the British Museum, or in private collections, we have been struck with their legibility and beauty. They have all, indiscriminately, been called Wickliffe's version, but variations of expression are to be found in a few; and it is not so generally known that we possess two distinct versions, one under Wickliffe's own eye, and another a recension of the entire sacred text.²⁷

It is certainly a singular circumstance that this translation of Wickliffe has never been printed! The New Testament, it is true, was published by Mr. Lewis, in the year 1731, or three hundred and fifty years after it was finished, and once more by Mr. Baber, in 1810; but the Bible entire, now four hundred and sixty-four years old, has never yet been published. By the time that Tyndale was born, indeed, it would not have been intelligible to the people at large; moreover, it was from the Latin Vulgate, and the period had arrived when the translation must be drawn from the original tongues. But still, even as a most interesting literary production, one could never have imagined that above *twenty* sovereigns would have sat on the throne of England since the invention of printing, before such a work had issued from the press. By Fabricius, a foreigner, as well as others, this has been often referred to as a national disgrace, but happily, the reproach, at last, is in the course of being wiped away. Both these versions to which we have alluded are now in the press, printing in parallel columns, at the Oxford University press, and under the eye of Sir Frederick Madden and the Rev. J. Forshall, of the British Museum.²⁸

Thus then, whatever darkness reigned, or enmity was shewn in this country, throughout the whole of the next century, these precious volumes were preserved, and the surviving copies remain,

²⁷ Upon examining one large folio manuscript Bible, in the Bodleian, (*Fairfax*, 2,) we find these words at the close. "Ye eer of ye lord mccc viii yis book was ended." But there can be no doubt, on inspection, that one c has been erased; and the prohibition of Wickliffe's translation by ARUNDÆL, in that very year, 1408, is sufficient to account for the erasure. That it is not so ancient as the version of 1390, is evident, from certain notes on the margin of that date having here crept into the text. In turning over the leaves of this manuscript Bible, a peculiar sort of interest is felt, if it actually be the very book once possessed by one of the worst of men, as explained by Lewis, viz. *Edmund Bonner*, who stood so unrivalled in the sixteenth century for his hypocrisy and brutal cruelty. Upon inquiring for another MS. (*Fairfax*, 3001, 21,) entitled, in the Catalogue, "an ancient manuscript concerning the translation of the SS. into English," it was found to be a very pretty copy of the New Testament, all but the Four Gospels. These belong to the old MSS. and Collections, above 120 volumes, bequeathed by Thomas Lord Fairfax to the Bodleian, at his death, in 1671. This last is in quarto, but there are manuscripts of a smaller size, fit for the pocket, e.g. *Hutton*, 111, &c.

²⁸ The first, or earliest text, is from a manuscript of the late Francis Douce, Esq., now belonging to the Bodleian, at Oxford; the second is from MS. Reg. i., c. viii., in the British Museum.

like so many veritable torch-bearers for the time being. They may, and indeed must have shone often in secret, or at the midnight hour, and certainly not without effects, to be disclosed another day : but at all events, here is one palpable existing distinction between this country, and every other, at the moment. It is one which stands in the finest keeping with all that took place in the days of Tyndale. The favour of God, even at this early period, had already begun to place this Island in that conspicuous position which it was afterwards to occupy among the nations of Europe, with regard to the possession and the diffusion of his blessed Word.

Let this ever be regarded as the grand distinction of Britain. And while the Italian historian, down to the present hour, continues to rejoice in the triumph of literature and the arts upon his native soil, nearly five hundred years ago; let not the British Christian fall behind him in joy and gratitude over that contemporaneous triumph which at last led his country to a better hope and a brighter day. Let him rather compare the two countries *now*, and observe the too-much-neglected, but all-sufficient reason, for the prodigious distinction between the two.

No storm, however, arose in Italy, nor any cloud, to obscure the rising sun of her classical literature. On the contrary, though Rome itself may still be troubled, that sun is only about to burst upon the country in all its splendour, and the men of Italy are to be allowed ample scope still, for above an hundred years, to do their utmost. Very different was the reception given by our forefathers, as a nation or as a government, to the voice of God. Here at home, in some resemblance to the visit paid by the Almighty to Elijah, there must it seems be first the wind, and then the earthquake, and then the fire, before ever the "still small voice" is heard with effect. Nay, and when once it comes through Tyndale's version, and is heard by the people, we shall find, however strange, that no *official* man in England will be able to divine from whence it came, or by what mysterious conveyance it had reached their ears !

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Although, strictly speaking, only a century of preparation, still the *fifteenth* must ever be esteemed more important than any that had preceded it, and, in one point of view, more influential than any that has followed since. When it is observed that an art, then first applied, though nearly four hundred years old, is only now rising to greater power in this country every day, and is evidently destined to be employed by all nations, no wonder that it should be so regarded. It is true, that "in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching," nay, and the preaching of what was deemed

foolishness, "to save them that believe." This sovereign appointment remains unrepealed—it is but awaiting its mightiest triumphs—God will be his own interpreter, and make his purpose good. The power of the press, great as it is, will yet be demonstrated to be far inferior to the power of the tongue. The enlightening of the world depends not upon the ingenuity of man, upon the march of intellect, or the school of arts, but upon the fixed appointment of Heaven. Yet after this is granted, it is evident that to this new influence, as far as it goes, first employed in the fifteenth century, there can be no limits, short of the earth which we inhabit. In connexion, therefore, with the Divine assurances in Scripture, which of themselves are all-sufficient, it may be viewed as an additional indication, a *providential hint*, that the knowledge of the true God is to be universal. Of course we refer to the invention of printing.

This deeply interesting century throughout must ever be viewed in two very different lights. First, as an ever-shifting scene of agitation among all the nations of Europe, in their connexion with Italy; and then as the era so distinguished for the revival of learning and the invention of printing. How all this, so far as Britain was concerned, is to be regarded as only an *introduction* to the printing of the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue, will appear when the century has passed away.

Generally speaking, it has been said, that this was the period when "the relations of governments with each other began to be more frequent, regular, and permanent." It was the season for great combinations, whether for peace or war, in which the Pontiff must now come down, and form merely one of the parties on either side. This course operated powerfully in favour of civil states, while no other authority in Europe exhibited such occasional marks of impotence, or waning political influence, as that of Rome.

The fifteenth century, however, still requires to be considered half and half, as there was a material difference between the first and the second. During the *first*, we see the continuance of the great Western schism, the union of the Eastern and Western Churches before they were shaken to the ground, closing with the noted licentious jubilee, under Nicholas V., at Rome in 1450. During the *second*, we are engrossed by other affairs. The fall of the Greek Empire, the rapid progress of literature in Italy, and the invention of printing in Germany. All these were so many preparatives for the emancipation of the human mind, or that war of opinion by which the sixteenth century was to be so distinguished.²⁹

²⁹ The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and of the passage to India by Vasco de Gama in 1497, only fix the eye with deeper interest on the century to come.

But to return, and commence with the great schism. It continued without interruption for fifty-one years, from 1378 to 1429, though the consequences were deeply felt by the Pontiff for twenty years longer. This could not fail to operate powerfully on the whole of Europe. It was the first "shaking" of the nations, before the coming of Him, to whom all nations should turn. This noted schism has been called *great*, to distinguish it from all those which had preceded.³⁰ It at last suggested the necessity for a General Council, so that, during the first half of the fifteenth century, *Councils* became the order of the day. The first, held at Pisa in 1409, tried to heal the breach by deposing both Pontiffs, (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.,) and choosing a third, or Alexander V., in which decision England acquiesced, but Scotland still dissented.³¹ Alexander, a feeble character, was succeeded in 1410, or next year, by Balthasar Cossa, or John XXIII., a man as distinguished for violence of temper as licentiousness of morals. Three years after he summoned a Council to meet at Rome, but so far from this city being attractive at that time, only a few attended to the call. The consequence was, that, although his Council sat from the close of 1412 to the 11th of June following, no other business was accomplished save some condemnation of the writings of Wickliffe.

In the year following a far more imposing Council was held at Constance, where the man who had sat in judgment upon Wickliffe must be himself condemned, though not on that account. John was deposed, however, and Gregory XII., who had stood out for five years, or ever since his deposition at Pisa, abdicated; but Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII., still held fast by his claim; and, whoever withdrew from him, Scotland would not. Thus it curiously happened that, for two years and four months, from July 1415, the only Pontiff in existence was a *deposed* one, and the only kingdom or province that adhered to him in the end, was Scotland!³² It was during this strange period that the merits of Wickliffe were afresh discussed and condemned, not by an individual Pontiff, but a General Council; and to such an execrable length did they proceed, that though our translator had now been in his grave full thirty years, they ordered his bones to be dug up, (if they could be distinguished), and burnt to ashes. Their spite was not, indeed, immediately gra-

³⁰ Far from being the first, if the reader chooses to consult the best original authorities, he will be able to count, between the year 452 and 1429, not fewer than *twenty-eight* instances, in which there were two, and sometimes three or more Pontiffs at the same time; and as these conflicts were frequently decided, not by equity, but by the influential power of the successful candidate, hence all attempts to prove what is called an uninterrupted succession become utterly vain. That any man should now waste a moment on such an attempt, is humbling to human nature.

³¹ As well as Spain, *i. e.* Arragon, both of whom adhered to Benedict, while Germany, Hungary, and Naples adhered to Gregory. See also as to Scotland, vol. ii. of this work, p. 396.

³² See the Council of Perth, anno, 1416, or Wilkin's Conc. i., p. 193.

tified, for what reason does not appear; but so mean is the malice of the wicked, that, thirteen years afterwards, Martin V., whom this Council was about to elect, sent peremptory orders to have the sentence strictly fulfilled. Thus, nearly forty-four years after his dissolution, they attempted it, burning certain bones presumed to be Wickliffe's, and throwing the ashes into the Swift, an adjoining brook, which runs into the Severn.

The bones of the illustrious dead having been solemnly denounced, the Council then proceeded to the living, or the well known disciple of Wickliffe, John Huss: and on the 6th of July 1415, they condemned him to be burnt, as they also did his fellow-countryman, Jerome of Pragne, in May 1416. These men of violence and blood, having thus covered themselves with never-dying infamy, were very eager to have rendered their sittings periodical, and the Council a permanent branch of their church constitution: but at last having elected Otho Colonna as Pontiff, on the 11th of November 1417, he took the name of Martin V., and the Council broke up in April 1418.

This man, however, still had a rival in Benedict, till November 1424; nay, in Clement VIII., chosen as his successor, who did not resign till July 1429. Martin dying in 1431, before the close of the year, another General Council had assembled at Basil, which did not dissolve for twelve years. To any Pontiff, these were seasons of anxiety, and by no means in favour of any claim to infallibility, but this Council assumed a tone hitherto unknown. Not only asserting the supremacy of a Council, but divesting the Pontiff of several highly-valued and acknowledged rights; they prohibited him from creating new cardinals, and suppressed a large portion of his revenue, arising from the first year's income on all benefices. Eugenius IV., the successor of Martin, at length feeling this assembly so irksome and untoward, tried to hold another Council, first at Ferrara in 1438, and then at Florence in the following year; so that as there had been Pontiff against Pontiff for many years, and each of them choosing his own *cardinals*; the world was now kept awake by Council against Council, denouncing each other, and each of them choosing its own *Pontiff*! The Council of Basil, deposing Eugenius, chose for their head the retired Duke of Savoy, who assumed the title of Felix V.

A moment such as had not occurred for nearly seventy years, or since 1378—a moment favourable to the sovereignty of the Pontiff, now at last arrived. It was the accession of Nicholas V., in March 1447, as the successor of Eugenius. Even after this, indeed, a rival still remained; but the Emperor interposed, and in April 1449, securing the retirement and renunciation of Felix to all claims, the

pontifical authority at once rose to a height which it had not enjoyed for many years. The jubilee of 1450, a scene of riot and licentiousness, to which people from all parts of Europe came, seemed not only to prove that Rome was an attractive point of union still, but that the Pontiff might lift up his head once more, and say, "I sit secure, and shall see no sorrow." Assailed, for above seventy years, from without and from within—from without by the influence of Wickliffe and Huss, and from within by men of the Pontiff's own order—still there seemed to be little or nothing lost. General Councils had wrangled for many years, though, as such, they had now failed, and there will be no General Council now, till long after a very different scene has opened on the world.³³

But still though they had failed, it was only in one sense. The principles then and there broached could not die. The principles maintained, especially at Basil, continued to operate throughout the rest of this century, and in a way so obnoxious to Rome, as to agitate every successive Pontiff. They were these principles, and more especially the tenet, that the authority of a General Council was superior to that of the Pontiff, which suggested to the Sovereign of France, Charles VII., what was styled "the pragmatic sanction" in 1438, while Germany had adopted it in 1439; both Sovereigns having made it the law of their respective kingdoms.³⁴ Germany, indeed, had bowed allegiance before the jubilee, but France would not. This "sanction," like the statutes of provisors and præmunire in England, was meant to operate powerfully in preventing the wealth of France from flowing into Italy; a mode of resistance to pontifical authority, to which that power was ever most tenderly alive. The King of France might occasionally waver, as did Louis XI., when Eneas Sylvias, or Pius II., wept for joy; but then the Parliament of Paris must now also be acknowledged, and they firmly resisted. One Pontiff after another might denounce the measure, as they did also the English statutes, but still there was no change throughout this century. No change, till one obscure individual was raised up in this country, and another in Germany, who, under God, were to accomplish a work, to which neither Kings nor General Councils were equal or disposed.

But if subjects such as these engrossed or agitated the *masses* of men; there was a movement on the part of *individuals*, and these possessing no civil, no official power whatever; another influence of a far more powerful, penetrating, and enduring character, by which

³³ There was no General Council till that which was held at TRENT, from 1545-1563. That was the last, and if there ever be another, it will be assembled on the brink of the precipice.

³⁴ "Pragmatic Sanction," a general term for important ordinances, which had been enacted in public assemblies, with the counsel of *Pragmatici*, or eminent statesmen and lawyers.

this century was distinguished. In the midst of such a thorny maze, or perpetual convulsion, on the Continent, it might certainly have been presumed that there was not one moment left for any thing else; but there is yet that other view of this century, to which any reader must now be glad to escape. Forming such a contrast to these broils, and going forward, not by connivance, but in open day, it is like another world; although, before long, both courses will turn out to have been in perfect harmony with the great end in view. Ancient prejudices, and certain long-fixed associations of the mind, were shaken to the root, by the events at which we have already glanced: but for the entrance of new ideas, and the notable reception of Divine Truth itself, Providence was preparing at the same time, or throughout the entire century.

The triumph of Classical Learning.

We have already conceded to Italy the precedence which she claims, as the revivalist of classical learning; and truly the first buds of promise in the fourteenth, were as nothing to the full blown garden of the fifteenth century. In the first years of its commencement, individual natives of Greece were finding their way into that country, nay, from about the year 1395, their language was taught in Florence and Venice, in Milan and Genoa, by Emanuel Chrysoloras. The Pontiff chosen in 1409, Alexander V., was a Grecian by birth. The whole lives of Italian scholars, we are told, were now devoted to the recovery of ancient works, and the revival of philology; while the discovery of an unknown manuscript, was regarded, says Tiraboschi, "almost as the conquest of a kingdom." But "that ardour which animated Italy in the first part of the fifteenth century, was by no means common to the rest of Europe. Neither England, nor France, nor Germany, seemed aware of the approaching change." So says Mr. Hallam, in perfect harmony with Sismondi. Learning, indeed, such as it was, had even begun to decline at Oxford, but the eastern empire was now hastening to its end, and in 1453, came the fall of Constantinople. Long, therefore, before the close of the century, the roads to Italy will be crowded with many a traveller, and among the number we shall find that Englishmen, though the most distant, were not the last to hasten after classical attainments. Native Italians, we are perfectly aware, have been jealous of our ascribing too much to the event just hinted, but there can be no question that, in its consequences, it proved the first powerful summons to Europe to awake. On the sacking of Constantinople, we know of five vessels at least, that were loaded with the learned men of Greece, who escaped into

Italy. Of course they brought their most valued treasure, or their books, with them; and thus by one and another, as well as the eager Italian himself, a stock of manuscript was accumulated on Italian ground, which was just about to be honoured with a reception, very different, indeed, from that of being slowly increased by the pen of the copyist³⁵ Italy thus became the point of attraction to all Europe. But how singular that the scholars of the west, as with common consent, should hasten to this one country for that learning, over the effects of which, the chief authority there, though so pleased at first, was afterwards to bewail, nay, to mourn for ages, or to the present hour!

While, however, Italian scholars were thus busy, and leaving the Pontiff to fight his own battles, they were but little aware of what was preparing for them elsewhere. They were in fact more ignorant of this, than the western scholar had been of their thirst for learning; and was there no indication here, of but *one* guiding, one all-gracious power?

The Invention of Printing.

An obscure German had been revolving in his mind, the first principles of an art, applicable to any language on the face of the earth, which was to prove the most important discovery in the annals of mankind. At the moment when they were storming Constantinople in the east, he was thus busy; spending all his substance, in plying his new art with vigour upon a book, and upon *such a book!* Neither Kings, nor Pontiffs, nor Councils had been, or were to be, consulted here; nor was he encouraged to proceed by one smile from his own Emperor, or from any princely patron.

No mechanical invention having proved so powerful in its effects as that of printing, it is not wonderful that so much research has been bestowed on the history of its origin and progress. The precise order in which some particular cities *first* enjoyed its advantages, still continues to afford room for minute criticism, but the progress of inquiry has reduced the field of controversy to a very narrow compass. A better history of the art, indeed, and more especially of its curious and rapid progress throughout Europe, may, and should still, be written; but the general results already ascer-

³⁵ After the accession of Nicholas V., to which we have alluded, he added 5000 volumes to the library of the Vatican, many of which were Greek books, or translations from them into Latin. Here were the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, Appian of Strabo, the Iliad, the works of Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Theophrastus, and the Greek fathers. Among others, this was especially imitated, if not preceded, by COSMO DE MEDICI, the Florentine merchant, to whom a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. His active agent, Janus Lascaris, returned from the east, with two hundred Manuscripts, *eighty* of which were then unknown in the libraries of Europe.

tained, have now approached to such accuracy, as to suggest and justify several important and striking reflections. These results demand our notice at the close of the century, as they will be found to involve one important bearing on the subsequent history of the Sacred Volume, when it came to be first printed in the vernacular tongue.

MENTZ, in the Duchy of Hesse (Mayence or Mainz), on the left bank of the Rhine, and four hundred miles from Vienna, may be regarded as the mother city of printing; and although three individuals shared the honour of perfecting the art on the same spot, if not under the same roof, the invention itself is due to only one man. Henne Gænsfleisch, commonly called John Gutenberg, (*Anglicé*, Goodhill,) the individual referred to, was born in Mentz, not Strasburg, as sometimes stated, about the year 1400; but, in 1424, he had taken up his abode in the latter city as a merchant. About ten years after this, or in 1435, we have positive evidence that his invention, then a profound secret, engrossed his thoughts; and here, in conjunction with one Andrew Dritzelen and two other citizens, all bound to secrecy, Gutenberg had made some experiments in printing with metal types before the year 1439. By this time Dritzelen was dead; and in six or seven years more, the money embarked being exhausted, not one fragment survives in proof of what they had attempted. Gutenberg, returning to his native city in 1445-6, he found it absolutely necessary to disclose his progress. More money was demanded, if ever he was to succeed; and having once opened his mind fully to a citizen, a goldsmith of Mentz, John Fust, he engaged to co-operate by affording the needful advances. At last, therefore, between the years 1450 and 1455, for it has no date, their first great work was finished. This was no other than the Bible itself!—*the Latin Bible*. Altogether unknown to the rest of the world, this was what had been doing at Mentz, in the *West*, when Constantinople, in the *East*, was storming, and the Italian “brief men,” or copyists, were so very busy with their pens. This Latin Bible, of 641 leaves, formed the *first* important specimen of printing with metal types. The very first homage was to be paid to that SACRED VOLUME, which had been sacrilegiously buried, nay, interdicted so long; as if it had been, with pointing finger, to mark at once the greatest honour *ever* to be bestowed on the art, and infinitely the highest purpose to which it was *ever* to be applied. Nor was this all. Had it been a single page, or even an entire sheet which was then produced, there might have been less occasion to have noticed it; but there was something in the whole character of the affair which, if not unprecedented, rendered it singular in the usual current of human events. This Bible

formed two volumes in folio, which have been “justly praised for the strength and beauty of the paper, the exactness of the register, the lustre of the ink.” It was a work of 1282 pages, finely executed—a most laborious process, involving not only a considerable period of time, but no small amount of mental, manual, and mechanical labour; and yet, now that it had been finished, and now offered for sale, not a single human being, save the artists themselves, knew *how* it had been accomplished! The profound secret remained with themselves, while the entire process was probably still confined to the bosom of only two or three!

Of this splendid work, in two volumes, at least 18 copies are known to exist, four on vellum, and fourteen on paper. Of the former, two are in this country, one of which is in the Grenville collection; the other two are in the Royal Libraries of Paris and Berlin. Of the fourteen paper copies there are ten in Britain: three in public libraries at Oxford, London, and Edinburgh, and seven in the private collections of different noblemen and gentlemen. The vellum copy has been sold as low as £260, though in 1827, as high as £504 sterling. Even the *paper* Sussex copy lately brought £190. Thus, as if it had been to mark the noblest purpose to which the art would ever be applied, the *FIRST Book printed with moveable metal types*, and so beautifully, was the BIBLE.

Like almost all original inventors, Gutenberg made nothing by the discovery, at which he had laboured for at least twenty years, from 1435 to 1455. The expenses had been very great; and, in the course of business, after the Bible was finished, the inventor was in debt to the goldsmith, who, though opulent, now exhibited a character certainly not to be admired. He insisted on Gutenberg paying up his debt; and, having him in his power, actually instituted a suit against him, when, in the course of law, the whole printing apparatus fell into Fust's possession, on the 6th of November 1455. According to Trithemius, one of the best authorities, poor Gutenberg had spent his whole estate in this difficult discovery; but still, not discouraged, he contrived to print till 1465, though on a humbler scale. Having been appointed by Adolphus the Elector of Mentz one of his gentlemen, (*inter aulicos*,) with an annual pension, he was less dependent on an art which to him had been a source of trouble, if not of vexation. He died in the city of his birth in February 1468.

Fust had, from 1456, pursued his advantage, and with great vigour, having adopted as his acting partner Peter Schoeffer, (*Anglicé*, Shepherd,) a young man of genius, already trained to the business, to whom he afterwards gave his daughter in marriage. The types employed hitherto had been made of brass, cut by the hand. An advance to the present mode of producing types by letter-found-

ing was still wanted, and the art of cutting steel punches and casting matrices has been ascribed to Schoeffer.³⁶

The first publication of Fust and Schoeffer was a beautiful edition of the Psalms, still in Latin, finished on the 14th of August 1457, and there was a second in 1459; but the year 1462 arrived, and this was a marked and decisive era in the history of this extraordinary invention; not merely for a second edition of the Latin Bible, in two volumes folio, dated 1462, and now executed according to the improved state of the art; but on account of what took place in Mentz at the same moment.

A change had arrived, far from being anticipated by these the inventors of printing, and one which they, no doubt, regarded as the greatest calamity which could have befallen them. Gutenberg had been the father of printing, and Schoeffer the main improver of it, while Fust, not only by his ingenuity, but his wealth, had assisted both; but all these men were bent upon keeping the art *secret*; and, left to themselves, unquestionably they would have confined the printing press to Mentz as long as they lived. Fust and Schoeffer, however, especially eager to acquire wealth, had resolved to proceed in a very unhallowed course, by palming off their productions as *manuscripts*, that so they might obtain a larger price for each copy. The glory of promoting or extending the art must now, therefore, be immediately and suddenly taken from them. Invention, of whatever character, like Nature itself, is but a name for an effect, whose cause is God. The ingenuity He gives to whomsoever He will, but He still reigns over the invention, and directs its future progress. At this crisis, therefore, just as if to make the reference to Himself more striking, and upon our part more imperative, we have only to observe what then took place, and the consequences which immediately followed.

Fust and Schoeffer had completed their first dated Bible, of 1462, but this very year the city of Mentz must be invaded. Like Constantinople, it was taken by storm, and by a member too of that body, who in future times so lamented over the effects of printing. This was the Archbishop, or Adolphus, already mentioned. The consequences were immediate, and afford an impressive illustration of that ease with which Providence accomplishes its mightiest operations. The mind of Europe was to be roused to action, and materials sufficient to engage all its activity, must not be wanting. But this demanded nothing more than the capture of *two* cities, and these two, far distant from each other! If when Constantinople

³⁶ By this mode leaden types were first produced, and then of lead with a mixture of tin or hammered iron. The invention of *type metal*, or one pound of regulus of antimony to five of lead, is of comparatively recent origin.

fell in the east, the Greeks, with their manuscripts and learning, rushed into Italy, to join the already awakened Italian scholars: Mentz also is taken, and the art of printing spreads over Europe, with a rapidity, which still excites astonishment.

This city, once deprived, by the sword of the conqueror, of those laws and privileges which belonged to it as a member of the Rhenish Commercial Confederation; all previous ties or obligations between master and servant were loosened, and oaths of secrecy imposed under a former regime, were at an end. Amidst the confusion that ensued, the operative printers felt free to accept of invitations from any quarter. But whither will they bend their steps, or in what direction will the art proceed? Where will it meet with its warmest welcome, and in which capital of Europe will it be first established? The reader may anticipate that the welcome came from Italy, but it is still more observable, that the first capital was *Rome!* Yes, after the capture of Mentz, Rome and its vicinity, the city of the future *Index Expurgatorius*, gave most cordial welcome. The art, while in its cradle in Italy, must be nursed under the inquisitive and much amused eye of the Pontiff himself!

One might very naturally have presumed, that the enemies of light and learning, or of all innovation, would have been up in arms; and it is certainly not the least extraordinary fact connected with the memorable invention of printing, that no alarm was expressed,—neither at its discovery, nor its first application, even though the very first book was the *Bible*. The bricf-men or copyists, it is true, were angry in prospect of losing their means of subsistence; and in Paris they had talked of necromancy, or the black art, being the origin of all this; but there was not a whisper of the kind in Italy. Indeed, as to an existing establishment of any kind, any where, no dangerous consequences were apprehended, by a single human being as far as we know; but most certainly none by the reigning Pontiff himself, or even by the conclave with all its wonted foresight. On the contrary, the invention was hailed with joy, and its first effects were received with enthusiasm. Not one man appears to have perceived its bearing, or once dreamt of its ultimate results. No, the German invention was to be carried to its perfection on Italian ground. Residents and official persons in Rome itself, are to be its first promoters, and that under the immediate eye of Paul II., a man by no means friendly, either to learning, or to learned men.

This curious incident is rendered much more so, by one or two others in immediate connexion with it. Even while the art was yet a *secret* in Germany, the very first individual of whom we read as having longed for its being brought to Rome, was a Cardinal, Nicholas de Cusa; the first ardent promoter of the press in that

city was a Bishop, John Andreas the Bishop of Aleria and Secretary to the Vatican Library. He furnished the manuscripts for the press, prepared the editions, and added the epistles dedicatory. It had been on the summit of a hill, twenty-eight miles east of Rome near Subiaco, and close by the villa once occupied by the Emperor Nero, that the first printing press was set up. In the monastery there, by Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz from Germany, an edition of Lactantius' Institutions was finished in the year 1465; but next year, they removed, by invitation, into the mansion house of two knights in Rome itself. They were two brothers, Peter and Francis de Maximis. Here it was that, aided by the purse of Andreas, the first fount of types in the *Roman* character, so called ever since, was prepared, and all other materials being ready, they commenced with such spirit and vigour, that the Secretary of the Vatican "scarcely allowed himself time to sleep." Let him speak once for himself, in one of his dedications prefixed to Jerome's Epistles.

"It was," says he to the Pontiff, "in your days, that among other divine favours this blessing was bestowed on the Christian world, that every poor scholar can purchase for himself a library for a small sum—that those volumes which heretofore could scarce be bought for an hundred crowns may now be procured for less than twenty, very well printed, and free from those faults with which manuscripts used to abound—for such is the art of our printers and letter makers, that *no ancient or modern discov'ry is comparable to it*. Surely the German nation deserves *our* highest esteem for the invention of the most useful of arts. The wish of the noble and divine Cardinal Cusa is now, in your time, accomplished, who earnestly desired that this sacred art, which then seemed rising in Germany, might be brought to Rome. It is my chief aim in this epistle to let posterity know that the art of printing and type-making was brought to Rome under Paul II. Receive, then, the first volume of St. Jerome graciously,—and take the excellent masters of the art, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, Germans, under your protection."

This Pontiff, named Peter Barbo, and a *Venetian* by birth, had no sooner come into office, in 1464, than he immediately suppressed the College of *abbreviators* and turned out all the clerks of the breves, regardless of the sums they had paid for their places. And although this body was composed of the most distinguished men of learning and genius in Rome, he chose to say they were of no use, or unlearned! Yet now, scarcely two years after, the same man was sauntering into the *printing* office, nay, it is affirmed that he visited it "frequently, and examined with admiration every branch of this new art!" Would he have done this had he foreseen the consequences? And what must future Pontiffs have sometimes thought or said as to his idle simplicity, or his lack of foresight?

Meanwhile, so zealous were these men, that in five years only,

or from 1467 to 1472, they had printed not fewer than twelve thousand four hundred and seventy-five volumes, in twenty-eight editions, some of them of large size, and all beautifully executed. Among these we find the Latin *Bible* of 1471. It was the second edition with a *date*, the first printed in Rome, and however beautiful in execution, well known to be by no means distinguished for its accuracy; a circumstance which ought, in common modesty, to have infused a forbearing or lenient temper with regard to all future *first* attempts. It by no means followed, however, although Rome had taken the lead, that it was also to furnish a ready market for the sale of books. On the contrary, the printers now laboured under such a load of printed folio volumes, that unless relieved, they must have sunk altogether, as no doubt they suffered. Yet still, by the year 1476, twelve other works had issued from the press. Among these were the "Postils," or Notes of Nicholas de Lyra, the *first printed Commentary* on the Scriptures. But the Commentary brought them down! They had better have never touched it, as it was by this huge work, in five folio volumes, they were nearly, if not entirely, ruined in business. Such, however, was the fruit of only one printing office, and in less than ten years. Ulric Han, or Gallus, had commenced printing soon after these, the first two, and at least thirteen other printers followed; so that, before the close of the fifteenth century, the different *works* published in the Imperial city alone, had amounted to nearly one thousand!

We have been thus particular as to the capital of Italy, not forgetful of the place it then occupied in the world, and especially afterwards, in the sixteenth century. The facts now mentioned place that power in a point of view not unworthy of observation ever since. Before long, no invention was to occasion such perplexity to Rome and her conclave as that of *printing*, and yet the art enters Italy, and the Pontiff himself, as it were, cordially sanctions the insertion of a wedge which all Italy will drive; or, in other words, he breaks the ground, and gives the first onset in a direction which his successors have toiled in vain to arrest. Little did PETER BARBO, the Venetian Pontiff, know what he was about, when wandering into the printing office for his amusement. When examining, with a mixture of wonder and delight, the different movements of the printing machine, had he only suspected the mighty and irresistible consequences, how soon would he have reduced the whole concern to ashes, and discharged the thunders of the Vatican in every direction! But no, and in Rome itself, the printers, compositors and pressmen, shall go on issuing folio after folio, and of works which still exist and enrich the libraries of Europe.

Independently, however, of all this, what signified Rome, when

compared with the extent to which the art had now reached. Had a single city or town waited for the concurrence or sanction of the Pontiff? So far from it, Bamberg in Franconia, and Cologne, had preceded Rome, and in ten years only after the capture of Mentz, the art had reached to upwards of *thirty* cities and towns, including Venice, and Strasburg, Paris, and Antwerp; in only ten years more *ninety* other places had followed the example, including Basil and Brussels, *Westminster*, *Oxford*, and *London*, Geneva, Leipsic, and Vienna. With regard to Germany, the mother country of this invention, Koberger of Nuremberg was supposed to be the most extensive printer of the fifteenth century. Having twenty-four presses, and one hundred men, constantly at work, besides employing the presses of Switzerland and France, he printed at least twelve editions of the *Latin Bible*. And when we turn to the native capital of the reigning Pontiff, Venice, where printing had commenced only two years after Rome, what had ensued in the next thirty, or before 1500? Panzer has reckoned up not fewer than *one hundred and ninety-eight* printers in VENICE alone, more than sixty of whom had commenced business before the year 1480, and altogether, by the close of the century, they had put forth at least two thousand nine hundred and eighty distinct publications, among which are to be found more than twenty editions of the *Latin Bible*. As the *roman* letter was first used in Rome, so the *italic* was in Venice, where ALDUS had offered a piece of gold for every typographical error which could be detected in any of his printed pages.

In short, before the close of this century, a space of only thirty-eight years from the capture of Mentz, the press was busy, in at least two hundred and twenty different places, throughout Europe, and the number of printing presses was far above a thousand! This rapidity, rendered so much the more astonishing from the art having risen to its perfection *all at once*, producing works so beautiful that they have never been excelled, has been often remarked, though it has never yet been fully described. To mark its swift and singular career throughout Europe with accuracy and effect, would require a volume, and, to certain readers, it would prove one of the deepest interest.

Such an extraordinary revival of the arts and of literature could not fail to affect and greatly improve the external appearance of our Island. Witness those beautiful specimens of architecture in Britain peculiar to this age, and still regarded by so many as its appropriate glory. Or, what is more to our purpose, witness the encouragement given to literature by such men as Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, John Earl of Worcester, and Earl Rivers, and the deep interest taken in William Caxton, the father of printing in our native land. With the

exception, indeed, of the Slavonian or northern nations, all others in Europe had contributed to the interests of science; but in Italy, by way of eminence, the human mind had been permitted to exhaust its power. The utmost that human ingenuity and patient perseverance could effect had been accomplished. Works begun in one age, had been carried on and finished by the next. *Man* had been allowed to expend all his energy. The models left for his posterity to admire, can only be feebly and imperfectly copied, for as yet they have never been excelled.

But what then, we are now bound to inquire, what had all this goodly array accomplished for the heartfelt refinement, the best or true enlargement of the human mind? To see such intellectual relish, such sensibility and taste spring up amidst general ignorance and barbarity, was the wonder of the age; but what had all this painting, and statuary, and architecture, nay, this learning and printing, effected, and more especially for the *masses*, or the people as such?

Let a recent intelligent writer answer the question. "In looking at the history of the Italian Republics, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century," says Guizot, "we are struck with two facts seemingly contradictory, yet still indisputable. We see passing before us a wonderful display of courage, of activity, and of genius—an amazing prosperity is the result. We see a movement and a liberty unknown to the rest of Europe. But if we ask what was the real state of the inhabitants—how they passed their lives—what was their real share of happiness—the scene changes. There is, perhaps, no history so sad, no period, perhaps, during which the lot of man appears to have been so agitated, subject to so many deplorable chances, and which so abounds in dissensions, crimes, and misfortunes. Another fact strikes us at the same moment; in the political life of the greater part of these Republics, liberty was always growing less and less. The want of security was so great that the people were unavoidably driven to take shelter in a system less stormy, less popular than that in which the state existed. Look at the history of Florence, Venice, Genoa, Milan, or Pisa; in all of them we find the course of events, instead of aiding the progress of liberty, instead of enlarging the circle of institutions, tending to repress it—tending to concentrate power in the hands of a smaller number of individuals. In a word, we find in these Republics, otherwise so energetic, so brilliant, and so rich, two things wanting—security of life, and the progress of institutions."

Whether, then, as to Italy or any where else, we need scarcely again inquire, what had all this learning and refinement done for the emancipation of the soul from bondage, or its clear escape from tyrannizing lust? What, for its way of access unto God, or the only

way of acceptance with Him? Absolutely nothing; nay, to speak correctly, if the uses to which all things had been converted be observed, far worse than nothing. Those venerated and confessedly beautiful piles throughout Europe, with all that they contained, and in many instances *now* contain, assume a very grave and sombre aspect, whenever it is remembered that in them we behold but the ingenious and laborious efforts of the blind, mistaking their way to "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." They stand before us as the professed and united homage of thousands, in their lifetime and by their dying testaments, to that Being, before whom all external display, all outward adorning, the magnificence of building or the melody of sounds—nay the extended hands, the bended knee and the uplifted eye are as nothing, without the intelligent exercise of the *inward* faculties.

Now, not to speak of other nations, what in Britain had yet been done with regard to *these*? Were the inward faculties cultivated, or even allowed to be so? Was there any attention yet paid to a *vernacular* literature which could interest or enlarge the general mind? So far from it, for any one man to read a fragment of Scripture in his native tongue, though yet merely in manuscript, was sure to expose to oppression; and for the first half of this very century, whether in England or Scotland, the barbarity of burning to ashes, and of severe persecution for opinions held, had been practised by all the authorities. Nor were they, in England, diverted from such cruelty till engrossed by war with France. Then came those intestine divisions and heartburnings—the wars of the White and Red Rose—those deadly feuds between the Houses of York and Lancaster, when, as Fuller has expressed it, in reference to any who thought for themselves, "the storm was their shelter." These wars, however, so far from affecting the hold which the Pontiff had of this country, were only so many too evident proofs of the secret but prodigious influence of his votaries, in murdering one man and setting up another. At the close of the long conflict, therefore, by the downfall of Richard III.—after thirteen pitched battles—at the expense of more than an hundred thousand men—Henry the Seventh, or the first prince of the House of Tudor, most dutifully allied himself with the paramount power of Rome; and began to educate his second son as an ecclesiastic, afterwards to be known as Henry the Eighth. The father had, indeed, humbled the Barons of England, while he himself remained the devoted vassal of the Pontiff; and, at the end of the fifteenth century, the capital of Italy was still, in its own ancient sense, the capital of the world.

At the close, then, of this brief sketch, however imperfect, it must now be evident that to have overlooked, what have been

styled by way of courtesy, the immortal trophies of painting, music, and song, of sculpture and architecture, nay, and of printing, for the first *seventy* years of its existence, would have been doing great injustice to what was about to follow, in the sixteenth century. Of all these sources of attraction, that singular power which held court and council at Rome, had been permitted to take the fullest advantage; nor was she slow to perceive the power they possessed, to charm both the eye and the ear. Printing, however, was the most *intellectual* of all the arts, and yet it will now be manifest, that Infinite Wisdom was by no means in any haste to employ it. The orators of Greece and Rome had been allowed to try their skill once more in improving mankind. The classics were permitted to enjoy their second, and more splendid triumph, and appear before the world in a richer dress than they had ever done; and since the colloquial dialect, the tongue spoken by the people, was *not* the language of what was called the *Church*, in any nation of Europe, and Latin alone was her language everywhere, then let that tongue, through the press, also enjoy unprecedented scope. Let no Pontiff, ever after, have any reason to complain that ample justice was not first done to *his* system. Let *him* first have his fill of *letters*, even to overflowing. Let him richly enjoy the first fruits, or the highest place, nay, the monopoly of all the arts, and even the printing press to boot; and before the close of the fifteenth century, let there be issued from the press, above an hundred editions of the LATIN Bible, for such was the fact: and throughout Europe, let there be hourly spoken still, more than “ten thousand words in an *unknown* tongue.”

After all this, and with an especial reference to our native land, we now ask,—could there have been a more marked approach towards the importation of Divine Truth into our Island, in the language then *spoken by the people*, and spoken still? A more impressive series of events, as introductory to the printing of the Scriptures in our vernacular tongue? The Sacred boon was about to be conferred, and, at last, by millions of copies. To the inhabitants of Britain, by way of eminence, and for three hundred years, were about to be committed the oracles of God; at least the translator to be employed, was now growing up. But before Divine Revelation is permitted to assume the shape of a *printed* volume, are we not now bound to look back, and do justice to the manner of its introduction? If there be certain points in the history of every country at which the inhabitants would do well to pause; to us, at least, and as living apart from the Continent in the adjoining sea, this was, or rather still is, one of the first importance, as the commencement of a new and unprecedented epoch.

The mighty movement of the sixteenth century was at hand. The outward forms of society had undergone a great change, and this, it is freely granted, had produced a class of less fearful thinkers. But the tide of human activity having been first permitted to rise so high, and accomplish so little, ought never to have been overlooked. The distinction was about to be drawn, between mere intellectual culture and mental vigour, or in other words, between all that *man* had been able to effect, and what the Saviour of the world was about to do, by means so simple, and an agency soon to be so deprecated by human authority; or rather by only one selected individual then so generally despised, and since so unaccountably forgotten!

Thus are we imperatively bound to distinguish between the oratory of Greece and Rome, or the feeble language of literature, and the voice of Jehovah in his word, when it once reached the ear or the eye of our forefathers, in their native tongue; to distinguish as carefully, between *the power of the press*, and the power of *what* issued from it; between printing, however splendid to the eye, and *what is* printed, when addressed by the Almighty to the heart; between all the wisdom of this world, and that which cometh down from above; between printed books without exception, and "the oracles of God."

Twenty-five years of the sixteenth century have indeed still to pass away, before the New Testament in English, as translated and committed to the press by Tyndale, will be given to England and Scotland, but these years will only render the event more striking,—an event which, even in our own day, and at such a singularly momentous period as the present, will be found to deserve and reward far more thoughtful consideration, not in itself merely, but especially in its consequences, than it has ever yet, for three hundred years, at any previous point of time, received.

THE HISTORY OF
THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK I.—ENGLAND.

Reign of Henry the Eighth.

SECTION I.

FROM THE BIRTH OF TYNDALE, THE ORIGINAL TRANSLATOR, TO HIS EMBARKATION FOR THE CONTINENT, IN PURSUIT OF HIS DESIGN.



THE opening of the sixteenth century, a period so big with interest to all Europe, has been presented in very different lights, both by British and Continental authors. Some have very carefully brought into one focus a number of concurrent events, and then rested in this conclusion; that if there had never existed such men as those with whose names we have been long familiar, all that occurred, must have taken place. These are believers in what has been styled, the “force of circumstances,” and though there be a power which governs the world independently of man, they rise no higher; our men of circumstances, can see nothing great in individual character. Other writers, from too fond partiality for their native land, and scarcely looking beyond it, have assigned exclusive renown to their own great men. An Italian, on behalf of his own Italy, assumes the undivided glory of the revival of literature, philosophy, and the fine-

arts ; and then all the refinement or enlargement of the human mind which ensued, he traces to this one source. While a German author, in regard to the revival of Christianity, insists that his country led the van, and by that path in which others only followed. He will perhaps admit Wickliffe, rising in England a century and a half before, to be the morning star ; but, after this, Luther is his sun, or great planet, and other countries have been regarded as stars, revolving in wider or narrower circles around it, like satellites drawn after it by its movement. The figure may be considered beautiful, and please the fancy, but it has the disadvantage of being incorrect. It not only violates the order, but obscures the peculiar character or glory of what actually took place.

“ If,” says an author, whose interesting work is not yet completed, “ If we regard *dates*, we must then confess that neither to Switzerland nor to Germany belongs the honour of having been first in the work, although, hitherto, only those countries have contended for it. That honour belongs to France. This is a fact that we are the more careful to establish, because it has possibly, till now, been overlooked.”¹ And at this crisis, or the opening of the sixteenth century, as far as these countries are concerned, he has proved his assertion. But, on the other hand, if Britain be included, we must be allowed to hold fast by the fourteenth century ; the age of Wickliffe, or the translation of the Sacred Volume, *entire*, into the language of the people. From that period, to say nothing of the New Testament separately, or of various beautiful fragments ; possessing, as we do still, about thirty copies of that Bible *entire*, seventeen of which are perfect, we trace the effects, from that early age down to the days of Tyndale. The reading of the Scriptures in *manuscript*, however obnoxious to the authorities, will, in the following history, link itself most distinctly with the more eager perusal of those first imported in *print*. Opposition to the latter, will bring out evidence as to both.

All questions, however, as to priority or dates, become of inferior moment when compared with another ascertained fact. If we look at the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Lefevre in France, and Zuinglius in Switzerland, Luther in Germany,

¹ Merle D'Aubigné.

and Tyndale in England, appear before the world, and to the eye of *man* in this order; they were contemporaries, living in their respective countries; Lefevre being by far the oldest of the four, and Zuinglius the youngest. But then it is no less evident, that the *first* impressions of these four men were altogether independent of each other. They were individually influenced by a power, though unseen, equally near to them all. From that moment they were already destined to the work assigned them, but not one of them had exchanged a single thought with another. "Germany," says the same author, "did not communicate the light of truth to Switzerland, nor Switzerland to France, nor France to England: all these lands received it from God, just as no one region transmits the light to another, but the same orb dispenses it direct to the earth." We now speak of the origin, or the one great though secret cause of all.

But the secret and universal Mover being once acknowledged, upon advancing only a single step farther, we instantly discover that a marked distinction has been drawn, between our own separate Island, and all other Countries on the adjoining Continent. In France, but more especially in Switzerland and Germany, there was the living voice, throughout life, of the man raised up, calling upon his countrymen to hear and obey the truth; and so God had ordered it in England, a century and a half before, in the case of Wickliffe. But, now, his procedure is altogether different, and out of the usual course pursued in other lands. Tyndale had lifted up his voice, it is true, boldly, and with some effect, but he is withdrawn from his native land, and never to return. The island is left behind by him, and left for good. In other countries the man lives and dies at home. Lefevre, when above a hundred years old, weeps, because he had not felt and displayed the courage of a martyr; Zuinglius dies in battle for his country; and Luther, after all his noble intrepidity, expires in his sick chamber: but Tyndale is strangled and burnt to ashes, and in a foreign land. Englishmen, and Scotsmen, and Germans, are gathered together against him; yes, against the man who enjoyed the honour of having never had a Prince for his patron or protector all his days; men of three nations at least concur to confer upon him the crown of martyrdom, so that, among all his contemporaries, in several points of

view, but especially as a translator of the Scriptures, he stands alone.

Whether, therefore, in England or in Scotland, the consequence has been, that, at this early period, we have no great or powerful character to present, as warring upon his *native* soil, with the darkness, whether of ignorance or error, and leading on to victory. *Our* man is abroad, and is pursued, but cannot be taken, till his work is done; while the Almighty himself, appears as so much the more in immediate contact with this country. The work is, by way of eminence, *His own*. Divine truth, it is granted, is but an instrument, yet as an instrument, it was now shown to be perfect for its purpose; and the design goes on, till men of authority, and power, and wrath, are baffled, overcome, and overruled. Moreover, there has been ever since a providential superintendence of this work, an uninterrupted care, lest it should be confounded with any thing else in this Kingdom, all which we are the more bound both to mark ourselves, and point out to other nations.

That the eyes of his countrymen have never been turned towards Tyndale, as they ought to have been long ago, but more especially to that work which God did by him in the midst of our land, is one of those mysteries, which, at this moment, we do not even attempt to explain; but it will be the object of the following pages, to trace the footsteps of our Translator, from his origin to his end; and especially the history of that Version which he first gave to his country.

One fourth part of the sixteenth century had passed away before any portion of the Sacred Scriptures, translated from the original Greek into the English language, was printed abroad, and first conveyed into England and Scotland. We have already glanced at foregoing ages as introductory to this memorable event, but the political and literary condition of England for these twenty-five years, immediately preceding, renders the event itself much more worthy of consideration.

Henry the Seventh, and the first monarch of the Tudor family, having attained the crown by his sword, on the field of Bosworth, had ascended the throne of England in the month of August 1485, and to the close of his life in April 1509, he had reigned as Lord paramount of all his Barons, though not of his Ecclesiastics. It was left for his son, Henry the Eighth, to find out, in convenient season, that he was, as Crumwell expressed it, only half a Sovereign. At the age of eighteen, in 1509, Henry had been

left by his father, the richest Prince in Europe, and with more pretensions to learning than any monarch of that day. His wealth, at his accession, is stated to have been at least one million eight hundred thousand marks, if not pounds; an amount, at all events, equal to many millions of the present time. But whatever his wealth may have been, in the brief space of a few years it was entirely dissipated. This, in its own way, had signalised him, and more especially as by the second year of his reign, he had begun to take a more decided part in the politics of the European Continent, and upon a larger scale than England had ever before done.

On looking abroad, Italy, it may be supposed, still commanded the first notice. The reigning Pontiff for ten years, or from 1503 to 1513, was Julius the Second, a man who, it has been said, "retained in the chill of age, all the fire of youth," and became distinguished for his violent and warlike passions. His statue being to be cast in brass, by Michael Angelo, the artist required to know whether he would have a *book* in his left hand, "No," replied Julius, "give me a *sword*, I am *no* Scholar." Literature and the fine arts had triumphed, but above all the arts, Julius was now absorbed in that of War. Bent upon the deliverance of Italy from every interference with his authority, he commenced with Venice, the growing power of which he was the first to curtail. Having previously applied to Germany, France, and Naples, he had formed the celebrated league of Cambray, and thus succeeded. But having once so far humbled this republic, at the solicitation of Henry VIII., now rising into rank and influence, he consented to peace. So it has been said; but the truth seems to be, that Julius, unwilling that the Venetian state should fall into the hands of any of his allies, left it still powerful, though within its ancient limits. By this period, however, both France and Spain had planted their foot in Italy; Louis the XII. having the Sovereignty of Milan, and Ferdinand that of Naples. The former, jealous at once of his possession, and of the growing ambition of the Pontiff, had opposed, and at last besieged him in Bologna; a high offence, and not to be forgotten. By Julius, therefore, in October 1511, an alliance offensive and defensive, having for its object "the extinction of *schism* and defence of the Church," had been accomplished, when England assumed an unprecedented place in the politics of Europe. This alliance, styled "the holy league," had been signed by Ferdinand, by the Venetian State, and ultimately by Maximilian the Emperor of Germany. But Henry of England had at once assented, Julius having flattered him with no less a title than that of "Head of the Italian League." The real object was to crush France, or compel Louis to let go his hold of Milan. He had hitherto been styled by the court of Rome, "Most Christian King;" but now this appellation was actually promised to the King of England, and no man seemed to be so great a

favourite as young Henry. It was this same Pontiff, also, who about four years before, had sent his Legate to James the Fourth of Scotland, with a Bull of the title "Defender of the Faith;" accompanied by that hallowed *Sword*, which is still exhibited, as a relic, in the castle of Edinburgh. At this period, certainly, there was no prospect that either North or South Britain would ever prove unfaithful to the Pontiff's chair. In the meanwhile, this league against France had embroiled Henry into war with Scotland, as James the Fourth, though married to his sister, now took part with his ancient ally. The result is well known—an expedition to France in 1513, from which Henry returned with but little credit, either to his wisdom or talents; while his arms in Scotland, under Surrey, had proved fatal to his brother-in-law, and the flower of the Scottish nobility, at Flodden field.

In his expedition to France, Henry had been accompanied by an ecclesiastic, his Almoner, about to become by far the most conspicuous man of his day, whether in England or on the Continent. We need scarcely name Thomas Wolsey. Immediately after their return, several remarkable changes were crowded into a little space; thus making way for an era such as Europe had never witnessed, and one in which Henry and his prime Minister were to perform no subordinate part. Fired with ambition, they will stand ready to help each other at convenient season.

While Henry was plunged into war both with France and Scotland, Julius II. died at Rome, and had been succeeded by Leo the Tenth, the youngest Pontiff, and one of the most celebrated, that had ever reigned. Louis of France, who had not only propitiated the Roman See, but been allied in marriage to Mary, Henry's youngest sister, died in 1515, and was succeeded by Francis the First. In the same year, after much solicitation, Leo had raised Wolsey to the rank of a Cardinal, when he began to feel as though he were a second king; and in 1517, by the death of Ferdinand, King of Spain, Charles V. had succeeded to that throne.

At last, or in January 1519, the Emperor Maximilian expired also; when the three young kings, Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V., became candidates for the Imperial Crown. The truth is, it had been twice offered by Maximilian himself before his death, to Henry; and had he not doubted the sincerity of the Emperor, and not consulted with Cuthbert Tunstal, he might have accepted the proffer. But "now that the glittering prize was open to competition, he disclosed his wishes to his favourite; and both the King and the Cardinal, reciprocally inflaming the ambition of each other, indulged in the most flattering delusions. In fancy they were already seated, the one on the throne of the Cæsars, the other in the chair of St. Peter, and beheld the whole Christian world, laity and clergy, prostrate at their feet. The election of Henry would secure, it was foretold, the elevation of Wolsey; and the Bishop of Worcester, (an Italian, but residing at Rome, whose diocese was *furnished* by

Wolsey,) had been aiming to secure the consent and assistance of the Pontiff in favour of the King of England."

Such, at least, is the representation of Lingard; but be this as it may, Charles, it is well known, was chosen Emperor, to the mortification of the other candidates, and especially to that of the young King of France, who had been most treacherously promised support by Henry, while he himself was striving after the same honour! At this moment, however, Francis found it necessary to pocket the affront, and to fortify himself against the Emperor, he insisted that Henry should fulfil a previous engagement, to pay him a visit in France. To this he consented, and Wolsey, as the consummate master of ceremonies, had the arrangement of the whole affair: but before they embarked, no sooner had they reached Canterbury, than, to the surprise of many, though not of the Cardinal, Charles the Fifth, on board of a squadron said to be bound for the Netherlands, was announced as approaching, merely to pay a visit to his Uncle and Aunt, the King and Queen of England.² In three days, the Emperor had so far gained upon the good will of Henry; while by hints as to the Pontificate, promises and presents, he had secured the ambition of Wolsey in his favour. The King of England with his Cardinal then passed on to Francis, and to the performance of a splendid pageant, in mockery of friendship. The negotiations which afterwards ensued, only prove, that Henry, once disappointed of the imperial dignity, had fixed his eye on the crown of France. In short, his Majesty of England had, in his own estimation, become the arbiter of Europe. With Wolsey at his right hand, he began to feel as though he held the balance between the two Continental rivals, Charles and Francis; while his Prime Minister, the veritable potentate, was about to be courted at one period, and dreaded at another, not only by these Sovereigns, but by the Pontiff himself for the time being.

As proof of the English Cardinal rapidly rising to this dignity, we have only to mark those successive steps by which he had shown himself to be so attentive to his personal aggrandisement; recollecting all the while, that he is to be viewed as the true index to the rising ecclesiastical power of Italy over England. Having in 1515 obtained the red hat of a Cardinal, his Royal Master, now so won by his fascinating manner and luxurious habits, had, in December of that year, made him Lord Chancellor, instead of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; for the Chancellor in those days had been uniformly a churchman. Then Leo the Tenth, in July 1518, had in effect transferred to him, within the limits of England, almost all his powers as Pontiff, by creating him his Plenipotentiary or *Legate a lute*. Since the year 1514 he had been

² This was not an accidental visit. On the 8th of April, (1520), Henry had ordered his Ambassadors to fix the time and place.

Archbishop of York, and after that, *farmed* the revenues of Worcester and Salisbury on behalf of two foreigners, Italians, resident at Rome. He had held, *in commendam*, the Diocese of Bath and the Abbey of St. Albans. As early as 1518 he had a settled annuity from the French King, of twelve thousand livres; and in 1520, Charles V. and the Pontiff had granted him an yearly pension of seven thousand five hundred ducats, as the revenues of Toledo and Placencia, two bishoprics in Spain. The epistolary correspondence addressed to him, and still in preservation, proves the height to which he had attained. Louis XII., Francis I., and Charles V., addressed him as their "good," or "good and loyal friend." Maximilian before this, and the Pontiffs, always approached him with marked consideration. The Venetian Republic abroad, had treated him as a vital portion of the Royal power, and the Oxford University at home, had gone so far as to employ in writing the appellation of "Your Majesty!" This occurred before the title was in use to Henry himself! In short, it actually seemed as if that dominant power which had reigned so long over all Europe, had been gathering into strength, and lighting on the head of one man in England, and that one, merely an ecclesiastic raised from low degree.

In these circumstances, could any event have been more improbable than that England above all other countries, England under her present monarch, would ever be separated from Rome? Independently, however, of all the past, certain events in the year 1521 seemed to have placed such a supposition out of all question. Milan had then been rescued from the yoke of France, and no one was more overjoyed than the reigning Pontiff, Leo the Tenth; but in a few days after, whether from joy, or as has been supposed, by poison, on the 1st of December he breathed his last.

Henry had missed the Imperial crown, but now came his Prime Minister's opportunity for advancement. No sooner had the intelligence arrived, than Wolsey became an eager candidate for the papal throne. His royal master, in pursuit of his own glory, had long and ardently desired the appointment of his favourite. The Emperor had been sounded before, and feigned consent. The preceptor of Charles, however, Florent, Bishop of Tortosa, as Adrian VI., gained the day, and Wolsey had to content himself for the present, with the prolongation of his Legantine authority. Another opportunity, indeed, soon presented itself, by the death of Adrian in 1523. Again Wolsey started, with express orders from Henry as well as himself, that no wealth or substance should be spared to ensure success. But again he was doomed to bitter disappointment, and Julio di Medici, once Bishop of Worcester, was chosen. This was the second time that the Emperor had deceived Wolsey,—and the effects of his duplicity, at the Cardinal's hands, he shall feel for years to come. In the meanwhile, Julio, under the name

of Clement the Seventh, was willing to do all in his power to secure the allegiance and good will of England. To Henry he had sent a consecrated rose tree of fine gold, with a confirmation of his title "Defender of the Faith," first obtained from Leo. To Wolsey he sent a ring from his own finger, with the appointment of Legate a latere, *for life*.

These three Sovereigns, therefore, with Clement VII. as Pontiff, and last, though not least, Cardinal Wolsey, will now engage attention and occupy their own conspicuous places in the great drama, for years to come.

Such had been the chief political movements up to the year 1523,—but was there no stir in the world of letters? Certainly there was; and in England, to a degree hitherto quite unknown. The triumph achieved on the Continent, had already shed its influence on our detached Island. The road to Italy had not been unfrequented by our countrymen, influenced chiefly by thirst for such learning as could there be best acquired. Hence the well known names of Grocyn and Linacre, of Colet and Lilly, of Tunstal, Wakefield, William Latimer, and Sir Thomas More. Wolsey himself wished to be regarded as a scholar—and so did, above them all in his own esteem, the King upon the throne; though neither the one nor the other had ever beheld an Italian sky. Grocyn, the first Englishman who taught Greek at Oxford, and Linacre, at once physician and tutor to Henry VIII., had spent years in Italy under Politian and Chalcondyles, then the most eminent classical scholars in Europe. Colet, though only a Latinist, after his return from abroad, became the founder of St. Paul's school, the first public seminary where Greek was taught; having chosen Lilly for the head master, who had studied the language for five years at Rhodes, under the refugees from Constantinople. Tunstal, an eminent Latin, as well as a good Greek and Hebrew scholar, had been chosen Bishop of London in 1522; and Sir Thomas More, the pupil of Grocyn, was now Speaker of the House of Commons. In short, the court of Henry had become so celebrated for an awakened attention to letters, as to be eulogised on the Continent; and the company round the royal table was regarded as superior to any academy of learning—at least so said Erasmus, though he was rather too complimentary.

At this crisis, therefore, an important question naturally presents itself. Political events gave no promise whatever of any important change. But here were men of great pretensions to polite literature. Now, among all these learned men, already named, or not named, who gave celebrity to the court of Henry, or adorned the royal table, had the idea of giving the Sacred Volume, translated from the original, into the language of the common people, once been mooted? Had the learning they had acquired ever led them to this one point, and as to one that was important, incumbent, or necessary? So far from it, the very proposal would have made them tremble, or have filled the majority with

indignation. Colet, a man to be distinguished from all others then living, might perhaps have hailed such a proposal, though decidedly attached to the forms then existing, but his opinions had rendered him so obnoxious, that, but for the King's personal regard, he might have suffered. However, he died in 1519, and Grocyn, absorbed in Greek only as a language, died of palsy the same year. As for Linacrc, who expired in 1524, nothing favourable is upon record. It has even been said, that though enjoying the fruit of several ecclesiastical preferments, he had not begun to look into the Greek New Testament till towards the close of life; and on reading our Lord's beautiful Sermon on the Mount, as in Matthew, coming to that passage,—“Swear not at all,” he cast the book aside, saying, that “this was either not the Gospel, or we were not Christians.”³ But with regard to the rest of these scholars, when the Book of Life in the vulgar tongue once comes into England, Tunstal and More, Wolsey and the King, will not fail to render themselves conspicuous as its bitterest and most determined opponents.

Neither the political nor literary condition of England, under the dominant sway of Cardinal Wolsey, affording the slightest indication of the Sacred Scriptures being about to be given to the people, but the reverse; in justice to that event it is necessary to observe also, the nature of that connexion which had existed for ages between Britain and Rome, more especially since it was now as intimate and powerful as ever. Indeed, under Henry VIII., it arrived at its climax. This connexion sustained a peculiarly complicated character. There was the Annate, or first fruits, payable by the Archbishop down to the lowest ecclesiastic, upon election to office—the Appeal to Rome—the Dispensation from it—the Indulgence—the Legantine levy—the Mortuary—the Pardon—the Ethelwolf's pension—the Peter's pence for every chimney that smoked in England—the Pilgrimage—the Tenth—besides the sale of trinkets or holy wares from Rome! Here were not fewer than twelve distinct sources of revenue! These altogether were operating on the inhabitants without any exception, and with as much regularity as the rising and setting of the sun. It was a pecuniary connexion of immense power, made to bear upon the general conscience, which knew no pause by day, no pause by night; falling, as it did, not merely on the living, but on the dying and the dead!

³ Cheke—“De pronunc. Græcæ Linguae.” Fuller indeed tries to soften this, but Cheke was almost a contemporary.

In no other country throughout Europe, without exception, was it so probable that this system, in all its oppressive and fearful integrity, would be maintained. Under an imperative Monarch, originally educated as an *ecclesiastic*, and who now gloried in his acquaintance with scholastic divinity; with a Prime Minister so well known to every foreign Court, and who himself breathed with ardour after the Pontificate, England had become the right arm or main-stay of this system. Nay, as if to render this still more apparent, and so fix the eye of posterity, the King upon the throne had resolved to distinguish himself as the reputed author, in support of this singular power; and he became at once the first and the only Sovereign in Europe who was understood to have lifted his pen in defence and defiance. For this feat in reply, though not an answer to Luther, it is well known that Henry had obtained from Leo X. his highly prized title of "Defender of the Faith."⁴

If, however, the reader should now wish to know, whether there was any part of this Island, by way of eminence, where the power and pressure of Rome was more strikingly apparent; any ground which seemed to be "all her own;" he must look down to the west of England. In a district of country, extending from above Kidderminster to a little below Bristol, lay what was *then* styled the diocese of Worcester. Embracing the county of that name, as well as the whole of Gloucestershire to the borders of Somerset, we need to say nothing of its beauty, since a richer variety of scenery, or finer studies of the picturesque, can scarcely even now be found. It is of more importance to remark, that, even at this early period, there was no part of England in a better state of cultivation, if, indeed, there was any to equal it. This may very easily be imagined from the fact, that, to say nothing of the Cathedral at Worcester, with all its appendages, within the county of Gloucester alone there were not fewer than six Mitred Abbeys, viz. Gloucester, Cirencester and Winchcombe, Tewkesbury, Hailes and Flaxley; the three first Abbots having seats in Parliament as peers of the

⁴ The title of "Most Christian King," taken from the King of France, had actually been conveyed to Henry, by the warlike Julius II., through Cardinal Bainbridge.—*Rymer's Fœdera*. But Leo professed to know nothing of this, or would not recognise the transaction, and annulled all that his predecessor had done against Louis. The present title to Henry was no more than that which James IV. of Scotland had received, fourteen years ago, from Julius. Not being hereditary, it had died with him, though we shall find James V. irritating his uncle, by assuming that of "Defender of the *Christian* faith;" intended, perhaps, as a hint to Henry, after his defection. Neither was the title now conveyed to England meant to be hereditary: it became so only by an Act of Parliament in 1544, and though the statute had been repealed, the title was retained even by Philip and Mary. So it has continued to the present hour.

realm. But, besides these, there were many other Houses, styled Religious, of almost every grade and denomination. If, from the days of King John and Henry III., England had seemed to the eye of the Pontiff, like a "garden of delight and an unexhausted well," no judges as to the most pleasant and productive spots, were superior to the Monks; and these in this quarter were so numerous, as to have given rise to the common and profane proverb—that such a thing was as certain, as that "God was in Gloucestershire." And who were the Bishops, then in full power over all this Goshen or Gerar, and enjoying its fruits? Not one of them an Englishman, resident within our shores! Since this century commenced, or rather from the year 1497 to 1534, they were actually four Italians, in regular succession. The two first had been resident with a witness; but as for the two last, there was no occasion, since Wolsey, the Cardinal and Legate of England, transacted all their business. Indeed, for a period of half a century, or from 1484 to 1534, the connexion of this district with Italy is particularly worthy of notice, more especially on account of what then and there took place. The reader will discover presently, that there is one important reason for his attention being first directed to these Italian Bishops, and to their intimate and profitable alliance with England.

In the year 1484, Innocent VIII. had been elected Pontiff. It was by his authority that John de Lilius, or Giglis, LL.D., an Italian of Lucca, was sent into England. He came as Questor, or *Collector*, for the Apostolic Chamber, and it was not long before he had thoroughly feathered his own nest. From time to time he became Rector of Swaffam in Norfolk, of Langham in Suffolk, and of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London; Prebendary of St. Paul's, York, and Lincoln; Prebendary, and afterwards Dean of Wells; Archdeacon of London and of Gloucester, or, in all, ten different appointments; in return for which, since he came as Questor-general for the Pontiff who sent him, he could have done little else than collect the revenues. From Innocent, moreover, de Lilius had received a most scandalous commission; authorising him to pardon the most heinous offences, such as robbery and murder, usury, simony and theft, or every species of crime; and to dispense with the *non*-restitution of goods acquired by any fraud, upon *condition* that part of such gain should be handed to the Pontiff's commissioners or their deputies! Nor can we suppose this man to have been negligent in employing this power to his own, as well as his master's emolument. At last, loaded with fruit, it was time to return to Italy, though his connexion with England was not to be broken off; so far as emolument was concerned, far from it. He became Henry's Solicitor in the Court of Rome; and no sooner was the diocese of Worcester vacant by the death of Robert Morton, than de Lilius, the Archdeacon of Gloucester, became Lord of the Sec. To this he was appointed by Alexander VI., on the

30th of August 1497, and, as Bishop of Worcester, he died at Rome on the 25th of August next year.

This man, however, had been assisted as Collector by a nephew, Sylvester de Lilius, who had remained in England behind him, and now for his usefulness and activity in this employment, he was advanced by Alexander VI. to succeed his uncle, and as Bishop of Worcester, at once. Appointed on the 17th March 1499, he continued in England for thirteen years; but in 1512, Julius II. having summoned the fifth Lateral Council, Henry VIII., "the head of the Italian league," could not do less than send him to Rome. What then could become of his occupation in England or of his see? There was no difficulty; here was Cardinal Wolsey always at hand, and he will now have not a little to do with the Counties of Worcester and Gloucester, as long as he lives. He was appointed Commendatory for Sylvester, and farmed the diocese for him. The Italian never returned from Rome, where he soon showed himself to be a most base and ungrateful character. Continuing to receive the fruits of his residence and appointment in England, he lived for nine years, and died at Rome, 16th April 1521. It is but very recently that the secret has been discovered, though the fact appears to be, that he there lived to subserve the purposes or pleasure of Wolsey, his agent in England, rather than those of the King, whose orator he professedly was. In the second year after his return to Rome, the English Cardinal Bainbridge, when writing to Henry direct, has the following passage:—"During the time of my abode here in this Court, I neither can nor will desist, to signify unto your Highness, such things as I shall perceive that be dissonant, either to your Grace's honour, or wealth of your realm. As touching my Lord of Worcester, your Grace's orator, he doth use continually the company of the Protector of France, both in the city, and also in Vines (Vineyards) and Gardens without the city, both by day and night, whereof right honourable men, your Grace's friends, hath at sundry times advertised me; and that he is more familiar with him than with any cardinal of Rome. It is perfectly known to every Englishman within this city, that nothing can be more odious unto him, than to hear of any success of your Grace's causes, or for to hear of any honour spoken of your realm or subjects, either by writing from England or other places, upon your most noble acts and victories obtained. From Rome, the 20th day of May 1514." Whoever was the perpetrator, the writer of this letter was dead in less than two months, and by poison. The real date of Bainbridge's death, was July the 14th; and there can be no question now, that the Italian Bishop of Worcester was deeply, if not chiefly concerned in the murder of the English Cardinal.⁵ Wolsey succeeded Bainbridge as Archbishop of York, and Sylvester de Lilius at

⁵ See Ellis' Original Letters, I., pp. 99-113.

Rome went on to receive the fruits of his bishopric, till his death in 1521.

De Lilius once dead in Italy, there was no occasion for *sending* another Italian to England. The Pontiff, it appears, might now exercise his right of nomination, and at once secure the see. Under Leo X. abroad, and Wolsey, as farmer of the district, at home, the transfer was easily adjusted. There was a soldier of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, a Florentine, who had been raised to be a Cardinal. He was not only Archbishop of Narbon and Florence, but moreover the Chancellor of the Roman Church both in spirituals and temporal; and as if all this had not been more than sufficient, the English vacancy was handed over to him! On the 7th of June 1521, Leo X., by his provisory Bull, made him Bishop of Worcester in England. The nod of the Pontiff was all-sufficient security, and therefore the very next day, Leo empowered Thomas Wolsey to take possession of the see for him, and to act in his name. It actually seemed as if all the most conspicuous men in the great following drama, must be brought into contact with this particular *spot* in England. For who was this soldier? It was no other than the cousin of Leo, Cardinal (Julio) di Medici, educated by Lorenzo his uncle, and so well known as the future Pontiff, Clement VII.!

It was but a few months before Julio found an opportunity of serving the English administrator of his English diocese. Leo died in December 1521, when the most active in Wolsey's favour to procure the Pontiff's chair itself, were the Cardinals di Medici and Sion. They had both left the army, to be present in the conclave; but, as already stated, the ancient preceptor and friend of Charles V. stood in the way, when Wolsey was outvoted by Adrian VI. The Italian Bishop of Worcester then thought it prudent to tender his resignation, and not damage his reputation or influence under the reigning Pontiff; taking care, at the same time, to recommend one of his own countrymen, Jerome de Ghinnuci, already Bishop of Aseulum. This change, however, did not take place till the 27th of October, nor was the see filled up till the 20th of February 1523, when it was conferred on Ghinnuci, now domestic Chaplain to Adrian, and Auditor-General of the Apostolic Chamber. Thus, it once more appeared, as if this district of country, in particular, must ever stand in close and profitable union with a man at the ear of the Pontiff, while Wolsey went on to farm it as before. Little, however, was he aware, that the same man who had professed to be so warm in his favour at Rome, in January 1522, would in less than two years, for ever cut him off from all prospect of the Pontificate. Julio, the former Bishop of Worcester, became Clement VII. on the 25th of November 1523; but still Cardinal Ghinnuci held the diocese, and that until 1534.

In these transactions, therefore, and within the compass of this dis-

trict alone, the reader has, singularly enough, met in his way not fewer than seven Pontiffs, from Innocent VIII., and the notorious Alexander VI., down to Leo X., and his nephew, Clement VII.⁶ Here, in short, was the finest spot in all their English *garden*, and under Wolsey, as Cardinal, and Legate, and Commendatory, it had now certainly exhibited the climax of their power. In no other diocese of all England were the influence and authority of Pontiffs, and Cardinals, and foreign ecclesiastics in such full display. By way of eminence, it had been, as it were, *given up* to Italy. Added to all this, we need not, must not, dwell on the shocking immorality which every where reigned triumphant, and under the desecrated name of religion. A specimen has already been given in the vile commission granted by the first of these Pontiffs. "The mind," says Turner, "must have renounced both its judgment and its conscience, not to have called for some reform;" but the fact was, that, in the language of sacred writ, "both the mind and conscience were defiled." "On no part of Europe," he adds, "can we fix our eye in the reign of Henry VIII., but we meet in what was styled the ecclesiastical order, with the same picture of arraigned depravity." But as far as our own island was concerned, that great power which ruled the earth, filled with hostility to all change, and more especially to the Word of God, seems to have gathered itself into a focus before our eyes, while it rested, like an incubus, on this diocese of Worcester.

Let any one now direct his attention to the first quarter of the sixteenth century; let but the state of our native land be surveyed, but more especially the counties of Gloucester and Worcester; and so far from there being any, even the slightest token of the Divine Word being about to be laid open to the common people; the political state of England, and the literary, such as it was, but, above all, her intimate and complicated connexion with Italy, decidedly forbade the idea of such a thing. Where, then, throughout all England, was any individual to be expected, sufficiently bold to cherish the noble design?

Now, it was such a time as this; it was in the midst of hostile circumstances, nay, it was in the very spot, or diocese, to which we have already pointed, that a man according to God's own heart had already been found! It was in the centre of this diocese that he was born! From about the year 1484, this district, above all others, had fallen under the power of Italy, or, like a ripe fig, into the mouth of the

⁶ Or Seven Pontiffs, in only fifty years, from 1464 to 1534.

eater; but it may now be added, "about which time William Tyndale was born."

Great characters have not unfrequently been raised from an obscurity which has baffled all research. So it has happened emphatically in the present instance. Not only are the statements hitherto advanced altogether erroneous; but even after the utmost diligence, whether in searching the Parish Registers themselves, the Visitations in the Herald's Office, or the manuscript stores of our British Museum, still there hangs, at least, some degree of obscurity over the precise year of Tyndale's birth, as well as his immediate parentage. Without, therefore, encumbering the page, we now confine attention to what appears to be morally certain; and for the additional confirmation of our narrative, refer to an article at the close of this work.

Among the picturesque beauties of Gloucestershire, where the prospects pointed out by the topographer amount to nearly forty in number, there is one from the top of Stinchcomb Hill, fifteen miles south-west of the city, which commands the Severn, from Gloucester to Bristol; having the Vale of Berkeley, with its venerable castle, on the left bank of that river, and the Forest of Dean, Chepstow, and the Welsh mountains, on the right. From this point more than seven counties are visible, and about thirty parish churches; but to every admirer of England's best hope, her Sacred Volume, the spot acquires by far its deepest interest, from his having immediately below his eye, the birth-place of its original Translator. There can be no question that Tyndale was born within the hundred of Berkeley, whether at the village of Stinchcomb itself, or more probably at North Nibley, two miles to the left, now also full in view. His family, however, stands long in connexion with *both* villages.

Before the birth of our Translator, his progenitors, for two, if not three descents, had lived under the western brow of Stinchcomb Hill, where, for a limited period, they had passed under the name of *Hitchins*. The removal of the family into Gloucestershire, as well as the temporary assumption of this name, have been ascribed to the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and such may have been the occasion; but the temporary adoption of the name of *Hitchins*, may just as probably have arisen from a deadly *local* family feud

which long agitated the very spot where they now dwelt. The violence of the civil wars had loosened the authority of government, and this part of the country afforded one of the most striking proofs; for though, in the contentions of York and Lancaster, the neighbouring castle of Berkeley had no share, yet it had suffered greatly from the disputed title to its possession, between the heir of the Barony, and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Perhaps there never existed, in the history of England, a hereditary family contention equal to this; as it continued to smoulder on for nearly two hundred years, from 1417, and in its earlier stages burst out with great violence. Mutual reprisals had been made again and again, till a final period was put to such a mode of settlement, by the fierce contest on Nibley Green in March 1470.⁷ This is indeed the only event by which the village itself has *hitherto* been distinguished. Now, the Tyndales were then living at Stinchcombe; and as the number, on both sides, amounted to 1000 men, most of whom were gathered, in one night, from the lands of Berkeley hundred, *they* must have taken part in the fray. While, therefore, the quarrel was at once local and personal, between William, the seventh Lord Berkeley, and Thomas, Lord Lisle, then living at Wooton under Edge, it must be observed that the former was on the Lancastrian side of politics, and, as tenants at least, so were the Tyndales. The consequence was, that although Berkeley was victorious, the encounter being fatal to Lord Lisle himself and 150 more; and although Government was prevented from taking cognizance of the

⁷ It was after the death of Thomas, the fifth Lord Berkeley, in 1417, that this contest began. In 1418, Richard Beauchamp, who had married his daughter, and sole heiress, "lay before Berkeley Castle with an armed force, fully determined to destroy it, but was diverted from his purpose by the intercession of the Bishop of Worcester and the neighbouring gentry." — *Prynne's MS.* It sustained at this time several sieges, which were as frequently raised. After Warwick's decease, the quarrel became hereditary. All decision by the sword terminated on Nibley Green in 1470, but the tedious process of law continued till the 7th of James I. 1609-10, or 193 years from the commencement of the dispute! Meanwhile, the successful combatant at Nibley did not fail to give sufficient proof of his devotion to his party; for in December 1467, having quarrelled with his brother Maurice, on account of his marriage, he assigned the castle and manor, with other Lordships, to Henry VII., and his heirs-male, so that the property did not return to the right heirs till the death of Edward VI. Still the legal process went on till its settlement under James I.; and yet, even now, it must still be noticed, as a notable proof of "the glorious uncertainty" of the law; that if *modern* decisions may be applied to the subject, the Barony of Berkeley, created by the Writ of Summons in the 23d Edward I. is now in *abeyance* between the descendants and representatives of the three daughters and co-heirs of Elizabeth, the ancient Countess of Warwick; and the Barony possessed by the present Earl of Berkeley, is that created by the Writ of Summons to James de Berkeley in 1421, or 9. Henry V.—Nicolas' *Synopsis*, *pref.* xxi.-xxx. and p. 60. See the printed cases of the present Earl Fitzhardinge, and of Sir J. S. Sidney on the Earls, for all the facts and arguments on the subject.

result at the time, owing to the far greater affairs of the civil war, still afterwards Lord Berkeley had to humbly sue for forgiveness from Edward the Fourth, the royal head of the house of York. At all events, from whatever cause, the name of Hitchin had been assumed by this branch of the Tyndale family, for years, as will appear presently.

The family of our Translator is to be traced to an ancient Barony, by tenure, which, however, in *his* name, became extinct so early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁸ From the second son of Adam, the *last* Baron de Tyndale and Langeley, in Northumberland, or Robert Tyndale, who removed southward in the reign of Edward I., who settled at Tansover, or Tansor, near Oundle in Northamptonshire, and was living in 1288, there gradually sprung different families; so that, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, respectable proprietors of the name of Tyndale were living at Tansover and Deane, in Northamptonshire; at Hockwold, in Norfolk; at Pull Court, in Worcestershire; and at Stinchcombe and North Nibley, in the county of Gloucester; as there were soon afterwards at Eastwood, in the same county; at Bathford and Bristol, in Somerset; at Mapplestead, in Essex, and, still later, at Bobbing Court, in Kent. All these families claim descent from Robert of Tansover; and even that of our William Tyndale has been supposed, by no inferior genealogist, to have sprung from him.⁹ This it certainly had done, though in a very remote degree, as we shall presently meet with ground to believe that there was some affinity between it, and that of Tyndale of Pull Court, a branch of the house of Tansover.

Of the family resident at Stinchcombe and North Nibley, we have two distinct genealogies. The first, under the head of *Hunt's Court*, Nibley, is to be found in the account of the hundred of Berkeley, drawn up by Mr. Smythe, the factor of Lord Berkeley, resident in the old manor house of Nibley. The second genealogy is founded upon a *deed* under the reign of Henry VIII., the best of all evidence;¹⁰ while, so far as the latter goes, and the authority quoting it, there is a perfect agreement with the former as to the descents, viz. :—

⁸ The Barony of Tyndale then passed *jure uxoris* to Nicholas de Bolteby, who died in 1272, whose son, Adam, died in 1291.—See Nicolas' Synopsis, and the admirable genealogy of G. B. Tyndale, Esq. of Hayling, in Burke's Hist. of the Commoners, iv. p. 546.

⁹ Mr. Jekyll's genealogies, quoted in the Biog. Brit.

¹⁰ Rudder's Gloucester, under Stinchcombe, p. 635.

- I. Hugh Tyndale, father of John, f. of Thomas, f. of Richard, f. of Richard, f. of Thomas.
 II. Thomas, f. of Richard, f. of Richard, f. of Thomas.

The first individual mentioned by Mr. Smythe, is said to be Hugh Tyndale, *alias* Huchens, the name which, for a season, the family had adopted. This is confirmed by Tyndale himself, who, in his first publication, gave both names—"William Tyndale, otherwise called Hitchens,"—though ever *after*, he used only the former. Whether John Tyndale ever resumed the name without the *alias*, we have no evidence; but to a certainty *Thomas* did, and, after his example, so did our Translator. "Some of his ancestors," says Bigland, "having taken an active part in the Lancastrian cause, migrated to Stincheombe, in this county; and, as it appears from the Register of *North Nibley*, bore, for concealment, the name of Hutchins or Hitchens, but resumed their own in the reign of Henry the Seventh."¹¹

But why should the neighbouring parish of North Nibley be introduced? This brings us to the deed already mentioned, or the second genealogy, and the following fact. "Thomas Tyndale," the first man of that name, "died sometime before the 33d Henry VIII., or 1541-2, as appears by a deed of *that* date, to which Edward Tyndale, of Pull Court in Worcester, was a witness."¹² And, still using the deed, the writer proceeds,—"By Alicia his wife, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Hunt, (of Hunts' Court,) he had five sons, Richard, *William*, Henry, Thomas, and *John*, and one daughter, Elizabeth."¹³

To the admirers of Tyndale, it would no doubt be gratifying, could we now positively affirm, that they have the entire family, parents and children, before them; but unfortunately owing to recent, though very loose assertions, the question may return,—was this Thomas Tyndale his brother only, and these sons his nephews? Or have we thus on record,

¹¹ Bigland's *Glos.*, p. 293. He is generally one of the best authorities, though we have not been able to verify the quotation, the Register, as now examined, not extending farther back than 1560. We have stood on the ground still pointed out as the site of *Hunt's Court*, in the village of North Nibley, but no house worthy of the name now remains.

¹² This Edward Tyndale was the youngest son of Sir William Tyndale of Hockwold, and *he* was the son of Sir Thomas Tyndale of Deane, the fifth in lineal descent from the first Robert of Tansover. This Edward, too, was the brother of Sir John of Hockwold, of William the ancestor of the Tyndales of Bathford, as well as of Robert, who died without issue. Thus, as far as being party to a will bespeaks affinity, there is ground for the conjecture of Jekyll.

¹³ The writer, as already quoted, then informs us, that this Thomas was father of Richard, f. of Richard, f. of Thomas, who died in 1637, as appears by the probate of his *will*. To these we can now add, father of Thomas, f. of William, who, at the age of 80, died in 1749. See the Article on the Parentage and early years of Tyndale at the close of this work.

the Father of the martyr, and of his brother John, who, we shall find, was persecuted and fined by Sir Thomas More? If any one should suppose the former only, then there is actually no positive evidence to show that Thomas had a brother, much less two, and these named William and John; while, upon the other hand, this family of Thomas happens to be at once the *first* and the *only* one, throughout this genealogy, where *all* the children are named. Bigland has told us, that the family resumed its name in the reign of Henry VII., and therefore after his accession in 1485, what was more likely to induce the change, and follow in the train of this marriage? The Tyndales had been upon the Lancastrian side, and that was now finally triumphant. But be this as it may, here is the family to which the martyr belonged, and from it we are able to come down, without any obscurity, nearly to the present day. The estate in North Nibley was sold indeed, in the reign of King William, when the proprietor, Thomas Tyndale, Esq., removed into Kent, but the family was not extinct till so recently as the year 1748, and the collateral connexion is still traceable. As for the female line, from a great-granddaughter of the first Thomas Tyndale, a descendant is now living in the City of London—John Roberts, Esq., Temple.

The year of our Translator's birth, could it be positively ascertained, might help us to fix his parentage; but as nearly as it can be, it seems to harmonise with the idea of Thomas being his father. Tyndale himself, unrelentingly persecuted, was cautious of ever saying one word respecting his relatives. Even his younger brother John became involved, in consequence of receiving letters from him, and not delivering them up! But the future martyr would have borne the pelting of the pitiless storm all alone, sooner than involve his family in distress; and more especially that father, to whom he had been indebted for the expenses of his education. His keen and voluminous opponent, however, Sir Thomas More, provoked his triumphant answer; and if we knew the year of the Lord Chancellor's birth, Tyndale himself will help us to fix, very nearly, that of his own. In the course of his writings there may be some other references; but we shall quote only one passage in the defence of his translation, quite to the point.¹⁴

¹⁴ We do not refer to the tract published by Tyndale in April 1533, on the "Supper of the Lord," where he repeatedly twits Sir Thomas with being "the old man," with his "old eyes and spectacles;" because this seems to be nothing more than his retort to the Chancellor, for having again and again alluded so contemptuously to his friend Fryth, as "the young man."

It is now generally understood, that Sir Thomas More was born in 1480, and most probably in the spring of that year, as this harmonises with the statement of Erasmus, who says 1479, their year running on to the 25th of March. In 1497 More was sent to Canterbury Hall, Christ Church, Oxford, where he studied Greek, as well as Latin, under Linaere and Grocyn, for two years. Now, what says Tyndale, when defending his translation of the New Testament from the Greek? "He," Sir Thomas, "rageth because I turn *χαρις* into favour and not *grace*; and that I use this word knowledge (in the sense of acknowledge) and not *confession*, and this word repentance and not *penance*. In all which he cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word. These things to be even so, M. More knoweth well enough; for he understandeth the Greek, *and he knew them long ere I.*" Since then Tyndale was brought up to learning from his youth, and at Oxford afterwards, there can be no question, that this is the language of a *junior* scholar, at least by four or five years, and that consequently the birth of Tyndale must have been correspondingly later. Now, without having observed this, it is rather a curious coincidence, that the first gentleman, well qualified, in our own day, and most solicitous to ascertain the point, has fixed upon the year 1484. "Probably," he says, "Tyndale was born about 1484." This was the younger brother of Mr. Roberts just mentioned, or Mr. Oade Roberts of Painswick, the correspondent of Lysons; and had the *Magna Britannia* been finished so as to have included Gloucestershire, a place would have been found for his information. Mr. R., indeed, imagined in 1814, that Tyndale might be the son of Hugh, and then in 1818, the son of John; but as he maintains, not merely from Bale, Atkyns, and other authorities, but from *domestic tradition* in Gloucestershire, where he himself resided, that our Translator was born *at North Nibley*; then, if we are to believe the *deed* already quoted, and so attested, we seem to have the entire family of Thomas Tyndale once more brought in view.¹⁵ A very strong probability, therefore, is now presented, that our first and eminent Translator, was the son of Thomas Tyndale, by Alicia Hunt

¹⁵ We quote from the letters of Mr. O. Roberts, in the British Museum. (See Lysons' *Topog. Coll.* 9450. *Plut.* fol. 39, 62.) His surviving brother informs me, he died in 1821.

of North Nibley; that his brother John was the youngest son by the same mother, and that Tyndale himself was born in the year 1484, 5, or 6. This would make him about the age of fifty at his death; and this exactly corresponds with the full persuasion of old John Foxe in 1573, when he published the works of Tyndale, Fryth, and Barnes. "In pursuing whereof," says he, "thou shalt find, gentle reader, whether thou be ignorant, what to learn; or whether thou be learned, what to follow, and what to stick to. Briefly, whatsoever thou art, if thou be *young*, of John Fryth; if thou be *middle age*, of William Tyndale; if in *elder years*, of Dr. Barnes, matter is here to be found, not only of doctrine to inform thee, of comfort to delight thee, of godly ensample to direct thee; but also of special admiration, to make thee to wonder at the works of the Lord."

But if the obscurity of our Translator's parentage must still remain, nay form emphatically a part of his singular history, and as the only point which will not be distinctly proved, there is one curious fact, of which there is now no doubt. As the Marquis of Berkeley had conveyed his castle and estates to Henry VII., descending as they did to Henry VIII., Tyndale was nurtured upon ground held immediately by the *crown*, which was afterwards *farmed* for Italian bishops, by Cardinal Wolsey! And before he is driven from his native county, we shall find him brought, by persecution at least, into remote contact with the most conspicuous characters, who were about to figure even in the great drama of European politics.

The education of our Translator was now to be provided by his parents, and being afterwards a man of such inflexible perseverance, there can be no question that he had availed himself of every literary advantage placed within his reach. Owing, however, to the imperfect view, too often taken, it becomes necessary that we should first glance at those opportunities, then so providentially presented to a student, and more especially to one so ardent in pursuit of learning.

It has been dwelt upon by Warton, in his history of Poetry, as a historical fact, that the revival of *classical* learning gave a temporary check to *vernacular* composition in England, and that, in the commencement of the sixteenth century, the culture of new languages introduced a new course of study. This "temporary check," however, was only with a view to further progress, in the true sense of the word, and Oxford as well as Cambridge will present us with illustrations.

About the year 1460, the disposition to acquire Greek and Latin, as well as to promote its cultivation, had been shown by William Selling, a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, the man who afterwards introduced Linacre to Politian, at Bologna. On returning from Italy, he brought with him no inferior collection of Greek and Roman manuscripts, which he had there collected; though, to his regret, they were soon after accidentally consumed by fire at Canterbury. Cornellius Vitellius, an Italian from Tuscany, first taught Greek at Oxford, as a schoolmaster in Magdalen College. Grocyn, a native of Bristol, was his pupil, and after visiting Italy, where he perfected his knowledge of languages, he became, on his return to Oxford, the first voluntary lecturer in Greek, before the year 1490. Linacre and William Latimer followed in the same course, and all the three taught, more or less, within the walls of Magdalen.

But above all other men, Erasmus from Holland, considering what he accomplished in 1516, cannot be overlooked. He first reached England in the close of 1497. He had come to commence his studies in Greek. Elated with what he had found, when writing to a friend in Italy, in December of that year, he says,—“Here I have met with humanity, politeness, learning; learning not trite and superficial, but deep, accurate, true old Greek and Latin learning; and withal so much of it, that, but for curiosity, I have no occasion to visit Italy. In Grocyn I admire an universal compass of learning. Linacre’s acuteness, depth, and accuracy, are not to be exceeded.” Pursuing his study of Greek, under Grocyn, throughout 1498 and part of next year, he was now acquainted with Thomas Wolsey, just appointed Bursar or Treasurer to Magdalen College, with John Claymond, its future President, and, Jortin asserts, with Thomas More, now at Canterbury Hall. He then proceeded to Paris, where, he tells us himself, that his application to Greek had almost killed him. In a letter to Dean Collet in 1504, he informs him that he had “closely applied to Greek for the three last years.” Two years after this he paid a visit to Cambridge, and in 1508 went to Italy. Returning to Cambridge in 1509, he there became the first Greek preceptor in that University; and some months afterwards we find him informing Servatius, the Prior of a Dutch Convent, where he had once resided, that he was so engaged. He explained there the grammar of Chrysoloras, and was to read lectures on that of Gaza. Four intimate friends, he tells us, above forty years of age, had begun to study Greek. Erasmus remained in England nearly five years, or till the beginning of 1514, and eight years after this, Richard Croke, who had been the pupil of Grocyn, succeeded as the regular Professor of Greek in Cambridge. This residence of Erasmus must have had more effect than has ever been fully explained; and considering how certain individuals acted afterwards, it is curious to see how high he stood in public favour. But caressed by Henry VIII. invited to Cambridge by the Chancellor,

Fisher of Rochester, patronised by Warham the Archbishop, though not one of them foresaw the result ; we can understand the ground on which Stillington has denied that Luther or Zuinglius had much influence in awakening the English mind. He says, "it was Erasmus especially among us in England," and here he certainly appears to be correct. The credit of being one of the first learned men in Europe, who argued strongly for learning being cultivated, *with a view to the benefit and instruction of the common people*, can never be taken from Erasmus.

His influence in England may be estimated by the opposition displayed against him. Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Standish, provincial of the Franciscan friars, the future Bishop of St. Asaph, were loud and bitter opponents. Invectives against the learned languages were uttered from the pulpit, and hence the proverb—" *Cave a Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus ; Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum similis.*" "Beware of Greek, lest you become a heretic ! Fly from the Hebrew letters, lest you become like Jews !" *Græculus iste*, the phrase first applied by Standish to Erasmus, became, for a long time afterwards, the phrase for an heretic. All these men, however, were proceeding under the guidance of a higher power ; for even Erasmus, now past fifty, and in the most memorable year of his life, or 1516, speaks with timidity respecting the study of Hebrew—a proof, by the way, that it was cultivated. After observing that literature began to make a great and an happy progress ; "but," says he, "I fear two things ; I fear that the study of Hebrew will promote Judaism, and that the study of philology will revive Paganism !" And by this time there certainly were Italians, many of whom, says Jortin, were writing in the style and manner of *Pagans*. The fulness of the time, therefore, was now come, to show what the vernacular tongue, the tongue of the common people, could do.

Meanwhile, in 1516, the New Testament, in Greek and Latin, with the notes of Erasmus, had come forth, printed by Froben at Basil. It soon spread far and wide. He received the congratulations of his friends, but it raised up a host of enemies ; and one of the colleges in Cambridge, though only one, actually forbade it to be brought within its walls ! In Oxford no such fear had been displayed, though even there great caution was demanded. It was, however, only the next year, when Fox, the Bishop of Winchester, had determined to found his college at Oxford, that of "Corpus Christi," so that all things were, at least, working *together* for good. Two Professors, for Latin and Greek, were constituted, with competent salaries. The books in Greek were expressly specified by the Founder, and these, says Warton and others, "were the purest, and such as are most esteemed, even in the present improved state of ancient learning." The Greek lecturer was ordered to explain the best Greek classics ; but there was one curious circumstance connected with this foundation, and especially these lectures,

which must not be omitted. So long before as the year 1311, at Vienna, in Dauphine, Clement V., (the man who first appropriated to himself the first year's revenue of all the benefices in England—the origin of the first fruits,) from a superstitious veneration for Hebrew and Greek, because they formed part of the *superscription* on the cross of Christ, “enjoined that professors in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, should be instituted in the universities of *Oxford*, Paris, Bononia, (Bologna,) Salamanca, and in the Court of Rome.” It was actually under the influence of this injunction that one of the Greek exiles claimed a stipend for teaching his native tongue in Paris; and Fox, therefore, that he might not appear to be countenancing any dangerous innovation, was obliged to cover his institution under the mantle of this authority! The reason given was not satisfactory to all, but learning flourished; though little had Clement V. imagined what effects would follow from his canonical decree, so far as it was now pled.

With regard to Hebrew learning at this early period, it is by no means sufficient to direct the eye only to John Reuchlin, the well-known promoter of this language, however eminent his services. Throughout the year 1498, he remained at Rome, perfecting himself in Hebrew, under Abdias, a Jew. But to say nothing of Hebrew manuscripts, in England as well as the Continent, the art of printing had been applied to the language more than twenty years before this, in the Psalter of 1477. Then came the Pentateuch, and other books at Bologna, in 1482; the Prophets, at Soncino, in 1486; the Hagiographa, at Naples, in 1487; and in 1488, there was printed at Soncino the first edition of the Hebrew Bible entire. Nay, within the compass of a single year, and that so early as 1494, there were published not fewer than *four* editions of the Hebrew Bible, which almost immediately disappeared, so great was the interest awakened for Hebrew learning. In short, and without mentioning single portions of the Sacred Volume, by the year 1526, there had been published *fourteen* editions of the Hebrew Bible, in folio, quarto, and octavo, with and without points; and it is especially to be remembered, that Divine Providence had so over-ruled the whole, that not one of the Sacred Originals, whether in Hebrew or Greek, had ever been restrained by any Government, however absolute!¹⁶

Indeed, at this moment, so far from such restraint being imposed in England, it was quite the reverse: as not one man of high authority

¹⁶ These Bibles are dated, Soncino, 1488; three in 1494, fol. 4^o. 8^o., and in the same year at Brescia, an octavo. The identical copy of this last, from which *Luther* translated, is still preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. The Complutensian in 1515. Then followed the Soncino of 1517, three editions in 1518, and one in 1521, 1524, 1525, and 1526. Not fewer than the half of these, from 1518, were printed by a native of Antwerp, the first printer of the Christian profession, in this language, the celebrated Daniel Bomberg, whose press, almost equally with that of Aldus, was the ornament of Venice. He is said to have retained about a *hundred* Jews, as correctors of the press, the most learned he could find. Other editions need not be here mentioned; but Bomberg went on printing till his death, in 1540.

appears to have *foreseen*, that the cultivation of the original languages would inevitably lead to a translation of the Sacred Volume into the vulgar tongue. Wolsey himself, only two years after Fox, had begun to encourage classical learning, by founding at Oxford, in 1519, not only a chair for Rhetoric and Latin, but one for Greek, with ample salaries; while his royal Master was also favourable to the progress of letters. Thus, in this very year, we know from the epistles of Erasmus, that a preacher having harangued at Oxford, with great violence, against the opinions inculcated by the *new* Professors; and his arguments having been keenly canvassed by the students, a just detail was laid before His Majesty, then residing at Woodstock, by Sir Thomas More, and Pacc of Fox's College, when Henry interposed his authority, and transmitted to the University a royal mandate, commanding, "that the study of the Scriptures, *in the original languages*, should not only be permitted for the future, but received as a branch of the academical institution."

We have, now, however, gone over the precise period in which our first and future translator of the Scriptures resided, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Such a combination of advantages fully explain the source of those attainments in learning, which he was afterwards to turn to such powerful account.

Tyndale was brought up, from his earliest years, at Oxford, and as a scholar, where, after a lengthened residence, he proceeded in "degrees of the schools;"¹⁷ or, as Foxe has said—"By long continuance, he grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures; insomuch, that he read privily to certain students and fellows in Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures." His education "in grammar, logic, and philosophy, he received," says Wood, "for the most part, in St. Mary Magdalen's Hall," immediately adjoining the College of that name. At this Hall, first called *Grammar Hall*, from the attention paid to classical learning, and where Groeyn, as well as W. Latimer and Linaere, had lectured, the members stood, as they do now, on the same footing with those of the other Colleges; their course of study, tuition, length of residence, examination, and degrees, being precisely the same as the rest of the University. In those early days,

¹⁷ "Whether he took a degree," says Wood, "doth not appear in our Registers," and for the best of all reasons—the Registers do not go so far back, as he himself has told us elsewhere.

however, these Halls, having no exhibitions nor endowments for scholarships, many of the students lived at their *own* charge; and since no man has ever once been mentioned as patronising Tyndale, throughout his whole life, the presumption is, that his expenses while at College must have been defrayed by his parents.¹⁸ Tyndale's zeal, however, had at last exceeded the endurance of his contemporaries, and exposed him to some danger. There is no ground for supposing that he was expelled; "but," says Foxe, "spying his time, he removed from Oxford to the University of Cambridge, where he likewise made his abode a certain space," and, it has been vaguely conjectured, took a degree. At all events, his residence in that city had terminated by the year 1519.

Possessed of such an education as he must have then acquired, as well as of such an ardour to improve, we cannot here disturb the narrative by any discussion as to its merits or extent. Sufficient evidence of both will occur in the following pages. We only remark here, that the incontrovertible proof of Tyndale's erudition, whether as a Greek or Hebrew scholar, is to be found in the *present* version of our Bible, as read by millions. "The circumstance of its being a *revision* five times derived, is an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, and doubly valuable from that circumstance."¹⁹ While, notwithstanding this five-fold recension of the Greek and Hebrew original, large portions remain untouched, or verbally as the Translator first gave them to his country. It is, indeed, extraordinary that so many of Tyndale's correct and happy renderings should have been left to adorn our version, while the terms substituted, in other instances, still leave to him the palm of scholarship. When the incorrect, not to say injurious, sense, in which certain terms had been long employed, is duly considered, the substitution of *charity* for love, as Tyndale translated, of *grace* for favour, and *church* for congregation, certainly cannot be adduced as proofs of superior attainment in the original Greek.

In a historical point of view, however, and independently of his merits as a translator, it would be of some importance

¹⁸ From inattention to dates, and in the absence of authentic information, many wild assertions have been hazarded as to the early years of Tyndale. Among others, it has been said that he was chosen by Cardinal Wolsey one of those early Canons, selected to grace the opening of Cardinal College! By the time of this selection, Tyndale was beyond seas, in possession of that learning which he had acquired during the auspicious period at which we have glanced. It is a distinguishing feature of our Translator's history, that he never had a patron. ¹⁹ Whitaker.

if we could ascertain what had been the state of his mind, even before leaving the University, in reference to that great system of impiety and oppression, which, single handed, he was afterwards to assail with such decisive effect. Had he already seen through its character? Was he even already engaged in *marking* it, as he never after ceased to do? If he was, this would go a great way in proving him to have been an instrument raised up by God, as independently of Luther, as were Lefevre and Zuinglius. His lectures at Oxford, which must have been about 1517, if not earlier, and his being obliged to desist, certainly say as much as that he was in advance of the age, but how far, from this source, we have no intimation. If Tyndale himself would afterwards give us but one hint, we could not desire better evidence. By those, however, who are familiar with his writings, it must have been observed that he very seldom has introduced his own personal feelings, with any precision as to *dates*, not caring to establish himself, in point of priority, to any man: and yet there is one passage, with which he casually concludes his Exposition of the Epistle of John, which seems to glance as far back as the year 1518, if not to some time before it. He had been exposing the policy of the hierarchy, in raising the cry of sedition or insurrection, in the days of Wickliffe,—“And so,” he adds, “the hypocrites say now likewise, that God’s Word causeth insurrection; but ye shall see shortly that these hypocrites themselves, after their old wont and examples, in quenching the truth that uttereth their juggling, shall cause all realms Christian to rise one against another, and some against themselves. Ye shall see, then, run out, before the year come about, that which they have been in brewing, as I have *marked, above this DOZEN years*. This much have I said, because of them that deceive you, to give you an occasion to judge the spirits.”

Now, this language was published in September 1531; but “*above a dozen of years,*” brings us back to 1518, if not to an earlier period. We leave the reader to form his own conclusion; but, at all events, such a state of mind was in perfect consonance with the course which Tyndale so immediately pursued, with all his characteristic vigour.²⁰

²⁰ Let it here, however, be observed, by the way, that in August 1518, Martin Luther was quietly awaiting the good effects which he imagined his submissive letter to the Roman Pontiff was calculated to produce. He had not seen Melancthon till the 25th of that month; and

Returning to his native county, Tyndale was soon actively engaged, and so continued to be, from Stinchcombe-hill down to Bristol, to the close of 1522. As the place where he lived, only eight miles south from that of his birth, is well known; nay, and the house under whose roof he spent his best and zealous exertions, in discussing and defending the Word of God, is happily *still* in existence,—to all such as may take an interest in the following history, there is not a more heart-stirring spot in all England. The Halls of our Colleges, wherever they stand, have never given birth to a design, so vitally important in its origin, so fraught with untold benefit to millions, and now so extensive in its range, as that which ripened into a fixed and invincible purpose, in the Dining Hall of Little Sodbury Manor House.



Little Sodbury Manor House in 1829.

It was in this house that Tyndale resided for about two years, as a tutor; and adjoining to it behind, there still stands, with its two ancient yew trees before the door, the little Church of St. Adeline, where of course the family and tenants attended. Foxe has said of Tyndale, while at Antwerp, that when he “read the Scriptures, he proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly,

it was on the 31st that he wrote in admiration of him to Spalatin—“I can wish for no better Greek master.” Of course, nothing from the pen of Luther had yet reached England; but Tyndale has been giving lectures, some time before, to the students and fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford; and having quitted Cambridge also, is now on his way to Gloucestershire.

and gently, much like unto the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort to the audience to hear him;" and so it may have been, under some of his earliest efforts, within the walls of this diminutive and unpretending place of worship. At all events, let it be observed, when his voice was first heard, Luther had not yet been denounced even by Leo X. at Rome, much less by Cardinal Wolsey in England.

"About A.D. 1520," we are informed, that "William Tyndale used often to preach in Bristol." This he did on the great Green, sometimes called the Sanctuary, or St. Austin's Green. "He was at that time resident with Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury, as tutor to his children, and on Sundays he preached at the towns and parishes in the neighbourhood, and frequently he had debates with the Abbots and other clergy who frequented the house."²¹

This small parish, with its manor house and inmates, thus become objects of no little interest, and for the sake not of Tyndale only, but especially of the *design* there formed, as well as of the circumstances that led to it, we must not refrain from giving some farther particulars.

In this part of Gloucestershire there are three contiguous parishes of the same name—Old Sodbury, Chipping, *i. e.* Market Sodbury, and the third, named Little Sodbury, by way of distinction. This last, consisting of about 900 acres, chiefly in pasture, lies on the side of Sodbury hill, and extends to its summit. On the edge of this hill is a strong Roman camp of an oblong square, where first Queen Margaret, and then Edward IV. in pursuit, had rested before the battle of Tewkesbury. Immediately below this camp, on the side of the hill fronting south-westward, stands the Manor House, an ancient building, from which there is a beautiful and extensive prospect over the vale, as far as the Bristol Channel. Four clumps of large trees growing above, objects very observable, are taken notice of through a large extent of country on that

²¹ Memoirs of Bristol, from old authorities, by Seyer, vol. ii., p. 215. This House, under Edward II. and III., had been inhabited by the Despencers; by the Stanshaws under Ed. IV., and in the year of Henry the Seventh's accession, or 1485, it came to the family of John Walshe of Olveston, by his marriage to Elizabeth Forster, daughter and heir of the previous proprietor. Henry VII., with an eagle eye to property, as well as the crown, had prevailed upon Ann, the old unfortunate Countess of Warwick, to settle the greater part of her large inheritance on him and his heirs. Hence it was that Henry VIII., through the Berkeley family, as already explained, and now through that of Warwick, had no small stake in the county of Gloucester. Among other property, the manor house of *Old Sodbury* was now in his gift, and hence, along with his knighthood, we shall find it given to Sir John. It may be added, that this explanation accounts for the many repeated gifts of property in Gloucestershire afterwards, both by Henry VIII. and his son Edward, more especially to Sir Ralph Sadler.

side of the hills. In the sketch already given, one of these chimneys may be seen on the left, but a nearer view will give a better idea of the house itself.



Less distant view.

Inhabited by different families from the thirteenth century, it was now in possession of Sir John Walsh, Knight, as inherited from his father. Happening to have been Champion to Henry VIII. on certain occasions, and to please his royal master, the heir of Little Sodbury had been knighted, and received from him in addition, the Manor House of Old Sodbury, then in the gift of the Crown. Intimate as Walsh had been, both with the young king and the court, and now given to hospitality, his table was the resort, not only of the neighbouring gentry, but of the Abbots and other dignified ecclesiastics, swarming around him. Thus it was, that, whether in company, or alone with the family, where he was treated as a friend, Tyndale enjoyed one of the best opportunities for becoming intimately acquainted with the existing state of things, whether civil, or ecclesiastical so called. Sir John had married Anne Poyntz, the daughter of an ancient Gloucestershire family in the neighbourhood, a lady who took as warm an interest as her husband in the discussions at their table.²²

²² Lady Walsh was the daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz of Iron Acton, by Margaret, dr. of Anthony Earl Rivers, after whom her brother was named. She was, therefore, the ancestor in a family which, in the male line, became extinct, only the other day, by the death of William

“This gentleman,” says Foxe, “as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times, sundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use, many times, to enter into communication. Then Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God’s matters, so he spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgment; and when they at any time did vary from his opinions, he would shew them in the book, and lay before them the manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings.” It was not long, however, before Sir John and his lady had been invited to a banquet given by these great Doctors. There they talked at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. On returning home, both Sir John and his lady began to reason with Tyndale respecting those subjects of which the priests had talked at their banquet; one decided proof, that some considerable impression had been made. Tyndale firmly maintained the truth, and exposed their false opinions. “Well,” said Lady Walsh, “there was such a doctor there as may dispense a hundred pounds, and another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?”²³ To this, Tyndale at the moment, gave no reply, and for some time after, said but little on such subjects.

He was at that moment busy with a translation from Erasmus of his “*Enchiridion Militis Christiani*,” or Christian Soldier’s Manual, the second edition of which, with a long and pungent preface, had appeared at Basil, in August 1518.²⁴ Once finished, Tyndale presented the book to Sir John and his lady. “After they had read,” says Foxe, “and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often invited to the house, neither had they the cheer and counten-

Stephen Poyntz, Esq., of Cowdray Park and Midgham. His daughters are married into the noble families of Clinton, Spencer, and Exeter.

²³ The wages of a Haymaker, under Henry VII., were *one penny* a day, and under Henry VIII. they had not risen above *three-half-pence*. The money referred to by Dame Walsh, was therefore equal to from £1500 to £4500 of our present money.

²⁴ The first edition, printed in 1502, was composed by Erasmus “to correct the error of those who supposed religion to consist in *mere ceremonies and bodily service*, to the neglect of real piety.” Written originally at the request of a lady, with a view to her husband, it was now translating into English for another couple, on whom it was to have no small effect. The *preface* will reward the perusal of any Oxford scholar in the present day.

ance when they came, which before they had." This they marked, and supposing the change to have arisen from Tyndale's influence, they refrained, and at last utterly withdrew. They had grown weary of our Translator's doctrine, and now bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

A crisis was evidently approaching. The priests of the country, clustering together, began to storm at ale-houses and other places; and all with one consent, against one man. Whether the existing Chancellor of the diocese of Worcester had ever feasted at Little Sodbury, does not appear; but it cannot be long before Tyndale will have to stand before him. Fortunately the tutor has left on record his own reflections as to this period of his life.

"A thousand books," says he, "had they lever (rather) to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the *Scripture* should come to light. For as long as they may keep *that* down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the Scriptures unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories; and amaze them, expounding it in *many* senses before the unlearned lay people, (when it hath but *one simple literal sense*, whose light the owls cannot abide), that though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtile riddles.

"Which thing only moved me to translate the *New Testament*. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, *except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue*, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, *whatsoever truth* is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again—partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, (whereof thou readest in *Apocalypse*, chap. ix.) that is with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making; and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather of the text itself."

Accordingly, "not long after this," says John Foxe, "there was a sitting of the (Italian) Bishop's Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. Whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, is uncertain; but certain this is, as he himself declared, that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he, by the way, in going thitherward, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word." But let us hear Tyndale's own expressions.

“When I was so turmoiled in the country where I was, that I could no longer dwell there, the process whereof were too long here to rehearse, I thuswise thought in myself,—this I suffer, because the priests of the country be unlearned, as God knoweth, there are a full ignorant sort, which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their Portesses and Missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read. And therefore, because they are thus unlearned, thought I, when they come together to the ale-house, which is their preaching place, they affirm that my sayings are heresy. Besides they add to, of their own heads, that which I never spake, as the manner is, and *accused me secretly to the Chancellor, and other the Bishop’s Officers.*”

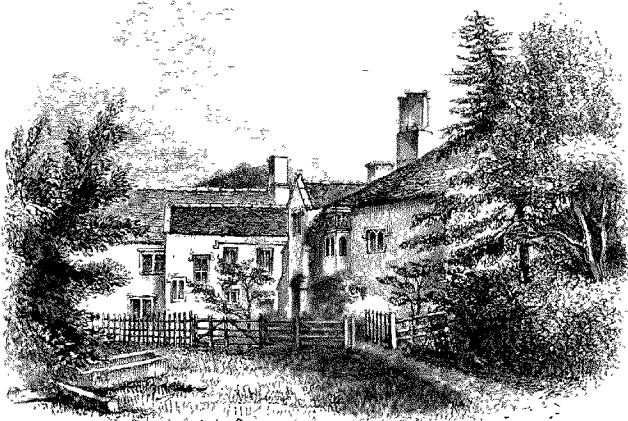
Here then was Tyndale, in the year 1522, brought to answer for himself; and having already had so many discussions with dignitaries on Sodbury Hill, as well as arguments with the priests in other places, one might have supposed that something decisive was on the eve of accomplishment; but it turned out an entire failure.

“When I came before the Chancellor, he *threatened* me grievously, and *reviled* me, and rated me as though I had been a *dog*; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser; and yet, *all* the Priests of the country were there the same day.”

Tyndale’s future footsteps will frequently discover him to have been a man, who, in the history of his country stood literally *alone*; and here, it should seem, this peculiar feature had already begun to discover itself. As standing before the Chancellor of any diocese, we read of no second individual, in whose appearance there were so many curious coincidences. The reader will now recollect the thoroughly *Italianised* character of the district, as formerly described, and the questions very naturally present themselves—Who was this Chancellor? Who the Cardinal that had recently appointed him? Who was the non-resident Italian Bishop? nay, and who the reigning Pontiff himself, the fountain of all this oppressive authority? The *Pontiff* was Adrian VI., who, to appease Wolsey, had recently made him “Legate a latere” for life; the *Bishop* was Julio di Medici, the future Clement VII., and who, without even visiting England, had been made Bishop of Worcester by Leo X. The man who had lately appointed the Chancellor to the diocese was *Wolsey* himself, who farmed the whole district for his Italian brother; and the *Chancellor*, who had raised himself to this unenviable notoriety by so treating the man destined by Divine Providence to overcome all above him, as far as Rome itself was concerned; was a creature of the English Cardinal, a Dr. Thomas Parker, who

lived to know more of Tyndale's power and talents, than he then could comprehend. Had such men only known who was then within the Chancellor's grasp, with what eager joy would they have put an end to all his noble intentions?²⁵

Escaping, however, out of Parker's hands, the Tutor departed homeward, and once more entered the hospitable abode of Little Sodbury, but more than ever firmly resolved.



Entrance to Little Sodbury Manor from the East.

It is some alleviation to find that every man in the country was not of the same opinion with the reigning, if not furious Chancellor. "Not far off," continues Foxe, "there dwelt a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well. To him Tyndale went and opened his mind on divers questions of the Scripture, for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. To whom the doctor said—'Do you not know that the Pope is very Anti-

²⁵ Owing to the inaccuracy of several authors, there is some danger of this Chancellor being mistaken for Dr. Thomas Bell, the future Bishop of Worcester, as they have represented him to be Chancellor from 1518 to 1526. This is a mistake. Bell, who in 1518, had succeeded Haniball, now resident in Rome as Wolsey's correspondent, had been superseded by the appointment of Parker, to act for Julio di Medici, and he continued to act as Chancellor or Vicar-General from 1522 to 1535.—See *Wood's Fasti*, by Bliss, p. 70-90, and *Green's Hist. of Worcester*. No, Parker was evidently a man of great passion. He had commenced with Tyndale, and afterwards displayed his fury on another memorable occasion. This was actually the same man who dug up, and then burnt to ashes, the body of William Tracy, Esq. of Todington in Gloucestershire. This cost him a great sum, as will appear in our history under 1531; but he was not removed till 1535, when *Hugh Latimer* became Bishop. Parker died at Salisbury in 1539.

christ, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life;’ adding, ‘I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.’”²⁶

It was not long after this that Tyndale, happening to be in the company of a reputed learned divine, and in conversation having brought him to a point, from which there was no escape, he broke out with this exclamation, “We were better to be without God’s laws, than the Pope’s!” This was an ebullition in perfect harmony with the state of the country at the moment, but it was more than the piety of Tyndale could bear. “I defy the Pope,” said he, in reply, “and all his laws; and if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than you do!” It was one of those significant bursts of zeal, which will sometimes escape from a great and determined mind. It meant even more than met the ear, for, by this time, Tyndale might have said, with Jeremiah of old, and perhaps did so, “His word was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay.”

Just so, th’ Omnipotent, who turns—the system of a world’s concerns,
From mere minutiae can educe—events of most important use;—
But who can tell how vast the plan— which this day’s incident began?

After this, as might have been anticipated, the murmuring of the priests increased more and more. Such language must have flown over the country, as on the wings of the wind. Tyndale, they insisted, was “a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, and now also a heretic in divinity.” To this they added that “he bare himself *bold of the gentlemen there* in that country, but that, notwithstanding, he should be otherwise spoken to.”²⁷

It was now evident that Tyndale could no longer remain, with safety, in the county of Gloucester, or within the *Italian* diocese of Worcester. He has therefore been represented, by Foxe, as thus addressing his Master: “Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither

²⁶ Who could this “old familiar” be, if not William Latimer the Greek Scholar? He retired to Saintberry and Weston-Sub-Edge as Rector, and these were both in Gloucester County.

²⁷ It must be remembered that Tyndale himself was the son of a respectable family, only eight miles distant; that he was now under the roof of Henry’s Champion, and not to mention other gentlemen, that Sir John’s brother-in-law, Sir Anthony Poyntz, was this year High Sheriff of the County.

shall you be able, *though you would*, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry." Searching about, therefore, not so much for an avenue to escape, as for some convenient place to accomplish the determined purpose of his heart, by translating the Scriptures, he now actually first thought of Tunstal, Bishop of London, one of the future *burners* of his New Testament! From Sir John Walsh's intimate knowledge of the Court, there was no difficulty in procuring the best access to him; and so Tyndale must bid farewell for ever to his interesting abode on Sodbury Hill.²⁸ It was his first and last, or *only* attempt throughout life to procure a *Patron*, and he will, himself, now describe his own movements.

"The Bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus (whose

²⁸ Before our leaving the House, however, which was then left by Tyndale with *such* intentions for his country's benefit and future glory, its history to the present day must not be withheld from the reader. Of its present aspect the reader has already seen three correct views. Sir John Walsh survived to the year 1546, when he was succeeded by Maurice Walsh, Esq., *the pupil of Tyndale*, then in his seventh year, when his Tutor left Sodbury. He married the daughter of Nicholas Vaux Lord Harrowden; but in 1556 a storm fell on this house. The lightning having entered at the parlour door, forced its way out at a window on the opposite side of the room, supposed to have been that part of the building which is seen on the left; one of the children was killed on the spot, and the *father* himself, with *six* others, were so much hurt that they all died in less than two months! An heir, however, survived, Sir Nicholas Walsh, and, as named after his grandfather Lord Harrowden, probably the eldest son. The manor, as well as that of Old Sodbury, continued in the family till 1608, when both were purchased by Thomas Stephens, Esq., Attorney-General to the Princes Henry and Charles. His eldest son, Edward, was High Sheriff in 1634. In prospect of this he had repaired the Manor House where Tyndale once lived, and hence, on the chimney-piece of the great room or Dining Hall, we have the family arms, having on one side the initials of his father and mother, T. S : E. S., on the other those of himself and his lady, E. A. S., and the date "A. D. 1633." Both houses were held by this family till 1728, when, through Sir Henry Winchcombe, they became the property, and Little Sodbury the *abode* of David Hartley, M.D., the author of *Observations on Man*. His great-grandson, Winchcombe Henry Howard Hartley, Esq., of Bucklebury House and of Little Sodbury, being the present proprietor. See *Rutted, Atkyns, Burke's Commoners, &c.*

At the back of this ancient Manor there was a room styled the *Library*, which the writer, with a friend, once visited; and with not a little interest, as the apartment in which Tyndale may have often sat, with his pupils around him; and, as Dr. Hartley is described by his son, to have been "methodical in the order and disposition of his books and papers, the companions of his thoughts," here, also, he may have mused the hours away. But on a subsequent visit this part of the house had been taken down, in apprehension of its falling! Surely it is to be hoped, although the house at present be inhabited by the Farmer on the Estate, and a new erection is said to be proceeding on still higher ground, that not one stone more will be removed. There is an interest said to be attached to Bucklebury House, Herts, in consequence of its being the occasional residence of the well known Lord Bolingbroke, but, in the eye of thousands, this is not to be mentioned in comparison with that which must ever be associated with the Farmer's present abode. Should this note ever meet the eye of the present respectable proprietor, we have no doubt that *verbum sapienti sat est*.

Upon our first approach to this house, in 1839, enquiring, by way of experiment, of a little girl who answered the door—whether she had ever heard of a man named *Tyndale*, who lived long ago? "Yes, Sir," she replied, "he lived in this house, and translated the Bible here." And in this the child was saying nothing more than our eminent antiquary Camden had said, for so even he imagined—"The learned William Tyndale lived here as Tutor, &c., and here translated the Bible." It is, however, quite possible that Sir John may have heard him read here some specimen of what he was bent upon accomplishing.

tongue maketh of little guats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whoever giveth him a little exhibition,) praiseth exceedingly, among other, in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning. Then, thought I, if I might come to this man's service I were happy." ²⁹ Such was his impression in Gloucestershire, when moved by the blind superstition of his country "to translate the New Testament;" and, till now, evidently unacquainted with the state of the metropolis; for "even," says he, "even in the Bishop of London's house I intended to have done it!"

"And so I gat me to London, and through the acquaintance of my master came to Sir Harry Gilford, the King's Grace's Comptroller, and brought him an Oration of *Isocrates*, which I had translated out of *Greek into English*, to speak unto my Lord of London for me. This he also did, as he showed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God, which knoweth what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that *that* counsel was not the next way to my purpose. And therefore He gat me no favour in my lord's sight. Whereupon my lord answered me—'his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where, he said, I could not lack a service.'"

This memorable interview between these two individuals, happened about three or four months after Tunstal's consecration as Bishop of London; and before the reader has proceeded much farther in these pages, he will discover a singular propriety in Tyndale having first called upon this man, above all others, previous to his going abroad. All parties agree as to Tunstal's attainments in learning—the specimen presented to him was a translation from the *Greek* of *Isocrates* into English; and, after receiving it, the Bishop replied,—“Seek in London, where *you* cannot lack a service.” If there was any meaning in the words employed, it was this,—“You are a competent translator from Greek into English.” Tyndale, it is true, was now evidently led, like a blind man,

²⁹ This reference to Erasmus is at once curious and important. His writings Tyndale admired, but saw through the defects in his character. It was in 1530 that Tyndale thus wrote. By “annotations” he could not refer to the *paraphrases* of Erasmus, which were not yet published, but to the preliminary matter before his New Testament, or to the *Capita argumentorum*, &c. But, by thus writing, he incidentally discovers that he had kept his eye on the successive editions of Erasmus' Greek New Testament. The three first were 1516, 1519, and 1522; all of which he may have seen before leaving England, but in none of these is Tunstal mentioned. He is first introduced by Erasmus among his Patrons in his fourth Ed. of 1527; but this, of course, could not influence our Translator when applying to the Bishop in 1523. Tyndale is therefore to be understood as marking, in 1530, the last specimen he had read—“Whom Erasmus praiseth among other in,” &c. They were the *other* commendations, which moved him in 1523. Thus, in a letter to Sir T. More, as early as 1517, Erasmus makes grateful mention of his pecuniary obligations to Tunstal. and in another that year he says, “scarcely one man in many thousands can be found more upright and obliging;” in one of 1516 he extols him for his knowledge of the learned languages. All this requires to be observed in connexion with a note in Russel's edition of Tyndale's works, i. p. 500; as well as with another, by the Editor of Foxe, as lately published by Seeley, vol. vii. pp. 655, 656. Erasmus had not benefited by the Complutensian Testament previous to his edition of 1527, and thus Tyndale discovers that he probably had the fourth or fifth Edition before him, when correcting his New Testament of 1534.

by a way that he knew not; but it certainly was something, to have received such an answer or attestation to his scholarship from such a man, before he proceeded farther with his intended work. It was equal to the Bishop having said, *Go forward*—though, if Tunstal had only divined what was the main object in view, no such answer had been returned; nay, an authoritative stop would have been put to all farther progress.

Meanwhile, and on the contrary, by the *advice*, and therefore the authority, of the Bishop of London himself, Tyndale was now authorised to seek for some situation throughout the metropolis. No ecclesiastic, however, afforded him any permanent abode; but, in a little time, and for fully the last six months of this year, namely, 1523, he was most kindly entertained under the roof of Mr. Humphrie Munnouth, a wealthy citizen, and future Alderman of London, when he used to preach at St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street. Although he sought in vain for a situation, "almost a year," yet the residence itself was not without its value in future life. It had a similar effect upon him, which a visit to Rome had upon some others, and tended not only to ground him more firmly in his views of divine truth, but to inflame his zeal for translating the Scriptures. He had opportunity for more closely observing many things which he had never seen before; and, in reference to the scene around him, witness his own language, in 1530:—

"And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our preachers, how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our Prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world; though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace; (for they cannot but either stumble, or dash themselves at one thing or another, that shall clean unquiet all together;) and saw things whereof I *defer* to speak at this time; and understood, at the last, not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also, that there was no place to do it, in *all England*, as experience doth now openly declare."³⁰

There is here not a little expressed, but far more implied, when coming from such a man as Tyndale. Had he been nothing more than a scholar, and merely the translator of the Scriptures, it would have been out of place to have noticed

³⁰ Preface to the Pentateuch, 1530. Tyndale drew from the life, or from what he had seen, and hence the power of all his writings. He was now publishing his "Practice of Prelates," and therefore *deferred* to say more in this preface.

other affairs. But since all his other writings were so powerful at the moment, as to excite the dread of these very Prelates, and thus enjoyed the honour of public denunciation; since he was the first, if not the only man, who gave such a masterly exposure of the whole policy of Wolsey, and now, without knowing it, was about to enter on a twelve years' war with the powers of darkness; we owe it not only to himself, but more especially to the Scriptures he translated, to watch the course of Divine Providence in the world. It may only be remarked here, once for all, that for seven years to come, while Henry VIII. had one object in view, his Prime Minister, Cardinal Wolsey, was frequently pursuing another. There was almost always an under-plot, which may now be detected; and it is not difficult to do so, throughout this present year, or 1523.

While Tyndale abode in London, searching, but in vain, for a convenient place or opportunity to translate the Scriptures, but at the same time "marking the course of the world," the affairs of all Europe seemed to hinge mainly upon only two individuals, one abroad, the other at home, or in England. The former, the Duke of Bourbon, distinguished for his military skill; the other we need scarcely name, Wolsey, rising higher still, through the extent of his ministerial power. The former, unquestionably, panted for the throne of France, the latter as certainly for the Pontifical Chair. They were the two instruments raised up by the Supreme Ruler to agitate the nations at this time, while neither the one nor the other was ever to reach the object of his ambition.

It was in the beginning of this year that Bourbon was agitated into determined treason, not without great provocation. Though the ablest General and the Constable of France, the King having, instead of him, preferred to the command of his army the Duke of Alençon; and besides other offences, the Lady Regent, as nearest of kin, having claimed the estates of his deceased wife, which would have reduced him to poverty; Bourbon now meditated that revenge which he could only gain by revolt. The resentment once felt, was soon conveyed to the ear of Wolsey, and by the month of May, he had concluded that treaty by which the Duke professedly bound himself to acknowledge Henry VIII. as King of France, and, of course, to dethrone his own Sovereign. So late as September he was again oscillating in suspense, but at last he decided, and in the fall of the year, Henry was dreaming in the hope of his wearing the crown of France.

The subject will again force itself on our notice, and before the arrival of Tyndale's New Testament; but in the meanwhile, as for Wolsey, all this was merely one subordinate arrangement. The monarchs of Europe,

and especially the Emperor and the King of France, wished to secure or enlarge their dominions, but the English Cardinal longed to rule them all. They might reign over the bodies of men, but in the autumn of 1523, he was in ardent expectation of ruling both sovereign and subject, in mind and body. Having been disappointed of the Pontifical Chair after the death of Leo the Tenth in 1521, before that Tyndale left London he must have known of Wolsey's second failure by the election of Clement the Seventh; not that the Cardinal had given up all hope of the prize, but blaming the Emperor, his suspicion of him was changing into positive enmity. He must, however, conceal his resentment from his Royal Master. He will gradually alienate Henry's affection from the Emperor, but, in the meanwhile, actually expressed great satisfaction with the elevation of Clement!

In few words, the world was hastening into greater ferment. The King of Denmark and his family, driven from the throne had fled into England, and news had arrived, that Solyman, the greatest Emperor the Turks ever had, having for many months besieged the Isle of Rhodes, had taken it by storm. This island being the great resort and succour of the European nations when sailing to the east, this event turned out to be only the commencement of those ulterior operations which agitated all Europe; while as to England itself, discontent was prevailing throughout the kingdom, through Wolsey's determination to raise immense pecuniary supplies for foreign war.

But before that Tyndale embarked for the Continent, was there no other step already suggested, which might operate in direct hostility to such a design as that which he contemplated? Yes, there was, and in this very year, one of the most powerful and magnificent character. It may be regarded as the climax in the triumph of literature, or as a phalanx in opposition. The attempt too is the more worthy of notice, since it has often been loosely regarded as the only redeeming trait in Wolsey's character. We refer to the establishment of Cardinal College, Oxford. "He patronised letters," it has been said, "and may be classed among the benefactors of the human mind." But even in the cultivation of letters, we must observe the end in view, and in order effectually to secure us against all unfair or even harsh conclusions, we shall take the explanation from the best of all authorities; or from the devoted friend of Wolsey, the Confessor of Henry VIII. and his Almoner, John Longland, the Bishop of Lincoln. Immediately after explaining Wolsey's

whole intentions to the King, his letter is addressed to the Cardinal himself, and dated so early as January 5, 1522, *i. e.* 1523. The explanation once given, he proceeds:—

“ I assure your Grace, the King doth consider all this in the best manner, and so doth report it unto your Grace’s honor, better than I can with pen express. Saying that more good shall come of this your honorable foundation than any man can esteem; with many good words much rejoicing in the same, as I doubt not but he will express at length unto your Grace at your coming, which I shewed him should be on Monday next. I ascertained him over this, your pleasure concerning the *secret search* ye would this term make in divers places, naming the same to him, and that *at one time*. And that ye would be at the Cross, (Paul’s Cross,) having the Clergy with you, and there to have a notable Clerk to preach before you a Sermon against Luther, the Lutherans and their defaulters, against their works and books, and against introducing their works into the kingdom: And then to have a proclamation to give notice that every person having any works of Luther or of his *factors* making, by a limited day to bring them in, under pain of the greater excommunication, and that day past, to fulminate the sentence against the contrary doers; and that, if, after that day, any such works be known, or found with any person, the same to be convicted by abjuration; and if they will contumaciously persist in their contumacy, *then to pursue them by the law (ad ignem) to the fire*, as against an heretic. And that ye purpose over this, to bind the said Merchants and Stationers in recognisance, never to bring into this Realm any such books, scrolls or writings. Which, your godly purpose his Highness marvellously well alloweth, and doth much hold with that recognisance, for that some and most will *more fear that*, than excommunication.

“ And his Grace thinks my Lord of Rochester to be most meet to make that Sermon before you, both because of the authority, gravity, and doctrine of the person. His Highness is as good and gracious in this *quarrel of God* as can be thought, wished, or desired, and, for the furtherance of this godly purpose, as fervent in this cause of Christ’s Church, and maintenance of the same, as ever noble Prince was.”

After flattering Henry as extolled throughout all Christendom for his “ notable wark maad agaynste Luther,” he goes on to say,—

“ It may please your Grace, of your merciful goodness, among all these great affairs, to remember *this matter* to his Highness, to animate him in this cause of Christ, of Christ and his Church, for the depression of the enemies of God. The world is *marvellously bent against us*, and it is *the King’s Grace and you* that must remedy the same. God hath sent your Grace amongst us, to advance his honor, and maintain his Church and faith; for whom we are all most bound to pray, and for your most noble prosperous estate long to endure.”

The same day after dinner, Longland went with the Lords into the Queen’s Chamber, where the King followed, and said to the Queen,—“ Madam, my Lord of Lincoln can show of my Lord Cardinal’s College at Oxford, and what learning there is and shall be, and what learned men in the same.” Upon which signal the Bishop went over the same ground once more, and amongst all, continues Longland:—

“ I shewed her of the notable lectures that should be there, and of the ex-cercetations of learning, and how the *Students* should be *limited* by the Readers *to the same*; likewise in the *exposition of the Bible*. And her Grace was marvellous

glad and joyous to hear of this your notable foundation and College, speaking great honor of the same."³¹

We need now no farther explanation. The curtain has been withdrawn; we have seen into the interior, and as far as the Professor's chairs. The Bishop has exultingly poured out all his incense, and the sequel will more fully prove, that we have had before us, no other than a grand systematic attempt, under the guise of learning, to retain the human mind in bondage; to prevent, if possible, the entrance of divine truth into England, and thus so far retard its progress in Europe. Here, it will be found, was, in embryo, what may be styled the first Jesuit College; projected, too, in the very year when Ignatius Loyala was no farther than Rome, imploring the benediction of the Pontiff, and seven years before he came begging into England. Well might Lord Herbert say, that the Cardinal thought, "since *printing* could not be put down, it were best to set up learning *against* learning, and by introducing able persons to dispute, suspend the laity betwixt fear and controversy—as this, at the worst, would yet make them attentive to their superiors and teachers!" The remark will force itself upon us again, but was this then a "benefactor of the human mind?" On the contrary, others will see here nothing else than a splendid but vain project to perplex the understanding, nay, to blind the minds of them that believed not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.

It ought, however, to be here observed, that all the dark purposes, divulged in this memorable letter, were literally fulfilled. There was the *secret search*, and at *one time*; there was the sermon delivered, and by Fisher, the man pointed out, and the books were burnt; *but then*, it is a most remarkable fact, that all these we shall see deferred—nay, deferred for exactly three years, or till immediately after Tyndale's New Testaments had arrived in the country! Wolsey, it is true, will have quite enough to divert him all the time, but it was just as if Providence had intended that the writings of no human being should have the precedence, but that His own Word, being so treated, should thus enjoy the distinction of exciting the general commotion of 1526. The burning of the *New Testament* was to be the head and front of their offending.

We have now done with Tyndale upon English ground; and, disappointed of employment, he also was done with "marking the pomp of our Prelates," or hearing the whole fraternity "boast of their high authority." But certainly

³¹ MS. Cotton Vitell, B. v. p. 8. Nor must the character of the writer of this letter be forgotten. No wonder than he wrote, as he evidently did, *con amore*. This was the same man who, in 1521, not two years before, had tormented his whole diocese; burning all such as had relapsed, and severely punishing those who were convicted of reading certain parts of the Sacred Scriptures, in English *manuscript*, or of even possessing the ten commandments! After he had written this letter, he was down at Oxford preparing for the Cardinal's buildings; and while Tyndale was busy at the press in 1525, Longland was preaching, on the foundation stone of Cardinal College being laid. Wood's Annals, by Gutch, ii. p. 24. Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, i. p. 164.

when he was to be seen walking up Fleet Street, from the hospitable abode of Mr. Humphrie Munmouth, to preach at St. Dunstan's in the West, nothing in this world could have been more improbable, than that in a short time he was so to agitate the whole hierarchy of England, and the city which he was now about to leave for ever!

Here, then, and before he embarks, let us pause for a moment. The copies of the Sacred Scriptures in the English tongue, now far exceed in number, not only that of every other nation, but they have been supposed to surpass the number in all other languages when put together! With us they are familiarly enumerated by millions, and myriads of our countrymen have lived in peace, and died in joy, full of the genuine consolation thus imparted! As far, therefore, as *human* agency was employed, it becomes a sacred duty to trace this, the highest favour of Heaven, up to its source; and certainly it is not a little singular, at the distance of nearly three hundred and twenty years, that we should be able to contemplate the origin of the whole, within the bosom of one disappointed and neglected, if not despised individual! There was, indeed, one young man, his own convert, with whom he may have communed on the subject, John Fryth, whether in London, which is most probable, or at Cambridge, but he was *not* to accompany him; no, nor even an amanuensis. Solitary and alone he went out as far as we yet know, and, with the exception of the port to which he sailed, like the patriarch of old, "not knowing whither he went." By faith, it may be truly said, he left his native country, not unmindful of it, but, on the contrary, loaded with a sense of genuine pity for its inhabitants, from the king downward.

SECTION II.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH PREPARING BY TYNDALE, FOR CIRCULATION IN HIS NATIVE LAND; AND IN TWO EDITIONS FROM THE PRESS BY THE CLOSE OF 1525.—STATE OF ENGLAND IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THEIR RECEPTION.

WE are now entering upon a war of opinion, and one of paramount importance to this kingdom, which, as far as our first

translator of the Sacred Volume was concerned, lasted, without one moment's interruption, for twelve years. It must appear singular, that no detail of such a contest, ending as it did, has ever been written. Such, however, being the fact, and such the variety of character, as well as the strange incidents involved in the struggle, without keeping rigidly to our narrative, *year by year*, as the subject never has been, so it never can be understood.

Tyndale, though strongly attached to his native country, having now fully resolved on going abroad, Munmouth "helped him over the sea." We know that he sailed direct for Hamburgh, and the question is, whether he did not there remain for more than a year. At all events, a period of about fifteen months, or rather two years, has to be accounted for, from January 1524; but so much obscurity has rested upon it, owing to the mere affirmations, both of friends and foes, that it becomes necessary to call for proof, and to proceed no farther than it will carry us.

Two general assertions have been hazarded, and too long received. One is, that, upon leaving his native land, Tyndale went directly to Luther, and completed his translation in confederacy with him. The other is, that he dwelt at Wittenberg while thus engaged.

This idea of Tyndale's immediate and intimate confederacy with Luther, and his dependence upon him, originally imported from abroad, through men who were, at the moment, under the torture of examination in England, has been repeated from Sir Thomas More and John Cochläus, two determined enemies, not to say John Foxe, a decided friend, down to Herbert Marsh in our own day; but it is more than time that it should be exploded. Considering that these are nothing more than assertions, it is strange that they should have prevailed with any, after Tyndale's own language to Sir Thomas More.

"It is to be considered," said More, "that at the time of this translation, Hychens (that is Tyndale) was with Luther in Wittenberg, and set certain glosses in the margin, (alluding to the edition in quarto,) framed for the setting forth of that ungracious sect;" and again—"The confederacy between Luther and him, is a thing well known, and plainly confessed by *such* as have been taken, and convicted here of heresy, coming from them."

The poor men who fell into More's hands, and on whose

testimony he rests his assertions, were no doubt willing, nay glad, to confess anything, which might please him, and favour their escape. But what says Tyndale himself to all this, in his "Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue?" After stating that he had already answered the whole of his Eighth Chapter, Third Book, with one exception, he emphatically adds, "And when he saith Tyndale was confederate with Luther, *that is not truth;*" though as a man traduced, and then persecuted, he would give his adversary no farther positive information.

But even independently of this pointed denial, was he even resident in Wittenberg, nay, in any part of Saxony, during this period? If not, then both assertions fall to the ground.

That he saw and conversed with Luther at some period, may be supposed, though we have not a shadow of proof; but that he had done either, or even set his foot in Saxony, before *the publication of his New Testament*, will very soon appear to have been impossible, in the nature of things. On the contrary, if we are to depend on the distinctly recorded testimony of the generous man with whom he resided in London; delivered, too, in very peculiar—because responsible—circumstances, and involving pecuniary transactions with Tyndale himself, which account for his *support*, a different place of residence must be assigned to him.

On the 14th of May 1528, Munmouth being sent for by Sir T. More, was the same day committed to the Tower. His petition for release, on the 19th, is addressed to Wolsey and the King's Council. Now, in this we have the following evidence, both as to *time* and *place* of residence, throughout 1524.

"Upon four years and a half and *more*, I heard the foresaid Sir William Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West in London." Tyndale, he then relates, applied to the Bishop of London, and was refused; "so I took him into my house half a year. I did promise him ten pounds sterling, to pray for my father and mother's souls, and all christian souls. I did pay it him when he made his exchange to *Hamburgh*. Afterwards he got of some other men, ten pounds sterling more, the which he *left* with me; and within a *year after*, he sent for his ten pounds to me *from Hamburgh*, and *thither* I sent it to him, by one Hans Collebenke, a Merchant of the Stilyard."¹

¹ Harleian MS., Foxe, and copied by Strype.—It is worthy of notice, that Tyndale had left with his generous host, *two* copies of the *Euchiridion* of Erasmus, which he had translated at Sudbury, copies of the *sermons* he had preached in London, besides other papers, but Munmouth became intimidated, and after Tunstal's denunciation of the New Testament, he not only delivered it up, but all the treatises and letters that Tyndale had sent or left he destroyed! "I did burn them in my house, for *fear* of the translator, more than for any ill that I knew by them." But the fact is, that Munmouth was now in very great *fear of himself*, and this must be borne in

Thus, in the summer of 1523, Munmouth heard Tyndale preach; he dwelt six months in his house, and probably more, as our translator himself has told us, that in London he "abode almost a year;" in the beginning of 1524 he made his "exchange" for Hamburgh; nearly a year elapses *before* he sends, from Hamburgh still, for his second ten pounds, and he there *remains* till he received it. That he had never left the spot, will presently appear still more evident.

Until, therefore, other evidence to the contrary can be produced, we have accounted not only for Tyndale's residence in Hauburgh throughout 1524, but also for what is more gratifying, the expense of his support for even a longer period. It is some consolation to find him not thrown entirely on the hospitality of foreigners, if indeed in any degree; as the sums allotted to him, when put together, were equal to fifteen times the amount in our day, or about £300 sterling.²

We presume it will now be admitted, that the residence of Tyndale at Wittenberg, has been nothing more than an assumption, serving powerfully, at the moment, the purpose of Sir Thomas More, his calumniator. The evidence, as yet, is distinctly in favour of Hamburgh, and as for "confederacy with Luther," that has been pointedly denied. More had affirmed that Tyndale "was *with Luther in Wittenberg*;" and Tyndale replies, "that is not truth." Indeed, these words are his emphatic answer to all that his opponent had either of malicious purpose, or by mistake, asserted in both of his sentences, already quoted.

We, however, now know the movements of Luther better than did Sir Thomas More; and it may be worth while to enquire how *he* was engaged at the moment, and throughout the greater part of this year. Most unfortunately he had

mind when reading his confession. That he gave the ten pounds to Tyndale, to *pray for his father and mother's souls*, was the cant language of the day, now employed, under intimidation, to justify his having lent him assistance. By this time Tyndale had no faith in such prayers, and it is even questionable whether Munmouth himself had—but certainly not when he made his will in 1537, commending his soul "unto Christ Jesus, my Maker and Redeemer, in whom, and by the merits of whose blessed passion, is *all my whole trust of clean remission and forgiveness of my sins*. He ordered his body to be buried, "without any *dirige* to be sung or said."

² Munmouth mentions far larger sums that he had given away, though ten pounds was then a princely donation. "Henry VIII. rewarded Roger Ascham with a pension of ten pounds annually, a sum so small, that it may appear unworthy of enquiry what could be its value; but it must be enquired what twenty shillings could then perform." After doing so, the author adds—"His pension, therefore, may be estimated at *more* than a hundred pounds a year."—*Johnson's Life of Ascham*.—The Doctor's calculation was nearly eleven times, but we abide by fifteen, as more correct.

just fallen out violently with Carlostadt, and taken that step which has so often been lamented since, as a memorable instance of human imbecility. It only requires to be observed, that the time of Tyndale's sailing from London, and that of Carlostadt leaving Wittenberg, were simultaneous, or the beginning of 1524. The vexatious controversy respecting the Lord's Supper had already commenced. Luther was posting after Carlostadt, and, by the month of August, at Jena, they were pledged antagonists, after which the latter had to seek refuge in Strasburg. The approach of any man to Luther, at this period, who was not of his opinion, would have been fatal to any advice or confederacy with him. Now, as Tyndale was not at present, nor indeed *ever was*, a Lutheran, and since, as a scholar, he needed neither assistance nor advice, from a man with whom he could have conversed only through the medium of Latin; to send him into Saxony for *such* purposes, and at *such* a time, was equally absurd. On the contrary, if there were strong reasons for seeking no such intercourse at this moment; there were stronger still, gathered by Tyndale himself from the state of England, as already described, whether in Gloucestershire or in London, for his immediately sitting down to his work; and, instead of hastening away from Hamburg into Saxony, if we at once assume that Tyndale *remained* in this city throughout 1524, as Munmouth has told us, and then, in 1525, was first at Cologne, and then at Worms; we shall leave the reader to judge, as he proceeds, whether a day was left for visiting other places, except such as lay in his way, and more especially one so far distant as the usual abode of Martin Luther.

To return, therefore, to our history. Tyndale had now entered, with great vigour, on *two* of the most important years of his existence; and if, when his productions are once discovered in England, it shall come out in evidence, that, *in that time*, he had translated and printed first an edition of the gospel of Matthew, then another of the gospel of Mark, with two editions of the New Testament; this will demonstrate, that neither his residence, nor his labours, have ever yet been understood.

At the moment of Tyndale's arrival in Hamburg, it is not unworthy of remark, that he had found the city in a state of great excitement, but, at the same time, one by no means

unfavourable to the commencement of his design. Nor was this excitement of recent origin. In 1523, the burghers had already agreed, in a body, to oppose the usurpations, the taxes, and the excommunications of the Chapter, while they were divided in their opinions respecting points of belief and ceremonies. One party, and that supported by the Senate, were for reforming both. A Franciscan friar, named Kempe, newly come from Rostoc, had been requested to preach the gospel in its purity, and was now so engaged; with better success than Henry Zuphten, who had been burnt alive at Mehlendorf, by a decree of the official at Hamburg.³

But if Tyndale, in 1524, *abode* in this city, had he the benefit of any assistance, or did he meet with an amanuensis *there*? With regard to the first enquiry, he himself informs us, that he “had no man to *counterfeit*, neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same, or such like thing in the Scripture before time.”⁴ As for an amanuensis, and one who was also able to compare the text with him when translated; he seems to have had first one, and then another, who remained in his service for a considerable time. The first of these, we cannot name, though he was highly esteemed by our translator; the second was William Roye, a friar observant of the Franciscan order at Greenwich. The truth is, that the only authentic explanation of this period, is to be found in a passage of Tyndale’s own writing, contained in the preface to the very first book that he published after his New Testament—“The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.”

“While I *abode*, a faithful companion, which now hath taken another voyage upon him, to preach Christ where, I suppose, he was never yet preached, (God, which put in his heart thither to go, send his Spirit with him, comfort him, and bring his purpose to good effect!) One William Roye, a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be thorough known, and namely, when all is spent, came unto me and offered his help. As long as he had no money, somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write, and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was ended,

³ See Essay on the Hist. of Hamburg, translated from the French, by M. A. Dathe, London, 1766, in which there are some curious particulars, Part II. chap. 2. For Zuphten’s affecting martyrdom, see D’Aubigné’s History, vol. iii. p. 211.

⁴ This language, which accompanied his New Testament, might surely have been received as a sufficient disclaimer of all “confederacy” with any man. To *counterfeit*, in that age, meant, “to follow in imitation, as an example.” Thus—“Every Christian man ought to have Christ always before his eyes, as an ensample to *counterfeit* and follow.”—*Tyndale’s Works*.

I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives, and, as men say, a day longer. After we were departed,⁵ he went and gat him new friends, which thing to do, he passeth all that ever I yet knew. And then, when he had stored him of money, he gat him to Argentine, (Strasburg,) where he professeth wonderful faculties, and maketh boast of no small things. A year after that, and now twelve months before the printing of this work, (or May 1526,) came one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich *also*, through Worms to Argentine—which Jerome, I warned of Roye's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk quietly, and with all patience and long suffering, according as we have Christ and his apostles for an ensample, which thing he also promised me."

In reference to the place of Tyndale's *abode*, when Roye came to him, we have to regret a very singular hiatus, as, perhaps, he prudently wished to conceal the place. "While I abode ———, a faithful companion," &c.; but, with the trustworthy testimony of Munnouth before us, we may surely presume that the words to be supplied are, "in *Hamburgh*." Who the "faithful companion" was, we have not been able to ascertain; only this could not possibly be John Fryth, according to the vague assertion which has been so often and so long repeated. He was still at Cambridge, as he did not take his degree at that University till December 1525, nor escape from Oxford to the Continent, as we shall see afterwards, till August or September 1526.

But it is with Roye we have especially to do; and, with this passage before us, it appears that he came to Tyndale at Hamburgh, for he was afterwards with him at Cologne, and left him not at Worms, "till that was ended, which he could not do without one." Unable to procure any other suitable individual, once hired, Tyndale was evidently shut up to the necessity of retaining Roye in his service. His occupation was, in a great degree, mechanical; but there is a degree of *point* in the language employed, for an important reason, which will be fully explained when we come to the year of its publication, or 1527.

With regard to the progress actually made during this year, or how much Tyndale may, if not must, have accomplished in Hamburgh, there has never been any distinct information. This, however, may be accounted for from the fact never having been before known, that previously to the publication of his New Testament; whether in quarto, with

⁵ *i. e.* separated; a word long employed in this sense.—"Depart ye to me, Saul and Barnabas, into the work to which I have taken them."—*Wicliffe*.

glosses, or in octavo, without them; Tyndale had printed an edition of Matthew, as well as of Mark, by themselves, although not a single copy has ever yet been identified. In the eager search for the Scriptures, with a view to their being destroyed, they may have been sometimes given up, to *save* a Testament; but there can be no question that we have here before us Tyndale's earliest effort for the benefit of his country.

After John Foxe had printed his loose statement in his Acts and Monuments, when he came to publish Tyndale's works, in 1573, he glances at this fact, though no attention has ever been paid to his words. In his life of Fryth, talking no more of Saxony, he has said—"William Tyndale first placed himself in Germany, and there did *first* translate the Gospel of St. Matthew into English, and *after*, the whole New Testament," &c. His mention of Matthew, by itself, certainly appears to imply some distinction; but the real state of the case was this—that Tyndale not only "first translated Matthew," but printed it, and the Gospel of Mark also. Both of these we shall find to be most bitterly denounced in the beginning of 1527, after having been read; and as a publication, not only *separate* from the New Testament with its prologue, but as printed previously.

It is worthy of notice, that Munmouth, in his memorial to Wolsey and the Council, who had been in possession of the earliest New Testament, distinctly confesses that he had "received a little treatise," which Tyndale had *sent* to him, "*when* he sent for his money," in 1524. This, at least, shows that he had been busily engaged in the city where he had first landed. But if this was not the well-known tract, which was ere long to produce such effect, entitled, the "Supplication of Beggars," by Mr. Fish, it may have been these gospels, or one of them.

We do not, however, farther anticipate. The fact of both gospels having been printed, and styled emphatically, "the first print," is certain; and we simply add, that the place where they were printed, we have been led to believe, *must* have been Hamburgh. Of this there will be farther evidence.

Were it now possible to relate, in full detail, the history of the printing of the two first editions of our New Testament in the English language, it would unquestionably form one of the

most striking illustrations of the superintending providence of God over his own Word; and only exceeded by its introduction into England and Scotland, immediately after being printed. The account, however, even as far as it may be traced, cannot fail to interest all those who desire to mark the hand of the Supreme Being, in by far the greatest gift which He has ever bestowed on Britain.

It has been usual to represent the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament as printed at Antwerp in the year 1526, and so dismiss the subject. We shall have occasion to show that, though not printed under his eye, this was the *third* edition; and that the history of the two first editions, printed in 1525, by Tyndale himself, elsewhere, has never yet been properly understood. Indeed, so defective have the statements hitherto been, that although *two* editions were distinctly denounced, both by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1526; no one had thought, till very lately, of either enquiring after the missing book, or even allowing the quarto edition with glosses, to have then existed. Every particular circumstance, therefore, which can be properly authenticated, respecting these two first productions of Tyndale's own hand, the source of so many subsequent editions both abroad and at home, ought to be recorded; and more especially, since so diligent was the "secret search" after them, and so frequent the flames which consumed them, that, of the *octavo* impression, only one copy of the sacred text remains complete, one other imperfect, and of the *quarto*, nothing more than a venerable fragment. This last, however, happily includes his original prologue entire, or the very first sheets thrown off at the Cologne press.

We proceed, therefore, to give a general statement of the movements of Tyndale, explaining it more fully, and confirming it afterwards. Having left the place of his abode, which we have assumed to be Hamburgh; he arrived at Cologne on the Rhine, in the end of April or beginning of May 1525, perhaps earlier, accompanied by his amanuensis William Roye. He commenced his labours by committing to the press his New Testament, in the form of a quarto volume. Not only was the entire sacred text then translated, but his prologue, extending to fourteen pages, was composed before he began to print. This appears to be evident, not merely from the

language of the prologue itself, but from its commencing with sign A ij, and the letters running on regularly through the sacred text.

The printers, however, had only proceeded as far as the tenth sheet, or letter K, when an alarm was raised, the authorities of the place informed, and the work interdicted. Tyndale and Roye contrived to secure the sheets printed off, and sailing up the Rhine to Worms, where much greater liberty could at this time be enjoyed, they proceeded with their undertaking. This interruption, though felt to be most grievous at the moment, as Tyndale afterwards obscurely hinted; far from damping, only inflamed his zeal, and the remarkable result was, that *two* editions were accomplished by him, in the same period in which very probably he had contemplated only one. These statements, however, admit of ample confirmation, and, on account of the confusion which has hitherto prevailed, they demand it.

In the illustration of historical truth, except attention be paid to all that the chief opponents have written, we must occasionally be unable to recount the facts as they occurred. Invaluable information may be drawn from an enemy, and if his statements can be authenticated, they often fill up a chasm, and explain matters which otherwise must have remained in oblivion. Besides, in all instances where an opponent could have no motive to falsify, his narration of facts should be the more respected. We have a striking illustration of these remarks now before us.

Perhaps the most virulent enemy to the Word of God being translated into any vernacular tongue, who ever breathed, was John Cochleus. He at least rose above all his contemporaries of the sixteenth century, and with an unwearied perseverance, worthy of a better cause, he not only strove to prevent the diffusion of the Scriptures, and longed to strangle every attempt at their translation in the very birth, but even gloried in his enmity to all such proceedings.

Born at Nuremberg, in the year 1479, he died at the age of 73, in January 1552, at Breslaw; and from the year 1522, in which he published his "Invective," down to 1550, his fertile pen was perpetually busy, and his tongue as much so as such unwearied writing would permit. Although his History of the Hussites, and his Commentary on the Life and Writings of Luther were volumes, his general mode of warfare consisted in small publications. Thus, in 1528, 1530, 1534, 1537, he published seven each year, in 1544, nine, and in 1539, eleven. In the

course of 28 years we have, on an average, above one publication every *three months*. Our list of the whole consists of one hundred and twenty-two, but there must have been more. During this long period, he had printed against Luther, and Melancthon, Velenus and Pomeranus, Zuinglius and Jonas, *Tyndale* and *Ales*, Ambrose and Morbanus, Musculus and Bullinger, Bucer, and finally, Calvin. Ceasing not to publish till he was past seventy years of age, he died as he had lived, a determined enemy to the circulation of the Scriptures, the only point in his character with which we have here to do.

Violently opposed, as it will appear, to the people of Scotland, as well as England, receiving the Word of Truth in their mother tongue, the inhabitants of both countries may well mark the futility of all his efforts; and the more so, as we are indebted to this opponent for statements, curious and minute, of the accuracy of which there will be no reason to doubt, before we come to the close of this narrative.

Certainly, at the moment, nothing must have been more lamented, than that the most inveterate living opponent on the Continent should come, nay, be *driven* into Cologne, soon after *Tyndale* had commenced at press! How much more so, when it turned out that Cochlæus was shut up to the necessity of remaining there throughout the rest of the year 1525! Such, however, was the fact; but what was the result? Why that, whether we ascribe it to his opposition or not, there were, as already stated, two editions of the New Testament printed, instead of one.

According to Cochlæus, the "two English apostates," as he styles *Tyndale* and *Roye*, first contemplated an edition of six thousand copies, but for prudential reasons, they began with three thousand. He tells us, that *Pomeranus* had already sent forward his letter to the saints in England, and that *Luther* himself had written his conciliatory letter to *Henry VIII.* Now this letter, we know, was dated the 1st of September 1525. He then adds, that it had been anticipated, this English New Testament in quarto, would soon follow; but that the Lutherans, overjoyed, broke the secret before the time; or in other words, he himself ferreted out the secret, as will be seen by his own confession. We have only, therefore, to verify the residence and occupation of this opponent during 1525 and 1526, in order to ascertain the precise period to which his account refers. During the year 1525, Cochlæus was actually resident in Cologne, but *not* in 1526. While there, he was as usual, busily occupied in writing

against Melancthon, Velenus, and Luther, as well as in searching after the writings of Rupert, an Abbot, formerly in the Monastery of Deutz, immediately opposite to Cologne. This Abbot, who flourished four hundred years before, had written certain commentaries on the Scriptures, besides several other pieces; and as *some* of his sentiments were thought to be favourable to the cause of divine truth, its friends were eager to procure any of his works, and publish such of them, with notes, as might at once serve their cause, and prove that their doctrines were not so *new* as their opponents represented. One of his little pieces, "Of the Victory of the Word of God," had been already printed, with annotations by Osiander of Nuremberg, and the Lutherans were actually in treaty with the then Abbot of Deutz, expecting from him other works of Rupert, intending to convey them for examination to Nuremberg. Cochlæus interposed, alarmed the Abbot, and, lest the notes and prologues of his opponents should make Rupert appear in favour of their doctrine, contrived himself to gain possession of the whole. He had then to engage parties willing to publish, and though he found considerable difficulty, at last he prevailed on Peter Quentel, and Arnold Byreckman, well known printers of the place.

Now it was while *thus* engaged at Cologne, in 1525, that Cochlæus discovered this *first* impression of the English New Testament, proceeding briskly, as he says, or swiftly at the press; yet, with such caution had both Tyndale and Roye conducted themselves, that, although Cochlæus succeeded in stopping the press, he was never able to meet either the one or the other; a striking proof, by the way, of their intimate acquaintance with his character.

On making the discovery, Cochlæus says that he was agitated by *fear* as well as wonder and surprise; but why so? Let it be observed, that, in connexion with his proposed publication of Rupert's works, his situation was a very critical one. Before his arrival, Tyndale was going on at the press, and if it shall turn out that Byreckman, as well as his brother, and Quentel were at all concerned in *his* progress, though merely in the way of business, what is Cochlæus to do; or how is he to proceed? As for Francis Byreckman, we know, that, as a bookseller, he had connexions with Quentel, and also with England. Indeed, for such an early period, he had an exten-

sive business, having a warehouse not only in Paris but in London; his shop was then, and for ten years before this, "in cemiterio Sancti Pauli," in St. Paul's Church Yard.⁶ But, besides, we shall present the strongest presumptive, if not positive evidence, that *Quentel* was the printer. If, therefore, Cochlæus now aimed at the interruption or suppression of a work in the English tongue, to the printer a foreign one, and already so far advanced at press; Cochlæus being not even a citizen of Cologne, but only an exile, and but recently arrived, his circumstances were embarrassing, and most probably, he had a very difficult game to play.

Be this, however, as it may, Cochlæus succeeded dexterously. Not appearing himself, he *secretly* scured the ear of the well known Herman Rincke or Ringe, and this was all-sufficient. Possessed both of a civil and a military capacity, his authority in Cologne was great; and besides it was but the revival of his intercourse with a court, which he had visited so long ago as 1502, when Wolsey was nothing more than the Rector of Lymington.⁷

Now, as we shall find that Cochlæus, as well as Rincke, alarmed by letter Henry VIII., the Cardinal, and Fisher the Bishop of Rochester, their eye must have been effectually if not intensely fixed, at the moment, on *this* edition. Yet the graphical and minute account of Cochlæus, has never been given complete by any English author. We shall, therefore, first present it, entire, and then corroborate it, particularly as to the time, or year, of which he speaks.

"Two English apostates, who had been sometime at Wittenberg, sought not only to subvert their own merchants, (who secretly favoured and supported them in their exile,) but even hoped that, whether the king would or not, all the people of England would in a short time become Lutherans, by means of the New Testament of Luther, which they had translated into the English language. They had already come to Cologne, that thence they might convey, secretly, under cover of other goods to England, the Testament so translated, and multiplied by printers into many thousands. For they had so much confidence of managing the business well, that, at the first onset, they asked from the printers

⁶ There were three of this name in succession, Francis, Arnold, and John. The two last were printers at Cologne as well. We allude to the first as a bookseller.

⁷ Rincke had been sent in 1502 by the Emperor Maximilian to Henry VII., on an important embassy, in reference to commercial intercourse between Germany and England. He was the very best man for promoting the nefarious design of Cochlæus; and, it deserves notice, that immediately after *this* period he becomes the confidential correspondent both of Henry VIII. and of Cardinal Wolsey. Hence we have letters to both parties in the Museum, to which emphatic reference will be made under the year 1526, and even later.

six thousand to be given from the press. But fearing lest they should meet with a very heavy loss, if any thing happened unfortunately, they only put three thousand to the press; which, if they should happily be sold, could with ease be printed anew. Already Pomeranus had sent forward letters to the saints who are in England,⁸ and Luther himself had also written to the King. And when it was believed that the New Testament was about to follow by and bye, so great joy from that hope seized the Lutherans, and inflated them with the wind of vain confidence, that, filled with delight, they, with their vain boasting, broke the secret before its time.

“At that time John Cochlaeus, Deacon of the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Frankfort, lived as an *exile*, at Cologne, who, by his host George Laver, Canon to the Apostles, intimately acquainted with the Abbot of Deutz, when he heard that certain works of Rupert, formerly an Abbot of that Abbey,⁹ were to be sent to Nuremberg, that they might be published by the Lutherans, he began, with the greatest eagerness, both to dissuade from, and to hinder that business. For the Lutherans, even to that day, after they had diligently searched and turned over all the ancient Libraries, could find no author of all the Doctors of the Church for so many ages, who could have approved of the doctrines of Luther. At last a little work of that Rupert, who had lived 400 years before, was found.¹⁰ The title of it was, ‘of the Victory of the Word of God.’ And it was forthwith published by the Lutherans; because, by its title, it so directly pleased all, that nothing more desirable could be seen than that author. In the meantime, they understood from Trithemius, that he had written many little pieces, but they had found only two; of which one was inscribed ‘of the power,’ the other ‘of the providence’ of God. In their edition, Osiander, a married priest and preacher, applied many things after the manner of Luther, by which he attempted to make the pious author the patron of that infamous sect; and now they were treating with the Abbot of Deutz himself, that he might send the rest of the works of Rupert to Nuremberg, to be printed. He, however, as soon as he heard from Cochlaeus what great danger there would be in that matter, if he delivered the pious author into the hands of the impious, who were about, not only to basely contaminate him by impious prefaces and annotations, but even to pervert his upright and sound opinions; and of an ancient catholic were about to make a new heretic, who, four hundred years before, should seem to have approved of all the dogmas of Luther. The Abbot, therefore, good man, having changed his opinion, kept by himself the volumes, already packed up into a large bundle, ready to be conveyed to Nuremberg. In this bundle there were fourteen books on the Gospel of John, twelve on the Revelations, and twelve books ‘De divinis Officiis.’

“When, however, the monks were not to be at rest, unless they published these works, Cochlaeus earnestly entreated Peter Quentel and Arnold Byrekman that they should, on their joint expense and profit, undertake their publication; notwithstanding, he could not persuade them, till at length he had promised them, to that edition, all his own labour. When that became sufficiently profitable to them, they no more required Cochlaeus to urge them, but themselves, of their own accord, sought out more of his small works, requesting now the

⁸ “Epistola ad Anglos, 1525. Reprinted in English, 1535. *peccis me*, from Heber. Herbert-Ames, p. 1546.

⁹ Deutz Benedictine Abbey, connected with Cologne by a bridge of boats.

¹⁰ Rupert, a native of Ipres, died in Feb. 1135, aged 44. His works full of mysticism, were not only now printed at Cologne, but in 1631. at Paris in 2 volumes, and at Venice, 1748-1752, in 4 vols. folio. — *L'Advocat*.

Abbot, and then Cochlæus, that they might search for more of them in any quarter. The Abbot, therefore, thus excited, diligently searched out of the old monasteries of St. Benedict, thirty-two books on the twelve minor Propheets, and seven on the Song of Solomon. Cochlæus found at Cologne, in the Library of the Greater Church, nine books concerning the Glorification of the Trinity, and the procession of the Holy Spirit; and in the School of Arts, a large volume on the works of the Trinity. When, however, he learnt that Rupert was formerly a Monk of St. Laurence at Leige, he wrote to Theodoric Hozius, a Canon of Leige, whom he had known intimately at Rome, after the death of Adrian VI., (Sep. 1523,) whose private secretary he had been, entreating that he would search out in that monastery whatever remained of the books of Rupert. He found, therefore, a work greatly esteemed—thirteen books on Matthew, ‘of the glory and honour of the Son of Man.’ He could not, however, send the original to Cologne, except he, with two other Canons, *would pledge in security to the monks all their goods*, for the restoration of the copy!

“All these volumes, therefore, Cochlæus, *being called away to Mentz, carried with him*, and while *residing there* prepared them for publication, and sent them back, to be published at Cologne.”¹¹

Three volumes in folio were accordingly published at Cologne, but every one of them in the year 1526. Cochlæus, however, must still relate more circumstantially what had occurred in the *previous* year, when he was an exile at Cologne.

“Having *thus* become more intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, he sometimes heard them confidently boast, when in their cups, that whether the King and Cardinal of England would or not, all England would in short time be Lutheran. He heard also that there were two Englishmen lurking there, learned, *skilful in languages*, and fluent, whom, however, *he never could see or converse with*. Calling, therefore, certain printers into his lodging, after they were heated with wine, one of them, in more private discourse, discovered to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the side of Luther—namely, That three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and already were advanced as far as the letter K, *in ordine quaternionem*. That the expenses were fully supplied by English merchants; who were secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely through all England, before the King or the Cardinal could discover or prohibit it.

“Cochlæus being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief, under the appearance of admiration. But another day, considering with himself the magnitude of the grievous danger, he cast in mind by what method he might expeditiously obstruct these very wicked attempts. He went, therefore, secretly, to Herman Rinck, a patrician of Cologne and Military Knight, familiar both with the Emperor and the King of England, and a Counsellor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as, by means of the *wine*, he had received it. He, that he might ascertain all things more certainly, sent another person into the house where the work was printing, according to the discovery of Cochlæus; and when he had understood from him that the matter was even so, and that there was great abundance of paper there, he went to the Senate, and so brought it about that the printer was interdicted from proceeding farther

¹¹ This work on *Matthew* last mentioned was accordingly *finished* at press, 12th June 1526. That on *John* and the *Revelations* followed in the *same* year; the smaller work “*De div. officiis*,” came out in March 1527.—*Panzer*. To each is attached the name of *Francis Birekman*, a proof that he was deeply concerned. To the first and the last of these books we shall have to make some reference presently.

in that work. The two English apostates, *snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed*, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Lutheranism, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun. Rinck and Cochläus, however, immediately advised by their letters the King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop of Rochester, that they might, with the greatest diligence, take care lest that most pernicious article of merchandise should be conveyed into all the ports of England."¹²

Although this arch-enemy had never written another word, there can be no question as to the period of this vexatious interruption. He has fixed it himself, by telling us, he was then an *exile* at Cologne. In 1523, Cochläus was at Rome, in 1524 he was at Frankfort and Mentz, and, driven from both, he fled for refuge to Cologne in 1525. There he remained stationary till the beginning of 1526, when, recalled to Mentz, he went in June to the Diet of Spire, and remained till August. Returning to Mentz, he paid a transient visit to Cologne in 1527, but *not* as an exile. "In 1525," says Dupin, "Cochläus, who had been obliged to quit first Frankfort and then Mentz, because of the popular seditions of the cities, was at Cologne, where Eckins *going into England*, had an interview with him."¹³ Yes, and Eckins not only went, but would no doubt enforce all that both Rincke and Cochläus had written.¹⁴

Now, with regard to the interruption itself, the usual misrepresentations, of Tyndale translating from *Luther's Testament*, and at *Wittenberg*, being once deducted; we have here a very distinct testimony as to the secrecy and prudence with which Tyndale had conducted himself, and, moreover, a frank confession from Cochläus. He was bent on crushing the work, and then all methods were fair. He intoxicates the workmen, and gains his purpose; a method in perfect keeping with his character, and in 1549, or twenty-four years afterwards, he was not ashamed to make the avowal!

¹² Cochläus, *Com. de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri - Moguntium*, 1549. Or Colonia 1568, pp. 153-156. Cochläus says they wrote *immediately*, though, writing from memory, he had affirmed that Luther had *already* sent his letter to Henry. But as it was dated 1st September, there seems to have been some little delay in writing. Be this, however, as it may, the letter of Luther, we shall find presently, did not reach Henry's eye till *six* months after its date!

¹³ See the *Nouvelle Bibl. of Dupin*, 1703, vol. xiv. p. 135.

¹⁴ He had returned from England after the departure of Cochläus to Mentz, and was publishing "*De Sacraficio Missæ. Coloniae J. Soter*, 1526. The truth is, that, in 1524 and 1525, Lutheranism increasing, established itself in many cities. Thus at Frankfort, the people rising, dismissed the two Deacons of the principal churches, viz. Martorff and *Cochläus*; broke up the Monastery, and remodelled the government of the town. The same cause obliged him to quit Mentz, and this was the reason of his being an unwilling *exile* at Cologne in 1525, for at least nine months.

We find, however, also from himself, that throughout the whole of this business it was not blind zeal only by which he was actuated. He had not only notoriety, but *gain* in view, and we shall see him sadly mortified in obtaining neither. Meanwhile, no means are left untried to procure distinction, and, if possible, some money from England; as well as to secure friends at Cologne, after what he had done. He, therefore immediately employs Quentel himself, but in very different work.¹⁵ In 1526, though not at Cologne, he is writing to Rincke, and following up his letters to England by a present to the same parties to whom he had formerly written, and through the same medium.—“The said Sir Herman Rynge shewed me a letter that he had received from one Doctor Johannes Coeleus, containing only the overthrow, without any mention of the King, and those of Vienna in Austria be greatly afraid. Also he shewed me to have received *three Books* from the said Doctor, the one for the King’s Highness, the other for your Grace, and the third for my Lord of Rochester.”¹⁶ In 1527, Cochlæus was publishing Luther’s letter to Henry VIII., with the King’s Reply, and his own virulent comments, intended as a compliment to the English Monarch, and then, also, he must flatter both Birkman and Rincke.¹⁷ But all was in vain. Henry VIII. communicated only with Rincke, and never even answered Cochlæus, or sent him any reward; a mortification which he felt the more, as he ever afterwards regarded his interruption of Tyndale, to be one of his most notable and praiseworthy exploits. Again and again did he refer to it in future life,

¹⁵ J. Cochlæus adversum Lutherum. *Coloniæ Patr. Quentel*, 1525. See Kloss’s Catalogue of Melancthon’s Books and MS., No. 2356. Sold by auction in London, May 1835.

¹⁶ MS. Cotton, Vitell. B. xxi. 10, b. Sir Jo. Wallop to Wolsey, 30th Sep. 1526. Sir John, our ambassador to France, though travelling, was this year residant at Cologne for some time; at least his letters onward to 30th Nov. are dated from thence. The first allusion of Cochlæus is to the progress of the Grand Turk in Europe, and the consequent overthrow of Hungary, her King being drowned in his flight from the field. The *three books* were most probably the Reply of Cochlæus to Pomeranus. His “Epistle to the faithful in England” having been sent over in 1525, Cochlæus published his reply in 1526. Another book he sent to the King in 1527.

¹⁷ He dedicates this thing from Mentz, 1st March, to the famous bookseller, Fr. Birkmann, a citizen of Cologne.—“Seeing that you are a Bookseller, very well known both in England and France, and have warchouses well furnished every where by the Catholic Doctors of the Church, out of which, as from fortified arsenals, you conveniently furnish arms to those who are inclined to fight against this most hideous sect, I thought these things ought to be especially sent to you; and they will be able more and more to commend *the Royal Epistle*, of which you are so diligent a publisher.” He must dedicate this also to Rincke, styling him the “most prudent Councillor of the greatest Sovereigns;” and finally he passes down to Cologne in March, and dates it “at the house of the honourable citizen Peter Quentel.”—See his *Epistola Martini Lutheri ad H. VIII.*, &c. 1527.

for which we are the more obliged to him, as every fresh allusion only corroborates or explains the movements of our Translator of the Scriptures. Whether he be writing to Scotland, England, or even Poland, Cochlaeus cannot omit mention of the subject.

Thus, in writing to Scotland on the 8th of June, 1533, it is his boast, that he had *eight years ago* thus interrupted the printing of the Scriptures, which had been commenced by an impression of three thousand copies, *after the war of the peasants*. By this expression he intends to mark either the beginning of May 1525, when the great battle with Muncer was fought, or it may be a little earlier, when the commotion at Cologne in particular had been suppressed.¹⁸

The allusion, however, to his interruption of Tyndale, which must have been most mortifying to the pride of Cochlaeus, was that to which he was provoked by severe chastisement, in 1538. Cochlaeus before then had, of course, *changed* his opinion of Henry VIII., and more especially since he had neglected him. Sir Richard Morysin, one of our ambassadors, having in his "Apomaxis," posted Cochlaeus in his title page, as "a petty professor of arts, bold in sarcasm, who had attempted to attack the reputation of Henry the Eighth,"¹⁹ Cochlaeus then published his "*Broom of Cochlaeus, versus, the cob-webs of Morysin*;"²⁰ in which we have the following rejoinder.

"But, Morysin, I was not slow to praise your King, when he did things that were worthy of praise; and I could immediately write against him a charge of ingratitude, much more justly than you can against our excellent Emperor and most sacred Prince. For in the year of our Lord MXXXV. when I was poor, and by the seditions of the people and tumult of the rustics settled an exile of Cologne, not only did I discover to him, by a private epistle, the secret wicked machinations of two Englishmen against his kingdom, by whom the New Testament (of Luther) translated into the English language, was printed at Cologne, that it might be transmitted secretly, in many thousands into England: But I also forthwith, in the *next* year, publicly dedicated to him xii. Books of Rupert of Deutz, on the Apocalypse of John,²¹ and I sent him, as a present, a book, well

¹⁸ See "An expediat Laicis, legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula? anno 1533," which will be more particularly noticed when we come to treat of Scotland. *Eight years ago* was June 1525.

¹⁹ Apomaxis Calviniarvm—Authore Ricardo Morysino—Londini—Bertheleti—an. 1538; dedicated to *Cranmer* 12. Calendis Julii—21 July 1538. Tanner and Wood assign 1537 as the year, and so does Ames, who supposed the dedication was to Crumwell; but the above date and dedication are on the book itself.

²⁰ "Scopa Joannis Cochlaei Germani, in Araneas Ricardi Morysini Angli." Lips. 1538 mense Martio i. e. 1538.

²¹ Ruperti—in Apoc. Johannis—nunc primum impansis—Franc. Birkmann—anno 1526.

bound, consisting of the greater part of the small works of the said Rupert.²² But, notwithstanding all these things, he still remained silent, and took no notice of me, altogether unmindful of my poverty and exile, although at *that* time he was a most determined enemy and opposer of the Lutheran sect. So, then, even in his own estimation, he was indebted to me, for that discovery of mine, concerning the two Englishmen, plotting wickedly against the peace of his kingdom, *not less than Ahasuerus was indebted to Mordecai*, for the discovery, which, through Esther, he unbosomed to the King, when in jeopardy from his two eunuchs."

The evidence thus presented by Cochlæus, at successive periods, has never before been submitted to the English reader. That statements, so graphically minute, as to carry evidence of their correctness; so pointed as to the year and place of printing, and in perfect harmony with each other; should have been disregarded for three centuries, only shows how little attention has been paid to the subject: but this becomes the more observable, when the first denunciations of "the New Testament in our English tongue," by the official authorities next year, had expressly affirmed, "of which translation there are many books printed, some *with* glosses, and some *without*." Instead of enquiring after these Testaments *with* glosses, or at least admitting their existence, all parties have been satisfied with having it erroneously stated, that there had been but *one* edition, and that said to be printed at *Antwerp* in 1526, or the same year in which it was denounced!

To some persons, no doubt, this long detail must have appeared to be altogether unnecessary, and to others tedious; though should it now be enquired what has given birth to it, every reader will be pleased to learn, that it is not merely the confusion that has prevailed hitherto; but nothing less than the recovery from oblivion of Tyndale's first pages at the Cologne press, after the lapse of *three hundred and ten years*—a fragment of the very book which was thus interrupted in its progress, by Cochlæus, and, of course, the only remnant known to be in existence!

The history of the discovery is not the least curious part of our narrative. Mr. Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport Street, a respectable bookseller in Lon-

²² "Ruperti de divinis officiis." The dedication to Herman Archbishop of Cologne, who afterwards renounced the authority of the Pope, is dated 3d idus Martias 1526, i. e. 13th March 1527. Thus Cochlæus writes to Henry in 1525, dedicates a folio to him in 1526, and transmits a book through Herman Rinck as already noted, and, as a *final* attempt, sends him, in 1527, this work of Rupert. He succeeded, unfortunately, as we shall see, far better with James V. of Scotland than with Henry VIII.

don, having exchanged with a friend, who did not recollect how he came by it, a quarto tract by Ecolampadius, without any covering, there was attached to it by binding a portion in the English language, black letter; and though it was evidently the gospel of Matthew, with "the prologue" of fourteen pages preceding, neither Mr. Rodd nor his friend understood, at the time, what it actually was. By degrees, however, this was at last fully ascertained. "The accidental discovery," says Mr. R., "of the remarkable initial letter Y., with which this page, the first of the prologue, is decorated, in another book printed at Cologne in 1534, first led me to search other books printed at the same place, and I succeeded in finding every cut and letter, with the exception of one, in other books from the same printing office, that of Peter Quentel." Again, "I have found the type in which this portion of the New Testament is printed, and the cuts with which it is decorated, used in other books printed at Cologne from the year 1521 to 1540, a good proof that the book was commenced in that city."²³ But, again, in the celebrated poetical satire on Cardinal Wolsey, "Rede me and be not wroth," which was afterwards published by William Roye, and after his departure from Worms, there is an allusion to a sentiment of Tyndale, the echo to which is *only* to be found in *this* prologue. The fact is, that though the tract entitled "a pathway unto the Holy Scriptures" contains the most of it, the prologue was never printed *entire* in any subsequent edition, nor, above all, its important and beautiful introduction, which we shall give presently.

Independently, however, of these proofs, there is incontrovertible evidence presented to the eye. The first page of the sacred text is preceded by a large spirited cut of the Evangelist Matthew, at his work, dipping his pen into the inkstand, held to him by an angel; and it is curious enough, that by this specimen, though the title page be wanting, we are able to prove, not only that the printer was Peter Quentel, but that the year of printing was 1525. The mystical folios of Rupert have been already noticed. His commentary on Matthew, sent from Leige to Cologne, a closely-printed folio volume, was *finished* at Quentel's press, so early as the 12th of June 1526. Now, as far back as the beginning of this folio, or page second, we have the *identical* large woodcut of Matthew, which had been used to adorn the preceding New Testament; *but* before being employed in the work of Rupert, better to fit the page, the block had been pared down so as to deprive it of the pillar on the left side, the angel of the points of his pinions, and both pillars of their bases at the bottom. Thus, also, it was placed on the title page, and again, next year, before Matthew, in a beautiful folio Latin Bible. In the New Testament of Tyndale, on the contrary, the block will be seen *entire*, consequently it must have been the *prior* publication, and must have been used accordingly in 1525.²⁴

Here, then, unquestionably, we have the only portion now known to exist, of the three thousand copies of the first and quarto New Testament, commenced at Cologne; but when once the reader comes to witness the powerful and unceasing exertions of the public authorities to seize these books and burn them; as well as the rage excited against this prologue and these glosses; the wonder will be that a single leaf

²³ Letters to the Author in 1836.

²⁴ Compare with this statement the *fac-simile* at the close of this work, where, without encumbering this page, the preceding account will be fully confirmed.

escaped. This precious relic having been stitched up at the end of another book, might more easily pass unheeded, or it may have remained abroad till long after the fires had ceased to rage in England. Bound up in blue morocco, with as many leaves as the book originally composed, it now adorns the library of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville; but before leaving the place where it was printed, we give the collation of all that has yet been found.

Title A i wanting, as it is in the octavo. The prologge commences with A ij, and occupying seven leaves, ends on the reverse of B iij. The first page of the next sheet, or letter C, contains the table of *all* the books of the New Testament, on the reverse of which is the woodcut of Matthew, as exhibited in our fac-simile. On the following leaf, therefore, is folio C iij, continuing correctly to fol. xxiii, where the fragment terminates in the 22d chapter of Matthew. The type is a German Gothic. Size of the frame-work, including head-line, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; breadth, 5 inches; but the breadth of the prologue only $3\frac{1}{2}$; including the head-line, 38 lines in a page; no paper mark. N.B. Tyndale being on the point of placing sheet letter L in the press, he must have been pretty far advanced in the gospel of *Luke*, and consequently this fragment is not to be confounded with the gospel of *Matthee* printed previously, which, at the same time, could have had no such *prologue*, nor any such *list* of all the books in the New Testament.

Cologne, therefore, and Cochlæus also, we gladly leave for the present; and, with increasing interest, now follow our Translator to his next place of abode.

Tyndale having taken up his residence in Worms, remained there till the year 1527,—a far more favourable place for the prosecution of his design. The commotions of the people, which at Frankfort and Mentz had ended in triumph over the old opinions; at Cologne, on the contrary, had been subdued, and hence it was that Cochlæus had made that city *his* refuge; for at Worms he could not then have effected what he had done at Cologne. Worms, on the contrary, Cochlæus has told us, was “under the full rage of Lutheranism,” or, in the more sober style of Seekendorff, “was already wholly Lutheran.” So much the better for our Translator, though *not* a Lutheran; for his enemy will turn out to have been only promoting, unintentionally, the very undertaking which he meant to crush.

We have, however, now come to a period in the labours of Tyndale, which demands some notice, of all previous accounts. The author is perfectly aware that it may, and will be said, by those who have ever attended to the subject, or been con-

versant with the octavo edition of Tyndale's New Testament, "How are we to receive all this account, when we find Tyndale himself, in his address 'To the Reader,' at the *end* of the octavo volume, 'beseeching them that are learned christianly, that the rudeness of the work now *at the first time* offend them not?" Nay, and we may strengthen the objector's language, by adding—How are we to reconcile the previous statements, with the first words of Tyndale in his preface to the Pentateuch? "When I had translated the New Testament, I added an Epistle unto the *latter end*." For more than a hundred years has it not been understood, that the first New Testament in English was printed most probably at Antwerp? Have not Ames, Herbert, Panzer, and others, all assigned it to this city? Has not Mr. Russel, more recently, in the notes to his edition of Tyndale's works, even specified the printer there, as being Christopher Endhoven? Nay, did not Dr. Gifford, the former proprietor of the only perfect copy of the octavo, now in Bristol, consider the words "now at the first time," as sufficient evidence that nothing had been *printed* before? And, finally, have not almost all parties agreed as to the year of printing having been 1526?

All this is granted, and yet when we come to the edition actually printed at Antwerp, in 1526, and by C. Endhoven; the peculiarly interesting account of which has *never yet* been submitted to an English reader; it will be distinctly proved to have been the next, or, as we now affirm, the *third* edition. Nor will any advocate for the octavo, printed at Worms, under Tyndale's own eye, have much ground for hesitation, if he finds that *it* was printed in 1525; since it was being read in England as early as January and February 1526. The only mystery to be solved is, that of the octavo being "now at the first time" perhaps sent out, though *not* the first begun. For although the quarto turns out to be, as it certainly was, the commencement of Tyndale's labours, and his long prologue at the beginning of it, the *very first language* addressed by him to the Christians of England; nay, and finished at *press*, before ever his epistle "To the Reader," at the end of the octavo, was written or even *contemplated*; there did exist an all-powerful reason for our translator's mode of procedure, as well as for his afterwards referring to the *one* edition, in preference to the *other*. Meanwhile, whatever of

mystery there be in the matter, it has yet to be curiously contrasted with *both* editions being upon English ground, nearly, if not positively at the *same* period. Yet though such be the fact, and to be abundantly proved, Tyndale's peculiar circumstances this year, may, even now, furnish us with some explanation.

Upon his arrival at Worms, we are not left to enquire, whether he lost a day, as, by the event, we know full well that every hour had been improved. Nor is it difficult to perceive his sagacity in his mode of procedure. His quarto Testament had been not merely interrupted, but *exposed* by a malignant enemy, whose very eye he had evaded; the book had been *described*, and even to the highest authorities in England, as well as marked out for seizure, if possible. Now, in the face of all this, would it have been prudent to have proceeded with this book *alone*? Changing, therefore, the size, leaving out the prologue and the *glosses*, which, by the way, was a great improvement, an octavo edition must have been immediately commenced at press, though certainly the quarto was not consigned to oblivion. No, for the fact is, that the reader will, before long, find it difficult, if not impossible, to say, which was actually the *first* that had reached the shores of Britain, whether of England or Scotland. Suffice it now only to state, that copies of these precious books, it will appear, were being read in England early in 1526; nay, and we shall find the *quarto* had been purchased, and "read thoroughly," in the spring of that year; eight months before the formal denunciation of Tunstal, or nine months before that of Warham; when *both* were denounced, and said to abound, not only in the diocese of London, but throughout the province of Canterbury. The reader will be still more surprised to find that copies of one edition, if not both, had also reached Scotland in the same year!

Tyndale, at all events, with his amanuensis, had now found refuge within the noted city of Worms. It was but little more than four years since Martin Luther, attired in his friar's frock and cowl, and seated in his vehicle, preceded by the Emperor's herald on horseback, had entered the same place; where the Saxon nobles meeting him and forming in procession, two thousand persons accompanied him through the streets to his inn. It was a larger assemblage than that which had graced the Emperor's own approach to the Diet. Then too, and there,

Cochleus, who had occasioned our English Translator's flight from Cologne, could hold up his head, and even force himself into Luther's presence; now, he dared not enter the place. With this memorable scene and its consequences, Tyndale must have been intimately acquainted; but when discussing the subject on Sodbury hill, how strange must it have seemed to him, had any one added:—"And *you too* must, before long, enter Worms; not to leave it in haste as Luther had to do, but to fulfil the desire of your heart, which you will never be able to accomplish in all England!" Yet what a contrast have we between Luther's entrance, surrounded by his Electors and Princes, and the humble approach of Tyndale, with his bale of printed sheets! This becomes still more striking, if we recollect, that four years ago, it was from this very city that Luther, hardly escaping, was carried off to his *Patmos*, or his castle on the heights of the Wartburg, there, in quiet repose and solitude, to translate his New Testament. Tyndale now entered to print his; to finish also in Worms, what he had commenced in Cologne; and to pursue his design, even after the Testaments were off to their destination.

Of the small octavo New Testament here printed, the fruitful parent of so many editions, only *one* perfect copy of the text remains, and no place of safe deposit in all England could be more appropriate than Bristol, the city where Tyndale himself used to preach. The unique fragment of the *quarto* was discovered only, as it were, the other day; but the history of this precious *small octavo* volume we can trace for more than a hundred years—and it will be found somewhat curious. Above a century ago it formed one of the volumes in the Harleian Library of Lord Oxford, though how long it had been there is not known. Mr. John Murray, one of his lordship's collectors, had picked it up somewhere. The Earl gave ten guineas for the book, says Mr. Ames; twenty, says Dr. Gifford; but both agree that he also settled £20 a-year *for life* on Murray, who had procured it. The Earl of Oxford died in 1741, without male issue, and his Library of printed books was sold to Mr. Thomas Osborne for £13,000.²⁵ This book, therefore, in the Harleian Catalogue, prefaced by Dr. Samuel Johnson, is thus described:—

²⁵ A dispersion often regretted since. His Library of *Manuscripts*, purchased by Government for £10,000, forms part of our invaluable treasures in the British Museum.

"No. 420. The New Testament, black letter, ruled with red lines, and all the initial letters at the beginning of each book, representing the subject, finely coloured, as likewise all the capital letters to each chapter throughout the book adorned with different colours, and raised with gold, neatly bound in red morocco."

After such a description, Mr. Osborne, much to his own cost, had not been aware of the rarity and value of his book, for after thus describing it, he adds;—"In this book no date is left, but it appears to be Tyndale's version, and is probably one of the editions printed in Holland, before his revisal" in 1534. Accordingly, he marked the price at no more than *fifteen shillings!* At this price Mr. Ames bought it, when he not only congratulated himself on purchasing what he styled the Phoenix of the entire Library; but writes, on the 30th of June 1743, in a letter to a friend, that the annuity of twenty pounds was *yet* paid to Mr. Murray, he being still alive. One hundred pounds more, however, was still forthcoming, for the annuity was honourably paid, until Murray's decease in 1748! On the 13th of May 1760, Mr. Ames' books came to be sold by Mr. Langford, and the Testament was bought for fourteen guineas and a half, by Mr. John Whyte the bookseller. He possessed it sixteen years to a day, having sold it on the 13th of May 1776. On the book itself, therefore, there is the following note in manuscript. "*N.B.*—This choice book was purchased at Mr. Langford's sale, 13th May 1760, by me, John Whyte; and on the 13th day of May 1776, I sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford for 20 guineas, the price first paid for it by the late Lord Oxford."²⁶

Before proceeding farther, we now give the collation of this beautiful and unique volume.

The book commences, like the quarto, on sign A ij. The Gospel of Matthew to the end of Revelation occupies cccliii folios; not 333 leaves only, as it has been lately, but erroneously stated. On the reverse of the last is the epistle "To the Reader," occupying three pages, and then "errors committed in the printyng." A full page contains thirty-three lines. *N.B.*—There is only one other copy in existence, in the Library of St. Paul's, but that is very imperfect;

²⁶ Dr. Andrew Gifford, who was also assistant librarian to the British Museum, had accumulated, in the course of his long life, one of the most valuable collections of these ancient Bibles and New Testaments then in the kingdom, besides many other rare books. At his death, 19th June 1784, in the 84th year of his age, the whole came, by his bequest, to be deposited in the Baptist Museum in Bristol, his native city. Leaving them to the denomination in which he himself, as well as his father and grandfather, had been eminent ministers, they in Bristol and he in London, the entire collection, with various additions, have been admirably preserved. This note will be excused, as accounting for the number of rare Bibles and Testaments to be found in our List at the close of these volumes.

defective at both the beginning and end, and wanting twenty-five leaves in various places, or forty-eight in all. When first discovered by Dr. Cotton, it was entitled on the back, "*Lant's Testament*," for what reason has never been divined. There was one Richard *Lant*, chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, but this does not resolve the mystery. It had been recommended, that the deficient leaves should be made up in manuscript, and the book elegantly bound; instead of which, and as it was, it has been miserably botched in the binding!

Here, then, are two separate editions of the New Testament, both finished at Worms by the close of the year 1525; and printed, we believe, by Peter Schoeffer, son of the associate of Guttenberg and Fust.²⁷ But on comparing one with the other we are furnished with several important remarks, as corroborative of all that has been already advanced.

The parties in opposition, let it be first observed, generally mark out the quarto *with* glosses; while the only distinct reference of Tyndale himself, is to the octavo, *without* them, in his preface to the Pentateuch. The explanation is of no little importance. The prologue and glosses, as we shall see presently, excited great fear in the breast of the enemy. Thus, when Sir Thomas More refers to the period of Tyndale's first efforts in translating, he will have it, that "at that time he set certain glosses in the *margin*;" an undoubted fact, though not done, as he affirms, "at Wittenberg." In these glosses, as well as the text itself, there was ample room for denunciation, if *typographical* errors were to be set down as so many heresies. "There is not so much," said Tyndale, "as one *i* therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for an heresy." Tunstal, after his return from Spain, or late in 1526, had busied himself in marking these, till he had got up to the number of 2000; although more than *ten* times that number have been found in one of our Testaments, printed above a hundred years later. Now, in this view, the precious relic lately discovered, when compared with the octavo in Bristol, affords striking proof that the quarto sheets must have been *first* printed. The spelling, indeed, even of the octavo is irregular, as might be expected at that early period, but still the two editions admit of pointed comparison. Witness the following words:

²⁷ We notice one other book, and its description, in proof of the spot. "Alle Propheten, &c. 8vo. *Worms*, 1527." "In the same type as the edition of the New Testament by Tyndale, commonly called the first, and said to be printed at Antwerp in 1526, but certainly at *Worms*, the year before."—See Rodd's Catalogue, 1843.

1. QUARTO.	2. OCTAVO.	1. QUARTO.	2. OCTAVO.
prophettes	prophets.	moore	more.
mothithes	mothēs.	pierles	pearles.
synners	sinners.	yooke	yoke.
mooste	most.	burthen	burden.
streachēd	stretched.	sekyngē	seking.

In every other case, this would be at once admitted as decisive evidence, that the octavo *followed*, and did not precede the quarto. That Tyndale should improve, as in the octavo, was natural; but, although it has actually been done, to suppose that he would spell as in the quarto, *afterwards*, is absurd. That it was this quarto on which Tunstal so foolishly expatiated, next year, at St. Paul's, after having issued his inhibition, there can be little or no doubt. For, although Le Long merely mistakes one year, he expressly states, that "his lordship made this reflection of no fewer than 2000 texts, on an English translation of the New Testament, printed at *Cologne and Worms*, 1526, 4to." Lewis, after quoting this, adds as the only reason for his scepticism, "but no such edition *appears*." Now, however, a sufficient portion of it *has* appeared, nearly a century after Lewis, or above three hundred years after it was printed. This too, as already noticed, is the identical book to which Roye alludes, when treating the hypercriticism of Tunstal with ridicule; it is from *this* prologue that he quotes, and it is the burning of this book entire, which Roye so graphically describes in his Satyre. "It is reported," said Cochläeus at the close of *his* statement, "that Lord Cuthbert Tunstal, a most eloquent man, then Bishop of London, now of Durham, when he had obtained *one of these copies*, publicly affirmed, in a most ample oration to the people of London, that he had detected above 2000 depravations and perversions in *this* one work." Tunstal, after all, was not the first who took alarm. Far from it—he was not in England; and though we must not anticipate, there is coming a higher denunciator of this very book, eight months before the Bishop, when he was as far distant as Madrid.

Tyndale, on the contrary, alludes to the octavo edition *without notes*, and it was by this that he *abode*. This allusion, however, let it be observed, was made in the year 1530. Now, the truth is, and it should never have passed without special observation by posterity, that it was upon *this* ground, that Tyndale and his devoted friend Fryth, had then long

entrenched themselves,—the Scripture *without note and comment*. “I assure you,” said Tyndale, the very next year to his Majesty’s ambassador, then hunting for him on the Continent,—“I assure you, if it would stand with the King’s most gracious pleasure, to grant only *a bare text of the Scriptures to be put forth among his people*, I shall immediately make faithful promise *never to write more*.” And so afterwards, in 1533, said Fryth, upon English ground, to the Lord Chancellor More.

“But this *hath been* offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God, I mean *the text of Scripture*, may go abroad in our English tongue; and *my brother, William Tyndale, and I have done, and will promise you to write no more*. If you will *not* grant this condition, then will we be doing while we have breath, and shew in few words, that the Scripture doth in many, and so at the least save some.”

The burning zeal of no two men born in Britain, ever had less of self, and private interest in it, than theirs had. It was not for glosses, or comments, that they stood and fought so nobly, all alone. To form any mere sect, they never longed, and they died without any such consequence following; an event deeply instructive, and one, which might be of infinite importance at the present hour, were it properly understood. It is a singular fact, that, throughout these manuscripts, the term *Tyndalian* occurs only once, in the letter of an enemy, but it never took; and Tyndale left the world without leaving any circle of mere partizans to hand down his name to posterity.

Here, then, let it be observed, were our two first witnesses; the two men, not only first engaged in translating, but who led the van in pleading for the Scriptures “going abroad” *without note or comment*. And is there now no tribute imperatively due to their memory and character, for having so done? Let the mere sectarian, of whatever name, throughout this kingdom, make of this fact what he may; we must not, even thus early, withhold another, which is never to be separated from it. To their bold and first appeal, therefore, we simply add, as an *historical* axiom, of the deepest import, and one which, for three hundred years, we shall have occasion to observe—that *the Sacred text, without note and comment*, has proved not only the best mode of procedure for meeting the enemy; but that which time and providence have distinctly sanctioned, down to our own day; when it has prospered to an extent, far, very far beyond the anticipations of the most

sanguine. Events themselves, during that long period, will often speak, and say, or seem to say—"He that hath my word, let him speak," and disperse "my word faithfully."

If, therefore, there had been even unbroken silence on Tyndale's part, with respect to the quarto Testament, the circumstances we have already explained, would sufficiently account for this. His silence, we should have said, was prudential. But let us look again, for the sake at least of accuracy in history; let us only once enquire, whether there be *any* vestige of reference to the vexatious, but providential interruption of the quarto book, by Cochlæus. We think there is; and though it be in measured language, there is, to us now, manifestly more to be understood, than Tyndale chose to express. What is more to the purpose, this reference is to be found in this very epistle "To the Reader," at the close of the octavo Testament! Here, happily, we have an allusion to the *past*—an allusion to some catastrophe—to some grievous "combraunce"—to incessant toil after it, as the result, as well as to the hope cherished of foiling his opponents; though he will not *boast*, as the printers at Cologne had done, nor will he *rehearse* the matter distinctly. He then puts this epistle "To the Reader" at the *end* of his book; a strange place, but having the advantage of contrast with the prologue of the quarto, at the *beginning*, which had already been *reported* to England; and in this epistle we have the following passage, now, we presume, no longer so ambiguous, as it has been regarded hitherto.

"Them that are learned christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully, I have interpreted *it* as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding:²⁸ that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not: but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same, or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime. *Morcover*, even very necessity and *combraunce* (God is record) above strength, which *I will not rehearse*, lest we should seem to *boast* ourselves, *caused* that many things are lacking, which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing *not* having his *full shape*, but, as it were born *afore* his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished."

Now, what could this perplexity or embarrassment, this

²⁸ The antecedent in this sentence, must be "the Scriptures,"—"the law,"—"the Gospel," for the words *New Testament* do not once occur throughout this epistle,—a marked distinction between it and the prologue of the quarto.

vexatious toil, possibly be, this *combraunce above strength*, of which God was witness, if not that which we have detailed? ²⁹ And what this *full shape*, if not the quarto before commenced, and then nearly finished? And what this *boasting*, if not the exultation felt, when he cherished the hope of baffling his opponents, by sending out the octavo first, it not being the book reported, and held up to scorn? This he might do, and probably did; but it was only like a man inserting the thin end of a wedge, for he drove it home immediately with his quarto. In his epistle, therefore, he had added,—

“In time to come, if God hath appointed us thereunto, we will give it his *full shape*—desiring them that are learned and able, to *remember their duty*, and to help thereunto: and to bestow unto the *edifying of Christ's body, which is the congregation of them that believe, those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose.*”

These words sufficiently prove that the quarto was intended to follow; and those in italic, it will very soon be observed, were almost the same which he had previously printed, and with direct reference to the quarto, both here and there.

There is now only one concluding remark forcibly suggested by comparison of the Epistle to the Reader in the octavo, with the Prologue prefixed to the quarto. The former, brief in itself, and abrupt in its commencement, has all the appearance of eager despatch; on the contrary, the opening of the quarto Prologue, wears all the formality and precision usually adopted, when introducing to the reader a *first attempt*. Witness the commencement of the *Epistle*,—

“Give diligence, Reader, (I exhort thee,) that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the Scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health, and of eternal life: by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ.”

Contrast this with the deliberate and formal language of the *Prologue*, so worthy of special notice now. It has never before been presented *entire*, and as it stands, since the day on which the sheet was thrown off at Cologne. They are not a few who will admire the modesty, the diffidence, not to say the simple beauty of the following sentences:—

²⁹ As to the import of *combraunce*, take Tyndal's own explanation elsewhere. “If thou wert not brought sometime into *combraunce*, whence God only could deliver thee, thou shouldst never see thy faith.”—*Tyndal's Works*, fol. p. 117.

TYNDALE'S FIRST LANGUAGE IN PRINT TO THE PEOPLE OF GOD IN ENGLAND.

I have here translated, brethren and sisters, most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament, for your spiritual edifying, consolation and solace : Exhorting instantly, and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture, and meaning of the Spirit, than I, to consider and ponder my labour, and that with the spirit of meekness. And if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them : but for to bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.

“ The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that others should imagine, than that I should rehearse them. Moreover, I supposed it superfluous ; for who is so blind to ask, why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble, is the danger of eternal damnation ; either so despiteful that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing ; or so bellum mad as to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, and that lying should be grounded in truth and verity ; and not rather cleun contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner (of) lying.

“ After it had pleased God to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this forechearse^d (before mentioned) New Testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it, I supposed it very necessary to put you in remembrance of certain points.”³⁰

The reader, we presume, cannot but be gratified, by a fac-simile of these words, in their original orthography. He will observe the letter Y, then generally used for I ; which first led to the discovery of what the fragment is ; and here he may contemplate not merely the first page of text, in the first sheet of a work thrown off at press, in the year 1525, at Cologne ; but the veritable origin of all those millions of English Scriptures now reading in so many different and distant parts of the globe—parts, utterly unknown to our immortal Translator, when he sent the sheet to the press—parts, then untrodden by any Englishman—parts, then undiscovered !³¹

The last sentence of our extract, however, or that with which the next page of the prologue begins, is full of meaning.

³⁰ The rest, with some verbal alteration, may be seen in his tract “ The pathway into the Holy Scriptures,” as printed in his Works.

³¹ The fac-simile will be found at the close of this Work, preceding the list of Bibles.

It shows that Tyndale, with all gravity, recognised no *instigator* under God, and ascribed to his grace alone, the entire glory of his work. Such had been his language in print, before ever Coehläus had set his foot in Cologne. But now, that he had been so defamed by this enemy; hear his emphatic disclaimer from Worms. “Beseeching the *learned* to consider that he had *no man* to follow as an example, neither was holpen with English of *any* that had interpreted the same, or *such like thing* in the Scripture before time.” Sir Thomas More had read this, though he did not choose, as it was not convenient, to believe it. But surely, if any individual of that age may be regarded as an agent, walking independently of his fellows, it will turn out to have been our English exile.

A man of manners, morals, prudence, parts,
Unpatronis'd, and therefore little known,—

a man, whose character and powerful talents have been so grievously misrepresented, and so misunderstood, up to the present hour. We only hope that the following pages may have some effect in redeeming his memory from that state of mere pupilage, or reliance on the German Reformer, which if not true in point of fact, ought to have been corrected, at least in England, long ago; as well as from that “confederacy with Luther,” first forged by the enemy for the vilest of purposes, and then so simply received and retailed by his countrymen, from John Foxe downwards.

We are now just upon the eve of returning into England, after spending two years abroad, in company with our Translator; but before we do return—before the uproar and the consternation begin—before the wrath of 1526 burst out—while these precious volumes are only coming over that sea, which Tyndale had passed over to send; and before either the quarto or octavo had arrived in our native land; there is one additional event which must not be omitted even here, though it has to be explained more distinctly three months hence, at the moment of its occurrence.

If there was any advantage anticipated by Tyndale, from sending over the octavo without notes “now at the first time”—if it was indeed *so* sent—there must have ensued a second momentary disappointment. If there was any device or contrivance adopted, then it certainly failed, completely

failed ! This quarto, with glosses, had been the first-born of his imagination, and we have seen that his whole heart was set upon giving the sacred text, what was strangely styled "*its full shape.*" But the Divine Author will as distinctly say *nay* in London, as he had already done at Cologne ! For, after all, we shall find next year, that this quarto book was *first* held up in warning to the people. The book "with glosses and prefaces" was first condemned,—condemned, too, by no less authority than that of Henry VIII. himself, with Wolsey's full concurrence, if not his advice,—and condemned *eight* months before either Tunstal or Warham held up also the octavo, without notes, for destruction.

Tyndale certainly intended that the book with glosses should *follow* "in time to come," however short. Providence caused it to *precede*, and, at the same time, over-ruled it as a *decoy* for several months ! All that time, therefore, the precious little volume must have been fulfilling its commission, and passing into its hiding place in unknown directions !

Nor is the curious fact of the New Testament "*with* glosses and prefaces" being first condemned, and then passing into oblivion through all history, for above three hundred years, an event carrying no instruction or monition. Quite the reverse. All who venerate Divine Revelation in its purity, will remember that this was the commencement of a new *era* for Britain, more important than she had ever witnessed, or in truth has witnessed since. Comments, therefore, or glosses, additions of man's devising, professedly to make the sacred language more intelligible than that of its Divine Author, or turn it to a certain meaning, were not to be treated as of small account. As matter of history they were not, and have not been so treated. These glosses sunk the book into the shades ; just as those notes, sometimes styled contemptuously the Geneva spectacles, afterwards operated on that otherwise valuable translation.

Never, then, let it pass unobserved, how soon, and how clearly, Tyndale and Fryth saw through this ; how soon our Translator put the King of England upon the alternative of receiving, or not receiving, the sacred text alone ; or how decidedly, and upon English ground, Fryth repeated the bold appeal to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. The warfare was at once reduced to a single point. *Receive, or not re-*

ceive, THE SACRED VOLUME, *without note or comment*; so that we have now to witness *the man* who, by way of eminence, fought on one side, and *the men* who, by way of eminence, or we might say the nation, who fought against him. This important fact not only affords us a notable commencement to our history, but it will connect itself, very powerfully, with the close of this work, or the larger movements of the present day.

If, then, we are about to see one man stand up in such a position as this, can it be necessary to bespeak the indulgence or the attention of any reader, to every movement of his hand and pen, every step of his progress, or every day of his life? To do him justice, however, at his outset, the state of his native country since he left it, must not pass unnoticed.

Two years have now passed away since Tyndale left his country, for his country's benefit, and the day drew near, when she was about to

"Receive advantage from his noiseless hours,
Of which she little dreamt."

But since the entrance of the Word of God into this kingdom must be regarded as an event superior in importance to every other, one is curious to know what was the state of the world immediately preceding it; or what had taken place in England and the Continent, since Tyndale left London.

If we first look abroad, without offence to the sovereigns of the day, including the Pontiff himself, Wolsey and Bourbon must still be regarded as the leading characters. Thus, if the specious plan of Bourbon, for the overthrow of France, in the autumn of 1523, entirely failed, there is no plausible reason to be assigned, except the double policy of the Cardinal, for he only feigned to support him. At one time abandoning the King of France, that the Emperor might exalt him to the Popedom, he might have remained steady; but Charles having had good reason to suspect the sincerity of his ambitious expectant, no sooner was Clement VII. chosen from the Emperor's party, than Wolsey had decidedly changed his policy. "This blow," says Turner, "to Wolsey's dearest hopes, which he had taken some (if not great) pains to prevent, he could neither retrieve, forgive, nor forget."

As he proceeds, therefore, it will be to play his usual double game. Thus, in May 1524, when another plan to conquer France was settled, and Bourbon was called to take the oath of fealty to Henry VIII., if England and the Emperor promise to supply him with money; then Bourbon must engage to cross the Alps with his army, while Henry with his troops were to land in Picardy, and Margaret, the Regent of the Low Countries, was to send an auxiliary supply from Flanders. As early as the end of June, not only Bourbon, but Richard Pace, our ambassador,

then also with this army, were in sanguine hopes of success. Urging Wolsey to fulfil his part of the treaty,—“ If ye will not fetch the crown of France,” said Pace, “ we will bring the same unto you.”—“ If the King,” said Bourbon, “ will personally enter into France, I will give his Grace leave to pluck out both my eyes, if he be not Lord of Paris, before All hallowtide ; and Paris taken, all the realm of France is his.” In July, Pace is still more urgent. “ Sir,” said he, even to Wolsey, “ to speak to you boldly, if ye do not regard the premises, I will impute to your Grace the loss of the crown of France.” The general and the ambassador were alike bent on a straightforward course, according to previous agreement ; but this being a path in which Wolsey never trod, he hated both the advisers. Immediately rebuking the poor ambassador, he drove him into poverty, and ultimately to madness, for he died a lunatic. Nay, so far from co-operation, Wolsey was cordially settling with the Pontiff, that neither Henry nor Charles should accomplish their object ! The Popedom Wolsey yet might reach, but France and England, under one crown, would have been too much for any Pope to manage ! Yet, amidst all the fray, we can now see the Almighty making the wrath of man to praise Him ; for this very hatred of Wolsey to the Duke of Bourbon, was the occasion, ere long, of Rome itself being sacked by soldiers of the Romish faith, and the Pope imprisoned.

There were few men then living who saw so clearly through the double dealings of Wolsey as did William Tyndale ; and his remarks written during the Cardinal's life-time, and published in the year of his death, are the more to be respected. “ We sent our soldiers,” says Tyndale, “ two summers against the French, unto whose captains the Cardinal had appointed, *how far* they should go, and *what* they should do ; and therefore the French King was nothing afraid, but brought all his power against the Emperor in other places ; and so was the Emperor ever betrayed. Thus the Cardinal was his friend openly, and the French King's secretly—for no love that he had to France, but to help the Pope, and to have been Pope haply, and to save their kingdom.”

It is singular enough that this extraordinary course of perfidy and dissimulation on the part of Wolsey, with his hireling ambassadors, has never been sifted and exposed, with any precision, till our own day. Even Strype, without a word of reprobation, strangely called it “ his great dexterity in the managery of public affairs, and the *fineness of his policy* ;” but in February 1525, Bourbon, at one stroke, exposed the whole to public view. “ Before this, indeed,” says Tyndale, “ all the world smelled it, but it brake not out openly to the eye till the siege of Pavia.” The King of France, at the head of his army, was then in Italy. There were two courses before him, either that of pursuing his enemy wherever he found him, or besieging the towns he had fortified. Now Bourbon had, with great success, followed the former course, but

failed in the latter at Marseilles in 1523. Yet, with this example before his eyes, and even *wishing* to follow it, as if infatuated to his own ruin, the King resolved to proceed in besieging one place after another. "Thus unto the siege of Pavia," says Tyndale, "came the French King personally, with sixty thousand men of war, of which twelve thousand were horsemen, and *with money enough*; while the Emperor's host," (commanded by Bourbon,) "was under twenty thousand, of which were but three thousand horsemen, with *no money at all*." But though the Pope kept back *his* men, and the Cardinal *his* money, the French army was annihilated, and its King became the prisoner of the Emperor for nearly thirteen long months. "And *there* came out all the Cardinal's privy treason; for in the French King's tent were *letters* found, and in the French King's treasure, and in all the host among the soldiers, English *gold*, which had come a thousand miles by land!"³² Thus, at last, in the net which this ambitious man "had hid, was his own foot taken; he was snared in the work of his own hands." To keep up the farce a little longer, it is true, on Sunday the 12th of March, there was Henry VIII., with the ambassadors, at St. Paul's, and Wolsey singing Mass with eleven prelates in his train, and the choir chanting *Te Deum* for the Victory of Pavia. But from what soon followed, we may "conjecture," says Tyndale, "with what heart our spirituality, with their invisible secrets, sang *Te Deum*."

Before this event, the Emperor had suspected Wolsey. His suspicions were now at an end; for though the Cardinal, to counteract him, craftily concluded a separate peace with the King of France, in September 1525, knitting the Pope and the Venetians together with him, yet after the battle of Pavia, the power of this ambitious man certainly began to wane.³³ For years he had played with both hands; with one, he governed the Kings of Europe; with the other, the Pope himself, and all his concerns. By his enchantments having once succeeded in reducing his own Sovereign to little more than a mere puppet, he felt that he could expatiate on a wider field. In papers which still remain, he professes that he had only in view "the peace and harmony of Christendom;" his real object was, so to manage the powers of Europe, as that he himself might ultimately be seated in the papal chair. By night and by day this was his undeviating pursuit. But, in the end, he only exposed himself to the contempt of foreign princes, and sunk the character of his own government; while as for the Popedom, Bourbon was about to shew that his sword was more powerful than all the thunders of the Vatican, or even the pen and the policy of Wolsey.

³² The coin at that period denominated *angels*, of which Tyndale facetiously says—"But what wonder—the coin had wings to fly into far countries, and to mount to the top of high hills."

³³ Turner could find no letters from Charles to Wolsey in 1525, among the MSS. in the British Museum. The first after the battle of Pavia is dated 30th November 1526.—It is a complimentary reply to Wolsey.

The Cardinal never reached the summit of his ambition, but he may be viewed at the height of all his arrogance just before this decisive battle. In the end of 1524, though it would have been death to another man, we find him lecturing and upbraiding the Pope himself, till he made him change from a smile to a sigh, on receiving what his ambassador, the Bishop of Bath, called "*sour sauce sweetly powdered*,"—the Cardinal reproached him with all his leagues, whether offensive or defensive, and said by them God had stricken and sent affliction to the holy Church! In short, before Wolsey, at this period, the Popedom was but a shadow; doomed, instead of obedience, to receive lectures, till he made Clement stoop to apologise from that chair, before which monarchs had so often trembled. As for the civil powers, in the spring of 1525, his insolence knew no bounds. He had not only used sharp words to the ambassadors of the Emperor, then in England, and insulted them, but styled the Emperor "a liar, observing no manner of faith or promise"—his aunt, the Lady Margaret, Regent of the Low Countries, he said was a "ribald"—his brother Ferdinand was a "child, and so governed," and the Duke of Bourbon "a traitor." To crown all, this was language spoken of parties with whom he and his Sovereign were professedly, and by treaty, on friendly terms! What, then, must have been Wolsey's mortification, when even his chosen friend Tunstal, Bishop of London, as well as Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. Sampson, whom he had sent as ambassadors into Spain, were obliged to convey to him such severe censures from the imperial mouth, at their very first interview in June 1525. "It were good," said Tunstal, "to write a letter to the Emperor of your own hand, to declare the *mistaking* of the matter. It were good to give them good words for good words, *keeping secret your thoughts*, as they do." And this was a Bishop's advice! But almost all Wolsey's agents were practised deceivers as well as himself.

It was well, therefore, that the degradation of this lofty and unprincipled man, should have at least commenced just before the introduction of the Word of God into our country. Divine Providence was preparing the way for its entrance, which will be still more apparent when we turn our eye for a few moments to the state of England.

As soon as we look at home, and enquire for the leading features of the time, in 1524, and especially 1525, we find them to be discontent and agitation. These were general throughout the country, but especially visible in London. The cause is easily explained. Part of the Cardinal's policy consisted in having *several* ambassadors at the *same* Court; one of these inferior or subordinate, professedly to give dignity to the others, but in fact a creature of his own, acting at once as an agent to advance his own personal interests, and as a spy on the proceedings of his companions in the embassy. These ambassadors, at every foreign Court, had to send double despatches, one for the King,

his nominal master, and another for his own eye alone ! Abundance of these exist in the British Museum, but they are, in *no* case, copies of each other. These men, of course, were all to be upheld in their dignity abroad ; while he himself, at home, having confessedly an extraordinary taste for building, and a very childish one for the most extravagant display, required immense sums. The bribes, therefore, the presents, the pensions, or foreign annuities, which he contrived to secure for himself, can never be enumerated. But we have yet to look at his official expenditure in carrying on *such* war abroad. Honesty, in every sense, is the best policy, and so it is the cheapest ; but the double policy of Wolsey would have beggared more kingdoms than his own. His ultimate object, no doubt, was one—to gain the Papedom ; but in order to this, it seemed to him essential that France and Spain should be kept in a state of perpetual discord ; that his own master nominally, yet himself in reality, might hold the balance of Europe. But if the game was double, both parties must be paid. “ And accordingly,” says Tyndale, “ the Cardinal lent much money to the Emperor openly,” with whom he was professedly in union, “ but gave the French King *more* secretly,” with whom he was professedly at war ! Such a course, it is evident, must have been enormously expensive ; and it is not wonderful that the demands became so exorbitant as to exceed the power of endurance. If, by such perfidious policy abroad, Wolsey was sinking the moral character of his country ; by his cruel exactions at home, he was goading the people into such a state of discontent, as bordered on rebellion.

The Cardinal's high demands for pecuniary supplies had commenced while Tyndale was yet sojourning in London. Hitherto he had dealt in “ loans,” taken from the most wealthy, and never to be repaid ; but, in 1522, having tried to ascertain, by a general survey, the capability of the people to bear taxation ; in 1523, after falsely affirming that Henry was *driven* to war and defence, Wolsey intimated that a sum of not less than £800,000 was wanted, by a general tax out of the fifth part of every man's land and goods. It was still, however, denominated a *loan*, and Sir Thomas More finally united with him, saying, that “ of duty men ought not to deny to pay four shillings in the pound.” Ere long, commencing with the clergy, after haughtily reprimanding the refractory members of the Convocation, Wolsey, by virtue of his legantine authority, overawed the whole body ; and, coming down to the Commons, demanded £800,000 ! The sum, however, was alleged to exceed the entire currency of the realm, and nothing is more probable, for all things considered it was equal to about ten or twelve millions sterling of our present coin ! A committee was appointed to remonstrate, and propose the half. Wolsey at once dismissed them, and came down again, in all his pomp and glory, to intimidate the House of Commons. This led to a discussion which continued for *sixteen* days in succession, when three-fourths of the

original demand were ultimately voted, and to be paid in four years. The Cardinal, however, by what was called an *anticipation*, compelled many to pay the *whole*, and *at once*, and never summoned another Parliament; nor was another assembled till seven years afterwards.

We come now to the year 1525, when, certainly, nothing could be more contemptible—and, if the consequences had not been so serious, more ridiculous—than the position into which Wolsey had brought his country. It was a crisis occasioned solely by his mad ambition for the chair at Rome. On the 12th of March, as already noticed, in solemn mockery, he had sung *Te Deum* for the victory at Pavia, and a despatch from Bourbon himself to the King, four days after, had fully confirmed all the fatal results of that battle. The embassy, with his confidential friend *Tunstal* at its head, must be despatched into Spain, with the professed design of recovering the French King from imprisonment; but the escape of *Praet*, the Spanish ambassador at our court, who embarked for Spain while *Tunstal* was waiting for a fair wind, and first reached the Emperor, put him on his guard against all delusion.

Wolsey, however, must go on, if it be possible, in his deceitful course at home, as well as abroad. With matchless effrontery, therefore, he calls the Mayor and Aldermen of London, with some principal Commoners; and in a long oration, abounding with falsehood, he boasts of having sent 100,000 crowns to Bourbon to fight this battle;³⁴ that the King, our master, thought it “more mastery to use victory gotten, than to get it,” so that, “contrary to his own mind and will, but compelled of very force, he was determined to enter into a new war,”—“that an army-royal must be made, and he in person pass the seas, to recover his rightful inheritance, and the crown of France!” Of course he spoke not a word of the English gold sent secretly to support Francis; and, probably, he was not yet aware that his illicit correspondence with him had been found in the royal tent, after the battle; but, however, seizing the popularity of the moment, he proceeded by illegal commissions to extort more money, and then the grand and final pressure came.

Now, every man was to be valued *again*, and, as if nothing before had been exacted from him, according to the valuation taken in 1522. Commissioners, the greatest men in every county, were appointed by Wolsey himself, to collect the *sixth* part of every man's substance, and in no wise to swerve one jot, on pain of their lives! Commissioners were also sent to the clergy, for the *fourth* part of their lands and moveables; but in every assembly, the priests replied that they would pay *nothing*, except

³⁴ Tyndale insists that the money was *withheld* by Wolsey. “Howbeit there be that say, that the Emperor's soldiers so threatened *Praet*, our King's ambassador, that he was fain to bargain with merchants for money in the King's name to pay the soldiers; wherefore the Cardinal took from him all his promotion, and played tormentors with him when he came home.” As already stated, *Praet* died insane.

it were ordered by a Convocation. They insisted that this commission was contrary to law, and that the Cardinal, and all his agents, were enemies to the King and the commonwealth. "This infamy," says Hall, "was spoken in preachings and every where." The Commissioners, however, were still sitting in March and April, and Wolsey was straining every nerve to cajole the Londoners, the Common Council, and the Mayor. At first he had the effrontery to say—"Forsooth, I think that *half* your substance were too little, not meaning that the King so asketh;" yet after this he must crouch and flatter them, and finally come down in his demands. But the people were now exasperated, and so much so, that the proposal of collecting money from them by way of *benevolence*, suggested by the King himself, was alike in vain. The Aldermen and Council were in a fury—In Kent, the people muttered and grudged, and said that they would pay nothing—In Essex, they would not appear before the Commissioners except in their own way—In Huntingdon, various parties would not allow the Commissioners to sit at all—In Norfolk, its Duke remonstrated with the insurgents, desiring an explanation through their captain; when an elderly man begged permission to reply, and commenced his sensible address thus, "My Lord, our Captain is Poverty, he and his cousin Necessity have brought us to this doing."—In Suffolk, there was open insurrection! In short, "when this matter was opened in England," says the contemporary historian, "how the great men took it, was marvel; the poor cursed, the rich repugned, the light wits railed; but, in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinal and his co-adherents, as subversors of the laws and liberty of England."

At last the King interposed; he denied the knowledge of these severe levies. Wolsey tried to exonerate himself, but Henry blamed him for all this turmoil, and ordered the Commissioners to cease. "I will no more of this trouble," said his Majesty, "let letters be sent to all shires, that this matter may no more be spoken of. I will pardon all that have denied, secretly or openly." The nobility rejoiced, and the people shouted "God save the King," but would hear no praise of the lofty ecclesiastic. Thus did Henry most happily prevent "that disloyalty and danger, which, in the events that followed, might have overturned his throne."

To the art of *war*, with all its horrors and bloodshed, even as thus foully conducted, Wolsey had entertained no objection whatever. The enormous expense thus entailed upon his country, was to him of no account, so long as he could govern the hostile movements by his pen. But now, the art of *printing* had made him tremble; and, though a scholar himself, the rising republic of letters was to his eye no welcome vision. He must try and provide against all danger, as best he might; for he had penetration sufficient to discern, that his Cardinal's hat, nay, the hierarchy itself, and the authority of the Mass, were alike in jeopardy. Hence, without doubt, his intended College at Oxford. Amidst all the toil and

tortuous policy of these two busy years, he had never lost sight of it ; but to represent him, on this account, as the beneficent friend of learning, would discover a very superficial view of his character. Lord Herbert's belief as to Wolsey's intentions, was certainly the only correct one. The discovery of printing having contributed greatly to the revival of learning in Europe, Herbert supposes that Wolsey had stated the effects of this new art to the Pontiff, thus ;—"That his Holiness could not be ignorant what divers effects this new invention of printing had produced. For as it had brought in and restored books and learning, so together it had been the occasion of those sects and schisms, which daily appeared in the world, but chiefly in Germany. And that which particularly was most to be lamented, they had exhorted lay and ordinary men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar tongue ; and if this were suffered, besides all other dangers, the common people at last might come to believe that there was not so much use for the clergy. For if men were once persuaded that they could make their own way to heaven, and that prayers in their native and customary language might pierce heaven, as well as *Latin*, how much would the authority of the Mass fall ? How prejudicial might this prove to all our ecclesiastical orders ? For this purpose, since printing could not be put down, it were best to set up learning *against* learning ; and by introducing able persons to dispute, to suspend the laity betwixt fear and controversies. This, at the worst, would yet make them attentive to their superiors and teachers." ³⁵

The original letter of Longland, already quoted, fully corroborates the whole of this statement ; and besides we know that the Pontiff himself, formerly Bishop of Worcester, rejoiced exceedingly over this projected College. It was in perfect consonance with his taste, and he lent it, as we shall see, his most cordial and effectual aid.

In 1523, we left Henry VIII. and his Queen, Longland and Wolsey, rejoicing in the prospect of this school of learning, with all its subtile advantages. When the Cardinal had an end in view, he was not long in finding means, and then all steps were lawful in his estimation ; nay, he had a method of his own, by which he could make them appear to be meritorious at the moment. Thus, in order to his immediate commencement of the projected buildings, he applied to Rome ; "where," says Burnet, "he was then so much considered as a Pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained." Therefore, on the 3d of April 1524, Clement, by a Bull, gave him authority to suppress the monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford, and carry the monks elsewhere, to make room for the students. To this the King assented on the 19th of April.³⁶ In the following year there came another Bull, giving him leave to enrich his College by suppressing *twenty-two* priories and nun-

³⁵ Herbert's Henry VIII., p. 147.

³⁶ 14 Reg., 2 Part. Rot. Pat.

neries ; but the fact is, that Wolsey having once obtained the Pope's sanction, was resolved to proceed, as legate, of his own will, and he actually went on till he had dissolved *forty-one*. He was only restrained by an admonition from the King. In a letter to the Cardinal, written with his own hand, and still extant, Henry says :—

“As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your College, I would it were more, *so it be lawfully*; for surely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They say, not that all that is ill-gotten, is bestowed upon the College ; but that the College is the cloak for covering *all* mischiefs.” After specifying one description of malversation, the King adds,—“Wherefore, you thus monished by him who so entirely loveth you, I doubt not, will desist, not only from this, but from all other things which should tangle the same.”

There is certainly some appearance here of the Royal confidence beginning to shake, but the King was pleased with his design on the whole, and Wolsey yet continued to have great influence over him. About two years must pass away before Henry used these remarkable words,—“The hand that made him, can destroy him when it lists.”

So much with regard to the buildings to be erected, and which in the end, however, were never completed according to the magnificent scale laid down. But the *men* to be selected, the men with whom he was to commence his crusade of learning *against* learning, had already engaged Wolsey's most earnest solicitude, and all his discrimination ; as it was through *them* alone he could gain his end. Educated in Magdalen College, Oxford, and where, at the early age of *fifteen*, Wolsey was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, no proofs are wanting of his reputation as a scholar. He was therefore well able to ascertain, who, among all that came before him, were most likely to serve his purpose. At least so has Shakespeare sung his praise.

“He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one ;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading ;
Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.”

Wolsey commenced by naming the Dean, Dr. John Hygdon, and eighteen canons, men of reputed learning chosen out of the other colleges at Oxford. Aided by Hygdon and Dr. Capon, afterwards the head of his school at Ipswich, he added others deliberately. The most expert and learned were alone to be selected as students—the kingdom was searched, and in 1524, the Cardinal himself having paid a visit to Cambridge, that University had to yield up its most choice young men. He aimed, in short, at gathering the talent of England into one focus, intending to maintain or promote certain ecclesiastical purposes, which lay very near his heart,—for his “poor College at Oxford,” found a place among the wailings of his last days.

By a comparison of Wood's Annals of the University of Oxford, with his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, and Foxe's Acts and Monuments, we find the following names among those selected from 1523 to December 1525.

Of those selected in OXFORD, we can only specify Thomas Canner, Peter Garsius, a foreigner, John Tooker, Richard Champion, John Pier-son, — Leighton; and from BOSTON, *Richard Taverner*; but from CAMBRIDGE, Robert Sherton, Thomas Curthope, *Richard Cox*, *John Clarke*, *John Fryer*, *Godfrey Harman*, *Henry Sumner*, *William Betts*, JOHN FRYTH, *William Baily*, — *Goodman*, — *Rudley*, *Michael Drumm*, and *Thomas Lawney*.³⁷

If the eminence to which most of these students rose in future life be observed, it affords a convincing proof that the Cardinal had made no mistake as to *talent*; but it will be observed, that we have printed most of their names in italic; the reason is, that these men will appear again, and before long, all in *one* group; though in a character very different indeed, from that which was contemplated by the founder of Cardinal College.

As this brief survey of the political world is not unimportant in itself, so, in the result, it will appear to be not unconnected with the introduction of the Sacred Scriptures into our native land. It has shown that the character of their grand opponent, and who seemed to possess power quite sufficient to have excluded them, had sustained a severe shock *abroad*, which it never recovered. His perfidy had sunk him in the estimation not only of the Regent of the Low Countries, but in that of her subjects, from *whence* the English Scriptures were to be imported. *At home*, among a people exasperated, who now hated him, less regard would be paid to his thundering anathemas; and as for his favourite school of learning, of which he had intimated at Oxford, through Longland, while Tyndale was yet in London,—“that as he had begun, so he would found a College for two hundred Students, and seven Lecturers, and endow them with honest and comfortable salaries, and make their University *the most glorious in the universe*,” we have yet to see whether it hindered or advanced the cause of divine truth, which Tyndale, all alone upon the Continent, had so much at heart.

³⁷ It may be observed, that double the number of canons now named were Cambridge men. Fourteen were brought from *Cambridge*, Tyndale's last residence, to *Oxford*, where he had expounded Scripture to the students and fellows of Magdalen College; or the College where Wolsey himself had formerly studied, and where, as a Master, he had been teacher of Magdalen Grammar School; associating, at that time, with Erasmus.

SECTION III.

MEMORABLE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO ENGLAND—THE TWO FIRST EDITIONS—THE FIRST ALARM IN LONDON, OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE—THE FIRST BURNING OF BOOKS—NEW TESTAMENT DENOUNCED BY THE KING AND WOLSEY—THEN BY TUNSTAL AND WARHAM—THE THIRD EDITION—VIOLENT CONTENTION RESPECTING IT—BURNING IT ABROAD AND AT HOME—BUT IN VAIN.

THAT interesting period when the Word of God, printed in our native tongue, was first found in England, had now arrived. It was in January 1526. On the banks of the Rhine, Tyndale had finished his New Testaments at the press, but how was it possible for them ever to be conveyed into our country? Had not Rineke and Cochläus warned the Cardinal himself, the King, and the Bishop of Rochester, that they might “with the greatest diligence take care” lest one of them should come into any port in all England? They certainly had, and in good time, so that it is no fault of theirs, if all opposing parties were not now on the alert. Yet here are the dreaded books, and upon English ground, and not only in the metropolis, but in both universities, to say nothing, at this moment, of the country at large!

It is natural, however, first to enquire whether there were any circumstances, at the moment, favourable to their introduction. Of all other men, the two most able and most likely to have prevented their arrival, or immediately suppressed them, were Wolsey and Tunstal, the Bishop of London. But the former was now completely engrossed by affairs of state policy, both abroad and at home—abroad he was urging, nay, rousing the French Cabinet to renewed war with the Emperor; at home, he was concluding peace with Scotland, and also busily engaged in reforming his master’s household, or framing what were called “the Statutes of Eltham.” The Bishop of London was not in the country, having been happily removed out of the way eight months before; he was still ambassador in Spain, and not to return till August or September; so that his name never should have been associated, as it has generally been, with the *first* reception of Tyndale’s New Testament. More than this, the winter was peculiarly unhealthy, and

such was the alarm created by great mortality, that the courts had been adjourned—the authorities were out of the way.—the King was keeping his Christmas at Eltham, in private, with a few friends, “for in the King’s house,” says Halle, “this was called *the still* Christmas”—and Wolsey, after carousing at Richmond for a few days, had to attend His Majesty on business at Eltham, from the 8th to the 22d of January.

Such a conjunction of circumstances but seldom occurred, and, without straining a point, they may surely be regarded as providential; for they afforded certain opportunities, which, we shall find, had been most busily improved. So easily can the Divine Being “scatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts,” when he is about to “exalt them of low degree.” The country had been first long harassed by oppressive and vexatious exactions, to carry on expensive foreign wars, and now it is assailed by disease and death! Such was the period chosen by Infinite Wisdom to introduce the Word of Life, that “sovereign balm for every wound!” England’s surest hope, the true secret of all her future stability, and the only security for it still.

The earliest importations of these precious volumes would furnish a very curious subject of enquiry. The various methods adopted for several years in order to secure their entrance into this country, can never now, indeed, be fully detailed; but the conveyance of Tyndale’s New Testaments into England and Scotland, with other books illustrative of the Sacred Volume, could only the half be told, would form one of the most graphic stories in English history. No siege, by sapping and mining, which Britain has ever since achieved, could furnish the tenth part of the incident, or evince half the courage, by which she was herself assailed. But the materials have never yet been examined and compared, with that regard to accuracy as to names, and succession as to events, which would have brought out some of the finest specimens of faith and fortitude and persevering zeal.

From what particular port on the Continent the first copies were sent, and to what port in England they came, may remain for ever a secret. The probability is, that some came from Antwerp, while others were sent from Worms down the Rhine through Holland, and so from different places. Be this as it may, we know for certain of two gentlemen, who engaged

in very early, if not the first, active measures as to the importation itself; namely, Simon Fysh, of Gray's Inn, London, and George Hernan, a citizen of Antwerp, and merchant in the English house there; while, during this month of January 1526, we shall find that not a few of the most learned young men in England were eagerly perusing Tyndale's first productions. Nothing then, however, could have been more unlikely, than that London and both the Universities should be in a ferment the very first week after that month had expired.

It was on the 2d of February, that an insignificant incident gave birth to the first great alarm. It well deserves, therefore, to be noticed. Simon Fysh, already mentioned, a native of Kent, after receiving his education at Oxford, had taken up his residence as a lawyer in Gray's Inn, London. A play, or tragedy, as Foxe calls it, composed by a Mr. Roo or Row, of the same Inn, in one part of which Wolsey thought himself deeply impugned, was about to be acted in private; and this part, after others through fear had declined, Fysh undertook to perform. He did so once, but never could a second time, for "the same night that this tragedy was played," Fysh was compelled to leave his own house, and finally escape to the Continent. How often did the Cardinal, with all his sagacity, put forth his hand to his own downfall? Though, confessedly, a deep politician, he was far from understanding the policy of non-interference. This attempt at apprehension must have occurred before the end of 1523, if it be correct, as Foxe affirms, that "the *next* year following" he composed the tract entitled "the Supplication of Beggars."¹ Mr. Fysh is stated to have been with Tyndale abroad, and if so, "the little treatise" which Munnouth depones that Tyndale "sent to him from Hamburg in 1524, when he sent for his money," may have been this publication, if it was not the gospel of Matthew. But, whether the one or the other, the "Supplication" must have been in existence in 1525, from what we know of its history.

In the shape of a "Supplication," addressed "to the King

¹ "Scripsit," says Tanner, "ad regem Henr. VIII. A. MCCCXXIV." "Compyled by Symon Fyshe, anno mcccxxxiv.," is printed on the title of the "Supplication of the poor Commons, 1546."—Herbert's Ames, iii. p. 1537. John Foxe, with all his assiduity, was no chronologist. The *substance* of his narrative often furnishes a certain key to the precise year, but a few years here or there he often treats in his own quaint style. Thus, in the narrative respecting Fyshe, which is after all confused, he says, "the missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entered here, which should have come in *six* years before."

our Sovereign Lord," it conveyed the most wholesome and astounding advice to Henry VIII., and the parties interested were so very fortunate as to reach his ear through one of his confidential servants or footmen, whom Foxe calls Edmund Moddis. This man had read the book himself, and told his Majesty, that "if he would pardon him, and such men as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was marvel to hear of." The King fixed a time, and thus two merchants, George Eliot, and George Robinson, were favoured with a private audience. His Majesty, whose curiosity had been excited by the representation of his confidential servant, patiently listened to every line, as it was read to him by Eliot.²

This powerful *tract*, for it was nothing more, written in a popular style, contained an unmeasured attack on the whole fraternity of "Monks and Friars, Pardouers and Sumners," into whose hands an immense proportion of the nation's wealth had already passed. Their growing power, already impairing and threatening to destroy that of the Crown itself, was denounced in the strongest terms. "This is the great scab," said Fysh, "why *they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue*, lest men should espy that they, by their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate, thus fast, your kingdom into their hands."

At the close of its being read, and after a long pause, the King is reported to have said, "if a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall on his head;" then taking the book, he put it in his desk, commanding the men on their allegiance, that they should not disclose to any one that he had seen it.

Copies of this tract must have been possessed by not a few, when the King's own servant knew its contents so thoroughly. This, however, would not suffice, and so it had been determined that the people at large should read it for themselves; and, also, that no doubt should remain, whether the King had seen it. John Foxe, therefore, thus describes it—"A Libel or Book entitled, the Supplication of Beggars, thrown and scattered at the procession in Westminster, *on Candlemas day*, before

² George Eliot or Elyot, a man well known afterwards both to George Constantyne and Lord Crumwell; and referred to by the former, under 1539.

King Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse." This was on Friday the 2d of February 1526. Many copies might be thus disposed of, but, by another account, they had been scattered about the streets *by night*.

The moment of alarm had now come. This very trivial incident had excited the greatest fear and dread! Wolsey immediately went to his Majesty, complaining of "divers seditious persons having scattered abroad books containing manifest errors, desiring his Grace to beware of them;" but what must have been his mortification, when the King, putting his hand into his bosom, and taking out one of these very books, delivered it into his hands! At this period Henry was not a little gratified by any information which he could procure, independently of his domineering Prime Minister.

Wolsey, once roused, became fully awake to the importance of his *intentions* in the year 1523. Engrossed as he had been with political affairs, some of these intentions had remained unfulfilled. But now there was to be "*the secret search*," and in divers places at *one* time, and a sermon to be preached, by Fisher, the very man whom Henry had then named. It was resolved to strike terror into the heart of the enemy, and give one vital stab to all that was now run down under the nickname of Lutheranism; for divine truth had been slowly gaining its way, and was now to spread, as it had done, independently of Luther. The fact is, that the crusade, under which our country long groaned and bled, was about to begin; and as the authorities of the day were now going to treat the people of God after the primitive fashion, when they first put them in bear skins, and then baited them, a word of terror was wanting. Lollard, had been the term for above a hundred years, as it especially was under Longland, in 1521; but *Lutheranism* was now a far more effectual, because *opprobrious*, epithet; involving all those who either read the Scriptures, or appealed to them as authority.

Before, however, we can rightly understand the course of events, the evidence afforded by original manuscripts, by Foxe and Strype, Bishop Tanner and Anthony Wood, as well as two or three other authorities, must be carefully compared. After this, when we look at London, Oxford, and Cambridge, as well as the country at large, a scene, full of the deepest interest, opens to view.

Not a day was now to be lost. London, though far from its present size, was large enough even then to be favourable to secrecy; but London, Cambridge, and Oxford, must all be searched at *one* time, and Cardinal College, too, must not be overlooked. Wolsey could not have been with the King sooner than next day, Saturday the 3d. The simultaneous orders for both Universities must have been the same day, as the Sergeants-at-Arms had arrived at both by Monday or Tuesday.

In London they commenced immediately. Among the very *first* places where the "secret search" began, was a narrow lane in Cheapside, nearly opposite to Bow Church. In a church there, "All Hallows in Honey Lane," Robert Forman, S. T. P., was Rector, and Mr. Thomas Garret, Curate. Strong suspicions rested on the *latter*, as being at once a receiver and distributor of books.³ The articles finally objected against him, are to be found only in the *first* edition of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, a book which comparatively very few persons in this country have ever seen.⁴ We shall, therefore, give those *items* which refer to the subject before us, as they furnish an important link in the following narrative.

"Articles objected against Thomas Garret, Master of Art, sometime Parish Priest, Curate of All Hallows in Honey Lane.

³ In one document he subscribes his name *Gerarde*, and so he is sometimes called. Out of eighty-nine churches burnt down in the great fire of 1666, this of All Hallows in Honey Lane was one of those which was not rebuilt, and the space was long occupied, by Act of Parliament, as Honey Lane Market: but the market has now given way to a noble school "for the religious and virtuous education of boys, and for instructing them in the higher branches of literature and all other u-seful learning," for such are the terms of the Act. The general course of education includes English, Latin and French, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, mathematics and natural philosophy, geography and natural history, ancient and modern history, with lectures on chemistry and experimental philosophy. A special course superadds Greek, Hebrew, German, Spanish, and drawing, for those who wish any of them; and there are classes even superior, for poetry, antiquities, &c. It is curious enough that this fine establishment owes its existence to the bequests of an eminent London citizen, John Carpenter, who lived above four hundred years ago, in the reign of Henry VI. They had been sadly misapplied, but, through the "Commissioners of Charities," have been now happily appropriated to invaluable purposes, of which the original testator never dreamt. The erection looks towards Milk Street, where Sir Thomas More was born, and who succeeded Wolsey in persecuting all those who read or possessed the Testament of Tyndale. One distinct provision in the Act, therefore, is worthy of notice, viz. that the *Sacred Scriptures* are to be "*used and taught*" in this school. Thus, many of the sentences which Tyndale first printed for his country, will here be read daily upon the very ground where men of other days *first* searched eagerly for books, only to burn them! It is an elegant Gothic building, and an ornament to that part of the metropolis; but it is more than probable that neither Mr. Warren Hale, (to whom the city is so much indebted,) the Chairman, nor any member of "the Committee of the City of London Schools," has been before aware of the interesting character, not to say the celebrity of the spot, on which their building stands.

⁴ The Colophon is "Imprinted at London, by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath Saynt Martins, Anno 1563, the 20th of March." "The difficulty," says Mr. Grenville, "of finding a complete copy of this extremely rare edition is sufficiently known."—"A peculiar merit of it is, that it contains several passages, and particularly respecting the Protector Somerset, suppressed in *all* the subsequent editions." A perfect copy was sold, in 1823, for £56.

“*First*, for bringing divers and many books, treatises, and works of Martin Luther and his sect, as also for dispersing abroad of the said books to divers and many persons within this realm, as well *Students* in the University of *Oxford and Cambridge*, as other spiritual, temporal, and religious men, to the intent to have advanced the said sects and opinions. *Item*, for having the said books in his custody—for reading them secretly in privy places and suspect company, declaring and teaching here, lies and errors contained in them. *Item*, for that in his own person, he followed, advanced, and set forth the said sect and opinions, and also moved, stirred, and counselled others to follow and advance the same, not only within the *City and Dioceses of London and Lincoln*, but also in the Universities of *Oxford and Cambridge*, with divers other places. *Item*, that he *knew* certain religious persons which printed *English* books, or some that intended to print such books. *Item*, that he fled away in a layman’s apparel from Oxford to Bedminster, when he should have been attached for heresy.

“For these articles, and such like, he was abjured before Cuthbert (Tunstal) Bishop of London, John (Longland) Bishop of Lincoln, and John (Clark) Bishop of Bath and Wells. No mention made of the year and time, nor yet of any penance adjoined him.”⁵

Such were some of the charges formally brought against Mr. Garret, and not without reason; but among all the books imported, in Latin and in English, we have now to enquire whether there was not one, infinitely above them all in value, though at the first unknown to the authorities, namely, Tyndale’s New Testament.

During part of January, Garret must have been busy in the *City and Diocese* of London, but in the beginning or first week of February, when sought for at his own abode, he could not be found. He was then “searched for through all London,” when the Cardinal ascertained that “he had a great number of those books, and was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there, to such as *he knew* to be lovers of the Gospel.” The truth is, that this future martyr had been for some time in the habit of conveying books to both Universities, and of visiting Oxford personally. He was down there at the preceding Christmas, and, with regard to the present occasion,—“About the year 1526,” says Foxe, “Master Garret, Curate of Honey Lane in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of “*Unio disidentium*,” and *Tyndale’s first translation of the New Testament in English*, the which books

⁵ So says Foxe, in his *first* edition, p. 477. These articles, though rather an anticipation of our narrative, afford distinctness and certainty to what follows. As for the penance, the abjuration, the *year and time*, there is no uncertainty. The penance will come before us presently, and, alas! his abjuration at the close of the year, when we shall glance at his future history.

he sold to divers scholars in Oxford." "After he had been there *a while*, and *despatched those books*, news came that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling those heretical books, as they termed them." Not finding him in London, "they had determined *forthwith* to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his foresaid books, and him too, if they could, so burning hot was their zeal." By the time, however, that the Sergeant-at-Arms had arrived, Cole of Magdalen College, who was afterwards cross-bearer to the Cardinal, but an acquaintance of Garret's, gave him warning. So in the morning of "Wednesday before Shrovetide," on the 7th of February, he left Oxford, but returning again, he changed his dress as far as he could, and disappeared on Friday night. There is a beautifully graphic account of this, part of which we must quote; for which we are indebted to Anthony Dalaber, one of the students, devotedly attached to Mr. Garret.

"When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber," says he, "I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took the *New Testament* in my hands, kneeled down on my knuces, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did, with much deliberation, read over the tenth chapter of Saint Matthew his gospel: and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God, that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son, our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also that he would endue his tender and lately born *little flock in Oxford*, with heavenly strength by his Holy Spirit, that they might be able thereby valiantly to withstand to his glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly to their own salvation, with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross; which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, without the great help of his Holy Spirit. This done, I laid *aside* my book, safe."⁶

In this first attempt to escape, however, Garret had, most unwisely, yielded to worldly policy, in consequence of his

⁶ That this was a copy of Tyndale's English Testament, there can be no question, although Foxe in his *first* edition, forgetful of what he said, supposed, in a note, that this was the Testament of Erasmus; a book, by the way, which was *never* denounced, and which Dalaber had therefore no reason to hide in safety. But, then, to do Foxe justice, he left this note *out* of subsequent editions, having no doubt discovered his mistake. This must be observed by the readers of the new edition of Foxe published by Sceley, where the note of 1563 has been *restored*, without any caveat. The laborious author, by his *omissions*, certainly *sometimes* intended to convey his *change* of opinion after more accurate information, just as other authors have done, and the remark now made will apply to some other passages. Hence the republication of *all* that Foxe ever printed, becomes a very ticklish undertaking, and, without warning, may prolong the inaccuracy of history.

friends thinking it best that he should change his name, and then engage himself as Curate to a brother of Delaber's, Parson of Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, (though known to be a decided enemy,) till the first opportunity should present itself of escaping beyond seas. But he was too conscientious a man to proceed in this way, and so, seized with fear, he returned to Oxford on Friday evening. That night he was apprehended, but escaped again, and was finally taken at Hinksey, about two miles distant; when he, and all besides, who were suspected as receivers of books, were very soon in safe keeping!

We have now, then, to witness what has come over *Cardinal College*, as well as others; for the future eminence of the young men now imprisoned, fills the present story with no common interest.

“Divers others, indeed,” says Foxe, “were now constrained to forsake their colleges and seek their friends;” but still he favours us with the names of the captured; corroborated and increased by Strype, as well as Wood. Thus, we find expressly mentioned, John Fryth, with the Chaplain, his fellow prisoner, Thomas Lawney, John Clarke, Godfrey Harman, Henry Sumner, William Betts, Richard Taverner, Richard Coxe, Michael Drumm, and — Radley, *all* of Cardinal College; Nicholas Udall and John Diot of Corpus Christi; Eeden and others of Magdalen College; Goodman, William Bayley, John Salisbury, Robert Ferrar, of Glo'ster, Bernard and Mary's Colleges; Langport, a Monk of St. Austin's of Canterbury, and Anthony Dalaber, of St. Alban's Hall.

Of *Fryth* we need say nothing more at present, except that it is evident he had not yet left Oxford, nor his native country; and that consequently the association of him with Tyndale in his translation, though generally current to this day, is nothing more than an unfounded assumption. *Lawney*, his fellow prisoner, a man of wit, was afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; and befriended by Cranmer, he was often about his person, having a living in Kent. *Clarke*, an A.M. of Cambridge, as well as Oxford, eight or ten years older than the rest, gave lectures in divinity to these and other young men. Though an eminent scholar, he, as their leader, was ejected; but he, as well as *Sumner* and *Bayley*, died in one week, and *Goodman* also soon followed them to the grave; all in consequence of the severity of the imprisonment about to be noticed. Harman, afterwards Fellow of Eton College, died in 1533. *Betts* ultimately went to Cambridge, and was afterwards a favourite chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn. “A good man and zealous,” says Foxe, “and so remained,” till his death in 1534, when he was succeeded by Matthew Parker. *Taverner* is remembered chiefly by the Bibles, very nearly the same

as Tyndale's, which he afterwards published. *Cove*,⁷ twelve years after this, was one of the Tutors of Edward VI., and ultimately Bishop of Ely; and *Drum* became one of the six Preachers at Canterbury under Cranmer. *Udall* is known as the future Master of Eton and Westminster Schools, as well as one of the Translators of the first volume of Erasmus' paraphrase. *Salisbury*, a native of Wales, and Monk of St. Edmondsbury, who died Bishop of Mann in 1573, had a hand in translating the first edition of the Bible into Welsh; and *forty* years after this, when Dean of Norwich, we find him refer to this imprisonment by Wolsey, in justification of his orthodoxy and his early attachment to the Word of God.⁸ He is not, however, to be confounded with Wm. Salesbury, who previously had published the Welsh New Testament. *Ferrar*, who became chaplain to Cranmer, who was for a short time Bishop of Sodor and Mann, and then of St. David's, suffered at the stake in Caermarthen on the 30th of March 1555.

Garret and Dalaber, as convicted heretics, were made to carry a faggot, in open procession, from St. Mary's to Cardinal College; the former, as Master of Arts, having his red hood on his shoulders. These young men, besides others not named, followed in procession, all of whom were obliged, in passing, to cast *a book* into the large fire which had been kindled to receive them.⁹ Garret and Dalaber were then incarcerated at Osney Isle, till further orders from London, when the former was called up to appear before Tunstal, as we shall see towards the close of the year.

As for the other young men, along with Clarke, they were all immured in a deep cell, under Cardinal College, the common repository of their salt fish, a noisome dungeon, where the air and food together proved but too fatal. *Betts*, no suspected books being, at least, detected in his chamber, through entreaty and surety, got out of prison, and, as soon as he could, went to Cambridge. *Taverner*, though deeply implicated, as having concealed Clarke's books under the floor, being skilful in music, was excused by Wolsey; but the rest remained in this most miserable abode; where, eating nothing but salt-fish from the beginning of March to the middle of August, four of them died, as already stated! After this, but in consequence only of a letter from Wolsey, they were all released, on condition of not moving above ten miles from Oxford. How many thus continued as prisoners at large does not appear; but *John Fryth* being so far at liberty, and now aware

⁷ Who, by one account, was not so long in prison, not being suspected till July.

⁸ MS. Sermon, Bibl. Lambeth, vol. 113. Willis' Cath. i. p. 367, 4to. 1727.

⁹ Kindled at Carfax, (*quatre coins*.) or meeting of the four streets.

of the treatment of Garret and Dalaber, he “ escaped by flight over the sea to Tyndale.” He left Oxford for the Continent, therefore, in August or September 1526.

It will now be allowed that an event such as this, so rich in incident, and so fraught with consequences, was worthy of being fully traced; though, as far as Tyndale’s New Testaments were concerned, of course every thing depends on the *time* in which all this took place. Fortunately, however, the period can be fixed, not only to a month, but to a day; and it is the more remarkable, as coinciding with the same month in which it will be afterwards deponed, that New Testaments were *purchased* by other people. Foxe has said that this happened *about* 1526; Strype says *about* 1525 or 1526; and the fact is, that being in February, when the year ran on to the 25th of March, it would be called either the one or the other. The year 1526 is pointedly fixed by Wood, for to any one who observes the early history of these eminent young men it is indubitable. Thus, “ Clarke of Cardinal College was incorporated M.A. of Oxford in 1525, but ejected *soon after* for Lutheranism.” Udall had passed B.A. in 1524, and “ two years after supplicated for the degree of A.M., but in vain, as ’tis probable, because he was much addicted to the opinions of Luther.” Taverner escaped imprisonment; but being in disgrace, did not pass A.M. till 21st May 1527. Ferrar was a canon of St. Mary’s, “ where,” says Wood, “ I find him in 1526, in *which* year T. Garret did supply him with prohibited books.”¹⁰

The season of the year, the *month and day*, are no less certain; as it was on “ the Wednesday before Shrovetide” that Garret first departed from Oxford. Shrovetide, this year, fell on the 13th, so that Wednesday before was the 7th of February. This date must be observed in connexion with what took place at Cambridge.

As for the whole transaction, there need be no surprise at so much being made of it at the time. In the year 1525, Rincke and Cochläeus had put the highest authorities on their guard, and these were not mistaken, in now regarding this as no trivial affair, no inferior triumph. Students drawn away even from other Colleges was sufficiently mortifying;

¹⁰ Wood’s Fasti, and Annals of Oxford.

but *Cardinal College*, a favourite project of Wolsey's, was one in which he had felt almost absorbed. It was to be "*the most glorious in the world.*" Every other College had been made subservient to this, and, at his command, had yielded up its most choice young men. All these Canons had passed before his own eye, having either been selected or approved by himself, on account of the eminence of their attainments. What, then, must have been his disappointment, when, after all his pains, he saw the scale turning in the opposite direction from that which he had all along intended? And what his indignation, when such a proportion, if not a large majority, of these fine young men were found to be infected with that *new learning*, as it was termed, which, instead of yielding to the *old*, was ultimately to triumph, and maintain its ground in spite of the fiercest opposition? ¹¹

Besides all this, the books distributed were a mighty grievance in addition, and they were now gone into corners, they knew not where; but of all that had been circulated or sold, there were none to be compared with Tyndale's New Testament. This was the Word of Life, and felt to be so. We have already seen it, in the grasp of Dalaber, to have been their sheet anchor in the raging storm. It is therefore well worthy of remembrance, that one of Tyndale's earliest blows, dashed to the ground the insidious design of the lofty Cardinal. It was an attack upon the lion in his own den; while as to the young men, now branded as heretics, whether caught or escaped, Tyndale had given them, not a book of *new learn-*

¹¹ Anthony a Wood, though born more than a hundred years after this, was still no friend to the new learning thus introduced, and therefore he could not sympathise with such an account as the preceding. In his *Athenæ*, it is true, he records the transaction under Garret's name—and he has most fully corroborated our statement, in various ways, taken from other places; but in his *Annals of the University of Oxford*, we have a very curious substitute for this period, which is worth repeating—"But while this *selected Society* was busy in preaching, reading, disputing, and performing their scholastic arts, a *vehement plague* brake forth in the University, and dispersed most of them, returning not till the year following, or two years after! And of the said *plague*, divers persons dying near the halls of St. Alban's, Jesu, Edmund, and Queen's Colleges, the Bachelors of those places were, on the last of January this year, dispensed with for performing their Determinations in the public schools in the Lent following. Among those that *died*, some were of the number that came from *Cambridge*, which caused them not to return again, or at least be a *terror* to others from coming to seek promotion! Thus was this (Cardinal) College in *manner settled, and soon after left as 'twere desolate*—of the nobleness and magnificence of which, the University took oftentimes an occasion to make mention, in their courting pistles to the Cardinal!" And thus also, no doubt, New Testaments were *carried into the country*; for even here, Wood affirms that Dalaber betrayed about *twenty-two* of his brethren who favoured Garret, and *bought his books*. If there was any disease, the state of Oxford only the more resembled that of London; but what had happened was *plague* sufficient to Cardinal Wolsey, to say nothing of the young men, confined for six months in such a noisome cell.

ing merely, but the volume of Divine Mercy—it was not the owl of Athens, but Mount Zion's dove.

Thus it happens, whenever Infinite wisdom employs “the things that are weak to destroy the mighty,” and men of no account, to bring down those of high degree, “*He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise; He taketh the wise in their own craftiness; and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong.*”

If Oxford had been thrown into a ferment during these early days in February, the commotion at Cambridge was, if possible, still greater; but there had been some powerfully exciting causes, and now in full operation, which were peculiar to this University. A very brief retrospect will explain, as well as lend additional interest to the present burst of opposition.

The publication of the Greek Testament by Erasmus, in 1516, was one of the most important events in the progress of letters; but Cambridge seems to have been inferior to Oxford in their cultivation. Even the Priests, in their confessions of young scholars, had cautioned them against the acquisition of Greek and Hebrew, on account of the consequences they dreaded. Standish, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph,¹² was one great promoter of this hostility; and, upon one occasion, on his knees before the King and Queen, is said to have conjured them, by every thing sacred, to go on as their ancestors had done, and put down Erasmus.¹³ When, therefore, his Testament appeared, at Cambridge it was absolutely proscribed by some of the doctors of the day, and one College, as already hinted, forbade it to be brought within the walls! Yet the book they had thus contemned, was the *very same* by which God intended to promote his own designs, and in Cambridge itself.

Not long, therefore, after the publication of this Testament, which contained the Latin and Greek in parallel columns, the heart of one student was smitten with it; and this, in the hand of God, was sufficient to produce a great moral change. An LL.D., and Fellow of Trinity Hall,¹⁴ he

¹² This was often contracted into St. *Asse* when no ridicule was intended. But Standish was an ignorant man as well as violent, and Erasmus therefore called him, “*Episcopum a sancto asino.*”

¹³ Wood's *Athenæ* by Bliss, i. p. 54.

¹⁴ So says Kennet. The same College of which Stephen Gardiner was now master, after having been bred in it.

had already excelled in the study of the Civil and Canon Law, to which he had intended to devote his future life; but falling into great distress of mind, he applied to the Priests. They appointed him fastings and watching, with the purchase of pardons and masses; but after having spent almost his all on these ignorant physicians of no value, it had fared with him, as with one of old, to whose situation he compares his own; for “he was nothing the better, but rather grew worse.” His case is the more interesting, in that no human agent was employed to relieve him. It was a distinct divine interference for the promotion of his own cause; but the story is so full of simple beauty, that the student must be allowed to tell part of it himself:—

“But at the last,” says he, “I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which, when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latin than for the Word of God—for, at that time, I knew not what it meant—I bought it even by the providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive. And at the first reading, as I well remember, I chanced upon this sentenece of St. Paul, (O most sweet and comfortable sentenece to my soul!) in his first Epistle to Timothy, and first chapter—‘It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief and principal.’ This one sentenece, through God’s instruction and inward teaching, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that *my bruised bones leapt for joy.*—P’s. li. 8.

“After this the Scripture began to be more pleasant to me than the honey, or the honey-comb. Wherein I learned that all my travels, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, who alone saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else, but even, as Augustine saith, a hasty and swift running out of the right way; or else much like to the vesture made of fig-leaves, where-with Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover themselves; and could never before obtain quietness and rest, till they believed on the promise of God, that ‘Christ the seed of the woman should tread upon the *Serpent’s* head.’ Neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and biting of my sins, before I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in the third chapter of John—‘Even as Moses exalted the Serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, should not perish, but have life everlasting.’

“As soon as I began to taste and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach, but only God, which revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and, at last, I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, who sometime was also wicked.”

This was no other than Thomas Bilney, the future martyr of 1531. His preaching was followed by great and powerful effects, for among others, Hugh Latimer and Robert Barnes owed their conversion to him. So early, therefore, as 1523, before Tyndale went abroad, Cambridge lay under strong suspicion of heresy; and yet it is curious enough, that in that year, when certain Bishops moved, that there might be a visitation appointed to go down, for trying who were "the fautors of heresy" there, the Cardinal forbade it! "Upon what grounds," says Burnet, "I cannot imagine." It seems to have been, either because he then meditated a reform of the Church, after his *own* fancy, as already disclosed in the letter of Longland, and of which his own sovereign authority as *Legate*, should appear to be the only fountain; or if not, to show at the moment his authority over the clergy. His mind, we know, was then engrossed with affairs of State, abroad as well as at home.¹⁵ At all events, the over-ruling hand of God is manifest, in preventing all interference for at least *three* years, or from January 1523, to February 1526.

The order for Oxford we have stated to be the third of this month; that for Cambridge must have been at the same moment; but in this case, previous information through Dr. Tyrell, after-mentioned, had suggested the necessity for two individuals being sent. One Gibson, the Sergeant-at-Arms, a creature of Wolsey's, hated by the Aldermen and Common Council of London, was therefore accompanied by Dr. Capon, one of the Cardinal's chaplains. They had arrived on Monday, as upon Tuesday, the Sergeant "suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the Convocation-house, to make all others afraid;" and by Wednesday evening, (on the morning of which, Garret first escaped from Oxford), Dr. Barnes stood before Wolsey.

Robert Barnes, born near Linn in Norfolk, after proceeding through the schools at Cambridge, had entered the Monastery of Augustine Friars there, in the year 1514. Having then gone to Louvaine, where he studied, and passed as Doctor of Theology; after his return he was made Prior and Master of his Monastery, in 1523. In conjunction with another

¹⁵ "He obstructed it," says Kennet, "not in favour of heresy, but in support of his own *Legatine* authority."—*M. S., Lauddowne, No. 979, p. 36.*

Louvaine scholar, Mr. Thomas Parnel, whom he had brought over with him, he became, says Strype and others, "the great restorer of good learning at Cambridge." He had introduced the study of the classics, and was reading Terence, Plantus, and Cicero; but being brought to the knowledge of the truth through Bilney, he proceeded to read openly with his scholars, the Epistles of Paul. Sometime before this, Latimer had been also enlightened through Bilney's preaching, and was proclaiming the truth with great decision and effect. Whether Latimer was actually in expectation of the New Testament of Tyndale, does not appear, but the fact is, that he was now powerfully preparing the way for it; as he frequently and particularly dwelt on the great abuse of *locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue*. Prior Buckingham, his opponent, inveighed against him, and insisted, that if *that heresy* prevailed, we should soon see an end of every thing useful! This man, Latimer put to silence, by that singular vein of humour for which he was distinguished; while Venetus, a foreigner, with whom he reasoned in a strain full of gravity, was obliged to leave the University. Latimer's opponents finding argument fail, resorted to authority; and West, the Bishop of Ely, after hearing him, and even professing to be charmed, ultimately prohibited him from preaching in any of the churches belonging to the University, or within his diocese! The Monastery of Dr. Barnes, however, was happily *exempt* from episcopal jurisdiction, an exemption indeed, peculiar to almost all the Monasteries, so that the Prior boldly licensed him to preach there. The place was unable to contain the crowds that assembled, and Dr. Barnes having been requested by the parish to preach at St. Edward's Church hard by, resolved to comply. This was a memorable evening on account of the effects. It was in fact a crisis, though never sufficiently marked as such. It was "Christmas eve, and on a Sunday," says Foxe, or as Barnes himself explains,—“in the year of our Lord 1525, the 24th of December.” Latimer was also officiating at the Monastery that evening; while the present, says Foxe, was “the *first* sermon that ever Barnes preached of this truth.” Understanding now the way of truth more perfectly, and alive to the state of things around him, he had resolved to be openly explicit. By two chaplains, Drs. Robert Ridley and Walter Preston, fellows of King's College, and *kinsmen* of Tunstal,

Bishop of London, he was immediately accused of heresy. This they did in the Regent-House, before the Vice-Chancellor Edmund Nateres, and these two men, assisted by three others, viz. Tyrell, Watson, and Fooke, having gathered up certain articles against him, desired him to recant. The University as a body, immediately took up the matter, and disputed their authority. His adversaries, however, within two or three days, having secured another meeting before the Vice-Chancellor; by fraud and intimidation, they "so entreated and cozened him," that Barnes agreed to yield to their authority and their promised clemency. They then enjoined him to read his revocation in St. Edward's Church next Sunday. Barnes consulted with eight or ten of his learned friends, among whom were Stafford and Bilney, and then declined; but he had already ensnared himself in these private interviews, and his accusers, aware of this, desisted, only to wait their favourable moment. The learned of at least seven different colleges now flocked together in open day to sermons, whether at the Augustine Monastery or St. Mary's.

"The names of some of them," says Strype, "were these:—Besides Barnes, and Stafford, and Bilney, Dr. Thixtel or Thissel, and T. Allan of Pembroke; Dr. Farman, of Queen's; Tooke and Loude, of Benet; Cambridge, Field, Colman, *Coredale*, Bachelors of Divinity; Parnel of St. Austin's, under Barnes; Thomas Arthur, Dr. Warner, Segar Nicolson, Rudolph Bradford, of King's; Dr. Smith, of Trinity; and *Latymer*, of Christ's Church."

Disputations were held during the whole of January, at a house called *Germany* by way of derision, and "this tragedy," says Foxe, "continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within *six* days before Shrovetide," or, in other words, to the very day that Dr. Barnes stood before Wolsey.

It was not, however, to apprehend Barnes alone, that the Sergeant-at-Arms had arrived at Cambridge. He had been charged to make secret search for *books*, and instantly seize the whole, as well as apprehend all who *possessed* them. Not fewer than *thirty* were suspected, and spies had given them precise information as to every one of their rooms! But Dr. Forman of Queen's College had happily, at the first moment, informed all the parties of the *privy search*, and "God be praised," says Foxe, the books "were conveyed away by the time that the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Vice-Chancellor, and

the Proctors were at every man's chamber." The business of Gibson was therefore soon accomplished, and Dr. Barnes being his only prey, he was immediately carried to London.

We return, therefore, to Wolsey's gallery at Westminster, on Wednesday evening, Gardiner, his Secretary, and Fox, being the only parties present with Barnes. The Cardinal soon discovered, that he was not unacquainted with what Dr. Barnes had been delivering at Cambridge, telling that his noted sermon in December, was "fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit." Certainly it was very different doctrine from that with which almost every pulpit was filled; and as for the rest, the fact is, that, whether well advised or not, Barnes, unable to repress his indignation at the gross abuses of the times, had opened up before the people *Wolsey's* extravagance. To him belongs the distinction, of having led the way in boldly and publicly exposing the gorgeous and tyrannical bearing of the lofty Cardinal. This accounts for the severity with which *he* was now treated, for both Bilney and Latimer were permitted to go on for some time longer.

Wolsey, however, read the articles with patience, till he came to one personal to himself; for the men at Cambridge, in drawing them up, knew how to touch him at the quick. "What, Master Doctor," exclaimed the Cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, that my golden shoes, my pole axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so offend you, that you must make us *rediculum caput* before the people?¹⁶ We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit, for at the last you said—I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves, quoth you, that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." Whether this charge was correct, does not appear, but Barnes, as yet unmoved, replied, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the old Doctors." In the end, he delivered to the Cardinal six sheets in manuscript, to confirm and corroborate all that he had spoken. Wolsey smiling, said, "we perceive that you mean to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." Wolsey enquired if he did not know

¹⁶ *Caput*, the highest Council of the University.

that he was there for *heresy*, and whether he could bring six or ten doctors of divinity to swear for him? Barnes offered *twenty* honest men, as learned as himself, if not superior—but these would not suffice. “They must be of your years according to law,” said Wolsey. “That,” replied Barnes, “is impossible.” “Then,” said the Cardinal, “*you must be burnt!*” At the close, Wolsey was about to commit him to the Tower, but Fox¹⁷ and Gardiner¹⁸ interceded, and became sureties for his appearance. During the whole night he was engaged in preparing for his defence before the Bishops, to whom Wolsey had committed him. Three of his students, *Coerddale*, Goodwin, and Field, having followed him up to London, were also occupied in writing to his dictation. On Thursday morning, after calling at York Place, (Whitehall,) for Fox and Gardiner, the Sergeant-at-Arms conveyed him down to the Chapter-House at Westminster. He was now in the presence of John Clark, Bishop of Bath, as principal judge, who treated him with marked severity; Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was sure to be an enemy and not a judge; Islip, the Abbot of Westminster; the Abbot of Bury; Dr. Jeffrey Wharton; Dr. Allen; and Dr. Gardiner. After this examination he subscribed his articles, and was then committed to Fleet Prison, but no one to speak with him. On Saturday at three o’clock, when called to appear again, a long roll was shown to him, which he must promise to read in public, with the assurance *now*, that he would not add one word, more or less! They exacted this promise before he had read a line of it, and put it to him solemnly three times! Barnes continuing firm, was desired to retire. On being called in, they had agreed that a Notary should read it to him, and as Barnes listened, he felt as though he would rather die than agree. After long disputation, threatening, and scorn, it was now five o’clock; when they called upon him to know whether he would *abjure or burn*. Barnes was in great agony, inclining rather to the latter, when they sent him again to take counsel from Fox, and Gardiner alone; and they, “by persuasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh,”

¹⁷ The same man, who, when Bishop of Hereford, had Barnes associated with him in Embassy from Henry VIII. to the Protestant Princes at Smalcald. in 1535.

¹⁸ The very person, who, fourteen years afterwards, was the occasion of *Barnes and Garret* being brought to the same flames, two days after Lord Crumwell.

brought him at last to yield and abjure! It is easy for us now to say, that he ought to have stood firm, and if he had, Barnes would have led the van at least, of this division of martyrs, for the Word of God; but neither Garret nor he were yet able to brave the horrors of the stake.

With regard to Barnes, in particular, the sight on the following day, was indeed most humiliating, and to his adversaries, must have seemed a great triumph. On Sabbath the 4th, in his pulpit at Cambridge, and on the next, or 11th, bearing a faggot at St. Paul's! The church was crowded to excess, and there sat Wolsey in all his glory, smiling, no doubt, over the pointed replies of Thursday evening, while he saw Barnes and five others, Stillyard men, humbled before him.¹⁹ So mighty and so important was the occasion, that, according to Foxe:—

“The Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six and thirty Abbots, mitred Priors, and Bishops, and he, in his whole pomp, mitred, which Barnes had denounced, sat there enthroned! His Chaplains and Spiritual Docters, in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple! And there was a new pulpit crected on the top of the stairs, for *Fisher*, the Bishop of Roehester, to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books, standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the Rood of Northern, (or large crucifix at the north gate of St. Paul's), there to be burned; and these hereties after the sermon, to go three times round the fire, and cast in their faggots.”

All this was done of course, and much more that was humiliating, Wolsey retiring, under a canopy, in all his pomp; and Fisher declaring to the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being *present* at that Sermon! To him, as well as Wolsey and Longland, it was a high day, and one to which they had looked forward for three years.²⁰

Here then, we have the *first* of a series, for it preceded Oxford by a few days, in which *books* were committed to the

¹⁹ Thus the results of the “secret search” in London and Cambridge were combined, the scene already described at Oxford, happening also before the end of the week. These five German Merchants, called Easterlings or Stillyard Men, or Merchants of the Hanse, had been examined and convicted on Thursday, “for Luther’s books and Lollardy;” Tyndale’s New Testament, as well as his subsequent publications, being often after this wrapt up under this general title, or that of Lutheranism. These German Merchants, who imported books along with steel and other goods, dwelt at that place in Thames Street, still called the Steelyard. By the Kings of England they were granted certain privileges, which were continued to the reign of Elizabeth.

²⁰ This Sermon of Fisher’s, from Luke, xviii. 42, was afterwards published. “I have put forth this Sermon,” says he, “to be read, which, for the great noise of the people within the Church of St. Paul’s, might not be heard.” Tyndale severely reproved him for it afterwards, in his “Obedience of a Christian Man.”—See *Tyndale’s Works by Russel*, i. p. 250-255. *Herbert’s Ames*, i. p. 459

flames; and among many others, upon this day, the 11th of February 1526, copies of Tyndale's New Testament, were no doubt for the *first* time cast into the fire, as they were at Oxford in the same week. By this period we shall yet have curious and abundant evidence that they were in the country; Garret was convicted, as we have seen, for conveying books to *Cambridge* as well as Oxford, and among the stores of the Stillyard men, now accumulated in the "great baskets," the London stock was so far involved. Lutheranism, it is true, was the great bug-bear held up this day before the people, but when chastising Fisher afterwards, for the sermon he had preached and printed, Tyndale himself has said:—

"And mark, I pray you, what an orator he is, and how vehemently he persuadeth it! 'Martin Luther hath burned the Pope's decretals; a manifest proof,' saith he, 'that he would have burned the Pope's Holiness also, if he had had him.' A like argument, which I suppose to be rather true, I make. Rochester and his holy brethren *have burnt Christ's Testament*; an evident sign, verily, that they would have burnt Christ himself also, if they had had him."

These words, by the way, may now be received as the best of all evidence, that the New Testament was there, and there consumed. All this, however, was evidently done by the Cardinal's supreme and express authority. He led the way, therefore, so that it is not correct to exonerate him, as some authors have done, by affirming that this was an after-thought of the Bishops, when Warham and Tunstal commenced their crusade against all books of the *new learning*. Even then, Strype affirms, that they were *instigated* by the Cardinal; but upon this day, Warham was *not* present, and Tunstal as far distant as *Madrid*. No, stung more than once, and in one week, by what had been detected at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in London, Wolsey must have felt exasperated in the highest degree, and it is manifest that, by all this parade, he intended to produce a deep and general panic.

At the close of all, poor Barnes, though received formally into the Roman Catholic Church again, was remitted to the Fleet, till the Lord Cardinal's pleasure should be known; but his friends were permitted to visit him, and he there relented.

As the season of conviction at Oxford and Cambridge had been the same, so also was that of relief to both parties. Perhaps the sad deaths at Oxford, in consequence of severe treatment, led to this; since it was about the very *same* time that

the young men at Oxford were released, on condition of not moving above ten miles distant, that Barnes was delivered from the Fleet; that is, at the end of six months. He, however, was not permitted to go at large, even to the same extent, but was committed to be a free prisoner at Austin Friars in London; and from evidence which will come out in 1528, it will appear that he was here as busy as his circumstances would permit, in actually disposing of copies of Tyndale's Testament! His enemies, therefore, were not incorrect in their suspicions, for says Foxe, "they complained *again* to the Lord Cardinal, whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be *burned*." By a most unworthy stratagem, however, feigning himself to have been *drowned*, he escaped to the Continent. His enemies searched for him seven days, but they dragged the pond in vain.

Once abroad, and having time for reflection, Barnes must surely soon have seen the evil of his conduct with regret; for alas, independently of its own sinfulness, his example proved most baneful! At the moment it must have been, "as when a standard-bearer fainteth," or rather flies, for *he* first led in a path which cost many a sigh to those who followed him. His fall and escape, for fall he did, certainly had no small influence in leading to the sad expedient of *abjuration*, instead of resistance unto death—an expedient which produced, as we shall find in Bilney's case and others, mental agony to a degree, compared with which, the tortures of the stake were transient, and far inferior.²¹

²¹ It was not long before Tuustal knew that Barnes was not drowned, and he affirmed that "the Lord Cardinal would have him over again, or it would cost him a great sum of money." On which Barnes afterwards replied in print:—"And when my Lord Cardinal, and he, (Tuustal), would spend so much money to have me again, I have great marvel of it. What can they make of me? I am a poor simple wretch, and worth no man's money in the world, (except theirs), not the tenth penny that they will give for me. And to burn me, or to destroy me, cannot so greatly profit them; for when I am dead, the sun and the moon, the stars and the elements, water and fire, yea, and also stones shall defend this cause against them, *rather than the verity should perish*." All this was nobly said, but considering the eminence of his character at Cambridge, and the notoriety of his abjuration in London, escaping to the Continent as he did, and saying this there, could not possibly prevent the injurious consequences which must have followed from his conduct.

On the Continent, Barnes became intimate with Luther and Melancthon, and other reformers; as well as with the Duke of Saxony and the King of Denmark. Sent by the latter into this country, he first set his foot upon English ground after Wolsey was in his grave, in the time of Sir Thomas More being Chancellor, and as an ambassador to Henry VIII, with the Lubbeckers; when he lodged with their Chancellor at the Steelyard. He had not come, however, without the protection of a safe-conduct, which More would have most willingly infringed, had the King permitted. On his return to Germany he published his works, and after More's death he came to London, where he preached for some time. In 1535, he was employed as envoy from the King to the Elector of Saxony and the Wirtemberg Divines, in reference to their Convocation at Smalkald.

With regard to this entire statement, such a remarkable conjunction of circumstances, has never before been traced, and though "the Supplication of Beggars" has all along been familiar to the readers of history, they cannot have been before aware of the mighty stir occasioned by the distribution of these few pages of letter-press, on Candlemas-day. London, Oxford, and Cambridge, the subjects of Wolsey's "secret search and at one time," were ascertained, in February 1526, to be impregnated with the same leaven; but that the King himself, and before all this uproar began, should have possessed and read this powerful tract, to the Cardinal especially, must have proved not a little galling.

On the whole, however, it may have been observed, that none of the principal or leading characters in Oxford, similar to Barnes at Cambridge, had been called up before Wolsey. Garret, indeed, had been apprehended at Oxford, but he belonged to London, and they were young men only, who had been incarcerated, with the exception of Clarke, and even he was not a man of authority. Still *one* or *two* of a higher grade, had been there suspected, of promoting the "new learning." The month of February, therefore, had not expired, when the University formally applied to Warham of Canterbury, then their Chancellor, as he had been since 1506. He was living retired at Knolle, but might not be so fully aware of all that had happened, till he was officially thus informed. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, we have a cautious and imploring letter from him to the Cardinal, full of fear and anxiety as to Oxford and its honour.

"The university," he says, had "instantly desired him to be their suitor to his Grace, touching the examination of the said persons suspected of heresy, that the University run in as *little* infamy as may be, after the quality of the

though chiefly with a view to their concurrence in the affair of Henry's divorce; and afterwards he was employed in the negotiation for Anne of Cleves. But getting himself entangled by his opposition to Stephen Gardiner, then in high favour, and Henry being at last incensed against him, he fell on the 30th of July 1540, with Garret, and Hierome the Vicar of Hackney, under the sanguinary "Six Acts" of that period, justly styled "the bloody Statute."

To the end of his days, and even at the stake itself, Barnes was uniform as an advocate for the justification of a sinner by faith, without the works of the law; but being destitute of moral courage and command of temper—to use his own terms, he "overshot himself," more than once. His works were published by Foxe, along with those of Tyndale and Fryth, in one folio volume, and thus the three names have often been repeated in the same breath; but it would be a violation of all propriety to regard the three men as alike, whether in point of general character or sentiment. This will be evident as we proceed. We only remark here, that Barnes was a Lutheran, which neither Tyndale or Fryth ever were. Tyndale, in 1533, even warns Fryth to beware of him. "Barnes," said Tyndale, "will be hot against you,"—a warning, in which at once his temper, and peculiar sentiments with regard to the Lord's Supper, are glanced at.

offence—for pity it were, through the lewdness of *one* or *two* cankered members, which, as I understand, have induced *no small* number of young and uncircumspect *fools* to give ear to them, that the whole University should run in the infamy of so heinous a crime—the hearing whereof would be *right delectable and pleasant* to the *open* Lutherans *beyond* the sea, and the *secret, behither*: whereof they would take heart and confidence, that their pestilent doctrine should increase and multiply; seeing *both* the Universities of England infected therewith; whereof the one hath many years been void of all heresies, and the other hath, afore now, taken upon her the praise, that she was *never* defiled; and, nevertheless, now, *she is thought* to be the *original occasion and cause* of the fall in Oxford.”

Warham chiefly intended by this letter, “to move that only the *Capytaine* of the said erroneous doctrines be punished, to the fearful example of all other: but if all the young scholars suspected be called up to London, it should engender great obloquy and slander to the University,” at home and abroad, “to the sorrow of all good men, and the pleasure of heretics.”—“It is thought,” he adds, “*the less bruit, the better*;” and he then suggests that a commission should be sent down to Oxford to examine “not the *heads*, which it may please your Grace to reserve to *your own* examination, but the novices which be not yet thoroughly cankered.”

“Item, the said University have desired me to move your good Grace to command my Lord of Rochester or my Lord of London, to note out, *beside* the works of Luther condemned already, the names of all *other* such writers and fautors—and these names, described in a table, to be sent down to the University of Oxford, commanding them, that no man, without express license, have, keep, or read any of the same books, under the pain of excommunication.”²²

Thus the mortification, we have presumed to exist, was disclosed, and it must have been extreme. But did Warham, the Chancellor of Oxford, forget that he might be now treading on Wolsey’s tender toe? Was he not aware, when denouncing these heretics, that, amongst others, he had denominated the Canons of Cardinal College, who were all of Wolsey’s *selection*, “a number of young and uncircumspect *fools*?” Irritated Wolsey had been already by Barnes, but this letter was certainly not calculated to allay the irritation.

The advice given, however, was not taken. Garret and the young scholars were indeed already in *durance vile*, but the requests here made were *never* granted. Not that the Cardinal was already cool, or unconcerned, far from it! but he will take his own way, and act as it best pleased him. Nay, he will watch for farther revenge, and before long something may occur, which will carry even the King fully along

²² MS. Cotton Caligula, B. vi., fol. 171. b. Even Garret will not be called up to London, till towards the end of the year. For Oxford’s sake, and more especially the Cardinal’s *pet* College, “the less bruit the better.” So far Warham’s advice was followed.

with him. Accordingly, so it happened; for in less than a fortnight after this letter, and little more than a month after the day of terror at St. Paul's, an opportunity was presented, which Wolsey, with the Bishops, did not fail to improve for the most impious of all purposes—the burning of the Sacred Scriptures, and to be burned by authority of the King.

Henry the VIII. having written against Martin Luther's book on the Babylonish Captivity, and thus procured from Rome the title of "Defender of the Faith;" Luther in 1521 had published his bold and very rough reply. In September 1525, however, as already hinted, no matter by whose advice, or under what impression, he made an attempt at reconciliation, by addressing a letter to his Majesty. In this letter he actually confessed that at the instance of *other* persons he had grievously offended, by a foolish and precipitate publication, yet, from the reported clemency of the King, he hoped for his forgiveness. He had been told that his Majesty was not the *real* author of the book edited under his name; and, at the same time, though denouncing Wolsey as "a monster, the general odium of God and man, and the plague of his kingdom," he yet prayed for a gracious reply! Luther pled afterwards, that he had been urgently pressed by Christiern King of Denmark to write even *this* letter, but the step taken no one can defend. It was not only unworthy of his character and place, but at variance with the upright integrity of any follower of Christ. "Who knows," said Luther, "but in a happy hour I may gain the King of England?" A little of human vanity, therefore, seems to have been lurking in his mind; but at all events, he must have been quite in the dark as to the existing state of affairs in England, when he could pen and print such a letter.²³

Henry, in reply, having reproached Luther with levity and inconstancy, as well as his marriage, and the vilest heresy,

²³ If any one desire to have another proof that Tyndale and Luther had never met, *as yet*, he may find it here. Had they done so, they must have conversed over the state of England, and the close alliance then subsisting between Henry and his favourite Minister; for with this subject Tyndale was, and continued to be, most intimately acquainted. Now, had he been "confederate with Luther," never would he or could he have advised or sanctioned such a foolish step as this. For though he afterwards reprobated the rough and scurrilous reply of Henry, he was too well aware of the state of parties in England to have dreamt of such a communication being successful. No, he was far better employed upon his New Testament at Worms, than in advising at Wittenberg, a letter to the King of England so injudicious as this—and well was it for Tyndale's cause, as we shall see presently, that more than *six months* passed away before his Majesty even saw the letter.

represented Wolsey as peculiarly dear to him, and of great value in preventing the contagion of the Lutheran heresy ; of which, it might have been added, he had lately given a flaming specimen.

A remarkable fact, however, respecting this letter of Luther's has been all but overlooked. Though dated from Wittenberg, on the 1st of September 1525, more than six months had elapsed before it met the eye of the King. He himself professes that he only received it on the 20th of March ! Its non-arrival may well be observed, for, had the same wrath been excited by the end of 1525, the entrance of books at that period, and in January, must have been still more difficult than it was. But arriving five weeks after the famous burning at St. Paul's, a fine opportunity was now presented for exciting the royal indignation against the *English New Testament*, and covering it with all the odium of *Lutheranism*, the assumed cant of the day. The name of the translator *not being yet* known, for Cochlæus had not mentioned it, no doubt it was deemed a happy thought, boldly to assert that the production *was* the device of Luther himself ! Henry must have been sufficiently incensed by the letter of Luther alone, and, as for any additional information, both he and Wolsey must have remembered, *too late*, the letters of Rincke and Cochlæus ; but the following is the language of the King, in his English preface, addressed to his "dearly beloved people."

"So came it then to pass that Luther at last perceiving wise men to espy him, learned men to leave him, good men to abhor him, and his frantie favourers to fall to wreck ; the nobles and honest people in Almaygne (Germany) being taught by the proof of his ungracious practice, much more hurt and mischief to follow thereof, than ever they looked after ; devised a letter to us, written to abuse them and all other nations, in such wise as ye, by the contents thereof, hereafter shall perceive. In which he feigneth himself to be informed, that we be turned unto the favour of his sect. And, with many flattering words, he laboureth to have us content that he might be bold to write to us, in the matter and cause of the gospel : and thereupon, *without* answer had from us, not only published the same letter and put it *in print*, of purpose that his adherents should be the bolder under the shadow of our authority ; but also fell in device with one or two lewd²⁴ persons, born in this our realm, for the translating of the *New Testament into English* ; as well with many corruptions of that holy text, as certain *prefaces* and other pestilent *glosses in the margins*, for the advancement and setting forth of his abominable heresies, intending to

²⁴ *Lewd*—i. e. unlearned ; ignorant. For the gradual changes in the meaning of this word, see Jamieson's Dictionary, or that of Johnson by Todd.

abuse the good minds and devotion, that you, our dearly beloved people, bear toward the holy Scripture, and infect you with the deadly corruption and contagious odour of his pestilent errors.²⁵ In the avoiding whereof, We, of our special tender zeal towards you, have, with the deliberate advice of the most reverend father in God, Thomas Lord Cardinal, Legate *a latere* of the See Apostolic, Archbishop of York, Primate and our Chancery of this realm, and other reverend fathers of the spirituality, determined the said and untrue *translations to be burned*, with further sharp correction and punishment against the keepers and readers of the same, reckoning of your wisdom very sure that ye will well and thankfully perceive our tender and loving mind toward you *therein*, and that ye will never be so greedy of any sweet wine, be the grape never so pleasant, that ye will desire to taste it, being well advertised that your enemy before hath poisoned it."²⁶

They had burned New Testaments, with other books, on the 11th of February. But this *advice* given by Wolsey, and cordially sanctioned by the King, as to the burning of the quarto book, the only edition yet marked out, must have occurred immediately on the reception of Luther's letter; and it fully prepares us for the more formal injunctions of Tunstal and Warham, which, however, did not come out till towards the end of the year, so that we have still several incidents to record before then. Tunstal was still in Spain.

The footsteps of Divine Providence, at this ever-memorable period, were marked and conspicuous. Events crowded upon each other, and,

²⁵ Here, then, was evidently Tyndale's *quarto* New Testament, *with glosses*, and denounced so early as the 20th of March 1526, no mention being yet made of the small edition.

²⁶ See the book itself, or Herbert's *Ancient*, i. pp. 297-300. The first edition of Henry's reply, in the original Latin, in quarto, and without date, which Strype by mistake placed in 1525, was not published till towards the close of *this* year; a second, in 12mo, came out dated on the 2d of December 1526; but so eager was the King, that it had been translated into English, and by himself. The time of receiving Luther's letter is not mentioned in the Latin editions, but in the English the King's answer begins thus; "Your letters written the *first September* (1525.) we have received the *xx day of March*." But a still more curious circumstance, never before observed, is this: that the copy alluded to as received on the 20th of March, was certainly not that of Luther's own hand-writing, nor in manuscript; it was merely a copy on which Sir Thomas More had pounced; and the original letter in manuscript had either been *miscarried*, or *never been sent!* Its being printed before the King *could* reply, must have been very provoking, and, therefore, this is noticed in the preceding extract, as an aggravation. For proof of what we have now stated, we are indebted to the original Manuscripts. Thus, in a letter from Dr. Knight, then the King's Secretary, addressed to Wolsey, so late as the 21st of August, he says: "As for the copy of Luther's letter, his Grace knoweth *none other*, but that Sir Thomas More hath hit."—See Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, vol. vii., No. 62. And again, in a letter from Wolsey himself, to Sir T. More, towards the end of September, where, judging of other men by himself, he says—"And whereas ye notified unto me, that the King's pleasure is, that his Grace's answer to Luther's letter should be incontinently set forth to the Princes of Almayne, (Germany) *without abiding or tarrying for the Copy thereof*, me seemeth it is not convenient that this should be done, in my poor opinion; as well for that Luther, who is full of subtilty and craft, hereafter might percase deny, that *any* such letter hath been sent by him unto the King's highness, as that the said answer, not having the *said copy* adjoined therunto, should be for want thereof, to the readers and hearers thereof, somewhat diminute and obscure." Both these letters have been printed in the Government State Papers, 1830. pp. 173-175. As for Henry's letter, in the copies for Germany the Emperor's arms fronted the title-page; and, in 1527, Cochæus, as we have stated, was printing it with his own characteristic comments. See page 60.

no doubt, so far mitigated the severity of persecution. Political affairs admitted of no delay, more especially as Wolsey was now often dragged along, like a slave, at the chariot-wheels of his own ambition. "The King," says Hall, "this summer took his pastime in hunting;" but as for the Cardinal, he must now be engrossed in a deep political game, demanding all his powers; so that affairs such as those we have been describing, could not possibly be pursued without interruption.

The Emperor and Francis had made peace, and this did not suit with the Cardinal's taste or prospects. His enmity to the former now extended to his aunt, the wife of his own Sovereign; and therefore an embassy, with Sir Thomas Cheyney, as principal, must, in the month of *March*, be sent into France. This had for its design a double object, namely, to induce Francis to *break his oath* to the Emperor, and to try and secure the Duchess of Alençon, the sister of the King, as a suitable Queen for Henry, at a convenient opportunity. Thus early was the Cardinal insinuating scruples into his King's mind as to the morality or legality of his marriage;²⁷ and though in the latter object he failed, in the former he succeeded; for by the month of June, Francis was again in hostility to the Emperor. As for Wolsey, he was ascribing to his own government the merit of having so advised; because this *peace* was not only unreasonable and impracticable, but "tending to the prejudice and danger of all *Christendom!*"

The chief author of this new war, however, was our former Bishop of *Worcester*, the Roman Pontiff himself, who had been actually more busy than any other to produce it. Having once sent his ambassadors to France, England, and Venice, our Cardinal had most willingly intrigued with France as his abettor; Clement, the Pontiff, had sent Francis a *release* from his oath, and "the holy league of Clement" was the result! But never were two men more infatuated; as "in few instances have the authors of mischief brought down on themselves the retributory punishment more signally, or more to the *advantage of mankind*, than Clement and his coadjutor, Wolsey, did, by the hostilities which they thus united to produce."²⁸

The Pope had announced his new league to the Emperor, in June, who replied, by a state paper of twenty-four sheets, in September. In that month the Pontiff had sent to Henry VIII. desiring him to be "Protector" of his league. The King declined, while Wolsey stood by, dreaming, no doubt, that he had the balance of Europe in his hands: but lo! on the 20th of this same month, Clement himself was attacked by one of his own Cardinals! Hatred between the parties having risen to a great height, the Bishop of Rome had said that he would "take away his *red hat*;" on which the Cardinal threatened, if he did so, he would "put

²⁷ See Turner's Henry VIII. chaps. xvi. and xx.

²⁸ Turner.

on an *helmet* to overthrow his *three crowns*;" and now, without waiting for the indignity, he had fulfilled his threat. The Pontiff had no more than time to retire, with his attendants, and chief citizens, into the castle of St. Angelo, but with no more provisions than would last for three days. Apprehensive of dying from famine, he was forced to capitulate and bow to Cardinal Colonna. Although even this was but small humiliation to that which followed, there was enough here to have shewn both Clement and Wolsey, that, in the hands of an overruling Providence, their "turning of things upside down, was esteemed as the potter's clay." The Bishop of Bath, who, in February last, had sat in severe judgment upon Barnes, was no longer singing the same song. He was now ambassador at Rome; and in a letter to Wolsey, dated the 5th of October, he says—"They cry and call upon the King's highness, and your Grace, as them in whom is now *all* the help and stay of Christendom; for the Pope, and all the affairs of Italy, they are in ruin and at nothing!"²⁹ Here, therefore, we must pause, to enquire after the state of other matters at home.

From March to October, whether the friends of truth had enjoyed a breathing time or not, as it regards the prudential importation and circulation of Tyndale's precious volumes, certain events show, that, though living in perilous times, they had zealously improved them. Thus, when the "Supplication of Beggars" was scattering about in London, at and before Candlemas, the author, Mr. Fyshe, it is presumed, was not in England, otherwise he must have run the hazard of being amongst the first victims. Return, however, he *did*, and to London, where he not only sojourned for a season during *this* summer, but was useful and active in the circulation of Tyndale's New Testament. It seems as if he had come for the purpose. He may have brought over copies with him; but, at all events, when we come to the disclosures upon oath in the spring of 1528, we shall find, that, at this very period, he was a confidential agent, importing the Testament from Mr. Harman of Antwerp, and dealing it out for sale to such as travelled through the country and sold them. After Tunstal's return, he again fled abroad, not returning for about two years and a half.

Mr. Rodolph Bradford, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, coming to London, by the help of Mr. Jeffrey Lome, the Usher of St. Anthony's school, and confidential agent of

²⁹ MS. Calig. D. ix. p. 253.

Mr. Forman of Honey Lane, the colleague of Garret, “he met with certain New Testaments, translated into English by Tyndale, and went to Reading with them, out of a godly zeal to disperse them.”³⁰ There he delivered them to a certain monk, who being apprehended, made known the names of him and others from whom he had them. Whereupon letters were sent over to *Cambridge* to apprehend this Bradford, now returned, together with Dr. Smith of Trinity Hall, Simon Smith of Gonville Hall, *Hugh Latymer*, and Segar Nicolson, a stationer there. Bradford escaped to Ireland, but was taken and imprisoned two years. He afterwards returned to Cambridge, passed as D.D. in 1534, and lived and died Chaplain to Latimer when Bishop of Worcester.³¹

As the year advanced, however, the alarm continued to increase. The Pontiff himself seemed to be in jeopardy—Luther’s rash letter was not forgotten—Henry was printing his Latin reply, and translating it also into English for the press, with a preface to his people—the Bishops were consulting—Tunstal had *now come home*, and something must be done. In what particular month of this year Tunstal had arrived from Spain, does not appear. Wolsey heard in March, says Lord Herbert, that he was on his way homewards, so that it must have been some time after this; and then, however annoying it certainly proved to such a man, he could not remain long in London, before he found it necessary to look into the state of his diocese; for so widely were *both* editions of the Testament now circulated, that even the Archbishop of Canterbury must examine his province. The Bishops were assembled, and, according to Strype, at the instigation of Wolsey. Of this consultation we have no record, but one curious account of it may be glanced at from the famous *Satire of William Roye* against the Cardinal. Being abroad, he could, of course, only write according to the report that reached him—and this was incorrect as it regarded Wolsey—but still it may be noticed as one proof, by the way, of the deep interest felt in all the public proceedings of the time.

³⁰ The books at *Cambridge*, it may be remembered, were concealed in time, before Wolsey’s “secret search.” They had been dispersed, and Bradford comes to London for more!

³¹ Foxe, *first* and following editions, compared with Strype. The latter, by mistake, in one place speaks of Lome as servant to Dr. Farman of Cambridge, instead of connecting him with Forman of Honey Lane in London: and ascribes the Testament to *Fryth*, but meaning Tyndale.

According to Royce, it was Henry Standish, once Guardian of the Franciscans, and now Bishop of St. Asaph, already mentioned, who first informed Wolsey of the Testament being in the country, imploring him most earnestly to prevent its circulation. This informer Royce designates *Judas*, and making Wolsey sustain the part of *Pilate*, he represents him as, at the first, paying but little regard to the fury of Standish, and even saying—"I find no fault therein." But when once the Bishops had assembled as a body, and he with them, to examine and determine what was to be done; no sooner did Tunstal, Bishop of London, (or *Caiphaz*,) deliver his opinion, than the Cardinal assented, and, of course, all the rest—giving judgment that the book should be sought for, and committed to the flames. In Royce's estimation, however, it was now all in vain, either to "give judgment against the Gospel," or try to prevent its circulation. Thus, in one place, alluding first to the Saviour, and then to the book itself, he says, in his own uncouth, but nervous rhyme—

"God, of his goodness, grudg'd not to die,
 Man to deliver from deadly damnation,
 Whose will is, that we should know perfectlie
 What he here hath done for our salvation.
 O cruel Caiphaz! full of crafty conspiracy,
 How durst thou give then false judgment,
 To burn God's word—the holy Testament.

"The lewdness of living is loath to bear
 Christ's gospel to come unto clear light;
 How be it, surely it is so spread fur and near,
 That for to let it, thou hast little might;
 God hath opened our dark dimmed sight
 Truly to perceive thy tyrannous intent,
 To burn God's word—the holy Testament."³²

Let the other particulars here given, with the exception of Wolsey's indifference, be as they might, we know that the Bishops did assemble and consult: and that some prohibitory instrument was issued by Wolsey himself, there can be no doubt, as we find Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, acting on the strength of it, in January 1529.³³ Whatever it was, however, this was in his own name, not that of the King, nor does there seem to be any trace of it remaining in existence.

³² See the original edition in the British Museum; or Harleian Misc., vol. ix. pp. 77. 81. Edit. 1812.

³³ Thus in the Consistorial Acts at Rochester may be seen a rigid process against the precentor of the Benedictine Priory, Dr. William Mafelde, for retaining an *English Testament*, in disobedience to the general injunction of Cardinal Wolsey, to deliver up these prohibited books to the Bishops.

The first instrument generally known to have been published, was the prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tunstal; in which it will be observed, that *both* editions of Tyndale's Testament, already dispersed *in great number*, are now, at last, denounced, and Luther's sect falsely employed, as the convenient word of *terror*.

As the reader may be curious to know in what terms the volume was *first* spoken of by men professing to have spiritual authority, and since many will be astonished at the language of a man calling himself, "by the permission of God, Bishop of London," we cannot refrain from giving the injunction entire. After the usual introduction, addressing his Archdeacons, he thus proceeds:—

"By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently, with all our power, to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things, which seem to tend to the *peril and danger* of our subjects, and specially the *destruction* of their souls! Wherefore, we having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the Catholic faith, craftily have *translated the New Testament into our English tongue*, intermingling therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting, by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most Holy Word of God, and the true sense of the same; of the which translation there are *many* books imprinted, some *with glosses*, and some *without*; containing in the English tongue, that *pestiferous and most pernicious poison*, dispersed throughout all our diocese, in great number: which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's Divine Majesty: Wherefore we, Cuthbert, the Bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to find speedy remedies for the premises, Do charge you, jointly and severally, (the Archdeacons,) and by virtue of your obedience, straightly enjoin and command you, that, by our authority, you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our Vicar-General, (Geoffrey Wharton,) all and singular such books, as contain the translation of *the New Testament in the English tongue*; and that you do certify us, or our said Commissary, within *two months* after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents under your seals,

what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt ! Given under our seal, the four and twentieth day of October, A.D. 1526, in the fifth year of our consecration."³⁴

Tunstal's orders being thus issued on Wednesday the 24th of October, a copy was sent to the Archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex and Colchester ; and eleven days afterwards, or the 3d of November, a "Mandate," in nearly the same terms, was given out by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to search his entire province. Both instruments refer simply to the New Testament of Tyndale, of both editions, and in wide circulation ; *no other book* being referred to, or prohibited at the same moment. Tyndale, therefore, though not yet expressly *named*, enjoyed the honour of being thus exposed *alone*, and as though he had been the great offender of the day ; while it will be observed, that the work here carved out for the Archdeacons, instead of being finished in *two months*, occupied official attention for years to come.³⁵

After two such injunctions as these had been issued, it was not to be supposed that these enemies of divine truth either had been or would remain inactive. Accordingly, whether we regard the Bishops at *home*, or the King and Cardinal in their exertions *abroad*, they are all alive, and equally on the alert.

With respect to proceedings at home, Barnes, it must be remembered, had not yet left the country ; but he had been so far released as to be now a free prisoner at St. Augustine's ; and Garret, though he had endured penance sufficient at Oxford, had not been so publicly cross-examined. This might elicit some farther information. Articles having been, there-

³⁴ Foxe says, 23d Oct., and Collier has it the 18th ; but this would have been the *fourth* year of Tunstal, as he was installed the 19th Oct. 1522. The above date is from the Register itself, xxiiij.

³⁵ The injunction of Tunstal is in Foxe, vol. ii., p. 204, ed. 1631 ; and the Mandate of Warham in Wilkin's Concil., vol. iii., p. 706. There are said to have been various other books prohibited by the *same* Mandate, but this is a mistake, as *no other book* is named in it ; and as for Foxe, it must be observed, that he is now *recapitulating under 1530*, as he often does. Even Mr. Todd, in his excellent "Vindication," says,—“ It may be proper to inform some readers of the title of other English books prohibited at the *same time*, and in the following order,—“ The Supplication of Beggars—*Revelation of Antichrist*—the New Testament of Tyndale—*The Wicked Mammon*—*The Obedience of a Christian man*—Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans,” &c. But Mr. T. knows well, that the books here printed in italic, were not in *existence*, and that, therefore, they could not be denounced by *anticipation*. The mistake has been repeated by many, but fresh alarms were the occasion of other denunciations, when all these and other books were included, which will come before us at their respective seasons. The introduction to the *Romans* we have not excluded, as we shall have occasion to show that it was *already* in existence, though not as yet denounced.

fore, vamped up against him, he had been brought up from Osney prison, and about this time stood before Tunstal and his fellows, as already narrated. Following the sad example set him by Barnes, he at last abjured.³⁶

Between Oxford and Cambridge, however, there has appeared as yet one material difference in point of the number of convictions. True, the students at Cambridge, being forewarned, had more dexterously concealed their books, and so escaped detection; but there were Latimer and Bilney, not to say others, as notorious as Barnes; nay, the two named were, in every respect, far more so. It may have seemed strange, therefore, that they at least were not ordered up to London at the same time. It must, however, be remembered, that Barnes had rendered himself *most* obnoxious at that moment, by his unceremonious exposure of Wolsey personally: yet engrossed as he was with political affairs, after a season, neither these men, nor some others, had been overlooked.

As for Latimer, his adroitness of reply, and vein of humour, were often of service to him, and to these, perhaps, he was now somewhat indebted. Various complaints had been made against him; but though they had not, it is evident that the interdiction of West, the Bishop of Ely, could not remain unnoticed, however unsupported it might be by other authorities.³⁷ Wolsey, therefore, sent for Latimer, to appear before him at York House, where he himself examined him. Upon his first entrance, the Cardinal seemed surprised, on observing him to be so far advanced in years. Finding him also to be

³⁶ Thomas Garret, perhaps the very first receiver, but certainly the first distributor, of these dreaded books, was originally a student at Oxford; having entered in 1517, taken his degree of B.A. in 1518, and that of A.M. afterwards. Upon obtaining these volumes, he appears to have immediately thought of his former abode, with which he still kept up correspondence, "for he took them down," says Foxe, "to such as *he knew* were lovers of the Gospel." After escaping from Tunstal, he went from place to place for eight or nine years; but, in better times, he was very differently regarded. The first notice to be found of him is in 1535. At that period the Marches of Calais belonged to the crown of England, and, in a letter from Cranmer to Lord Cromwell, dated the 8th of October in that year, there is the following passage,—“Inasmuch as I am advertised that the parsonage of St. Peter's beside Calais is like shortly to be void, and in the King's Grace's disposition, I beseech you either to obtain the same for *Master Garret*, whose learning and conversation is known to be right and honest, or else for some other, as is *so able and willing* to discharge the same as he is.”—MS. Chapter House, Westminster. Queen Anne Boleyn also solicited preferment for him, Todd's Cranmer, i., p. 133; and, what was singular enough, on the 14th of June 1537, according to the Register, he was inducted, though under Stokesly, and as Rector, into the very *same* church in which he had been Curate, in the days of Wolsey! He was so, also, in consequence of the resignation of Laurence Cook, the man who, in 1533, behaved so brutally at the martyrdom of John Fryth. Here, however, Garret was to remain only three years. The crown of martyrdom awaited him, as he perished in the same flames with Dr. Barnes, on the 30th of June 1540, or two days after Lord Cromwell.

³⁷ See page 102.

at once acute, learned, and ready in his replies; surpassing in accuracy of learning, either of the Doctors, Capon and Marshall, now in Wolsey's presence; he requested him to give some account of that sermon which he had preached before Dr. West, the Bishop. Latimer did so. "Then," said the Cardinal, "if the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have *my* license, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." Accordingly, after a gentle admonition only, the Cardinal discharged Latimer, actually giving him his license to preach throughout England! A most singular interposition in favour of the truth, at once raising the man above the malice of his enemies, and the interdict of any Bishop in the land!³⁸

With regard to Bilney, who had preached with such effect, not only at Cambridge, but in Suffolk and Norfolk, and even in London, whose case at last became so affecting, he made two appearances. The first has been generally overlooked, perhaps partly owing to one passage in the *first* edition of Foxe having been omitted, and the fact coming out incidentally only in the subsequent editions. But of the fact itself, there can be no doubt, or that he did not escape as Latimer had done; for alas! he then first got entangled, and first let go his integrity! At the close of this first appearance he had been enjoined "not to preach any of Luther's opinions, but to impugn them everywhere;" yet afterwards, taking refuge merely on some supposed informality in the oath administered to him, he had gone on much as before. It was on this account that we shall find him come before them in November 1527, or next year, charged with having *relapsed*. More than this, we shall find afterwards, that, at whatever period this first appearance of Bilney took place, there was another man along with him, Thomas Arthur, in the same situation. As for any other Cambridge men, they seem to have been merely admonished.

The mildness hitherto shown to *men*, must have been most

³⁸ MS. Harleian, No. 422, fol. 85-86. This must have answered the purpose of Latimer for the present. At a future period, when the authority of Wolsey was gone, having been called up by Stokesly, Bishop of London, he took still higher ground:—"The University of Cambridge," said he "hath authority Apostolic to admit twelve yearly preachers, of the which I am one: and the King's Highness, God save his Grace! did decree that all admitted of Universities, should preach throughout all his realm, as long as they preached well, without *distreine* of any man—my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord of Durham, with such other standing by and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same."

annoying to some of these persecutors; and it was afterwards to be visited on the head of Wolsey, when impeached, that he had been the disturber of "the *due and direct* correction of heresies;" but as for zeal in the burning of *books*, the Cardinal was certainly not one whit behind any of them. By the end of this year, therefore, many copies of the New Testament must have been consumed in the flames, for it has been altogether a mistake to confine this to one or two great occasions. On the contrary, in the very first month of next year we shall presently hear the ambassador of Henry, in the Low Countries, bringing it forward as an argument for burning others *there*, that *this had been doing in England daily!*

In the midst of all this determined, though vain fury, against the reception of the word of God into England, it is most gratifying to find that the friends of truth *abroad* had been so active. It was *there* that the King and the Cardinal had been playing their part in this tragedy, and to them we must now turn, after a few words of explanation; for we are not yet done with this notable year, 1526.

The editions of Tyndale's Testament have been hitherto divided into two classes, styled the genuine and spurious; meaning by the former such as he himself edited, and by the latter, such as were printed from his, by others. The latter were not so correct, but still they nobly and effectually served their purpose, enlightening and consoling many an immortal spirit.

We have already given the history of the first and second editions printed in 1525, and issued from Worms. We now come to the first printed at Antwerp by Christopher of Endhoven, or the *third* edition. The whole history of it is curious, giving such a display of opposition to the entrance of the Word of God into our native land, as is nowhere else to be found, though it has never before been even noticed in any printed publication.

The two months formally specified in Tuunstal's injunction for calling in books at home, were not permitted to expire before it becomes evident that the King and Wolsey, as well as the Bishops, had entered fully into the subject. Finding that, somehow or other, copies were importing, they resolved, if possible, to cut off the supplies from abroad. Well aware that it was from the Low Countries, Brabant, that all these hated Testaments had come, no stone must be left unturned

to find them out. All the energy of the English ambassador at the court of Lady Margaret, must be put to the stretch, and we shall now have one striking illustration of how much in earnest were all parties—King, Cardinal, and Bishops—to arrest the progress, and prevent the triumphs of divine truth. O how joyfully would they have consigned the last leaf to the flames! And this, assuredly, they would have done, but for this most annoying and hated “new invention of printing.” While, however, they were burning at home, others were busy at the printing press abroad, and, therefore, the frenzy of the enemy must extend from England to Brabant.

How providential was it, that, by this time, the power and the terror of Wolsey’s name were upon the wane! Only a few years before, the Lady Regent of these countries, Princess Margaret, had whispered in his ear the sweet sound of the Popedom, and her own wish to see him in the Papal Chair; nay, and proposed to write to the Emperor, her nephew, in his favour.³⁹ Now, however, she had found good reason to suspect the man.⁴⁰ High words had passed between the parties, and also with Count Hoogstrate, one of the Lady Margaret’s Council, to whom application was about to be made. Wolsey, moreover, had insulted, by the insolence of his language, Monsieur Bever, the Lord of Campvere and Admiral of Flanders, the Emperor’s ambassador to England, now returned to the Low Countries. Added to all this, it had been a favourite project of the Cardinal, to withdraw the English merchants and “the mart for goods,” from Antwerp to Calais. All these things were against him; and “the Lords of Antwerp,” who, at one period, not long past, would have at once crouched before him, by the good providence of God, will now prove neither so pliant nor obsequious.

Wolsey, however, fully aware of all these circumstances, had resolved that the search for *books* upon the Continent should commence with the highest authority; and he must, therefore, have the King on the throne, called the “Defender of the Faith,” to command the destruction of the Sacred Volume! The ink of Tunstal’s injunction was scarcely dry, before Henry had signed his letters; one addressed to Princess

³⁹ MS. Cotton, Galba, B. vii. p. 353, 354. b. And the Emperor then, in Dec. 1521, at least professed readiness to serve him in the election, after the death of Leo X.—Galba, B. vi. 89, b.

⁴⁰ Galba. B. vi. fo. 3, 9, 10.

Margaret, and the other to the Governor of the *English House* at Antwerp. Wolsey's letters, also, dated the 31st of October and 3d November, were directed to *John Hackett*, the Agent for the Crown and English Envoy at that court, and all were conveyed by the same messenger.⁴¹ At a formal audience, on Saturday the 17th of November, Hackett delivered the King's letters to the Lady Margaret, in presence of the Lords of her Council; and, on the 19th, the Princess herself replied to Henry—"She cannot sufficiently praise his Majesty's *virtuous* intentions! She had consulted with Hackett, and since the reception of the King's letter, she had pointedly commanded her officers to search the country for these books, intending to proceed in all rigour against those whom they found culpable."⁴² Two days after this, Hackett informs Wolsey of his cordial reception at court, and that he had "delivered the King's letter to the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, who promised that on the first day at Barrow,⁴³ he would shew the King's highness and the Cardinal's mind and pleasure as touching these new imprinted books, and shall do his best, (and *so will I*,) utterly to destroy, and bring them to nought." Hackett is very warm in the cause, for if it did not succeed, he thought that "every fool would think to be a doctor!"⁴⁴

But in negotiating this business, our ambassador had no easy task assigned to him. Books were to be sought for in the large and busy city of Antwerp. As Envoy, he lived fifteen miles distant, at Mechlin, where the reigning Princess held her court. In Antwerp itself, the Margrave, as representative of the Emperor, resided; but as that city enjoyed its *own* laws and privileges, of which the "Lords of Antwerp" were the guardians, their authority was paramount to all others. Hackett eagerly desired to gratify the Cardinal and his English Bishops, but then he was about to meddle with the citizens of "no mean city."⁴⁵

⁴¹ The first letter, it will be observed, was written the week immediately after Tunstall's injunction, and the second on the same day as Warham's mandate.

⁴² Galba, B. ix. fol. 33, b.

⁴³ Barrow, Barois, Barrough, all refer to the same place, now known as Bergen-op-Zoom, then in immediate contact with the water.

⁴⁴ Galba, B. ix. fol. 35.

⁴⁵ ANTWERP was then, in fact, the emporium of the world; Bruges having declined for the last ten or fifteen years, while Antwerp was increasing daily. All the English merchants had removed to it by 1516. According to Guicciardini, 500 craft would sail and arrive in *one day*;

On the 11th of December, Henry's Secretary, Mr. Brian Tuke, sent off copies of *Tyndale's Testament*, as an index to the others, now sought to be destroyed; and the first letter, reporting progress, is directed to him for the King, dated the 17th, before Haekett had received the books. The second, expressing great anxiety to receive them, is five days later, and addressed to Wolsey. This seems to be an instance of those *double* despatches which the Cardinal uniformly required; and, as it presents additional information, we give the passage entire.—

“By my last letters, dated the 17th day of this month, I wrote to Mr. Brian Tuke, how that the Lords of the town of Antwerp showed me that they had submitted themselves as touching the correction of this *new book* in English; to be ordered after the discretion and advice of the Lady Margaret and her Council; and after this conclusion taken, the foresaid Lords came to the Court where I was present, and showed to the said Council how that I made great diligence to see the foresaid books *burnt*, and the (imprimurs) printers to be criminally punished, according to their merits, and that they have had in part the examination of the said imprinter.

“But considering that such business as this is, touches both *life and goods*, the said Lords of Antwerp declared unto the foresaid *council*, that they thought not, in no wise to judge upon the example of another judge's judgment, without they have perfect knowledge upon the fundament and reason, that they may do it: Desiring the said Council that they might have the said (book) translated into *Latin* or *Dutch*, so that they might understand the language—whereupon that *they* may contrive the sentence, to the which the Lords of the Privy Council would lightly (readily) agree. But I answered upon this article, that it were not convenient to permit that such translation should be done on this side of the seas, for, lawfully, I would suspect him that would meddle in the same. They answered me, that they ought not to judge without they knew the fundament of the cause. I answered them, that *the King my Sovereign Lord and*

very different from its present state, when in the course of the *year* there may only be about 1000. Then 2500 vessels might be seen lying in the Scheldt before the city at one time; ten thousand carts were in constant employment, besides hundreds of waggons daily with passengers, and 500 coaches used by persons of distinction.

MERCHANT ADVENTURERS. As early as the year 1296 our Merchant Adventurers are said to have established a factory; but, at all events, the Magazine of Wool at Antwerp is distinctly noticed in 1314.—*Fœdera*, iii., p. 482. The *English House* there, where our ambassadors were lodged on their journeys, and to which the English in times of danger and disturbance resorted, was therefore a notable spot in its day. In what part of Antwerp it stood, before the Hotel Van Lyere in *Rue Neuve* was ceded to them in 1558, we cannot state, but that is a building of 85 feet in front, by 60 in height, with windows 4 feet broad by ten high. It is at present a Military Hospital in the street *now* named the *Rue des Princes*.—*Burton's Life of Gresham*. KING'S MERCHANT. The office of Agent for the Crown, or King's Merchant, was one of the highest trust and importance. One of the earliest men who sustained it was Wm. de la Pole, father of the Earl of Suffolk, who, in 1338 from Antwerp, lent Edward III. a sum equal to four hundred thousand pounds of our present money. This office, as already stated, was now filled by Haekett, sometimes styled Sir John Haekett, with the additional appointment of envoy to the court of Mechlin or Brabant. But both Sir John himself, and the English merchants abroad, with our higher powers at home, were about to be instructed in one of their earliest lessons as to *the liberty of the subject*; and all, be it remembered, in immediate connexion with the New Testament of Tyndale.

Master's letters were sufficient enough for the defence of such a cause, and for the condemnation of these books, and all such other like heretic Scriptures as have been condemned and burnt in England. They answered me again, that if that the King's highness or your Grace had sent them hither of every work one of such like as ye have burned there, that finding such like books here, they would do such like justice. Yet there has been one of them that said—'every country have their own laws, and that the judges of these countries ought as well to know whercupon they shall judge, as our judges know what they have judged, and upon what ground it stands.'

"But to come to a conclusion, after many arguments, not as in form of Council, but mediately to bring our matter to an effect; I took upon me to write unto your Grace, and that within short time you shall send to the Lady Margaret, or to the foresaid Lords of Antwerp, sufficient certification, with one, or two, or three, of such like books as were condemned and burnt in England; as I suppose ye have kept some for such an intent; and hercupon the Lords of the Privy Council deferred the translation of the foresaid book, and required me to write unto your Grace to have the same; and that they would as fain do the justice upon such like causes, as we are to desire it; and that as soon as your Grace's answer comes, that they will administer the justice in such form and manner, that there shall be sufficient correction done upon them that do offend; which surely I certify your Grace, it is *very necessary and time to be done, before the end of this Barrow market.* But the first beginning and execution must be done in the town of *Antwerp*, which is the fountain of such things, and herewith, all other places will take an example. Considering that the business requires diligence, I send this *per post purposely unto your Grace*, to have your gracious answer and instructions, when ye think the time. And if it has happened that your Grace had not received some other books of this translation, as I have sent you here before now, at all adventures, I send you with this inclosed, one of such like as has been imprinted in the said town of *Antwerp*; of the which be arrested in the Justice's hands, nigh a three hundred, abiding sentence. If your Grace have any other of such like books, it were necessary to send me one of every sort hither, to the condemnation of all such others as we can find in these parts.—From Mechlin, the xxii day of December 1526."⁴⁶

Along with this letter, a second to Brian Tuke, was also sent by Hackett. His zeal was probably in part professional, but the authorities at home were in full earnest as to their anxiety for the destruction of the books. Copies of the Testaments had therefore been sent, *before* he wrote for them, and they had arrived a few days after his letters of the 22d. He then addressed the following, "to Mr. Tuke, one of the King's Secretaries," dated the 4th of January 1526, *i. e.* 7.

"My last writing unto your Mastership was dated the 22d day of December, with letter directed in post to my Lord Legate's Grace, only for the recovering of such books as ye have sent me now, with your writing, dated the 11th day of the foresaid month, which be come to my hand on Monday last was (28th Dec.), at after dinner; and suddenly the same day, betwixt four and five of clock, I

⁴⁶ MS. Cotton, Galba, B. ix. fol. 37.

came to audience in the Privy Council. And after I shewed them a part of the substance of your writing to me by my Lord Legate's commandment; and shewing them the foresaid books, awant⁴⁷ signed with my Lord of London's handwriting; the Lord of Hoogstrate and Monsieur de Palermo, ordained and concluded, that my Lady should write to the Margrave and Council of the town of Antwerp, to do justice and correction upon all such like books as they can find in their limits or jurisdictions. And so it has been done, and I delivered myself the said Lady's letters to the foresaid Margrave, in presence of the whole Council of the said town of Antwerp. And after that they had the reading of the said letters, they answered me in good manner, that they should do their devoir, according to right and reason; and that within four days I shall know how they shall proceed in the business. My trust is, that they shall do well."⁴⁸

His anticipations, however, after all, were far from being fulfilled. Matters did by no means proceed so smoothly as he had expected; and therefore a long and curious detail must be forwarded to Wolsey, after the delay of another busy week.

"Please your Grace to understand, that my last letter unto your Grace was dated the 22d day of Dec., and since, I have received a letter from Mr. Bryan Tuke, dated the 11th day of the said month; and with the said letter I received such like books as I desired, by my last writing unto our Grace. The which books, likewise, I have written to the said Mr. Tuke, the 4th day of this present month, and true it is, that by the advice of these Lords of the Privy Council, I delivered them (*three* distinct editions, as will appear presently), with the Lady Margaret's letters unto the Lord Margrave of Antwerp, in presence of all the Lords that administer the laws now in the said town of Antwerp. And after that they had read the said Lady's letters, and visited (viewed) my Lord of London's verification in the first leaves of the foresaid books, with great honour and reverence; they made answer unto me that they would gladly do their devoir, and that within three or four days thereafter, I should know their resolute answer.

"Wherupon I desired them, *in the King my Sovereign Lord and Master's name*, for the increasing and preservation of our Christian faith, and for the annihilation and extirpation of the malicious sect Lutheran, that inasmuch as it appears by one of such original books as were condemned and *burned* in England, which was there present before them; and that it appears plainly that there is no difference, neither difficulty, but that in the text of their books that be imprinted in *this* town, there contains all such error and heresies as are contained in the text of the foresaid condemned and burnt books; requiring them that they should do upon the said books that be *here*, such correction and punishment as *there has*, and *daily is done* upon such like heretic books in England. The said Lords answered me again, that within the space aforesaid, I should know their entire resolution.

"In the space of the which time, the Margrave aforesaid, as the Emperor's officer, de[manded] justice to be done, declaring to the said Lords how that it appeared by the verification of my Lord the Bishop of London, that the text of the books that be imprinted in this town, contains all the same errors and heresies, as is contained in the text of the original books, that were condemned

⁴⁷ Sic. query, a warrant or attestation?

⁴⁸ MS. Cotton, Galba, B. ix. fol. 33.

and burnt in England, as it may appear by one of the said original books, which is now here present, and ought to be sufficient proof and certification to collation the one by the tother. Wherefore, and considering that the Emperor had commanded upon pain of banishment, and to lese the third part of his goods, that should imprime such errors or heresies as this be; that the imprimer of the said book, named *Christopher Endhoren*, ought to be banished out of all the Emperor's lands and countries, and that the third part of all his goods should be confiscated in the Emperor's hauds, and all the foresaid English books burnt in the fire, according to the Emperor's last mandment upon such like heresies.

“ And there being present the inprimure of the foresaid books, his attorney or procurator spoke for him, saying:—‘ That he had *not* offended the Emperor's mandment; that he had *not* imprimed no (any) book with heresies. And more said forth, that the Emperor's subjects, being in the Emperor's countries, and in a land of *justice*, ought not to be judged, neither condemned, by the sentence or condemnation of the laws or judgment of any other countries: concluding, by the law, that the judges of these countries ought not to give any *blind* sentence, to banish, dishonour, or confiscate any man or his goods, without they knew right well themselves, the very foundment and cause. Sustaining likewise, that without that the Lord Margrave, as the Emperor's officer, *can shew, or do shew, some particular articles in the said books*, where these foresaid errors and heresies have been found; that the foresaid Christopher, inprimure, *ought to be enlarged out of prison, and to do his pleasure with the foresaid books!*’

“ And for a conclusion, after many other replies and duplies done on both sides, betwixt the Margrave, and the said malefactor and his procurator—notwithstanding the promises that the Lords of the Privy Council made unto me, when I sent you my last post—which promises were, that with condition that I might shew them here any of such like books as have been condemned and burnt in England, that they, as then, should order and command altogether, that all other such like books, or with such like heresies, as might be found in these countries, to be condemned and burnt in like wise. But yet, for *all this*, neither for my Lady's first, second, nor third letter, which were written in meetly good form, the Lords of Antwerp have given for their sentence—that before the banishment of the said inprimure, the confiscation of his goods, or the burning of his books, that the Margrave aforesaid, as officer for the Emperor, shall shew and declare some articles contained in the said books, where these errors and heresies be found. And in this manner, the Margrave told me, that he could proceed no further in this business!

“ Wherefore I have turned to the Court again, from the said town of Antwerp, to show my Lady, and the Lords of her Privy Council, the denigation of justice, that they of the town of Antwerp has done unto me at this time. Thereupon, I have had great communication with the foresaid Lords of the Privy Council—showing them, with fair words, that I had great marvel of the first denigation of justice, that they of Antwerp did unto me: I showing them the effect and substance of the King my Sovereign Lord's letters, presenting them the letters of my Lady Margaret, conforming (agreeing) to my commission,—and now that, according to the representation that they made unto me, which was like as aforesaid is,—That if I had here to show any such book or books as have been burnt in England, and finding any such like books in this country, that they should do such like justice of them. And like as it appears of truth that they *have had* the visitation of the said books, and *have seen* my Lord the Bishop of London's verification in the first leaves of those same; which books, with the Lady Margaret's second and third letter, to them of Antwerp, I did deliver,—yet for any reason that I might show beside, neither for any letter

that the said lady could write, nor for any af . . . of justice that the Margrave of Antwerp did desire—yet could I have no other justice of them, but like as aforesaid is.

“Wherenpon some of the said Lords answered me, that it is as great reason that the judges of these countries ought as well to know what they shall judge *here*, as the judges of our country know what they judge *there*. I answered again, that it was very hard to make a man understand the English tongue in general, that cannot speak it, or never has learned it in particular; and that I could find no difference in giving of correction to him that has *first* forged or coined, far more by him that *secondly* has forged or coined the such like.

“They answered me, that it is because they have not the perfect knowledge whether the *first* or *second* be *false* or *not*, and that they will do their best to know the verity in this country; and that they will as fain do good justice in this country, as we can or may desire it. I answered them, that I know not, neither I am assured, that there is not in all the Emperor’s hands on this side the seas, such sufficient or better learned men to determine the English tongue from the Latin, and Latin from English, than such Prelates, Doctors, and learned men of the King’s Council, that have found the errors and heresies of such books as have been condemned and burnt in England.

“Hereupon my Lord of Palermo, besides my Lord of Hoogstrat, and others of the said lords, required me to be pleased that these matters might be spoken of yet once again among themselves, and after that they may know the Lords of Antwerp’s accusations, which be here come to Court for such an intent. That as then, by my Lady’s advice and deliberation of Council, they trusted to give me such answer, that reasonably I should have no cause to complain; but what it shall be, I cannot tell. Knowing the resolution, I will send your Grace the whole declaration.

“Certifying your Grace that I was once so displeas’d with them of Antwerp, that *I was purpos’d to have bought up all the foresaid books, and to have sent them to your Grace, there to burn and destroy them at home*, like as all such malicious books meritably and worthy are to be done; but afterward that my choler was descended, and by counsel of a good friend of mine, I thought it was better to advertise my Lady and her Council first, to know and see finally what remedy they should do, upon my complaint. And if their resolutions liked me not, that as then *I would buy all the foresaid books, or as many as I could find, and send them you there, to do your Grace’s pleasure, like as I will indeed, if they do not here better justice.*

“It shall please your Grace to understand, that where there was *two* inprimurs taken prisoners, there is but one of them that was found guilty in the inpriming of the English books, which is named *Christopher Endhoren*, as aforewritten is.”

How degraded was the condition of London then, compared with that of this city! The Lords of Antwerp stand here, deservedly, on very high ground. The name of the reigning Princess, or even that of the Emperor himself, though backed by the orders of the “Defender of the Faith,” and his mighty Cardinal, could not intimidate them. The citizens of Antwerp were not to be priest-ridden so easily, and, for a season at least,

Fair liberty, pursued and meant a prey
To lawless power, here turn’d, and stood at bay.

The establishment of those cities which, in return for their opulence or commercial power, obtained for themselves certain invaluable privileges, has been styled "the commercial phenomenon of the thirteenth century." It was one of those providential arrangements of human society, which infinite wisdom occasionally employed afterwards, for the protection of civil rights, or staying the vengeance of the oppressor. But, added to this, there was yet another arrangement, and in favour of Britain,—the establishment of English factories within those cities, known by the title of "the English house," or Company of "Merchant Adventurers." These were, in one sense, Normal Schools, where our countrymen first came to understand and value the liberty of the subject. The English merchants resident in Antwerp became citizens, and to more than one of them, England stood greatly indebted for the importation of the Sacred Scriptures. The printer now incarcerated, Christopher Endhoven, a respectable citizen, was well known to some of them, and had printed frequently other books for the English market.⁴⁹ But Hackett has not yet finished, for there is more valuable information contained in this same letter.

"I have received a letter from the Governor of our Merchant Adventurers, dated from Barrow the 6th day of this month, making mention that he has published the King's letters at Barrow, the 20th day of December, among all them that were there of the Company at that time; and that as soon as the ships should come, (which be arrived six days ago,) that he should publish the same yet once again, to the generality of the said nation, according to his Highness' commandment, and your Grace's instruction unto me.

"I have written to my Lord of Barrow, requiring him, in the *King's Highness and your Grace's name*, that, for the preservation of the Christian faith, and the extirpation of the abominable sect Lutherian, that he would see justice to be done in his town upon all such English books, entitled "*The New Testament*," and all such like books as I have informed the Governor of our nation, (*i. e.* the head of "the Merchant Adventurers,") which shall show his Lordship the effects of all such business.

"My Lord of Vallecynne came yesternight to this town, (Mechlin,) and showed me by mouth that my said Lord, his father, recommended him unto me, and that he has promised surely, that he will see such justice to be done, that the King's Highness, neither your Grace, shall have no cause to be but well pleased with him. Desiring me that I might come myself to Barrow as soon as I

⁴⁹ Thus, in 1525 he had printed a beautiful edition of Lindwood's Constitutions for Francis Byrkman, St. Paul's Church Yard; and this very year 1526, "Manuale—Sarum—optimis typis, non sine singulari industria Antwerpi impressum," &c., for Peter Kactz, London.—*Herbert's Amsc.* iii., p. 1026-1027.

shall know how that the matters between me and the Lords of Antwerp shall be determined.

“ I have begun the writing of this letter at Antwerp, and finished it here at Mechlin, the xiith day of Jenner 1526, (*i. e.* 12th Jan. 1527.) After this letter was written, I have spoken with my Lady Margaret touching these English books, and she promised me surely, that afore five days to amend, that there shall be such justice done of them, that I shall be pleased there as then.— ‘ p. yor hummyll Bedesman, John Hackett.’”⁵⁰

In the abundance of his zeal, Hackett not only visited *Antwerp, Barrow, Zealand*, and other places, but made “privy inquisitions” at *Ghent and Bruges*, at *Brussels, Louvaine*, and *elsewhere*, after books, which was all in obedience to Wolsey’s instructions; so that he thinks *forty marks*, which he had just received, should be allowed him for “*expenses* extraordinary.”⁵¹ Yet, in the end, notwithstanding all this toil, it is gratifying to observe, that so far from Christopher Endhoven being banished, they could not even touch his goods. Thanks to his residence in the free city of Antwerp! The books, however, so far as detected there and at Barrow, were burned, though happily they had found out only *a part*. Of all this Hackett did not fail immediately to inform the King’s Secretary; and in his second despatch to Wolsey, dated from Mechlin the 20th of February, he alludes to the subject again—

“ Please your Grace to understand, that since my last writing to your Grace, I have received none of yours. I trust by this time your Grace has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow, upon all such English books as we could find in these countries, similar to *three* such other books as your Grace sent unto me with my Lord the Bishop of London’s signature.”⁵²

That no doubt whatever might remain as to the species of *justice* to which Hackett refers, he speaks afterwards, in the same letter, of having caused *a good fire* to be made of the Testaments. Even this much, however, had been accomplished, it is evident, with no small difficulty, and it was, in the end, only by a stretch of power. Our envoy, therefore, felt himself under the necessity of adding—

⁵⁰ MS. Cotton, Galba. B. ix., fol. 40, 41, 42.

⁵¹ *Forty marks*, or £26, 13s. 4d. Observe this. It was more than double the sum which Tyndale had from Munmouth. It was equal in value to £400 sterling of the present day, for travelling expenses, in hunting after English New Testaments, to burn them, as soon as they had been printed for our native land!

⁵² “*Three* such books” is an expression worth notice. Why three, if by this time they were not in possession of three distinct editions? viz. Tyndale’s quarto, and small octavo of 1525, and the Antwerp edition of 1526.

“The Margrave of Antwerp, and the Drossard of Barghys, required, and pray you, if it were possible, to cause them to get out of England a *translation* of some particular articles of heresies contained in the said book, by the which notification, they may lawfully not only burn such books, but also to correct and punish the imprimurs, buyers, and sellers of them, both in body and in goods, for *else*, according to the laws of this (place,) they *may not* punish, nor make correction upon the foresaid *men*, neither upon their *goods*, as they say.”⁵³

In conveying this earnest request, Hackett did not foresee the consequences to himself afterwards, otherwise, perhaps, he would have been silent, for we are not done with him yet; though we have slightly trespassed on 1527, only that we might finish the account of this business, and bring to a conclusion the important transactions of the preceding year.

All this turmoil is entirely new to the English reader, and certainly it lends an additional and peculiar interest, not only to the two first editions of Tyndale, but to the first imitation of his book, or the third edition. No printer would have ventured on such a thing, without the prospect of a ready sale, even in the face of royal indignation. For could a copy of this first print at Antwerp now be identified, then might we say of it—Here is the volume, printed by Endhoven, which so agitated our authorities at home and abroad; and engrossed our ambassador as eagerly as if he had been intent on preventing the plague from entering into England. We have, however, yet to see whether this interference was to his honour or disgrace. Meanwhile, although we can by no means affirm that we have found out the book, since the following collation refers to one of the earliest editions, we give it entire—

“A copy is in Bishop Cosin’s Library at Durham, which may turn out to be some one very early and unknown. The title is in a small compartment of four parts, with top and bottom scriptural subjects. On the top, the creation and birth of the Saviour; at the bottom, Adam and Eve beguiled, and the crucifixion. The volume consists of 446 leaves, on the last of which is the Revelation of St. Judas, Jude. There are 26 lines in a full page. Matthew begins on folio 11; and the volume extends to R r in eights. The chapters are marked into portions by large letters on the margin; and there are a few marginal notes. It has ornamented capitals; the first T, two boys carrying on

⁵³ MS. Cotton, Galba, B. vi. fol. 4. The entire impression of this book must have been from two to three thousand, as this edition and the next, we shall find, amounted in all to five thousand. Many may have been exported before Hackett seized the printer—and the delay was favourable to their being put out of the way—so that probably, after all, but a *small* proportion was actually burnt.

a stick a dead stag, with the head upwards." For this account, the editor is indebted to Dr. Bandinel of the Bodleian Library.⁵⁴

Should this, however, prove to be one of the edition now under consideration, there is another copy, and of a more extraordinary character, in the collection at Norwood-hill. Not only is it in the original hog-skin binding, which would be curiosity enough, but, to this hour, many of the leaves *remain not yet cut open!*—a peculiarity not to be expected in a book nearly three hundred and twenty years old, and one which, it may be safely presumed, will stamp the volume as *unique*, amongst all these rare early editions.

The following pages will throw still farther light on this interesting period, but we have now done for the present with the memorable year 1526.

Instead of having to be satisfied with only one edition of the New Testament, and that of doubtful or hitherto disputed origin, we have had *three* distinctly before us, besides, as will be more fully proved, a separate impression of Matthew and Mark, circulating through the country. We have seen all the authorities, from the King downwards, roused in opposition, and the people, though in secret, were reading with avidity. It was the season of entrance to Britain's greatest earthly treasure; and one should have imagined that it would have been marked in our calendar, with a red letter, or fully understood, long ere now. Viewing these first printed volumes in their ultimate effects, the year may well be regarded by all British Christians, as by far the most important, in the long and varied history of their native land.

A fire was then kindled by the Almighty, through the in-

⁵⁴ Lowndes' Bib. Manual. Following the authority of Lewis, the editor has dated this book in 1527, which, if it turn out to be the first after Tyndale, is a year too late. George Joye has, in his own way, professedly given an account of these early editions; and it has been the only authority by which others have been guided. Adopted as being correct, by Lewis, he has inserted certain years, by his own conjecture, as the *dates* of printing. We need scarcely add, that these are incorrect, or that Joye's account is, at the best, confused. It must ever be remembered, too, that the testimony of Joye was given in a very lame vindication of his having altered another, and subsequent copy of Tyndale's Testament, with nothing more than the *rubric* before him. But his words may be quoted—"Anon, after," says he, "the Dutchmen (Germans) got a copy, and printed it again in a small volume, adding the calendar in the beginning, concordances in the margin, and the table in the end. But yet for that they had no Englishman to correct the setting; they themselves having not the knowledge of our tongue, were compelled to make many more faults than there were in the copy; and so corrupted the book, that the simple reader might oftimes be tarried, and stick." It is still questionable whether this small volume be not as creditable to the printers as that which was corrected by Joye himself, seven years later.

strumentality of his servant, which, in the highest exercise of his loving-kindness, He has never suffered to be extinguished; light was then introduced, which He has never withdrawn; and a voice was then heard by the people, which has sounded in the ears of their posterity to the present hour. For whatever may be said of men, as men, it is to *the word of truth in the vulgar tongue* that we owe everything in this highly-favoured country!

Many of these volumes, it is true, were consigned to the flames; and the wonder is that any of them escaped detection. But every one knows with what avidity men *will* read an interdicted book, while the call for its deliverance up would only make certain minds grasp it harder still. Besides, though in part detected, in such places as London and Oxford—for in Cambridge they were not—copies had gone, far and near, into the hamlets and towns in the country, where, no doubt, they were enjoyed by stealth, and hid with anxious care.

The preceding statements are not hypothetical; the reader has been entertained neither with mere conjectures or probability only; and as subsequent events will both illustrate and confirm the preceding, we presume it will now be conceded, as not a little extraordinary, that more than three centuries should have been allowed to pass away, before a year so full of incident, nay, of peculiar favour to Britain, has been investigated. We have said Britain, because it will appear, in its proper place, that, at this very period, Scotland was mercifully visited with the same favour.

SECTION IV.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PROGRESS—HIS EARLIEST COMPOSITIONS—AGITATION OF EUROPE—SACK OF ROME—CONSEQUENCES—PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—OPPOSITION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT—WARHAM AND THE BISHOPS BUYING IT UP—FRESH IMPORTATIONS—THE FOURTH EDITION—SCRIPTURES SINGULARLY INTRODUCED ONCE MORE.

IN returning to Tyndale, whom we left alone at Worms, after having completed his New Testaments, we do so with

abundant evidence, that he had not laboured in vain. Much has vaguely been ascribed to Latin works then imported from the Continent, and in consequence of even their effects, the "spirituality" of the day no doubt dreaded almost every leaf; but the history already given clearly shows, that the *New Testament in the vulgar tongue* was the great object of apprehension. While yet in his native land, Tyndale "had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text:" and so now, as the Word of the Lord was enlightening the minds, "converting the soul, and making wise the simple," it had proved also "like a fire or a hammer," and was breaking the rocks in pieces.

Very soon, through whatever medium, Tyndale was made intimately acquainted with the storm that raged in England, and, amidst all its tumultuous howling, he had ample encouragement to proceed with his Old Testament from the Hebrew; but in the year 1526, he must have been also very busy in preparing for the press, as we shall find that the year 1527 was distinguished by the first appearance of two publications, namely, his exposition of "the Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and his "Obedience of a Christian man."

Sometime, however, before the appearance of anything else in print, we may now safely assert, that Tyndale had been favoured by the company, consolation, and assistance of his devoted Christian friend, John Fryth, who had fled from Oxford to the Continent about September 1526, and no doubt fully reported progress. An affection subsisted between these two eminent men, akin to that between Paul and Timothy of old, though in one point the parallel fails—the youngest died first. Fryth was not only Tyndale's own son in the faith, but he had no man so dear to him; and as all parties, even his enemies, agreed in bearing testimony to the attainments of Fryth as a scholar, nothing could be more opportune than his arrival; but before saying more of him, some notice must be taken of William Roye, whom Tyndale had found it necessary to dismiss from his service in 1525.

In 1526, as already hinted, circumstances having suggested to our Translator, the necessity of encouraging those to whom

it had been sent, by some exposition of his own views of Divine Truth, he commenced by writing out "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon;" but *before* it appeared, there had come to his possession the copy of a Dialogue, translated out of Latin into English, which had been printed at Strasburg by his late amanuensis, with a prologue of his own composition.

This singular character, Roye, as well as another named Jerome, were two Franciscan friars from the noted monastery at Greenwich, close by the favourite palace of Henry VIII. The inmates of this monastery, as well as of another at Richmond, with whom they were occasionally in league, were a great annoyance to the King. Thus the residence of Roye and Jerome, in immediate vicinity to the Court, and to all the gorgeous feats of Henry and his Cardinal, afforded such opportunities as fully account for the very graphic poetical satire already quoted, and to which we now refer. After leaving Tyndale's service, Roye had proceeded to Strasburg, where he published his "Dialogue between the Father and the Son," about the end of 1526. Soon after this came his "*Rede me, and be not wrothe,*" or Satire on Wolsey and the Monastic orders, frequently denounced as "*The burying of the Mass,*"—one of the most extraordinary satires, it has been said, of this or any other age. It was first published in small octavo, black letter, with a wood-cut of the Cardinal's coat-of-arms. Wolsey was so annoyed by it, that he spared neither pains nor expense to procure the copies, employing more than one emissary for the purpose. Hence its extreme rarity; a copy of this original edition having been sold for as high a sum as sixteen or twenty guineas! It is reprinted, however, in the Harleian Miscellany by Park.³

¹ The prologue to the Romans, already in England, will come before us afterwards.

² Vol. ix., p. 1.—In the second edition printed at Wasel in 1546, the edge of its satire is blunted, by transferring to the entire prelacy, such charges as were originally designed only for Wolsey. It is there said to have been printed 16 or 17 years before, which places its first appearance in 1529 or 1530. But this is a mistake. Sir Thomas More, when writing his "Dialogue," in 1523, was well acquainted with it, so that it must have been printed by 1527. See note 5.

Roye's *rhymes* unquestionably went the length of sinful excess, and are not all to be justified in denouncing any man, however wicked; but they are not to be confounded with those "godly rhymes" which, though so uncouth, were productive of great effect, some years after, at least in Scotland. Besides these, Roye was certainly the author of other publications. Sir T. More has, by mistake, ascribed to him, an exposition of 1 Cor. viii chapter, (which was by Tyndale;) and the Psalter, after the text of Peline or Bucer, under the feigned name of Francis Foye, not Roye, as it has frequently been copied from Lewis. There is, however, no doubt of his having been the author of a book against the Seven Sacraments; and these four publications were all included among the books early denounced in England. Whatever may be said of the man—for

With a modesty and prudence, highly characteristic, our Translator had put forth the New Testament *without* his name, and he earnestly wished to have gone on, through life, with anonymous publication; but the sight of Roye's Dialogue and Prologue, in connexion with his previous conduct, had fully convinced Tyndale that there was an imperative necessity, not only for affixing his name to what he now published, but for his disclaiming all connexion or even intercourse with Roye, after a certain period. This accounts for the pointed style of the following passage, which we must repeat more fully; and for his very marked reference to a period of two years previously to the publication of his "Parable."

"The cause why I have set my name before this little treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament, is, that then I followed the counsel of Christ, which exhortoth men to do their good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-doing, and that God seeth us; and patiently to abide the reward of the last day, which Christ hath purchased for us: and now would I *fain* have done likewise, but I am *compelled* otherwise so to do.

"While I abode (at Hamburg?) a faithful companion, which now hath taken another voyage upon him, to preach Christ, where, I suppose, he was never yet preached—Go!, which put in his heart thither to go, send his Spirit with him, comfort him, and bring his purpose to good effect!—one William Roye, a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be thorough known, namely, when all is spent, *came* unto me and *offered* his help. As long as he had no money, somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. Nevertheless, I suffered all things, till that was ended which I could not do alone without one, both to write and to help me to compare the text together. When that was ended, I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives, and, as men say, a day longer. After we were departed (separated,) he went and gat him new friends, which thing to do, he passeth all that I ever yet knew. And then, when he had stored him of money, he gat him to Argentine (Strasburg) where he professeth wonderful faculties, and maketh boast of no small things.

"A year after that, and now twelve months before the printing of this work, *came* one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich *also*,³ through Worms to Argentine, (Strasburg,) saying that he intended to be Christ's disciple another while, and to keep as nigh, as God would give him grace, the profession of his baptism, and to get his living with his hands, and to live no longer idly, and of the sweat and labour of those captives, which they had taught not to believe in Christ, but in cut shoes and russet coats. Which Jerome, with all diligence, I warned

his character appears, at the best, to have been questionable—these were more than sufficient to mark him out as an heretic, and, as such, he is said to have suffered at the stake in Portugal, the year after Wolsey's death, or 1531. Yet we shall find him in England, if not in London, next year!

³ In a recent account of Tyndale, prefixed to the reprint of his New Testament, this expression is quoted, and as a proof of Tyndale himself having been a friar! But there is here evidently no reference whatever to himself. "First *came* Roye, then *came* Jerome, a brother of Greenwich *also*," *i. e.* as well as Roye. This, however, is decided evidence that they were two friars from the same monastery, as well as that Tyndale in 1526 was in Worms, and not at Wittenberg, as so loosely asserted.

of Roye's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk quietly, and with all patience and long-suffering, according as we have Christ and his Apostles for an ensample; which thing he also promised me.

"Nevertheless, when he was come to Argentine, William Roye, (whose tongue is able not only to make fools stark mad, but also to deceive the wisest, that is, at the first sight and acquaintance,) gat him to him, and set him a work to make *rhymes*; while he himself translated a Dialogue out of Latin into English, in whose prologue he promiseth more a great deal than, I fear me, he will ever pay. Paul saith, 'the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be peaceable unto all men, and ready to teach, and one that can suffer the evil with meekness, and that can inform them that resist; if God at any time will give them repentance for to know the truth.' It becometh not then the Lord's servant to use railing rhymes, but God's word, which is the right weapon to slay sin, vice, and all iniquity."⁴

It is a curious fact, that, notwithstanding the above distinct explanation, and decided disapprobation of all such *rhyme*, Tyndale for a year, if not two, lay under the imputation of being actually the author of Roye's Satire. He was now, by anticipation, endeavouring to prevent this, and the event fully justifies all the pointed severity of his language.⁵

Here, however, in Tyndale's own words, we have the commencement and termination of Roye's intercourse with him very distinctly noted. He had craved employment in 1524, and being retained, only till Tyndale could proceed without his aid as an amanuensis, he left his service at Worms, in the summer of 1525. The precise period of two years, counting backward, so particularly stated in the above quotation, depends on the time of publication, and we have stated the summer as indubitable, since this sufficiently agrees with facts which have been already narrated.⁶

⁴ Preface to the Parable of the Wicked Mammon.

⁵ Thus, in the Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, which was *written* in 1529, and left the press in June 1529, having alluded first to the New Testament, and then to the *Satire*, this question is put—"But who made that second book? Forsooth, quoth I, it appeareth not in the book; for the book is put forth nameless, and was in the beginning reckoned to be made by Tyndale; and whether it be so or not, we be *not yet very sure*. Howbeit, since that time, Tyndale hath put out in his own name, another book entitled Mammona—and yet bath he, since then, put forth a worse also, named 'The Obedience of a Christian man.'—In the preface of his first book, called Mammona, he saith that one *Friar Hierome* made the other book that we talk of, and that afterward he left him, and went unto Roye, who is, as I think ye know, another *Apostate*;" that is, another *Friar* as well as Jerome. Such was More's language then, but by the time that he came to publish his "Supplication for souls in Purgatory," in reply to Fyssh's Supplication of Beggars, though as abusive and unfair as ever, his tone is altered, and he gives Tyndale full credit. Enumerating the books in order, he says—"Scuding forth Tyndale's translation of the New Testament—the well-spring of all their heresies! Then came, soon after, out in print, the Dialogue of Friar Roye and Friar Hierome, between the Father and the Son, against the Sacrament of the Altar, and the blasphemous book, entitled, 'the Burying of the Mass.' Then came forth Tyndale's wicked book of 'Mammona;' and after that his more wicked book of Obedience,"

⁶ In Wood's *Athenæ*, Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. p. 95, the date of the Parable is stated to be the 5th of May 1527. Lewis gives the same date. Tanner in his *Bibl. Britannicæ*, p. 405, gives the

Tyndale had already given a specimen of his scholarship. It remained now to be discovered, whether he was to be at all distinguished as a judicious man; a character from which a mere scholar often stands at a great distance. One is curious to hear, what he had got to say *first*, and especially, if to England, from the city of Worms. In his deliberate judgment, it becomes evident, that most of the evils with which his native country was now infested, were to be traced to the *love* of money. Hence, even the title of this, his very first treatise—"The Wicked Mammon." The "Spirituality" of the day, so called, appeared to him as the "Successors of *Simon Magus*," "who would have bought the gift of God to have sold it much dearer." Bred up as Tyndale had been in Gloucestershire, it was quite natural that he should feel deeply for the people, as ground down or pillaged, by exactions, and "spiritual alms," falsely so denominated. It was not, however, that he had now commenced, by a lecture on covetousness. Far from it. But the *title* having once attracted the reader's eye, as it was very likely to do, he found himself at once addressed on the only genuine origin of all vital religion. Commencing with the great and fundamental subject of a sinner's acceptance before God; believing the gospel to be the ministration of righteousness and of the Spirit, and Christ alone "the great store-house of mercy;" he magnifies divine revelation as the ground of all certainty in matters so important.⁷ A few of his own expressions must not be omitted.

"This is a plain and sure conclusion, not to be doubted of, that there must be first in the heart of a man before he do any good work, a greater and a more precious thing than all the good works in the world. That precious thing is the Word of God, which in the gospel preacheth, proffereth, and bringeth unto

title,—“The Parable of the wycked Mammon, *Script.* 8th Maii, MDXXXVII.” As, however, there were second editions of the Parable and the Obedience published on the *same* day, by Hans Luft, viz. the 8th of May 1528, it is not improbable that this may have led Lewis, and Tanner, and Bliss, to give the *same day* in 1527; though it is curious enough, that Lewis at the same time, in a note, asserts that Tyndale's own edition was in quarto, without any printed date. The month, however, is of less moment, as, besides these authorities, we have other proof of the year. The “Parable” preceded the “Obedience;” now Tyndale himself has informed us *when* the latter was published. In the conclusion of his “Practice of Prelates,” dated “in the year of our Lord, MCCCC and XXX.” we have these words,—“And let them remember, that I well toward *three* years ago, sent forth ‘the true Obedience of a Christian man,’” that is in 1527; and so Ames expressly mentions an edition of it, dated 11th December 1527. But then the Parable *preceded* even this; being the first thing to which Tyndale affixed his name. We incline, therefore, to think that the “Parable” must have been issued sometime in the summer, at the latest, if not in its first month, as already noticed, 8th May 1527.

⁷ Hence the edition of this tract in 1536, the year of his death, by J. Nycholson Southwark, is entitled, “a Treatise of Justifyfacion by Faith only.”

all that repent and believe, the favour of God in Christ.—Therefore it is called the Word of Life, the Word of Grace, the Word of Health, the Word of Redemption, the Word of Forgiveness, and the Word of Peace. He that heareth it not, or believeth it not, can by no means be made righteous before God.

“Christ is our righteousness; and in him ought we to teach all men to trust, and expound unto all men the Testament, that God hath made to us sinners in Christ’s blood.—By the natural order, first I see my sin; then I repent and sorrow; then believe I God’s promises, that he is merciful unto me and forgiveth me, and will heal me at the last: then love I, and then prepare myself to the commandment.

“When the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God, and in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof; and are overcome with the kindness of God in Christ, and therefore love the will of God; and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.

“As a whole man, when he is athirst, tarrieth but for drink, and when he hungereth, abideth but for meat, and then drinketh and eateth naturally; even so is the faithful ever athirst and an-hungred after the will of God, and tarrieth but for occasion. And whensoever an occasion is given, he worketh naturally the will of God: for this blessing is given to all them that trust in Christ’s blood, that they thirst and hunger to do God’s will. He that hath not this faith is but an unprofitable babler—interpreting the Scriptures which speak of faith and works, after his own blind reason and foolish fantasies, and not of any feeling that he hath in his heart.”

Selecting a great variety of passages, the interpretation of which involve a deep and intimate acquaintance with divine truth, though in one or two instances he has not hit the sense; yet Tyndale shows, with no common discrimination, how they all perfectly coalesce, and agree with the general doctrine, that a man is justified before God by faith in Christ Jesus, and not by the works of the law. The corruption of certain passages by the Doctors of the day is not forgotten. Thus, for example:—

“The good Samaritan helped the poor Jew, and shewed mercy as long as he was present, and when he could be no longer present, he left his money behind him; and if that were not sufficient, he left his credence to make good the rest, and forsook him not as long as the other had need. Then said Christ, “Go and do thou likewise.” Neighbour is a word of love, and signifieth that a man should be ever nigh and at hand, and ready to help in time of need! But, they that will interpret parables word by word, fall into straits oftentimes, whence they cannot rid themselves—and preach lies instead of truth. As do they who interpret by the two-pence, the Old Testament and the New, and by that which is bestowed, *opera supererogantia*. Howbeit, *super arrogantia* were a meet term. That is to say, deeds which are more than the law requireth,—against which exposition I answer; first, a greater perfection than the law there is not. A greater perfection than to love God and his will, with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, with all thy mind, is there none; and to love a man’s neighbour as himself is like the same.

“Again, the saying of Christ—‘Make you friends of the wicked Mammon,’ and so forth, ‘that they may receive you into everlasting tabernacles,’ pertaineth not unto the saints which are in heaven, but is spoken of the poor and needy which are here present with us on earth. As though he should say—What! buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chantries, and colleges, in the honour of saints—to my Mother, to St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of *them* thy friends? They need it not; yea, they are *not* thy friends, but theirs who lived when they did, of whom they were holpen. *Thy* friends are the poor which are now in thy time, and live with thee; thy poor neighbours who need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with thy unrighteous Mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right, and not feigned.”

It is worthy of notice, that Tyndale, even thus early, had fully laid his account with martyrdom.

“Some man will ask, peradventure, why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the Gospel? I answer, —In burning the New Testament, they did none other thing than that I looked for, *no more shall they do if they burn me also*, if it be God’s will it shall be so.” Thus he expressed himself, *nine* years before his death. It was spoken from Worms, in the year 1527; and reminds us of him who said—“Yea, and if I be offered up for the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.”

This publication, however, in Tyndale’s estimation, was not sufficient. He intended to be open and explicit, not only as to doctrine, but the Divine precepts; not only as to faith, but obedience, in its full extent. He saw, and deeply felt, that, in his native country, the whole foundations were out of course,—that there were men reigning there, falsely called, nay, and calling themselves “spiritual,” who not only had taken away the very key of knowledge, and taught for doctrines the commandments of men; but who had broken the bonds of all human society, beggared the nation by their exactions, and sunk it into a state of pollution and depravity. This accounts for his able exposition of duty incumbent on all parties—the obedience of children to parents, of servants to masters, of wives to their husbands, of subjects to their sovereign; not forgetting the obligations of all the superior parties, including the duty of kings, of judges and officers of the land. That false and usurped spiritual power which undermined and destroyed all other, is then particularly examined and reprobated. In his compendious rehearsal at the end he says—

“I have described unto you the obedience of children, servants, wives, and subjects. These four orders are of God’s making, and the rules thereof are

God's Word. He that keepeth them shall be blessed : yea, is blessed already, and he that breaketh them shall be cursed. If any person of impatience, or of a stubborn or rebellious mind, withdraw himself from any of these, and get him to any other order, let him not think thereby to avoid the vengeance of God, in obeying rules and traditions of man's imagination.

" All bodily service must be done to man in God's stead. We must give obedience, honour, toll, tribute, custom and rent, unto whom they belong.—I shewed you of the authority of princes, how they are in God's stead, and how they may not be resisted, do they never so evil—they must be reserved unto the wrath of God. Nevertheless, if they *command* to do evil, we must then disobey, and say, We are otherwise commanded of God : but not to rise against them. They will kill us, then, say you. Therefore, I say, is a Christian called to suffer even the bitter death for his hope's sake, and because he will do no evil.

" I proved also that all men, without exception, are under the temporal sword. The Priests of the old law, with their High Bishop Aaron, and all his successors, though they were anointed by God's commandment, and appointed to serve God in his temple, and exempt from all offices and ministering of worldly matters, were yet, nevertheless, under the temporal sword, if they brake the laws. Paul saith—' All souls must obey.' Here is no exception, Paul himself is not exempt. God saith—' Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed again.' Here is no exception.

" As God maketh the king head over his realm, even so giveth he him commandment to execute the laws upon all men indifferently (impartially) ; for the law is God's, and not the king's. The king is but a servant, to execute the law of God, and not to rule after his own imagination.—I declared how the king ought to rid his realm from the wily tyranny of the hypocrites, and to bring the hypocrites under his laws : yea, and how he ought to be learned, and to hear and to look upon the causes *himself*, which he will punish ; and not to believe the hypocrites, and give them *his* sword, to kill whom they will.—I warned the judges that they take not an ensample how to minister their offices of our spirituality, which are bought and sold to do the will of Satan ; but of the Scripture, whence they have their authority. Let that which is secret abide secret, till God open it, who is the Judge of secrets.

" On the other side, I have also uttered the wickedness of the spirituality, the falsehood of the Bishops, and juggling of the Pope ; and how they have put out God's Testament, and God's truth, and set up their own traditions and lies, in which they have taught the people to believe, and thereby sit in their consciences as God ; and have, by that means, robbed the world of lands and goods, of peace and unity, and of all *temporal* authority ; and have brought the people into the ignorance of God, and have heaped the wrath of God upon all realms ! I showed how they have ministered Christ—King—and Emperor, out of their rooms ; and how they have made them a several kingdom ; which they got at the first in deceiving of princes, and now pervert the whole Scripture to prove that they have such authority. And *test the laymen should see* how falsely they allege the places of the Scripture, *is the greatest cause of this persecution*. For there is no mischief or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment, or else in the spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very fountains and springs, and, as we say, the *well-head*."

This publication Tyndale entitled " The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian Rulers ought to govern :

wherein also (if thou mark diligently) thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all Jugglers."

Such, with his name affixed, was the manifesto of William Tyndale, published, too, at the very season in which God was pleading with Britain by the voice of his mouth, and had risen up in judgment on the city of Rome. After this, no man could affirm that he did not plead emphatically for practical religion, or the fruits of faith. Nor is it wonderful if Henry VIII. himself was, at one moment, moved by this publication, as we shall see afterwards; for, to every impartial mind, it must have been evident that Tyndale was not only a genuine lover of his country, but one of the most enlightened and loyal subjects of the crown.

Leaving, however, this eminent man, for the present, to his pursuits abroad, and before alluding to the effect of his labours, now so visible in England, we must first revert to the state of the world in general. The distinguishing feature of this year, (1527,) was agitation and perplexity, of various kinds, throughout Europe, including our own country. The "holy league of Clement," one of the most unprincipled of combinations, now broke with vengeance on his own head. The double policy of Wolsey, which had begun to be practised by both France and Spain, produced all that perplexity which it deserved: but amidst all, one event occurred which, as the effects remain to the present hour, fixed in amazement the whole civilized world. It was the dreadful sack of Rome, and the close captivity of its Pontiff. The humiliation of the Pontiff, last year, by Cardinal Colloni, was a trifle compared with the present, and feeble are our conceptions now of the deep sensation which it must have produced. The Man of the Vatican, or St. Peter's Chair, had, for ages, reigned as no common sovereign. Kings were said to be as inferior to him, as the moon is to the sun; he reigned in what was called "the Eternal City;" nay, he had opposed and exalted himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that the fear and the dread of him had not only sent dismay into every cabinet in Europe, but the hearts of the people had often moved before his voice, "as the leaves of the trees are moved before the wind." His curse was then regarded as omnipotent, his person *invulnerable*.

A mixed multitude, differing from each other in language and manners, discontented, and ready to revolt for want of bread, was the army destined to invade and plunder the City, so long held to be most sacred. It was far from being formidable, except in the person of its commander, the Duke of Bourbon. Without money or magazines, without artillery or carriages, they were distant from Rome; interrupted by snow and

the crossing of rivers, they mutinied on the road ; but rallied and united once more, through the powerful influence and skill of their leader, they at last marched to the prey, at the rate of forty miles a day. Starving, wearied, but fearless and desperate, they arrived before this proud city to the number of about thirty-three thousand. But Rome was at that period a strong walled place, and the invading army had no provisions—no artillery ! Bourbon had once before performed wonders at Pavia, but that was a battle in the open fields ; this was an assault, and without the means.

It is very remarkable that almost every nation in Europe was represented in this exploit. The army itself was composed of Germans, Spaniards, Italians, and a mixed multitude, to the extent of thirteen thousand, who had joined them on the road.⁸ Their skilful leader, a Frenchman, but for whom the enterprise had failed, was succeeded in the command by Philibert, a native of Burgundy. This was an army of Catholics, too, by profession, though the Pontiff, in his terror, adopted the foolish expedient of pronouncing his curse on the whole army, under other characters—the Germans as *Lutherans*, the Spaniards as *Moors* !

Divine Providence having summoned these men together, as so many witnesses of the event, seems also to have intended that the system which had held Europe in moral bondage for ages, should put forth all its strength, and stand out, in full display, to all who should either see, or afterwards hear of the catastrophe. On Saturday evening, the 4th of May, just before the setting of the sun, Bourbon had appeared in view, yet so secure were the people of Rome, that no one apprehended any serious danger, when they saw his troops marching into the meadows around them. On that day the Pontiff had discharged his loudest thunder, excommunicating Bourbon and all his army, and the next day he was *himself* to perform high mass at the altar. All within the city has been compared to presumption sleeping on a bursting volcano.

The army lay down for repose, but by the dawn of the morning, just as the stars were fading from the sight, they rose to the attack. Bourbon addressed them before they began, and these, according to Bourcille, from his Spanish authorities, were some of his expressions :—" My Captains ! all valorous and brave ; and you, my soldiers, whom I love ! Since our grand destiny has led us here, to the very post we have so long wished for ; after such villanous roads, such vast snows and intolerable cold, such torrents of rain and bogs of mud ; amid enemies who allowed us no rest ; amid hunger and thirst, without a penny to buy the means of allaying them, and enduring all the wants that nature could

⁸ In this mixed multitude it is quite possible there may have been *Englishmen*, but, though it has been often asserted, *Thomas Cromwell* was certainly not there. He was in Wolsey's service as early as 1524, and in August of this year, 1527, we shall find Coverdale, then at Cambridge, addressing him in London.—See Ellis's orig. Letters, i. 218; and Gov. State Papers, 1530, p. 261.

make us suffer. Now is the time in which we may shew, by achieving this splendid and noble enterprise, the courage, the spirit, the strength of your bodies. Gain what you *see*, and every hope of comfort, honour, and glory, will be realised by your victory ; for then, there is not one of your enemies, there will not be a foreign nation, that will not tremble at your names. If you ever desired to sack a City for its wealth and treasures, behold one now in your sight ; the richest of them all, *the Lady of the World !* Win this triumph, and you will be, for life, opulent. Lose it, and disgrace, misery and ruin, that none can remedy, will be your immediate fate."

They began by attempting assaults in various parts, while Bourbon directed the main attack in the vicinity of St. Peter's Church. A thick fog, rising with the dawn, the artillery of St. Angelo within, could no more be guided by the eye. This was in favour of the besiegers ; but still in attempting to scale the walls, several thousands were slain. Bourbon had thrown over his armour a white vestment, that he might be more distinctly seen by the soldiers, and, as a specimen of daring resolution, he himself seized a ladder, and placing it with his left hand on the wall, with the other beckoned to all who saw him to follow his example ; when the shot of an arquebuse, but too well aimed, struck his left side, and passing through his body, extended him on the ground, a dying man, at the early age of thirty-five!⁹ He was carried off, and desired to be buried at Milan ; but his men, so far from being dispirited, now rushed on with desperate revenge. Philibert, Prince of Orange, took the command, but in the heat of the conflict the assault began to fail ; when, near an angle of the wall, a port-hole, which had been used for a window to a lower room, was caught by a Spaniard's eye. It was but slenderly blocked up, and only required the pick-axe. An opening was soon made, a body of Spaniards entered, and the day was gained ! Renzo, the very commander of the defence, was panic struck ; and exclaiming aloud, " the enemies are within us," the panic spread. Cardinals and prelates, ladies, nobles, and merchants, great and small—all made a general rush to the Castle of St. Angelo. The Pope himself was actually at mass, when the German soldiers entered the church, and slaying some of his guard, he made his escape by a private way, also to St. Angelo.

It is not unworthy of notice, that this was Sunday, or rather the day of the Lord, *literally* so called, but the day of the Lord in more senses than one. The cup which Rome had filled, was now filled to her double. How much she had glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow were given. The revolting atrocities we cannot describe ; they were terrific and most excruciating ; and the

⁹ The shot has been ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini, the celebrated Florentine artist.

noise within, at last became so dreadful, that one historian has affirmed—"even thunder would have rolled unheard."¹⁰ Such was the day of Jehovah's vengeance; a time of recompense for the controversy of Zion; a day that looked back on cruelties known only to God himself; that looked forward to blessings which are yet enjoyed;—it was the battle of *the emancipation of the human mind*. In a work even of this nature, it could not, therefore, be passed over in silence, more especially as the event had a material bearing on the Sacred Scriptures being laid open to the people in their vernacular tongue. At such a period it was fit that the Lord should lift his arm in the sight of all the nations, and that "the throne of iniquity which had framed mischief by a law," should receive one decisive blow.

Nor should it ever be forgotten, that this was a day which Clement had brought upon himself, and he now, *as Pontiff*, became the habitual jest of the soldiery. The whole ceremonial of his system was, day after day, turned into ridicule by military men, pretending to perform mass in priestly robes, or compelling priests and prelates to do so, at their pleasure. Clement, kept in rigorous confinement in his castle till the 8th of July, was then obliged to yield, from the fear of starvation. Corn began to fail, and pestilence ensued. The army withdrew, but the Pontiff remained in bondage till the last month of the year. He escaped from the Castle of St. Angelo, in the disguise of a merchant, but, there is no doubt, with the cognizance of the Emperor, and took his way to Orvieto on the 10th of December.¹¹

Shall we now turn away from this scene, to the other states of Europe? Then do we see little else than the reign of infatuation; and, in its full strength, the general prevalence of duplicity. Before the fall of Rome, the policy of Wolsey had so affected our country, that he was informed, his master could no longer be trusted by the Spanish Court; though, at the same time, the Cardinal's double-dealing had become the order of the day, both with France and Spain! If he wished to foment division between these two powers, this was met by the Emperor contriving to shake the supposed ties between England and France. Only six days before Bourbon's assault, the English Government, who had been offering itself as impartial arbiter between the Emperor and Francis, signed a treaty of perpetual peace with the latter, the conditions of which, if not gained, involved united war with the former! Nay, only a fortnight before this treaty, Wolsey, through the English ambassador, Dr. Lee, had been paying his court to the Emperor!

But the fall of Rome bred new and unprecedented thoughts in the minds of all these politicians. It was like a blow at head quarters, and

¹⁰ Bourdeille, the Abbot of Brantome.

¹¹ See Halle's Chronicle, but particularly Turner's account, grounded on the histories of Guicciardini and Brantome, and the Cotton MSS.

was felt not only by the three great powers, but by the others who were under their sway. It is instructive to observe the change.

On the arrival of this intelligence in England on the 28th of May, which was fully confirmed on the 2d of June, the King, and many prelates, lamented over the event. As for Wolsey, in horror, he addressed his master, and Halle, in his chronicle, has preserved the expressions. "Sir," said he, "by the only calling of God, you be made Defender of the Christian Faith: Now, consider in what state the Church of Christ standeth: See how the Head of the Church of Rome is in captivity: See how the holy fathers be brought into thralldom, and be without comfort! Now, show yourself an aid, a Defender of the Church, and God shall reward you." But the King answered,—“My Lord, I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell, but where you say that I am Defender of the Faith, I assure you, that this war between the Emperor and the Pope, *is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions*. And now, since Bishop Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? My person, nor my people, cannot him rescue; but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you seemeth most convenient.” On his knees the Cardinal thanked the King, and in July took special care to avail himself of the offer now made. Meanwhile, he enjoined solemn processions, fasting and prayer, but neither priests nor people paid regard to his orders! The show of obedience was little else than a mere farce. Opposition to the papal dominion was rising, and had gained considerable strength, especially among the common people. “The commonality,” says Halle, “little mourned for it.” Nay, in their own blunt way they said, “that the Pope was a ruffian, and not meet for the room,—that he *began* the mischief, and so he was well served.” Wolsey, however, had long conceived that *he* was perfectly “meet for the room,” and it should seem that, the surprise being over, a new idea struck him.

“As soon,” says Tyndale, “as the Pope was taken, the Cardinal wrote unto the Emperor that he should make *him* Pope. And when he had got an answer that pleased him not, but according unto his deservings toward the Emperor, then he was furious mad, and sought all means to displease the Emperor,—and wrote sharply, with menacing letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make such ruffling between the Princes, as was not this hundred years, to make the Emperor repent: yea, though it should cost the whole realm of England!” In the Emperor’s reply, printed both in Spanish and German, among many other articles, he repeats Wolsey’s threat *verbatim*, and then adds, “Ye go about to give your King another wife, which, if ye do, it may be the next way to cost *you* the realm of England,”¹²—a shrewd prediction, and literally fulfilled, so far as Wolsey was concerned.

¹² Tyndale’s “Practice of Prelates:” to be noticed in due time.

In the course of the spring, before the captivity of Clement, there is no question that Wolsey's restless mind had suggested to him his embassy into France; and that subjects connected with Henry's divorce, formed an important part of his intended business there, is equally certain. Not then aware of the preference to be afterwards given to Anne Boleyn, and the Duchess of Alençon having been married in January to the King of Navarre, he had thought of Renée, the sister of the late Queen of France. But now that the Pope had fallen, the historical allusion of Tyndale more fully accounts for that enmity, both to his own Queen, and the Emperor her nephew, to which the Cardinal, before he embarked, had unquestionably wrought up his feelings.

By the destruction of Clement as a temporal prince, the Emperor's power, though not greatly in the ascendant, was now rising; and Charles no doubt intended, that whoever was Pope, he should never again resume his wonted sway. In one sense he never could, and never has. Far from being the terror of Europe, as he had often been, this Pontiff was now in the view of the world, only a poor mortal, degraded, insulted, and threatened daily. In June, therefore, we find the King of France negotiating with Charles privately, for his own interests, notwithstanding his treaty with England! The critical question began to be mooted on the Continent, whether obedience to a Pope *in captivity*, was binding; and the Spanish Cabinet found out, that Francis even speculated on throwing off the yoke, establishing a new system in France, and talked of Wolsey being its Patriarch or Pope. To frustrate this, the Imperial Minister suggested to the Cardinal, through the English ambassador, though no doubt in vain show, the Patriarchate of Lower Germany. After pausing so long for the See of Rome, Wolsey was not yet so sunk, as to leap at any such bait; but at all events, Henry VIII. was now alarmed at the growing power of the Emperor, and Wolsey, bent upon one bold and final effort to rise amid the confusion of Europe, was resolved to make the most of the Pope's thralldom.

Into France, therefore, in the beginning of July, he went with a prodigious train, in all that pomp and foolish extravagance, which need not here be described; providentially, however, carrying with him out of the kingdom, among others, two opponents of divine truth, as determined as himself, namely, Tunstal, Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More.¹³ Clement had, from his prison, on the 6th of June, written to Wolsey, that on him alone he rested all his hope of deliverance, through his influence with Henry; and as the King had offered money, the Cardinal now carried with him to the amount of £120,000 sterling, or equal to one million eight hundred thousand of our present coin! With this he intended of course to display his own personal magnificence, as the King's Plenipotentiary, and Lieutenant-General, for he actually an-

¹³ They were all sent off to be out of the way.

nounced himself as a military character ; but the design of the mission was to confirm the peace with France, to effect the Pope's rescue, to oppose the Emperor, and, as the poor Cardinal dreamt, to aid his Master, another day, in the affair of his divorce.

"My Lord Cardinal," says Tyndale, "with More, his sworn Secretary, and the Bishop of London, that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief, went to France to juggle secretly, and carried with him more than he brought home again. This is of a truth, that he carried great treasure with him. The French galleys lay long in Thames' mouth, and not for nought. The fame went plain, yea, and *I know* also one that saw in my Lord Cardinal's court, letters sealed with the King's great seal, wherein was contained, that the French King should have of us, money sufficient for to find twenty thousand men against the Emperor in Italy, from the 2d day of July in the year of our Lord 1527, forward."¹⁴

But where was the negociation, without any exception, in which Wolsey ever forgot himself ? Thus, if he could not actually reach what was called St. Peter's chair, he must make the nearest approach to it, which any man ever did ; and the Pope being a prisoner, was in favour of his ambition. While in France, therefore, he applied to Clement to appoint him "the universal Vicar of the Papacy in France, England, and Germany."¹⁵ This was asking more than Clement could probably convey ; but at last it was a positive article of one treaty, signed on the 19th of August, that the Cardinal should be "*the Vicar-General* of all the English dominions," in other words, the Pope ; for which he received a bull, before returning home.¹⁶ Having paid the French army two months in advance, and settled other matters, he confirmed, as he *supposed*, peace with France. After landing in England, about the 12th of October, he boasted of his wonderful negociation ; and shewing his treaty, signed and ratified, with its beautiful *seal of gold*, to all the Nobility, Prelates, and Judges, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, he told them in the Star Chamber, that this was a peace, *in secula seculorum* !¹⁷ The only reply of many was a smile of contempt. Francis, however, to keep up the farce, sent his ambassadors, in great style, into England. Henry was made Knight of the order of St. Michael, and he in return made Francis Knight of the Garter. The ambassadors being entertained at a rich banquet, and as an appropriate conclusion, at a play, returned.

The King of France had proved more than Wolsey's rival, and all

¹⁴ Practice of Prelates.

¹⁵ Guicciardini, L. 13, p. 78.

¹⁶ Halle, p. 792.

¹⁷ This document, which Wolsey handed round for admiration, may still be seen in the Chapter-House at Westminster. Written on ten leaves of vellum, signed "Francoids," it has been represented as one of the most beautiful manuscripts of the age ; and this it certainly is, with its illuminated first page, and finely ornamented margins. We have also admired the exquisite workmanship of this seal—the great seal of France, inclosed in a magnificent box of pure gold. Still, one cannot look on this splendid manuscript and seal, without remembering that we have before us the very document which led the way to one of the most baneful results, namely, the challenge of Francis to the Emperor to fight with him in single combat. The duel, it is true, was never fought, but the example thus set, had a prodigious influence in promoting the absurd, cowardly, and worse than brutal practice of duelling throughout Europe.

along had been fighting him with his own long practised weapons. The fact was, that during the whole three months of the Cardinal's residence in France, and even now, its King was carrying on his negociations with the Emperor! Nor was the Pope one whit behind any of the civil powers in duplicity.

“When we consider,” says Mr. Turner, “the double-dealing and hypocrisy which the one ecclesiastical and the three great civil powers of Europe were alike acting towards each other, and with reciprocal knowledge of each other's practices, we are surprised that no one discerned the real inutility of the simulating system. What could be gained by such duplicity, which, as each side was practising, each suspected and discerned, and which, therefore, never, (or but seldom), deluded the mutual deceivers? If any part of modern history can make us disgusted with dissimulation and duplicity, it must be the statesmanship and diplomacy of the first portion of the sixteenth century. Ancient history presents no adequate parallel to the cabinet transactions of that period in Italy, France, Spain, and even England, while under Wolsey's administration.”¹⁸

These reflections are just, though the reader must be left to judge, whether the last named individual did not sustain the nearest resemblance to the father of lies. To describe fully the labyrinth referred to, is more than sufficient to baffle the skill and patience of any human pen, and the mind would grow weary in tracing such tortuous policy, were it not, that in the end we have such striking evidence, that there was ONE above overruling all for his own glory. The powers of Europe having arrived at a certain pitch of wickedness, were judgment-stricken by the Sovereign Ruler of nations; and this memorable year, as well as others that follow, are best described in that blessed Book which they all despised. “With him is strength and wisdom: the deceived and the deceiver are his: He leadeth councillors away spoiled, and maketh judges fools: He removeth away the speech of the trusty, and taketh away the understanding of the aged: He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and causeth them to wander in a wilderness wherein there is no way. They grope in the dark without light, and He maketh them to stagger like a drunken man.”

Upon returning home, the Cardinal came robed in a higher character than even that in which he had left England. He was now literally at the *top* of all his earthly glory. However profane the application was to such a man, nay, or to any man, that we may better understand his descent into ruin and disgrace, let us, for once, clothe him in the titles now ascribed to him—“The most Reverend Father in God, Lord Thomas, of the title of St. Cicile, Priest Cardinal, Bishop of Durham, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Chancellor of the same, of the See Apostolic Legate *a Latere*,” and, to crown all, “the Vicar-General throughout all the King's dominions!” Yet seldom, if ever, in the whole com-

¹⁸ Turner's Henry VIII.

pass of English history, has there occurred a more impressive illustration of that passage in Sacred Writ—"The triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment!" Long feared by all, and loved by none, Wolsey's solitary support lay in the fascinating influence or power which he had for many years possessed over the King; but the first instant that he came into collision with his passion for Lady Anne Boleyn, the staff on which he had long leant, a broken reed at best, began to fail him. During his absence in France, the preference of Henry for this lady had settled into a feeling, not now to be shaken by any human being. Wolsey himself, having been engrossed abroad, was not fully aware of this, and hence the very month of his arrival had not expired before he met with proof, that even *his* power of persuasion was gone! Here was the turning point, for this first shock happened to him soon after the 20th of October, when the French ambassadors visited this country.¹⁹ Thus, the chief agent in the inception of the divorce, through the Bishop of Tarbes, and which was begun and at first pursued without any reference whatever to Lady Anne Boleyn, was the first man who felt the effects of the idea suggested.²⁰

As Vicar-General, however, he must now try to give some demonstration of his power. To carry his purpose over Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, (no friend of his,) as well as all the other clergy, he had taken care to authorise or bind himself, by an article in one of his treaties, to regulate all ecclesiastical affairs. In the month of November, therefore, he called all the clergy to Westminster, saying, that now "all the abusions of the Church should be amended!" Accordingly, it was on the 27th of this month that he presided, in form, in the Chapter-house of Westminster, at the second or public examination of Thomas Bilney; Warham, Tunstal, and other Bishops being present. But no wonder, now, that he remitted all further proceedings to Tunstal; for *he* it was, who, by his art of ingeniously tormenting, inveigled and harassed that worthy man, and brought that horror of mind upon him under which he groaned for many a day! It has been said, indeed, that Wolsey now adjured Bilney, Arthur, Foster, and others, but all this was done by Tunstal and other Bishops, as the Commissaries of his Legantine or Vicar-General's Court. The Cardinal merely opened his court and began with Bilney, but he was too busy for such affairs now, and had other cogitations to fill his mind. Awaked from his long dream of worldly power and splendour in the end of October; by the 5th of December, in his despatches to Rome, he was straining every nerve to hasten the divorce of Queen Catherine;²¹ though, as to fully reinstating himself in the breast of Henry, it was all in vain. No, the tide had turned in *September* when the full extent of the instructions to Rome, through Dr.

¹⁹ Cavendish, p. 130.

²⁰ See Turner's Henry VIII., chap. xx.

²¹ MS. Cotton Vitell. B. ix., fol. 203; or see Burnet and Fiddes.

Knight, Henry's own ambassador, was concealed even from Wolsey ! Had he foreseen all, he would never have left the *car* of his master ; but now there was no remedy. This ambitious man must descend step after step to a miserable and ignoble end.

Having noticed the leading features of a tempestuous world ; it is time to enquire after the progress of the Word of God in our native land ; though, after all, it is now but retiring from one species of tempest to another,—yet another, of a far higher character.

Throughout the year 1527, it might seem next to impossible that any moment was left to attend to the suppression of Tyndale's New Testament, or the persecution of those who possessed it. But if there was, we can now more fully estimate the extent of that apprehension and anxiety which agitated, even at such a time as this, not only the Bishops of the day, but all the votaries of "the old learning."

It was but one short year since the Sacred Volume had arrived in the country ; and yet see how deeply its enemies were moved. The first inveterate opponent who excites notice, was "an ancient doctor, called, as I remember," says Cavendish, "Doctor (Robert) Ridley, a very small person in stature, but surely a great and excellent clerk in divinity !" He was celebrated as a canonist, and had been consulted by Wolsey, years before this, respecting the prevention of Lutheranism. Related to Cuthbert Tunstal, he, in the year 1523, had made him Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, in 1524, Prebend (Mora) of St. Paul's, and more recently Rector of St. Edmond's, Lombard Street. Was it wonderful that this little man should wax warm in the service of the hierarchy ? The bitterness of his zeal would exceed belief, could we not present a specimen from his own pen. Yet was he no other than the uncle of the learned and amiable Nicholas Ridley, the future martyr ; and gave him, at his sole expense, his fine education at home and abroad ! The uncle and nephew have occasionally been confounded, though no two men could form a stronger contrast.²²

The following singular letter of Robert Ridley's, which has never been printed before, we give entire, with the exception of a very few words, which cannot be deciphered in the original manuscript. It is extremely valuable, not only on

²² Even Sir James Mackintosh had mistaken the one for the other, imagining the advocate of Queen Catherine to have been Nicholas, his nephew.—Hist. of Eng. vol. ii., p. 164. —*Note.*

account of the information it conveys respecting Tyndale's first publications; but as a specimen of the spirit of the times, and of that precious criticism, which no doubt was then hailed, as at once masterly and acute. The letter is dated 24th February, and, as will appear presently, in the year 1527. It is addressed to Henry Golde at Knolle, and as chaplain to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ Master Golde, I heartily commend me unto you, as concerning this common and vulgar translation of the New Testament into English, done by Mr. William Hichyns, otherways called *Mr. W. Tyndale*, and *Friar William Roye*, manifest Lutheranes, heretics, and apostates, as doth openly appear, not only by their daily and continual company and familiarity with Luther and his disciples; but much more by their commentaries and annotations in *Matthew and Mark in the first print*—also by their *preface* (prologue) in the *second print*—and by their *introduction into the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*—altogether most poisoned and abhorrible heresies that can be thought. He is not a son of the Church of Christ, that would receive a gospel of such damned (condemned) and preised heretics, though it were *true*: like as Paul, and our Saviour Christ, would not take the true testimonial of evil spirits that praised Christ, saying that he was the Son of God, and that Paul himself was a servant of the true God.

“ As for errors, if ye have the first print with annotations, Matthew and Mark; and the preface, all is mere frenzy. He saith that the Gospel is nothing else than the sweet promise of grace—so that, by that means, ‘ Do penance ’ is no part of the Gospel—the Pater Noster is no part of the Gospel—‘ Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, ’ is no part of the Gospel—but only such as ‘ The kingdom of heaven is at hand ’—‘ Ye shall find rest to your souls. ’ Also, he saith, in that preface (the prologue) and annotations, that there is no difference between virginity and a whore of the stews, *if* she come to repentance. Also, that like as no man doth evil to the intent that he should be punished or hanged therefor; so no man should do good to have any reward therefor.” [We take no account of Ridley's inaccuracies throughout, but the doctrine involved being above his sphere of judgment, he then regards all this as contrary to other passages.] “ To that in the Hebrews concerning Moses, ‘ for he had respect to the recompense of reward; ’ and that, ‘ Make to yourselves friends of the mammon, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting tabernacles. ’ Also, he saith, that by good works we do nothing merit, in opposition to that in the Corinthians,—‘ that every one may receive the things done in the body, according as he hath done, whether good or evil,—and that to Abraham, ‘ because thou hast done this thing, ’ &c. Also that in Matthew, ‘ Because I was athirsty, and ye gave me drink, ’—also that, ‘ Come ye blessed of my Father, ’ &c. Also, he saith, ‘ that he that doth anything to have a higher place in heaven, he is proud as Satan and Lucifer. ’

“ I have none of these books, but only I remember such things I read in the preface and annotations. As for the text of the Gospel, first, the *title* is heretical, saying that ‘ it is printed as it was written by the Evangelists, ’ while it neither agrees with the ancient translation, nor with Erasmus.”

After quoting, but inaccurately, Tyndale's version of Matthew i., 1, 19, and Romans v. 12, he repeats that he had rendered “ penitentiam agite, ” most foolishly—*REPENT*.

“ By this translation shall we lose all these Christian words—*penance*,

charity, confession, grace, priest, church, which he always calleth a congregation; as if so many Turks, or irrational animals, were not a congregation, except he wishes them also to be a church. *Idolatria*, calleth he 'worshipping of images.'

"I would that ye should have seen my Lord's (Tunstal's) books. As for the translation in *French*, without any postile, it is, for certain, condemned in Paris, by public decree, though it be there done: condemned, I say, that it shall not be lawful to publish it to every layman, but by the priests, whose lips keep knowledge—and so it was in the old law, and in the time of the Apostles. Vide '*Sutorem de translatione Bibliæ*.'²³

"I certify you, that if ye look well, ye shall not look three lines without fault in all the book, but I have not the book to mark them out,—ye *should have had leisure yourself* to have done it. Howbeit, it becometh the people of Christ to obey their rulers, which hath given study, and is learned in such matters, as their people should hear and believe. They should not judge the

²³ He refers to *Pierre le Cousturier*, better known by the name of Peter Sutor, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and author of many works, one of which was entitled "De translatione Bibliorum," in folio, 1525. And so would this little virulent man, Ridley, dispose of the labours of the venerable *Le Fevre*, the translator of the New Testament into French, of which the first edition had been published in 1523, and two editions in 1524, if not another in 1525. But *Jacobus Faber Stapulensis*, as he latinized his name, was possessed of both genius and learning far above his time. Even after having opposed him in controversy, it was of him that Erasmus said in 1517, to Cuthbert Tunstal, then on the Continent,—“A man who, for integrity and humanity, has scarcely his equal among thousands—for whom it is my desire that all should entertain the utmost esteem.” True, he was persecuted by the Doctors of the Sorbonne, as might have been expected. “It was a thing almost natural to them,” says Sleidan, “to tease and molest men of learning, because they saw themselves despised for their ignorance.” But that excellent woman, Margaret Queen of Navarre, acquainted her brother Francis, the king, and he, though then a prisoner in Spain, wrote and stayed the proceedings. No wonder than such a man as Ridley hated him. In the preface to his New Testament he had said—“Who is there but will esteem it proper and conducive to salvation to have the New Testament in the *vulgar* tongue? What is more necessary to life whether temporal or spiritual? If, in the different 'religious orders,' they ordain, that if any one be ignorant of Latin, he shall have the *rules* of his order in the vulgar tongue, carry it about him, and commit it to memory; and in their respective *chapters*, frequently explain their *rules* to them; with how much more reason ought the unlearned among Christians to possess the Word of God, the Scripture full of grace and mercy, which is *their rule*, and which *alone* is necessary, for only *one* thing is needful. This Holy Scripture is the Testament, the last will of Jesus Christ, the Testament of our *Father* confirmed by his death and by the blood of our Redeemer, and who is he that shall forbid the *children* to have, and see, and read their Father's will? It is then highly expedient to possess it, and read it, and hear it, not only once, but often, in the *chapters* of Jesus Christ, which are the churches where all the people, unlearned and learned, ought to assemble, to hear and honour the Word of God. And such is the intention of our gracious King, (Francis was then favourable;) a design which ought to inspire all in the kingdom, with courage to advance in true Christianity, by following, understanding, and believing, the quickning Word of God. And blessed be the hour when it shall be accomplished; and blessed be all those, both male and female, who shall procure it to be carried into effect, *not only in this kingdom, but through all the world.*”

The King of France, however, like our Henry, changed his mind, for on this subject, both were fickle as the reed shaken by the wind; and *Le Fevre*, like Tyndale, had to print in Antwerp. His version of the entire Bible was published there in 1530, printed by the same man whom Tyndale employed in 1534. It was not unfrequently called the Emperor's Bible, from the printer's name, Martin Emperour. In 1530, the Queen of Navarre, his constant friend, invited *Le Fevre* to Nérac, where he lived till he had entered into the 102d year of his age, in 1537!

There is but one subject of regret. He was deficient in that moral courage to which he had exhorted others in the days of Court favour; a defect, which cost him such agony on his dying day. “On the day of his death, being apparently as well as usual, while dining with the Queen and some learned men, whom this Princess frequently invited to spend the day with her, *Le Fevre* appeared pensive and melancholy, and was observed to shed tears. The Queen desired to know what was the cause of his sadness; when he answered,—‘I am distressed because of the enormity of my crimes. I am now a *hundred and one* years of age; and though I have lived a chaste life, and have been preserved from those excesses into which many are hurried by the violence of their passions, yet I have been guilty of this heinous offence—I have known the *truth*, and have taught it to many who have sealed it with their blood, and yet I have had the weakness to hide myself in those places where the crowns of martyrs are never distributed.’ Having said this, he dictated his will, *vivâ voce*, went and lay down on his bed, and died in a few hours!” —*Brnyssel. Diet. Hist.*; *Clayke's Bibliog. Diet.* iii. pp. 226-229; *Townley's Bib. Lit.* ii. 223-234.

doctrine of Paul, nor of Paul's vicars and successors, but be judged by their learning, as long as they know nothing contrary God's laws,—as Saint Bernard saith, most goodly and clerkly, in his book, 'De dispensatione et precepto.' Vale, in all haste, your own,

"ROBERT RIDLEY, *Priest.*"

"*Item*, that of Paul, — 'stultas questiones devita,' &c., — 'beware of foolish problems or questions in the schools.' This, without doubt, is said in hatred of the scholastic divinity, and of the Universities!" Such a thing is in the translation, though it be not in the same words.²⁴

"Shew ye to the people, that if any be of so proud and stubborn stomach, that he will believe there is no fault nor error, except it be declared to him that he may see it, let him come hither to my Lord, which hath profoundly examined all, and he shall hear and see errors, except that he be blind, and have no eye."

"24th February.

"Ye shall not need to accuse this translation. It is accused and damned (condemned) by the consent of the Prelates and learned men; and commanded to be burnt, both here and beyond the sea, *where is many hundred of them burnt*; so that it is too late now to ask reason *why* that be condemned, and which be the faults and errors.²⁵ Luther and his school teacheth, 'that we do not co-operate with the grace of God, but are only passive as stones or blocks.' Because of that, this text, 'non ego, sed gratia dei mecum,' thus is translated — '*not I, but the grace of God in me*' — which how heretically, wickedly, seditiously, and falsely it is translated, he who does not perceive is stupid!²⁶

"My Lord, your master, (Warham,) hath of these books given and sent to him, by my Lord, (Tunstal,) my master. Shew the people that ye be come to declare unto them that certain books be condemned by the council, and profound examination of the Prelates, and fathers of the Church.²⁷

"To Master Henry Golde, Chaplain to my Lord of Canterbury, at Knolle."²⁸

²⁴ He quotes, he tells us, from memory, and, of course, is inaccurate, but this, as far as the *text* was concerned, is a vile aspersion. The rendering of Titus 3, 9, 10, is — "Foolish questions, and genealogies, and brawlings, and strife about the law avoid, for they are unprofitable and superfluous. A man that is the author of sects, after the first and the second admonition, avoid." Tyndale, however, was no friend to the scholastic divinity of the day, where sects abounded, and if there was any allusion to the "foolish questions in the schools," as well there might, then this must have been by a *gloss in the margin of the quarto edition*. As Ridley has not referred at all, to the octavo, without glosses, this is the more probable, and if so, this may be regarded as a collateral proof that he had gone over the *entire* quarto, or, in other words, that he had in his eye the quarto Testament *complete*.

²⁵ He was evidently well informed of the first burning at Antwerp, already explained.

²⁶ But this, though no wickedness, much less sedition, be visible, was only another aspersion. His translation of 1 Cor. xv. 10. was as follows — "But by the favour of God, I am that I am. And his favour, which is in me, was not in vain: but I laboured more abundantly than they all, — not I, but the favour of God, which is with me." Tyndale very frequently had preferred the term *favour* before that of *grace*, because of the strange and hurtful sense in which the latter had been employed.

²⁷ See the original MS., Cotton, Cleopatra, E. v. fol. 362, b. Ridley, who took such a deep interest in opposition to the English Scriptures, both now and hereafter, was anxious to rouse his correspondent to the same pitch with himself, and thus urge on the Archbishop. But all this was quite unnecessary, for though Warham did not belsh out in this manner, he was as zealous; and as for Golde, he proved a more reckless opponent than even Ridley himself. He was at last deeply implicated, with five others, in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, attainted for high treason, and executed along with her on the 21st of April 1534. — See *Halle, Foxe, and Burnet*. Besides being the confidential agent and Chaplain of Warham, Golde is designated on his trial as B.D. and Parson of *Aldermary*, in Watling Street. The modern reader may know this building as the spot where the venerable Mr. Wilkinson so long ministered every Sabbath after noon; while on Tuesday morning his voice was heard in St. Bartholomews, where Coverdale's body lay interred. It may be added, that the *supposed* bones of the latter have been moved to St. Magnus Church, in consequence of the Exchange being burnt, and Bartholomews taken down.

²⁸ In the British Museum Catalogue, the preceding letter is *supposed* to have been written in

This man quotes from memory and at random. It is altogether unnecessary to trace his mistakes, whether wilful or not; and yet this strange farrago, however inaccurate and calumnious in its blind criticisms, is still of great value, as a link in our narrative, and as lending to it a degree of precision, hitherto unobserved, if not unknown. Even from this document alone, there can be no question now, that in the year 1526, Tyndale's quarto Testament, with the prologue prefixed, was circulating in England. We now learn, however, that there was an edition of Matthew and Mark separately, which he designates the *first print*. That he was correct in this, in 1528, there will be but little doubt; to say nothing more of its giving such emphasis to the language of Foxe, already noticed. "William Tyndale first placed himself in Germany, and there did *first* translate the gospel of St. Matthew into English, and *after*, the whole New Testament." The invaluable fragment, however, of the quarto New Testament, lately discovered, and now in the possession of Mr. Grenville, is not, as before hinted, a part of this publication. It extends, indeed, no farther than the 23d chapter of Matthew; but then it has the preface or prologue prefixed, with the pages, or rather letters, running on; and, besides this, the list of *all* the canonical books of the New Testament at the beginning. There is, however, little or no necessity for pointing out this distinction, when the reader once observes, that Ridley has been quoting, or rather misquoting from *Corinthians* and *Titus*—a decisive proof that he had had the quarto Testament *entire* before him. From this letter we also learn to a certainty, that the Introduction, or *Prologue to the Romans*, by itself, was already in circulation. Herbert was therefore correct in his conjecture, when he placed this under the year 1526.²⁹ What proofs were these,

1527, and by some person it has been so marked; but, by that time, Golde had been nearly *three years* in his grave, and Ridley also was *dead*. When compared with another letter addressed to Warham on the 14th of June 1527, and about to be quoted, it will be evident that this singular effusion of Ridley's was written *previously*, on the 24th of February, or only four days after he had been appointed Rector of St. Edmunds. Next year he was one of the counsel for Queen Catherine, and must have been a favourite of Tunstal's. Thus his prebend of *Mora* he resigned on the 3d April this year, and was on that day collated to that of *Pancras*. This he resigned about the 30th October 1529, being on that day appointed to his prebend of *Isloton*, and had no less than the sincere Rectory of *Fulham* at the same time! Both these, as well as the Rectory of St. Edmund, he retained to his dying day, in June 1536.

²⁹ "A compendious introduction, prologue, or preface vnto the pistle of Paul to the Romanys."—*Herbert's Auns*, iii. p. 1536, anno 1526. The late Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Herbert Marsh, profoundly ignorant of Tyndale's history, took for granted that this was a translation from the *German*; but there was no occasion for Tyndale to acquire that language, since the preface had been translated into *Latin* by Justus Jonas, as early as 1522-3, and was to be

that Tyndale, for his country's best interests, must have been labouring night and day!³⁰

Notwithstanding the solemn and pointed injunctions of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, issued in the close of 1526, calling in *both* editions, both Bishops had found that the possessors of the Sacred Volume were by no means disposed to surrender it, merely for being threatened; and as for the copies still abroad, if the influence of Wolsey over Brabant was last year less than it had been, in this, of course, it was lower still. His political leanings were now better known, not only to the Emperor and the Lady Margaret, but to the Lords of Antwerp, and all the merchants. Hackett the ambassador, it will be remembered, had implored a list of heresies, taken out of the Testament, to be translated into German, that he might proceed at Antwerp or other places with more rigour and despatch; but Providence intervening, Wolsey was engrossed in far different employment; and so now, it seems, if any more Testaments are to be obtained, they must be *bought*, not seized. The ambassador either dared not, or could not, play the same game a second time.

At his wits' end, as we have already seen, Hackett was the first who suggested the idea of *purchasing* and burning, in order to prevent the circulation; and all preceding accounts hitherto printed, without exception, hold up Tunstal as the only man who adopted it. But this, like too many others, is a general mistake, as for two years to come he did nothing of the kind. The purchasing *began* with a higher ecclesiastical authority than that of Tunstal; nor should the step be represented as *merely* foolish, even although it actually furthered the work it was meant to crush. The fact was, that these Bishops were in a frenzy, yet none of them were so

had everywhere. To the original, Tyndale added nearly *one-half*. The truth is, that taking Luther's preface to the Romans, he translated it with such additions and variations, that he enlarged almost *every paragraph*, and adding additional observations, fitted it for circulation in England. Like any other man, he could avail himself of whatever had already been said; but in *thus* acting, he is not likely to have been confederate with his German contemporary, and much less under his eye. The fact, however, of this prologue being so early in circulation throughout England as 1526, has not been before substantiated. It appears to rank, in point of time, next to the New Testaments of 1525, and must have been printed in Worms.

³⁰ It is, however, curious enough, that in this strange epistle, no distinct mention is made of the *octavo* edition, so long regarded as the *first*. This, according to his way of reckoning, would have been the *third print*, or the second of the New Testament; but this defect will very soon be supplied, and that through no less a personage than the primate Warham himself, the master of this Henry Golde. As for Ridley's name, it has occurred before, page 112.

far gone, as to purchase without a reason. Any one of them, as we shall see presently, was not disposed to be at more *expense* than what was absolutely necessary: but they were certainly in great haste, because the haste of fear, and so the purchase became a matter of necessity, not of choice; since the rights of the subject were, at this moment, far better understood at Antwerp than in England.

It was Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in the spring of 1527, had busied himself in procuring what copies could be found out abroad of Tyndale's New Testament; and he succeeded in purchasing a part of Tyndale's original editions in *quarto* and *octavo*, though there might be some of the third Antwerp impression among them. Wolsey and Warham were not far from being as much at variance, as were Herod and Pontius Pilate, in the days of old; but, as opposition to the Saviour made them friends for the moment, so, in opposition to His Word, these modern authorities were cordially united. One curious letter, never printed, still remains, affording a most miserable picture of the whole fraternity at this period. It is from the Bishop of Norwich to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated the 14th of June 1527.

“ In right humble manner I commend me unto your good Lordship, doing the same to understand that I lately received your letters dated at your Manor of Lambeth, the 26th day of the month of May, by the which I do perceive that your Grace hath lately gotten into your hands *all* the books of the New Testament translated into English, and printed beyond the sea; *as well* those *with* the glosses joined unto them, as the other *without* the glosses;³¹ by means of exchange by you made therefor, to the sum of LXXVI. li. ix. s., IIII. d.³²

“ Surely, in mine opinion, you have done them a gracious and blessed deed, and God, I doubt not, shall highly reward you therefore! And when in your said letters ye write that in so much as this matter and the danger thereof, if remedy had not been provided, should not only have touched you, but *all the Bishops within your province*; and that it is no reason that the whole charge and cost thereof should rest only on you; but that they and every of them, for their part, should advance and contribute certain sums of money toward the same, and for that intent, desire me to certify you what convenient sum I, for my part, will be contented to advance in this behalf, and to make payment

³¹ Though exulting in the idea, this will turn out to be a great misapprehension; it was a part, or it might indeed be *all* they found in that particular place; but the stock was wisely divided into various parcels, ready for exportation from different points; and some of them, nay, not a few, owing to the sale of the surreptitious editions, still remained more than two years after this to be purchased by Tunstal.

³² £66, 9s. 4d. If we multiply only by ten, this would be £664, 13s. 4d.; but this is far too low an estimate. We have throughout, as a *medium*, fixed on fifteen as the multiplier, agreeing with Sir James Mackintosh, and others. The sum paid, therefore, by Warham was equal to no less than £997 of our money!

thereof to Master William Potkyn, your servant; Pleaseth it you to understand, that I am right well contented to give and advance in this behalf ten marks, and shall cause the same to be delivered unto the said Master Potkyn, shortly; the which sum I think sufficient for my part, if every Bishop within your said province make like contribution and advancement, after the rate and substance of their benefices.³³ Nevertheless, if your Grace think this sum of ten marks not sufficient for my part in this matter, your farther pleasure known I shall be as glad to conform myself thereunto in this, or any other matter concerning the Church, as any other subject within your province—as knows Almighty God, who long preserve you, to his most pleasure, and your heart's desire. At Hoxne, in Suffolk, the 14th day of June 1527.—Your humble obedience and bondman."³⁴

Such was the letter of Richard Nikke or Nix, dictated in all probability, for he was literally *blind* for a considerable time, and now about seventy-seven years of age! His signature has all the appearance of a blind man's mark. Few individuals in England were more annoyed by the circulation of the Scriptures than he was. We shall find him persecuting and consigning Bilney to the flames; for he lived nine years longer, and died, as he had lived, blind in every sense, in January 1536, at the advanced age of at least 86! But we shall meet with him more than once, before his death.

If Warham was busy abroad, Tunstal was not less so at home; if the one was eager to prevent importation, the latter had not relaxed in anxiety to obtain all those books that were in use. He seems, however, to have been annoyed by a double suspicion; that his Archdeacons were either remiss in obeying his injunctions, or the people were too knowing for all their research. Both suspicions were, in fact, not without foundation. Tunstal, therefore, instead of waiting longer for the owners of the Testaments delivering them up, resolved upon a strict visitation of his whole diocese this summer. But see again the kind interposition of a gracious providence! This man, as well as Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, must all prepare in June to embark for France, where they are to remain till the month of October. The consequence was, that although the visitation was remitted to Geoffrey Wharton, as his Vicar, little, or rather nothing, was done in the way of persecution till Tunstal's return.

³³ Witness the zeal and the alarm of the Bishop of Norwich. His donation was equal to £100 of our time; and no doubt there were others equally alarmed.

³⁴ MS. Cotton, Vitell, B. ix., fol. 117, b. This letter is in the catalogue inadvertently assigned to the Bishop of St. David's; but the date fixes it. The Lordship of *Hoxne* belonged to the Bishop of Norwich down to the year 1546, when it was aliened to Sir Richard Gresham, father of Sir Thomas.—*Tanner's Notitia*; Suff. xxvii.

After his return, however, he had received some written information against certain individuals; and in November, as already explained, the bishops were summoned by Wolsey, as Vicar-General of all England, to meet him at Westminster.³⁵ He opened his court in this character, and commenced the proceedings, "but because," says Foxe, "he was otherwise occupied with *affairs of the realm*, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Bishop of London, and to other Bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against writings and books—giving them full power to determine upon them."³⁶

"Bilney and Arthur, being leading characters, the court was opened with their examination, and this was their second appearance. Bilney, as noticed last year, had taken refuge merely in some legal informality in the oath administered to him, and was now to be charged with its violation. Barnes, before him, had led the way, and then left his followers in the lurch; for, poor good man, Bilney's 'salvo jure,' or subterfuge, was now of no avail. Wolsey had a perfect knowledge of circumstances, and when therefore Bilney was called in, at the very commencement, the Cardinal asked him before all the Bishops,—'whether he had not *once* made an oath *before*, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same everywhere?' To this Bilney answered, that '*he had made such an oath, but not judicially.*' Whether this was because of his swearing before the Cardinal alone, or any other informality, Wolsey warmed at the reply, and immediately 'caused him to swear, to answer *plainly* to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich, and other places; and that he should do it, *without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.*'"³⁷

³⁵ Page 151.

³⁶ Besides many other divines and lawyers, the Bishops present were, Fisher of *Rochester*, West of *Ely*, (the persecutor of Latimer;) Vesey or Harman of *Exeter*, (the predecessor and successor of Coverdale, for Vesey was restored by Mary, and lived to about the age of one hundred;) Longland of *Lincoln*; Clark of *Bath and Wells*, lately returned from Rome; and Standish of *St. Asaph*. Warham did not obey the Vicar General's summons; and whatever may be said of his cruelties in earlier life, confessedly severe, or of Tunstal being more mild than he was, Warham never appears as a persecutor after this. Notwithstanding his *Mandate*, it is certain that he held no such courts at this period, within his province, as Tunstal did in his diocese. This might be partly in resistance to Wolsey's high claimed authority, yet such was the fact. Indeed, by the next month Wolsey and he quarrelled about a case of persecution; merely, however, because Warham thought that the Cardinal was usurping his authority, or neutralising it.

³⁷ Foxe, vol. ii. p. 259, Ed. 1631. Referring to this appearance:—"The whole process," says Burnet, "is set down by Foxe in all points according to Tunstal's Register, except one fault in the translation. When the Cardinal asked Bilney, whether he had not taken an oath before, not to preach or defend any of Luther's doctrines, he confessed he had done it, but not *judicially*,—*judicialiter*, in the Register. This, Foxe translates, not *lawfully*. In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his Acts." In Foxe, however, there is at least another allusion to this first appearance. On the 13th of September, 1527, or above two months before this second examination, in the written accusation given in by Edmund Peerson against Richard Bayfield, he affirms that Bayfield, "about the 14th of October, *last past*, had said, that Arthur and Bilney were better men than he (Peerson) was, or any of them that *did* punish *Arthur and Bilney*,"—plainly referring to the apprehension and the oath exacted in 1526.—Foxe, vol. ii. p. 325, Ed. 1631.

Arthur was then called in, and Wolsey "caused him to take the *like* oath that Bilney had done, for he had acted in the same way." He then asked him, "whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, that in the sacrament of the altar, there was not the very body of Christ?" This Arthur denied, when Wolsey, giving him time to deliberate till noon, retired, leaving all the rest to the Bishops.

To show their zeal, Tunstal, West, and Fisher, met the same afternoon, in the house of that bitter persecutor, the Bishop of Norwich, of whom we have heard enough already. When Arthur was charged by the Bishops, with having said,—“I *may* preach, first, by the authority of my Lord Cardinal, for I have *his* license,” he confessed that he “so spake:” one proof, among others, that through such men as Latimer, Bilney, and Arthur, the Cardinal had been either counterworking the sway of the Bishops, or showing off his own—perhaps he might intend both. On Monday, however, the 2d of December, these men again met, when Arthur abjured, nor do we ever hear of him again. With Bilney it was otherwise. He seems to have imagined, that he could mollify Tunstal by calm and tender representations in writing. The beautiful and affecting letters which he had written to him from prison, and which may be read in Foxe, were sufficient to have melted a heart of stone; but no, Tunstal coolly delivered them all up as so much evidence against him, and then for *four days in succession*, enjoyed the opportunity of exercising his art of ingeniously inveigling and tormenting the conscience of this eminent man; but we must refer to Foxe for further particulars. The sequel is well known, Bilney abjured on Saturday the 7th, bare a faggot on his shoulder at St. Paul’s next day, and was remanded to “a prison appointed by the Cardinal, till he should be by him released.” Like Peter of old, he fell, but like him he also repeated, though not so soon; and like him he then also “wept bitterly.” The amount of his distress can never be estimated, but some account of it will come before us afterwards, at the proper time.

It has never been before observed, and it may now scarcely be believed, that these proceedings were going on in London amidst general and extreme misery, through the very high price, and, in many instances, the absolute want of food. Such, however, was the fact; and so burning hot, as Foxe would say, was their zeal. What with the distress of the people for the necessaries of life, and this formidable array of men, calling themselves Bishops, sitting in judgment under their lately promoted Vicar-General, as if the power of Rome had now been concentrated in England; so far as it regarded the progress and circulation of the Divine Word, the horizon could scarcely become darker. The hand of God was certainly not unseen in its first introduction; but *then* these blind and cruel authorities were scattered by the *plague*; and though they had been forewarned by the common enemy, they were not then upon their guard. Now they are “gathered together,” and literally “taking counsel” on the very subject. But let

us see what happened ; and observe also, whether the God of Nature, and the Governor among the Nations, be not also the God of the Bible.

Nothing, it is true, could be more unlikely, than that any more copies of the Sacred Volume should arrive in this country at such a crisis ; it might seem altogether impossible. We have already seen, that throughout the whole year, England, under Wolsey's influence, was fomenting war with the Emperor, and consequently with the Low Countries or Flanders, but courting alliance with France. In the latter, there were, of course, no English Scriptures ; in the former, copies were lying ready for being introduced here confidentially, with secrecy and silence. But if there should be a bar to merchandise in general, and the merchants of Flanders and England cannot exchange goods, how was there any chance of conveying the "Book of God" with them, or under their cover ? It had come through this medium before, but how could it by any possibility do so now ?

The reader may recollect, that the year 1527 was introduced by severe disease. Immediately after this, in consequence of "the great rains which fell in the sowing time," by the fall of the year, bread advanced to such a price, that the people were in danger of starvation. Wheat, at last, not only had risen from sixteen shillings, to *one pound six shillings and eightpence* the quarter, but ere long it was not to be obtained for money. Commissioners were sent into every county to enquire what wheat remained in the realm ; but at the same time to *enjoin*, that none should be conveyed *from one county to another*. The consequence was, *London* at last so felt the pressure, that the Mayor and Aldermen came to Wolsey on his return from France, and told him, "either the people must die from famine, or else they, with strong hand, will fetch corn from them that have it." He cared little for any man's life, when his path was crossed, and put them off with, no doubt, a daring falsehood !—that the King of France had said to him, that "if he had but three bushels of wheat, England should have two, so much he loveth and regardeth this realm !" This was at least acknowledging, that while he was abroad, the scarcity was well known to him, amidst all his gorgeous parade. The people then, from day to day, looked for French wheat, but none came ; and what is more

observable, even such as the English merchants had bought and *shipped* in Normandy and other places, was there *restrained*, so that all relief from these parts entirely failed! And what then? Let the old contemporary chronicler of the day, tell the rest:—

“But the gentle merchants of the Stilyard brought from Dantzic, Bremen, Hamburg, and other places great plenty; and so did other merchants from Flanders, Holland, and Frisland, so that wheat was better cheap in London, than in all England over. Then the people said,—‘See how we had been served by the Frenchmen in our necessity, if the Emperor’s subjects had not holpen us.’ For this kindness, the common people loved the Emperor the better, and all his subjects. Henry the VIII., however, hearing of the stoppage of the French wheat, lent the city a thousand quarters. ‘Then within short space, the merchants of London so diligently made provision in all places for wheat and rye, that after Christmas they lacked none, and all the parties adjoining to them were fain to fetch wheat of them, and none to them was denied, notwithstanding the unkind commandment given, that the Londoners should none have of them.’”

And *thus* it was, that a way was opened for the introduction of more books! On board of these vessels with grain, there must have been various importations of Tyndale’s New Testament; but one is too remarkable to be passed over in silence, as it included not less than five hundred copies by one man. Yes, notwithstanding all the fury of Hackett, and the imprisonment of Endhoven, *another* printer in Antwerp had already finished another edition! This was now the second in that place, or the *fourth* in all. The fact comes out, incidentally, about four months after this, in the examination of a distributor, before Tunstal. He had been charged with going about to buy a *great number* of New Testaments, when he emits the following answer;—“That about Christmas last, (Dec. 1527), there came a Dutchman, being now in the *Fleet* prison, which would have sold this respondent two or three hundred of the said New Testaments in English, which this respondent did not buy, but sent him to Mr. Fysh.”³⁹ Connect this with the following entry in Foxe’s list of persons abjured in 1528. “John Raimund, a Dutchman, for causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale’s New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.” There is but one mistake here, in the name of the *Dutchman*, as he is called. Every

³⁸ Halle, p. 796.

³⁹ Fysh seems to have paid another flying visit.

one at all acquainted with Foxe, knows how inaccurate and irregular he is in the orthography of proper names. Hans van Roemundt is the name of the *Antwerp* printer as given by Panzer and Le Long. The name in English ought to have been John Ruremonde.⁴⁰

One distinguishing feature of this edition consists in certain woodcuts. It is thus referred to by Joye, as the second Dutch edition—"They printed it *again*, also, without a corrector, in a greater letter and volume, with the *figures* in the Apocalypse, which were much falser than their first;" and alluding then to the former impression, he adds, "there were of them *both* about *five thousand* books printed." One copy of this book, which appears to have been reprinted from the *quarto* edition of Tyndale, is supposed to be in the library of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

"There is a copy of this edition," says Dr. Waterland to Mr. Lewis, "belonging to Emanuel College, marked i. 5-66. I have it now in my hand. I make this judgment from the *figures*, that is cuts, drawings, in the Apocalypse. It is imperfect, both beginning and end, torn out. It is a large 12mo, if it may not be called a small 8vo. The titles and chapters are in red letter. There is a part of 'the prologe unto the New Testament,' at the beginning."⁴¹

Another account states—"It is printed in black letter, within border lines of red ink; and the head line throughout, the head of each book and chapter, the notation marks, and most of the initial letters, are also in red. The volume has marginal references, a small woodcut at the beginning of most of the books, and larger ones in the Revelations, also glosses at the end of the chapters. It commences on iii., in the middle of 'A prologue unto the Newe Testament.' It has no folios, and a full page contains 37 lines, exclusive of the head line."⁴²

The fact was, and it is animating to discover it even now,

⁴⁰ In those early days, men were very often named after the town or place of their birth. Myles Coverdale, in our own country, seems to be an instance of this. *Eyndhoven* and *Ruremonde*, (where Mercator the geographer was born), were two considerable towns in the Netherlands, as well known then as they are now. Christopher Eyndhoven, therefore, already mentioned, and John and Christopher Ruremonde, must have been natives of these towns. Having come to Antwerp, they were all printers there at the same period; intimately connected in business, and printing other things for the London market. Hence in 1525, we find the names of both attached to the same book. Both of these Christophers left widows, who continued their respective presses. As for John, the fact is, he had been printing at least two editions of the New Testament in 1526, one in German, and the above in *English*. Compare *Panzer*, vi. pp. 11-13, with *Herbert's Aues*, iii. pp. 1534, 1827-8-9-33.

⁴¹ Cotton's List, App. p. 129.

⁴² Lowndes' Bib. Man. p. 1793. Dr. Cotton and Mr. Lowndes, following the supposition of Lewis, gave for the year of this edition 1528 or 9. The time of printing, it will appear presently, was the spring of 1527. With regard to Christopher Ruremonde, he also was printing. There is now before the writer a Dutch New Testament of this period, only four inches by three in size, and 36 lines in a page, having the *wood-cuts* in the Revelation; with this colophon, "By my ghrednet *Christoffel van Ruremond* op dyc Lombard viste," 1528. Without glosses or prologue.

that such a book was printing in Antwerp *at the very time when Endhoven was suffering*; for so early as the preceding May, and just about the time that Warham was rejoicing over his purchase of Testaments, the printer had completed the volume! Thus, after all the toil of Master Hackett, he was then the subject of *fresh* alarm. On the 23d of May 1527, therefore, he wrote to Wolsey as follows:—

“ And now it shall please your Grace to understand that the 21st day of this month, at Meeblin, I was advertised for truth that notwithstanding any correction that has been done in these parts before, yet now of the new, some *new* printers of the town of Antwerp have brought to be sold to this Barrow market divers English books entitled ‘*The New Testament* ;’ for the which cause I have come lither, to see correction and punishment to be done upon the said books ; of which I have found 24 in one man’s hand. We seek for more, and, doubtless, I trust shortly to see them *burned*, and as many such like as I can find in these countries.”

He then urges once more the necessity for a specific list of heresies to be sent him, that he might punish the printers personally, as well as burn the books ; and, by way of enforcing this, he has more heavy tidings to convey—

“ I hear say that there has been at the last Frankfort (spring) market, more than *two thousand such like* English books ! but there, like as I hear say, they favour greatly Luther’s acts, and sustain that he writeth the truth ! and leave all good old customs.”⁴³

Under all these circumstances it is now almost evident that part of this *fourth* edition had found its way into England, by the end of 1527; for that Testaments did arrive at this gloomy and necessitous period, there can now be no question. Men are but too apt to overlook the footsteps of a particular providence, but the arrival of books through *such* a medium, and at such a period, was too remarkable an event to be passed over in silence. Could it fail to be observed with gratitude at the time? After turning “ a fruitful land into barrenness,” and the people were “ brought low, through oppression, affliction, and sorrow ;” with bread corn came the bread from heaven. Through these very channels, the Sacred Volume had come before, and now, notwithstanding all the wrath and rage in high places, it came again. The bread that perisheth must rise in price, and finally fail, that the bread of life may come. He who appointed a way for his anger, was at the same moment preparing a way also for the reception of His Word. In wrath he remembered mercy. Well might the

people have said—"Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."

SECTION V.

TYNDALE AND FRYTH—ENGLAND AND SPAIN—ENGLAND AND ITALY—RETROSPECT—PRESENT PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—ARRESTED BY PREVAILING DISEASE—PERSECUTION IN ANTWERP—NOBLY WITHSTOOD AND DEFEATED—WOLSEY'S PURSUIT AFTER TYNDALE AND OTHERS—ALL IN VAIN.

IN the course of the year 1528, we have no distinct account of any thing new having issued from the press, translated or composed by Tyndale; although some of his smaller tracts, without date, may have been printed. There were, however, fresh editions of his two publications, already mentioned. Of "the Parable," there was one if not two editions, and of "the Obedience" certainly two, the first of which is dated in May, and the second in October of this year. That the books had been read or purchased with avidity, and were in growing demand; this, especially in those early days, is proof sufficient; but not one of these were printed at Worms. Tyndale and Fryth had now certainly removed elsewhere. All these pieces were printed at one place and by the same man—Hans Luft, a favourite printer "at Malborough in the land of Hesse," or Marburg, the capital of Upper Hesse. To our Translator, within the last eighteen months, this place must have become strongly attractive. There is no intimation or even hint of any visit yet paid to Wittenberg; it was still 200 miles distant, and it becomes more than doubtful whether Tyndale was *ever* there. Marburg, the ancient *Mattium*, is situate on the right bank of the Lahn, a tributary of the Rhine, 41 miles north from Frankfort.

A school of learning, of a new or unprecedented character, had been established here; in fact, a University which is still in existence. Many colleges had been founded even in the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth had been so distinguished for the formation of Academical foundations, that, according to

the account given by Zopt, the number of Universities, after that of Turin in 1405, had amounted to twenty-seven. But the University of Marburg was the first of a class differing from all preceding it. However, it may have gone on since then, and however unpretending it was in its origin, it was by no means the object here, "to set learning *against* learning," in the sense which was proposed at Cardinal College, Oxford. The result of individual zeal, and thirst for mental improvement, it owed nothing whatever to Royal or Pontifical favour or countenance. That of the Pontiff was never to be sought. Founded in 1526, by Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, next year various Professors had been appointed, and among these were men, who, so far from frowning on Tyndale and Fryth, were sure to bid them God speed. Not to name others, here were Lambert, Lonicerus, and, before long, Rudelius.¹ The art of printing also had been introduced at Marburg last year, or 1527; and the only press known to have existed, is that which Tyndale and Fryth employed, throughout this year, and part of the following—a circumstance which indicates that they were on the spot. From the number of things issuing from the same press, in English, even the printer seems to have been more interested in the design than any other that had been yet employed. But, above all other men at Marburg, here also was one youth of no common promise, deeply interesting to Fryth and Tyndale, as coming from the same island. This was no other than *Patrick Hamelton* from Scotland, the proto-martyr; and but for the strong affection felt for him by Fryth, we might have known but little about him, as will appear afterwards. In short, Marburg held out advantages, inviting, and far superior to the mere protection which had been happily enjoyed at Worms.²

Nor are we at any loss to understand how Tyndale was here engaged. It must have been a mighty addition to his comfort, for such a man as Roye to be succeeded by John Fryth. The former once dismissed, in 1526 Fryth had reached his friend and father of the same opinions. Equally interested in the translation of the Scriptures for their native land, from day to day this subject had fully engrossed their minds. But at present we refrain from saying more till the

¹ *Francis Lambert* of Avignon, an eloquent preacher, and author of various expositions of Scripture, is well known. After being at Wittenberg, he was now Divinity Professor at Marburg. About a year after Tyndale's removal from the place, he died in 1530, aged only 43. But *John Lonicerus* survived to the age of 70, in 1569. For forty-two years he taught here as Professor of Greek, and for fourteen years from 1536, also the Hebrew tongue. Nor should *John Rudelius* be forgotten, as he left behind him one monument of his industry and scholarship, too little known. At the press of Quentel in Cologne, it will be remembered that Tyndale was succeeded by his foe Cochläus; but Rudelius, last year, succeeded him, and to far better purpose, by a beautiful folio Latin Bible, "*justa Hebraicam et Grecam veritatem.*" It has been praised for its correctness; but by the copy now before the writer, there is another circumstance more remarkable. It is dated from Cologne as early as the 8th of April 1527, or above nine months before the first edition of *Pagninus* at Lyon, and seven years before the version of Sebastian Munster. Some farther notice may be taken of this book when we present an impression of the wooden block of the Evangelist Matthew, used by Quentel in the service of all the three.

² While the University of Cologne is now reduced to a gymnasium, and that of Wittenberg was in 1815 almost broken up, or rather merged in the University of Halle, that at Marburg still remains. We cannot give its present state; but in 1820, the students were above 350 in number, and the library contained above 100,000 volumes. Its annual revenue being nearly £6000, the half is supplied by the Government of Hesse Cassel.

books of the Pentateuch were printed. As Fryth, however, is the *only* man who can certainly be associated with Tyndale in his present engagements, it is necessary that he should be now more fully introduced to the notice of the reader.

John Fryth was born in 1503, at Westerham, a market-town in Kent, near the head of the Darent, a tributary of the Thames. His father, Richard, as an inn-holder, lived afterwards at Sevenoaks, near the same stream. It was allowed, even by his enemies, that Fryth was an excellent scholar, after the advantages he had enjoyed, first at Cambridge, and then at Oxford, thus reversing the order of Tyndale's education. As Fryth, however, received his University education at King's College, Cambridge, he must, of course, also have been a scholar at Eton. It was while proceeding in his studies, that Tyndale was at Cambridge, and through his instrumentality, as Foxe expresses it, Fryth "first received into his heart the seed of the gospel, and sincere godliness." Such being the case, it is a circumstance not to be forgotten in our future history, that Fryth had for his tutor no other than Stephen Gardiner, the future Bishop of Winchester. Some time in 1523, when Tyndale was in London, it is next to certain his much-loved friend must have been with him, since before they were separated, and Fryth remained behind, it has been stated, that they used to converse respecting the necessity for the Scriptures being "turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain Word of God." In this case, Fryth must have looked and longed for success to attend the enterprise of the man he most loved upon earth.

Tyndale, however, sailing for Hamburg, Fryth was, ere long, selected, for his acquirements, as a Cambridge scholar; and called away to Oxford by Wolsey, became, as we have seen, a canon in Cardinal College. Having already proceeded as B.A. at Cambridge, he was admitted to the same degree at Oxford in December 1525.³ Fryth could not have been idle in advancing his opinions, for those young men from Cam-

³ "Conceditur D'no Fryth, questionistæ in artibus, ut admissio sua stet pro completo gradu, eo quod clectus in socium collegii *Cardinalis* Oxon. proximis comitiis interesse non potest sic quod satisfaciatur officiariis."—*Reg. Acad. Cantabr.* "December 7, 1525," says A. Wood, "he was, with other Cantabrigians, (Sumner, Coxe, Betts, Allen,) incorporated in the same degree of Bachelor."

bridge, already mentioned, were much of his mind. But in two months, even to a day, after he had taken his degree, not only he, but they, had incurred high displeasure. These men might have been styled "the hope of the nation," though we have heard old Warham rate them, in his letter to Wolsey, as nothing more than "a number of young uncircumspect fools." *Fools* they might be called by the Primate of England, but *uncircumspect* was not the right word. Generally speaking, they were looking in one direction, and, at the moment, saw farther than their calumniator. Here at least was Fryth; but little did Wolsey imagine, that in selecting him, and most probably by his tutor *Gardiner's* recommendation, he had laid his hand on the ardent admirer of that man whom he was afterwards so eager to apprehend on the Continent. Left behind in England, Fryth had proved, among his fellows, an *expectant* of whatever Tyndale should be able to accomplish; and one can more easily conceive than express how he must have hailed the arrival, and the very first sight of the New Testament at Oxford. It certainly had been longed for, and it came at last.

Fryth was then twenty-three years of age, and not only a lover of learning, but acute and eminent in talent. Yet, once aware of the cruelties practised on Dalaber and Garret, as already detailed, and being so far at liberty, he effected his escape, and landed, like his forerunner, on a foreign shore. This could not possibly be before the autumn of 1526, so that the undivided credit of translating the New Testament, and forwarding it to his country, remains with Tyndale alone. The flight of Fryth has been placed much later, even in 1528, but it is evident that he durst not have remained so long. That he ever revisited England before he came to die at the stake, we have no certain evidence; but we now see him as the able coadjutor of his elder brother for years.

When we turn away from these two men, the greatest benefactors of Britain then living, to the disgraceful and offensive state of public affairs, a general idea of the whole year may be attained by observing the policy of England, first in connexion with Spain and the Low Countries, and then with Italy.

The Emperor Charles V. was unquestionably ambitious, and now more than ever anxious to reach his own pinnacle of earthly glory; but no

one can charge him, at this period, with the same duplicity which Wolsey practised, to his own permanent disgrace.

By the treaty of Madrid, when the King of France was allowed to return from captivity, his two sons were sent into Spain, as hostages for its fulfilment. Charles was now willing to relax, and even set these children at liberty, provided that Francis would restore Genoa, and withdraw his army from Italy. The Emperor had written, demanding a definite answer by the 31st of January; but, before that day arrived, the French ambassadors had shown to him the articles concluded with Wolsey at Amiens, in August last; and what wonder that Charles immediately fired, and was in great fury? His remonstrating with the English ambassador availed nothing, for he "discreetly" professed ignorance! The Emperor complained loudly of his uncle Henry's hostility to him, but he remained inflexible. So at last, on the 22d of January, by the express counsel of our Cardinal, Guienne for France, and Clarendieux, as King-of-Arms for England, bade defiance to the Emperor in open court. When the defiances were made, the nobles of Castile drew their swords, and replied—"Sire, if the despite of this defiance be unrevenged, the infamy and rebuke thereof shall remain to us and our heirs for ever." The Spaniards, in general, were averse from war with England—blamed only the Cardinal and Francis—"but wrung themselves by the beard, and swore that their lands and goods should be spent for the honour of the Emperor." "God grant," said the Emperor, "that I may not have better reason to defy Henry, than he has to defy me. Can I pass over the indignity with which he threatens my aunt, by his application for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me, by soliciting me to marry a daughter, whom he now pronounces to be a bastard? But I am *perfectly aware from whom* these suggestions proceed. I would not satisfy the rapacity of the Cardinal of York, nor employ my forces to seat him in the chair of St. Peter; and now in return, he has sworn to be revenged, and now seeks to fulfil his purpose. But if war ensue, let the blood that must be shed fall on the head of him who is the *original instigator* of it."⁴

The English merchants in Spain were of course attached, and put in safe custody. The ambassadors were honourably treated; but a rumour, real or pretended, reached England, that the Emperor had acted otherwise, and even thrown them into prison. Wolsey in his fury, on the 12th of February, imprisoned Don Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, and the next day, in the Star Chamber, gave a long address, by no means palatable to those who heard it. Some, indeed, scrupled not to say "he lieth;" and as for the people, in general, they deeply lamented and deprecated any war between Henry and the Emperor. Such was the

⁴ Le Grand.

result of Wolsey's pompous and expensive embassy to France! The "*golden seal*" could not now be held up to admiration, and that "perpetual peace" of which he boasted, thus ended in war, at the distance of less than five months!

The ships of Flanders at our ports were immediately arrested; and the declaration of war, once known to the Lady Margaret, she caused the English there, with their goods and ships, to be restrained. But a very short time had elapsed before it was known that the Emperor had all along acted most honourably to our ambassadors, when Wolsey released the Spanish representative. Mendoza felt the indignity, but concealed this, and remained. At this crisis, strong suspicions rested on the Cardinal with regard to all this confusion. By way of apology to Mendoza, he had the effrontery to affirm, that "the King was informed by the French ambassador, that the ambassadors of both princes were put in prison," and then, with the most cruel audacity, he added—"that Clarencieux had made the defiance of the Emperor without the King's commandment—that he did it *only* by the motion of the *French ambassadors*, to accompany the French herald—and that for this presumptuous act, he should *suffer death, at Calais, on his return!*" All this Mendoza wrote down and sent: his letters, providentially for Clarencieux, were opened and copied at Bayonne, as the post passed that way. "When Clarencieux was returning homeward, the Captain of Bayonne," says Halle, "gently shewed to him the copy of the letters that the Emperor's ambassador had written." Dismayed, he went on, however, to Boulogne, when hearing again of his danger, without going to Calais, he immediately sailed from thence to Rye, got to Hampton Court secretly, and through Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, obtained audience of Henry, before Wolsey wist of his return! When he showed the *three* letters which the Cardinal had sent him, charging him to make the defiance—he then declared how courteously he had been treated, and exhibited his chain of gold, valued at 500 ducats, given him by the Emperor.⁵ When the King had heard all, he mused for a great while, and then, not without profanity, exclaimed—"O Lord Jesu, *he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary!* Well, Clarencieux, I will be no more of so light credence hereafter; for now I see perfectly, that I am made to believe the thing that was never done."⁶

The invention of Wolsey was now nearly exhausted. He had in one sense finished his career; for he never again, with all his address, could

⁵ Cotton MS. Vespas., c. iv. p. 231.

⁶ This Clarencieux, King-of-Arms, was Thomas Benolt, afterwards befriended by Henry. He died in 1534, "and his monument," says Stowe, "remains at this day, 1st May 1703, in St. Helen's Church in Bishopsgate Street." In the Harleian Collection, his figure as Clarencieux may be seen, as taken from the tomb.

regain what was gone for ever. He might, and he did, continue near the person of the King for eighteen months longer; but Henry retained him merely to accomplish a selfish and determined purpose, in pursuing which the Cardinal only sunk himself deeper still. It was a lingering, but a just judgment, that this proud, unprincipled, and ambitious man should live for a season in habitual apprehension and chagrin, and in the very sphere where his influence had been so powerful. "The King," says Halle, "sent for the Cardinal, and privily talked with him; but whatsoever he said to him, the Cardinal was not very merry, and *after that time*, (February 1528,) *the King mistrusted him ever after.*"

If the reader feel any surprise at this nefarious conduct of Wolsey, on turning to his negociations with Italy, he must not expect to meet with anything less revolting.

The Pontiff, after being reduced to such extremity that he had to live on asses flesh, had been released from confinement by the Emperor in December 1527, but, of course, not without a full understanding between the parties as to future proceedings. The Cardinal, on hearing this, was filled with transport, not fully aware that the Pope now, was nothing more than a prisoner at large. He must, however, in usual mockery, sing "Te Deum" on the 5th of January at St. Paul's; representing that Clement had *escaped*, and that this was the *effect* of the prayers of good Christian people! But as soon as the people knew that the deliverance was simply the effect of "composition," they said of Wolsey that "he could not leave his lying."

The Cardinal's documents, drawn up last December, in four distinct and artful papers, sent with two envoys, John Casalis and Dr. Knight, to procure the divorce of Henry and his Queen, only required the Pope's signature. He at last subscribed with a trembling hand, but through fear of the Emperor, restricted Henry from acting at *present*; and exploring the King and Wolsey not now to precipitate him for ever! The fact was, that before being released from prison, he was bound by the Emperor, not to sanction any such procedure. But what was to be done? Wolsey himself began to be as much afraid of being "precipitated" as the Pope; at least so he pretended, and not a moment was to be lost. On the 10th of February, therefore, having despatched Stephen Gardiner, his Secretary, and Edward Fox, then the King's almoner, they went by way of France, and secured the concurrence of Francis, as well as his influence with the Pontiff; they had arrived at Orvieto, on the 20th of March. Wolsey wished such a commission to be obtained as would enable him to rise in favour, and to secure, by one stroke, the gratitude of Henry and his *intended* Queen; and if he could only be appointed Judge to try the divorce for which his Master panted, such might be the effect of his intended decision. Gardiner and Fox had therefore been selected, and especially the former, to use intimidation *if*

necessary. Accordingly, with all the determined energy of his character, Gardiner at length not only drew tears and regret from the Pontiff, making him at other times to "sigh and wipe his eyes," but wrung from him his signature to a commission, which, when Fox had brought it home in May, after all did not answer the wishes of our Cardinal! And to what low and deceitful expedient will he now resort? Immediately addressing Gardiner and Bryan, he orders them to *pretend* that the Pope's policitation had been so obliterated and spoiled by water in the carriage, that a duplicate must be sent forthwith. They were, after this, to allege that they remembered the very *words* of the former document, and so could dictate them to the officer, who was to prepare it again; but in doing this they were *then* to introduce such expressions of enlarged power as Wolsey had marked!! Accordingly the Pope actually signed this fresh document; but still, after all this labour time and expense, the biter was bit. Within a few months, and without any hesitation, Clement violated the whole subscribed engagement!

The change as it regarded what was called St. Peter's Chair, was now certainly most glaring, and sufficient to have opened the eyes of all, save the wilfully blind. The same man, whose predecessor had impiously styled himself "Sovereign of the Universe," is now openly degraded, and in bondage still. During these negociations he actually wished, for the wealth of Christendom, that Queen Catherine was in her grave; and at another time, though no prophet, he added these emphatic words, "I think, like as the Emperor hath destroyed the *temporalities* of the Church, so shall *she* be the cause of the destruction of its *spiritualities*"—and such was the event, as it regarded England. It was fit and proper, that the power which had so long been distinguished by arrogantly "*forbidding to marry*," should be tamed, tormented and abased, even by a licentious Monarch, disturbing all Europe for years about himself and his wife,—the Queen all the while remaining a devoted adherent of the Roman See, and the King, her husband, as vain as ever of his title, received from Rome—the Defender of the Faith!

The farce, however, must proceed, by Gardiner bringing with him another Legate, Campeggio. He and Wolsey, two most licentious men, were to sit in judgment on the legality of Henry's marriage; but the former, who though commissioned in April did not set off till July, then affected to be so infirm and diseased on the road, that even Gardiner could not drag him on. They were not less than three months in journeying from Italy. The real cause of the delay was simply this, that Clement and his Cardinals had not yet exhausted all their wit and cunning. Campeggio had been urged, again and again, to delay his journey as long as possible, so that before his arrival in England, his secret instructions were to try and reconcile the King and Queen; or endeavour to persuade the latter that she should retire and spend what they

called a "religious" life! in other words to enter some nunnery; but at all events, he was to *decide* nothing! And why so? Merely because Clement, like all the rest, had been watching on the times. When Campeggio left home, a French army remained in Italy; the predominant power of the Emperor there, was therefore not finally decided; so that till the middle of August this disgusting and litigious process of divorce seemed to hang in suspense, on what? Merely the capture of Naples! Should the Emperor's arms, defending it, be defeated, then the Pope might once more do as he pleased: but, in thirty days, not less than *twenty-one thousand* of the French army died of disease; on the 17th of August, Lautrec, the French General himself expired, the remainder dispersed, Charles was triumphant; and therefore Campeggio must *decide* nothing!

After this it is curious enough to see the mock-trial commence on the 28th of October. On the 8th of November, Wolsey's speech against the Emperor seemed to please his Master. The just indignation of Catherine burst out aloud upon the Cardinal, but the drama went on; and notwithstanding all this, the Monarch and his Queen, with such a scene before them both, were together "keeping open festivities" still, at the end of the year!

It is true, that during the summer months, while waiting for this Italian Cardinal, the King and his subjects with him, had got something else to think of, as both the court and the country had been thrown into consternation, by the prevalence of disease; but this will be noticed with more effect afterwards, since it followed in immediate connexion with the persecutions of this year, to which therefore we first attend.

At the commencement of 1528, according to the preceding history, the New Testament of Tyndale had now been introduced into England for the space of two years, a fact which will be abundantly confirmed by the disclosures of the present period. Speaking generally of these times, Strype has said,—"the New Testament translated by Hitchen, that is Tyndale, was in many hands, and read with great application and joy; and they had secret meetings, in which they instructed each other out of God's Word;" but after carefully examining the minute, though scattered details, a far more interesting and graphical account now comes out, not only of these two years, but of the years preceding.

From the days of John Wickliffe, if not Richard Fitzralph, the disciples of Christ were much in the same situation with those Israelites in the days of Elijah, whom God "reserved to himself." Hidden and unknown, their number can never

be ascertained, otherwise it probably would surprise us, as much as the "seven thousand" did the desponding prophet of old. But there can be no doubt that portions of the Scriptures in manuscript were read in secret, and by many with great profit, notwithstanding all the virulent opposition. Our only key to the extent of this, is to be found in the opposition displayed. Mere gleams of light obtained from the Sacred Word, were sufficient to bring down the wrath of the oppressor. During the fifteenth century, various cases of abjuration and burning for heresy had occurred, but from the commencement of the sixteenth, as light increased, the opposition became more determined and systematic. Particular periods are then to be marked as *seasons* of persecution. To say nothing of the first ten years, though disgraced by not a few instances of great cruelty; the years 1511 under Warham of Canterbury and Smith of Lincoln; 1509 to 1517 under Fitzjames of London; and, above all, 1521, under Longland of Lincoln, were so many seasons of the most determined opposition to the Word of God. Nor should it be unobserved that all these persecutions, including even the last, were on account of opinions, *not* gathered or received from any foreign land or Continental Christian. Whatever those opinions were, they were *indigenous* to this country, and are mainly to be ascribed to certain portions of the Sacred Writings in English manuscript. Before, and even long before the name of Luther was heard of by the people, these opinions were sifted, debated, and maintained; nay, as late as 1521, though the writings of the German Reformer were then publicly denounced, they were as yet locked up in Latin, so that, amidst all the barbarities of that year, under Longland, we hear of no punishment inflicted for Lutheranism so called. It is certainly, therefore, to be regretted, that even British historians, in too many instances, should have so hastily looked over to Germany, as *accounting* for the commencement and progress of all that occurred in their own country in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. After an examination of the official records of the day, and other original manuscripts, more patient and laborious than that in which any man has ever since engaged, it is not surprising that John Foxe should dwell on the retrospect with delight, and confess his inability to do it justice; while he as distinctly ascribes this work of

God, to his own Word in the *vernacular* tongue, and to this alone, though not yet in print.

We have glanced at all this as justly due to what may be styled the age of *manuscript*. But as the invention of printing was itself an era, so assuredly was that of the reception of the Sacred Scriptures in print into Great Britain. This might be fairly inferred from the history already given; but it is now worthy of special notice, that for three or four years before the arrival of Tyndale's first editions, a people seem to have been signally prepared for their reception. We could not with propriety notice them at an earlier period, as it is chiefly by the severities of the *present* year, that they come out to view. From the examinations upon oath, about to be noticed, we could now enumerate above a hundred of these people by name, and state their places of abode, but these were merely the persons detected, exposed, or punished. Many, many more there must have been, whose record is on high. They met together, chiefly in London, but also at different places in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Buckingham. They called each other *Brother*, and said that they were *Brothers in Christ*. They had the four Gospels separately and in one volume; some of Paul's Epistles in another; the Epistles of Peter and that of James; all in English manuscript, however inferior the translation, or inaccurate, through frequent transcription. In regard to the Epistle of *James*, in some parts it was a great favourite, and far from startling at it, as the German Reformer himself did at first, and for some time, *they* could repeat it from memory; even one young woman was detected who could say the whole. Their high esteem for the Oracles of God, was to be seen in the price paid for them in whole or in part.

These friends in London seem to have held their meetings from about 1523, very frequently in the house of one William Russel in Coleman Street, at the gate of Bird's Alley, over against St. Stephen's Church; when Father John Hacker, as they called him, and sometimes others, read and explained the Scriptures. We have already pointed out the spot to which the authorities first sent to seize books;⁷ and it is now not unworthy of notice that very near, and even round it, not-

⁷ Honey Lane, Cheapside, nearly opposite to Bow Church, p. 92.

withstanding "the secret search," the Word of God continued to be read and prized—it even "grew and multiplied." The great fire in London of 1666, it is true, consumed all those parts, but of the eighty-nine churches burnt down, at least fifty-four were rebuilt, and on the same ground. Bird's Alley is gone, but the church remains where it was; and if any one wish to stand on the same spot where, amidst all the wrath and blasphemy of the day, the Sacred Volume was *then* perused with the keenest interest, he has only to walk along that part of King's Arms Yard which yet remains, till he come "over against" St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street.⁸

Similar meetings were held in Essex. The largest was in Colchester itself, but there were friends at Witham, Braintree, Saffron Walden, and Birdbrook, as well as at the Friary of Clare, or Stokeclare, in Suffolk.⁹ In the north of Essex the parish of Bumstead was, as the persecutors would have said, a hot-bed of heresy.¹⁰

So early as September 1526, two plain country men from thence came to London, in search of the *new printed* Testaments, and going to Austin Friars, there met with Dr. Barnes, who, it may be remembered, was then a prisoner at large. One of these men had been in possession of Tyndale's New Testament, which he procured from Colchester about the month of *April* before. These men reported the curate of this parish, Richard Foxe, as favourable to enquiry, and begged a letter from Barnes to him. He gave them one, sold a Testament to each, and after their return, the curate, and even two friars, Topley and Gardiner, seemed to be making progress; but besides them there were a number of persons, male and female, scattered throughout these parts, still farther advanced. It will be remembered that Myles Coverdale, one of Barnes' students, came up to London after him, at the time of his melancholy abjuration in February 1526. We shall trace him now preaching in this part of Essex, in company with Richard Foxe. Thus, on the 29th of March 1528, one of these friars, Thomas Topley, heard him

⁸ In the immediate vicinity of the house, where lived for many years, the late venerable John Newton.

⁹ Afterwards the favourite retreat of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹⁰ Called *Steeple* Bumstead, being, says Norden, the first place in these parts that had one, and to distinguish it from an adjoining parish of the same name, Helion Bumstead. The former was styled also Bumsted and Turrin, as having one of those ancient round towers which abound in Suffolk and Norfolk.

preach at Bumstead church, and such doctrine as, in connexion with subsequent conversation, shook his mind with regard to various superstitions. But the persecutions we are now about to notice must have scattered, for a season, all these groups in this county, as well as the meetings in London; more especially as Wharton the Vicar-General of Tunstal moved down into Essex in *July* this year, searching after his prey. It is then that we shall hear more of Coverdale.

Many of those, however, throughout the land, who had either purchased or perused the Testament of Tyndale, were now about to find that it was "through much tribulation they must enter into the kingdom of God;" and it would have been well if then the brother had not betrayed his brethren, the husband his wife, and the father his child! Not three months before, the country had been in the greatest extremity, through scarcity amounting to famine, and not a few had pined away in disease. London, also, as we have seen, had more especially felt the pressure, but no sooner had plenty returned by the importation of foreign grain, and bread had fallen in price, than the same city became the seat of bitter and sifting persecution. The country at large had just suffered severely, through the crooked and ambitious policy of Wolsey; and now the best of his Majesty's subjects, simple hearted and unoffending people, are to be molested through the cool malignity of Tunstal. He had before this preached his sermon, in which he boasted that he had found more than 2000 errors in the printed New Testament. Tunstal's infamous injunction also, of October 1526, had hung over the people for fourteen months, without being rigorously followed up, but we have accounted for this forbearance. It was unavoidable, as he had been so engrossed by foreign political affairs. It was, therefore, in the opening of 1528, that one feature of his character began to be more fully developed, of which in general a very strange, not to say erroneous, estimate has been given. Sir T. More and he were united, as men familiarly say, like hand and glove; and, therefore, it was to be expected, that he should pronounce him to be inferior to none "in the integrity of his principles, and the sweetness of his disposition." Godwin says that "he was a very rare and admirable man, with *nothing* wrong but his *religion*, and yet he was a *profound divine*, as many of his works yet do testify."

“He had,” says even Gilpin in his life of Ridley, “true notions of the *genius* of Christianity! He considered a good life as the end, and faith as the means; and *never* branded as an heretic that person, however erroneous his opinions might be, in points less fundamental, who had such a belief in Christ as made him live like a Christian. He was just, therefore, the reverse of his early patron Warham;” and he concludes by affirming, “that Tunstal thought *persecution* one of the things most foreign to his function!” We allow that the reverse of this, in some points, was the character of Warham; but was it less so of Tunstal? Both were men of learning and talent, and Tunstal’s taste in letters was superior to most of his contemporaries; but let any one hold fast opinions which they conceived would, even ultimately, affect the hierarchy, and neither of them scrupled for a moment in proceeding to the greatest extremity. Tunstal, it is true, was still, and of quiet behaviour, cautious, and had great command over his passions; a worldly-wise man, who contrived to thread his way through those difficult times, so that he died in his bed, at the advanced age of 85. But, on the other hand, if works bear witness, by these he must be judged. What signifies learning, however eminent, except it be applied to some laudable and beneficial purpose? And though it should be accompanied with apparent sedateness, and much sagacity in worldly affairs; all these in union, so far from concealing great and radical defects in moral character, only render them the more atrocious. To say nothing of the violence of Tunstal’s language when writing to Erasmus, in earlier life, or of the incontinence with which he has been charged; certainly no man who was so frequently employed by Wolsey, and served his purpose so well, could by any possibility hold fast his integrity, or walk uprightly; and Tunstal being most celebrated as a courtier, and at *such* a time, the reader may be left to judge of his veracity. As for humanity, what though he might have an aversion from shedding blood, or rather a dread of shedding it? What shall we say as to his cool barbarity in sifting and cross-examining, then threatening and re-examining, till the poor creature quivered, and became perplexed, trembled, and abjured? Not satisfied, see him seize on the abjured parties, and, through his sophistry, compel them at last to expose and even accuse their nearest and dearest relatives and friends!

No, he was an ingenious tormentor, distinguished for his patient dexterity in producing mental misery; and we may rely on it, that Tyndale, who knew his doings well, though he did not charge him with shedding so much blood, had good reason for designating him as he did,—“that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief.” “Cursed,” said Jortin, when speaking of him, “cursed are those theological principles, which produce such sad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up so much of their honour and humanity!” The only mistake in this exclamation, is that of styling such principles *theological*. The truth was, that none of those men, even the mildest, understood the sacred rights of conscience, because their own was “seared with a hot iron.” They were, for the time, the “rulers of the darkness of this world,” while the praiseworthy people whom they tried to devour or exterminate, were, in fact, however poor and despised, a chosen band of wrestlers “against spiritual wickedness in high places.”

At all events, whatever Warham had been in days that were past, we shall find that Tunstal was “the grand Inquisitor” in 1528. In January his underlings were busily preparing for his sitting in judgment; and then followed those numerous cases, from February to May inclusive, which are upon record, in his Register.

The shrewd and systematic method adopted by Tunstal seems to have been, to find out the most intelligent or influential men, among these people who were to be cross-examined, and by effectually threatening *them*, so detect many of the rest. In January or the beginning of February one man was found, and before long other two if not three. In the midst of these harassing times, it was not to have been expected, that all would prove faithful; but surely these early readers of the printed New Testament upon English ground, had not anticipated that any of their leaders would fail and betray them! Yet so it was, for poor Haeker, the first man referred to, being, as Strype says, “hard set upon, made a discovery, by interrogatories put to him upon oath, of a great many of his friends and followers both in Essex and London.” Following out this clue, at least three other men followed the sad example; John Pykas of Colchester, with John Tybal and Thomas Hempsted of the parish of Bumstead. These poor men now

stood in the character of "Persecutor's evidence," and were to be called upon, whenever it was found necessary! Hacker, to save himself, had betrayed at least *forty* of his friends, with whom he had often read the Scriptures, the majority of whom resided in London, and the others as many more, in the county of Essex alone, as amounted to above a hundred in all! Happily, these were but a part of the whole; but here was a field, quite sufficient for the Bishop and his Vicar-General. The former required only to assemble his deeply prejudiced assistants, and the reader may be curious to know who were those men, who first sat in judgment upon Tyndale's translation, and the earliest possessors of the precious volume. Tunstal had taken care to secure round him more than a dozen of men to preside, either all together, or by turns, and they are styled in the Register "all learned men," of course. Besides Geoffrey Wharton, D.D. his Vicar-General, and John Darel, B.D. Wharton's official, Matthew Grafton and Henry Bonsfel, Notaries; there were Robert Ridley, D.D. and John Royston, Professor of Theology, Richard Sparchforde, M.A., Thomas Forman, S.T.P., John Tunstal and Thomas Chambré, Chaplains, Nicholas Tunstal, Thomas Downman, Thomas Pilkington, and James Multon.

Wharton, to do him justice, would seem to have been not so bitter as some others; he died next year. *Royston* had been far more indebted to Humphrie Munmouth, than even Tyndale. Yet Munmouth is about to be molested and imprisoned, and Royston is here! *Sparchforde* had been promoted in 1522 to the living of Hackney; but the most conspicuous of these assistant persecutors was *Robert Ridley*, already noticed. The Tunstals, as well as Ridley, were related to the Bishop.

In now turning to the disclosures made by persecution in the early part of this year, we shall find them doubly important as to evidence on one point, namely, the period in which the New Testaments of Tyndale were first introduced into England. Independently of the abundant proof already given, they show that Tyndale's quarto and octavo editions were purchased and perused throughout the year 1526; and that Tunstal's injunction, in October of that year, was not groundless, when it affirmed that they were spread throughout "all his diocese, in great number."

From the Register itself we select only such cases as bear directly on the Testaments first printed by Tyndale, with two from other sources, equally authentic.¹¹

I. *February 24, 1528.*—“Dr. Geoffrey Wharton, aforesaid, sat judicially, in the long Chapel of St. Paul’s Church, London, near the Northgate. And then appeared before him Sir Sebastian Hennis, curate of the parish Church of Kensington ; who confessed that he had two books ; viz. the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotelin, *Priest*, and *Friar Roye* ; and ‘*Unio Dissidentium*,’ containing in it the Lutheran heresy. But Hennis being by the said Wharton, Vicar-General, absolved from the sentence of excommunication, that *had been* by the canon passed against him, he enjoined him, by oath upon the holy Gospels, that he should not for the future keep any of the said books, or any other containing heresy in it ; nor knowingly read, sell, pawn, or any other way dispose of such books ; nor knowingly converse, or hold familiarity with any person suspected of heresy, nor favour them. And, moreover, he enjoined the said Sir Sebastian, under pain of excommunication, that after he had obtained license to depart, he should not tarry nor abide within the City of London (*being so dangerous a place to be infected with heresy*), above a day and a night ; but go thence else where, and not approach near the city any where, *four miles in circuit, for the space of two years.*” We have no trace left as to what became of this man ; but it is cheering to observe that there appears to have been no abjuration on his part. He was thus banished, for possessing the English New Testament, but as no mention is made of the precise period in which he acquired it, we pass on to the next, or one of the earliest instances in proof of this point.

II. *March 2.*—John Pykas of Colchester, with Thomas Matthew and Henry Rayland from the same place, appeared before the Vicar-General, being cited to answer to certain articles, and next day, Tuesday the 3d of March, Tunstal himself appeared. “Cuthbert, Bishop of London, sitting judicially, in the chapel within his palace at London, ministered in word against Johu Pykas, the articles which were ministered to John Hacker, and all things contained in the same ; adding, that he had, and retained, in his keeping, the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchyn and *Friar Roy*, notwithstanding the condemnation, publication and monition made thereupon. Upon the ministering of which and other things, the same reverend father took, *ex officio suo*, for witnesses, John Boughton of Colchester and *John Hacker!*” “*March 7.* John Pykas made answer to the articles ministered to him, before the said Bishop, sitting judicially in the chapel of his palace in London,”—which answer was to this tenor :—“That about five years last past, at a certain time, his mother, then dwelling at Bury, sent for him ; and moved him that he should not believe in the Sacraments of the Church, for that was not the right way. And then she delivered to this respondent, one book of Paul’s Epistles in English (manuscript ;) and bid him live after the manner and way of the said Epistles and Gospels, and not after the way that the Church doth teach.”—“Also about a *two years last past!*” (or March 1526,) “he bought in Colchester of a Lumbard of London, a *New Testament in English, and paid for it four shillings, which New Testament he kept, and read it through many times.*”

¹¹ The industrious Strype, in quoting the instances from March, forgetting that the year an on to the 25th, has placed them under 1527 instead of 1528.

This instance, so early in point of date, is also very distinct, carrying us back to March if not February 1526; and from the price paid, equal to between two and three pounds sterling, seems to have been Tyndale's largest Testament. But the fact was, that Pykas was not merely the purchaser of one copy, but the seller of others, as will appear in the next case. This poor man, a baker by trade, aged thirty-three, having abjured; "after this," says Strype, "Pykas and Haeker, the chief leaders of the rest, were thus sifted, and by imprisonment, severities, and threatening, brought to confess all the 'known men and women,' as they were then called, even *their friends, their brethren, their nearest relations, and those that themselves had brought into those opinions*; they were enjoined penances, and abjured and sworn to be witnesses against others, and to betray all!"

III. With this first distinct testimony before us, it is curious enough, that it was upon this very day that Tunstal issued his well known "*License to Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, to read and retain the books containing the Lutheran heresy.*" The date in his Register is as follows—"Dat. vij die Martii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo xxvij, et nostre cons. sexto," that is, 7th March 1528; as he became Bishop of London in Oct. 1522, and their year ran on to the 25th of March. This was the most unfortunate step that More ever took. The license was granted *mainly* with a view to the refutation of Tyndale's translation and other writings, as will appear by the event. Tunstal, in high spirits, expected that he would "play the Demosthenes" in *English*, as he had done in Latin; but we have yet to see what became of two Lords Chancellor, in succession, *Wolsey* and *More*, when brought under the power of Tyndale's pen.

IV. *April 28.*—This confession is formally entitled, "*Confessio Johannis Tyball de Bumstede ad Turrim, facta et recognita per eundem Johannem coram Reverendo in Christo Patre Dno. Cuthberto. London, Episcopo, in capella infra palacium London. xxviii. die mensis Aprilis, anno Dni. mill^o quingentesimo. xxviii.* Quam postea signavit."—"Examined, he saith, 'that about *two years ago*, (or April 1526,) he companied with Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstead, and shewed him all his books that he had; that is to say, *the New Testament in English; the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in English*; which he had of John Pykas of Colchester; a book *expounding the Pater-noster, the Ave Maria, and the Credo*; certain of Paul's Epistles after the *old* translation.—And so in process of time, by reason of things contained in the said books, and disputing and instructing, he brought Sir Richard Fox to his learning and opinions. Furthermore, he saith that *at Michaelmas last past was twelve months*, (September 1526,) this respondent and Thomas Hilles, came to London to Friar Barnes, *then* being at the Friars Augustines in London, to buy a *New Testament in English*, as he saith. And they found the said Friar Barnes in his chamber; where there was a merchantman reading in a book, and two or three more present. And when they came in, the Friar demanded them from whence they came; and they said from Bumstede, and so forth in communication they desired the said Friar Barnes that they might be acquainted with him—because they would have his counsel in the New Testament, which they desired of him. And he saith that the said Friar Barnes did perceive very well that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, because they would have the New Testament. And then farther they shewed the said Friar, that one Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstede, by their means, was well entered in their learning; and said, that they thought to get him whole, in short space. Wherefore they desired the said Friar Barnes to make a letter

to him, that he would continue in that he had begun : which Friar did promise so to write to *him* a letter at afternoon, and to get *them* a New Testament.

“After that communication, the said Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewed the Friar Barnes, of certain old books that they had : as of the four Evangelists, and certain Epistles of Peter and Paul in English ; which books the said Friar did little regard, and made a twit of it, and said—‘ a point for them ! for they be not to be regarded toward the new *printed* Testament in English ; for it is of more eleaner English.’ And then the said Friar Barnes delivered to them the said New Testament in English, for which they paid iii. sh., ii. d. ; and desired them that they should keep it close, for he would be loath that it should be known, as he now remembereth. And after the deliverance of the said New Testament to them, the said Friar Barnes did liken the New Testament in *Latin* to ‘ a cymbal tinkling and brass sounding ;’ but what farther exposition he made upon it, he cannot tell. And then, at afternoon, they fetched the said letter of the said Friar, which he wrote to Sir Richard, and read that openly before them ; but he doth not now remember what was in the same ; and so departed from him ; and did never since speak with him, or write to him, as he saith. Also he saith that about a half year agone (November 1527) he delivered the said New Testament to Friar Garlyner, which he never had again. Also he saith that Helen Tyball, his *mother*, and Alice Tyball, his *wife*, be guilty in all the foresaid articles,” &c.

Here there is a very distinct reference to all the books mentioned by Ridley. The New Testament ; Matthew and Mark, separately ; and even the Introduction to the *Romans* ; for the fact is, that at the end of the Introduction we have “ Here followeth a treatise of the Pater-noster, very necessary, and profitable, wherein, yff thou marke, thou shalt perceave what prayer is, and all that belongeth to prayer.” Here, also, the New Testament was possessed in *April*, and another copy purchased in *September* 1526 ; but this last purchase is the more interesting, as it corroborates the statement already given, that Barnes was at this very season a free *prisoner* at Austin Friars ; as well as acting in the way which brought him again under suspicion.¹² As for Tybal himself, we know not when he died, but we can trace him five years after this period. The season of John Fryth’s imprisonment must have been one of great excitement among the friends of truth every where. Tybal had then come up to London, and one evening, the 19th of April 1533, he was seized, (through a vile informer, Holt, the King’s tailor,) in company with *Hewet*, the future fellow-martyr of Fryth ; Hewet was sent to the Lollard’s tower, but Tybal was bound with ropes and carried to the Bishop’s house, put into a close room, and watched by a priest’s servant. The next day Stokesley came in from Fulham, and examined him and others. He had been four times in prison already, and therefore, says Foxe, he was “ five times in bonds for Christ,”—“ but by God’s provision he was delivered out of prison, although he could not enjoy his house and lands. The tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house, which made him fain to *sell all that he had in Essex* !”

Tybal speaks of a companion named Thomas Hilles, and we have found his confession in full, among the Harleian Manuscripts. Though merely entitled, “ the confession of a Lollard,” it agrees so exactly with the story of Tybal that there can be no question as to the “ Lollard,” being this very man.¹³ He states

¹² See anno 1536, p. 108.

¹³ MS. Harl. no. 421, fo. 34. Hilles states the time of their journey to London as being *about* *Hiltsunday* twelve months ; but they could not then have found Dr. Barnes in London, since by

that he also purchased a Testament, which he read from house to house, and retained till March 1528, when he sold it to Richard Fox.

V. There is, however, one paragraph worth quoting from this last confessor. "Furthermore, he confesseth, that the said Sir Richard Fox, this respondent, and sometime John Tybal, Friar Gardlyner, and Friar *Topley*, used to resort sometime to *Bower Hall*, &c.; and there, sometimes Sir Richard, sometimes this respondent, and sometimes John Smith, would read chapters of Scripture, and in the New Testament, in English, in presence of them and their household." From this acknowledgement, there can be no question that the "new learning" had so far been welcomed by the *Bendish* family. *Bower Hall*, the manor-house of the estate of Bumstead, known to this day by the same name, was possessed for centuries by the family of Bendish, which only became extinct in 1717, by the death of Sir Henry Bendish, Bart.¹⁴ For any one to have the New Testament read below his roof, and especially to his family assembled, was then a great offence against the Church so called! Had, therefore, the inmates of *Bower Hall* been poor or insignificant persons, we should, beyond all doubt, have had their confessions also; but in the spirit of persecution, there is always inherent the most glaring and odious partiality.

VI. *Thomas Topley*, an Augustine friar of Stoke-clare, already named, must not be passed over, though no New Testament was detected. "Moreover," said he, "it fortuned about half a year ago, that the said Sir Richard Fox went forth, and desired me to serve his cure for him; and as I was in his chamber, I found a certain book, called 'Wickliff's Wicket,' whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterwards also, when I remembered, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless, I consented not to it, till I heard him preach, and that was upon St. Anthony's day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said book, (which did make the sacrament of Christ's body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christ's passion), till I heard Sir *Miles Coverdale* preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawn from the blessed sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ's body. Furthermore, he said and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with Sir Miles Coverdale, late friar of the same order, going in the habit of a *secular* priest, who had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent, (29th March 1528), at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus' works, and also upon confession. This, Sir Miles said, and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins, betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a priest, which opinion, this respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also, he saith, that at the said sermon by the said Sir Miles Coverdale, at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of images in the church, saying, that men in no wise should honour or worship them, which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it."

VII. *Miles Coverdale*, here mentioned, is the name of a man so very conspicuous afterwards, that any authentic notice of him becomes important, and

that time he had escaped. so that Tybal is most correct. On the margin of this manuscript there is a date—15th October.

¹⁴ A descendant of the proprietor at that time, perhaps his grandson, was among the earliest Barons, created in 1611. His son, who was ambassador to the Porte for many years, was interred at Bumstead, in 1674.

the more so, from his early history being not as yet understood. This, too, is the next historical hint respecting him, since we first met with him in the train of Robert Barnes, just before *his* sad and pernicious step, in *abjuring* publicly at St. Paul's. These men now before Tunstal, it is to be feared, had been too much influenced by his example; at least, he had led the way in the downward path of dissimulation and mental reserve, and what wonder if his former inmate, Miles Coverdale, should have been induced only too far to follow the Prior of his Monastery, though he did not abjure? But why, at all events, is he not even called before Tunstal to be examined, after such a distinct exposure as that we have read? There must have been some powerful preventive; more especially, as there can be no question now, that both he and Barnes were interested in the dispersion of *Tyndale's New Testaments*; that both had been benefited *by* them, and strongly recommended their diffusion. But Coverdale must tell his own tale, he must speak for himself, and not another respecting him. An original manuscript comes to our aid, and gives us the earliest indication of that course, which, to the injury of his own mind, he had begun to pursue. He was at least safe from any public exposure. The following letter is addressed to the "Right worshipful Thomas Crumwell," thus early and high in the confidence of Cardinal Wolsey, then absent in France, while Crumwell was so busy in the suppression of monasteries, with a view to the building of Cardinal College at Oxford.

"Right honourable master, in my most lowly manner, I commend me unto you, evermore desiring to hear of the preservation of your prosperity. So it is, I was required by Mr. George Lawson, to deliver this writing to your master-ship mine own self; notwithstanding, such an impediment hath chanced, that I must desire favour on your behalf for my excusation. For Master Moor's kinsman is not all well at ease, for he labours, it is certainly thought, under fever, the fever being of that species, that in regard to food, he foolishly turns away from it like a lunatic, but now it is discovered that he is almost rid of it. Wherefore, I beseech you to have me excused, and if I knew that my coming to London might stand with your favour, truly the bird was never gladder of day, than I would be to come. But briefly, I am ready at your commandment, for it remains with you to command, *as you will*, the abilities of your Miles.

"As for the rest, there is nothing divulged with us that is new, except the rumour among *our* order, that one of our masters is accused of homicide, another is dilated for heresy, and a third is reported of a base crime, namely Master Stocks, junior; of which affair I will certify you afterwards, on its being made manifest." Having nothing more to say, he concludes,—"*Ex Cantabrigia, 27 die mensis Augusti, anno dni. 27, supra sesqui milesimum. (27th Aug. 1527.) Tuus quantus quantus, Milo Coverdalu.*"¹⁵

After this letter, there can be no question that Coverdale was already serving Crumwell in his vocation. Under Wolsey, the latter now held the Stewardship of the lands of the monasteries then dissolving, and Lawson was a man after-

¹⁵ Crumwell's Corresp. MS., copied from the State Paper Office. The name of Sir T. More was then very frequently spelt *Moor*, and from a subsequent letter, there is little or no doubt that he is here referred to; hence the respect which Crumwell would pay to the "excusation." Stokes, junior, must have been the son of John Stokes, Provincial of the Augustine Friars. Wood's Fasti, by Bliss, p. 35. Though Coverdale had been wearing the dress of a *secular* priest, at Bumstead, if he did not resume his dress as a *friar*, he was now and afterwards writing his letters *as one*, in alternate sentences of *Latin* and *English*. It was Wolsey's rule in 1519 for the canons of St. Augustine,—"*That the brethren shall usually converse in Latin or French:*" and three or four years after this, we shall find Coverdale, in writing to Crumwell, subscribe himself *Friar* from St. Augustines in London.

wards employed by Crumwell, when he came into far greater power.¹⁶ As for Coverdale, he had entered on that course of subserviency to Crumwell, which ended only with the death of the latter; and whatever he may have already said or done, we shall find him to be *quite secure from the wrath, whether of Tuustal or of Sir Thomas More.*

By the beginning of May, Tuustal had removed from the chapel in his palace, down to one near Charing Cross, in the manor of Nix, the Bishop of Norwich, of whose temper and spirit we have had such ample evidence. On the 11th, he was still sitting in judgment on the poor people from Essex; but the spirit of persecution was now gathering strength, and, on the 14th, Sir Thomas More comes in view. On that day, he and Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, as members of the Privy Council, sent for Humfrie Munmouth, as he subscribes his name. He was far too important a character to be passed over; and his being so, is a proof that there had not been, till this year, any severe search after supposed offenders. Not satisfied, they went with him to his house, and examined all his letters and books. This generous man, with whom Tyndale had lived, who corresponded with him afterwards, and aided him all the time he remained in Hamburgh, was now committed to the Tower, "on suspicion of heresy, for some books found in his house." Five days after this, on Tuesday the 19th of May, he addressed a petition to the King's Council. It is entitled—"Unto the most honourable Lord Legate and Chancellor of England, and to the honourable Council unto your Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII., the 19th of May, and in the 20th year of his reign; beseeching your Grace, and all my Lords and Masters, to have pity on me, poor prisoner in the Tower of London, at your pleasure." In this petition, he confesses, among other books—

VIII. "Also I delivered (to the father confessor of Zion) a book of the New Testament, the which book my Lord of London had. Also I had a little treatise that the priest, Tyndale, sent me, when he sent for his money," *i. e.* from Hamburgh in the close of 1524. "And all those books, save the books of the New Testament, lay openly in my house, for the space of *two* years, or *more*, that every man might read on them that would at their pleasure."

Munmouth's testimony brings us to the same period with that of Pykas; but as for the Testament, no doubt, Tyndale

¹⁶ MS. Calig. B. iii. fo. 150, dated 1533. See also Gov. State Papers. iv. p. 636 640.

would take care that, if possible, his generous patron should have one, at least, as soon as Garret was carrying them *from* London to Oxford, in January 1526. It may here be added, that in earlier life Munmouth had visited Rome itself, which may have had a similar effect on him as it had on some others. When the times improved, he was an Alderman of London, and served as Sheriff there in 1535. His will is dated 16th November 1537, by which he leaves a silver cup, and gilt, equal in value to £120 sterling, to Crumwell, that he might be kind to three preachers there mentioned, among whom was Dr. Barnes. Soon after this, Munmouth died, having commended his soul unto Christ Jesus, “my Maker and Redeemer, in whom, and by the merits of whose blessed passion, is all my whole trust of clean remission and forgiveness of my sins.”

But of all the confessions now made, the following is not the least important. It includes the disclosures of a man who had been very active before this, and, notwithstanding, as much so as he could, even afterwards. This was *Robert Necton*. By him we learn that Mr. Fyshe, whose tract, “the Supplication of Beggars,” had created such commotion in February 1526, had actually returned to London, and was living *there*, long before that year had expired. We now find also Mr. Richard Harman, an English merchant at Antwerp, had acted in concert with Fyshe, and had contrived modes of secretly conveying the Sacred Volume into England. The account which Necton gives of his first engaging in the business of sale and circulation, is no less curious, from its being at the instigation of such a man as George Constantyne, who, though originally bred a surgeon, by this time had entered the Church, and hence is styled *Vicar*. Of course, therefore, he had to proceed with the greatest caution. He would not go direct to Fyshe himself, but *informs* Necton, and then from *him*, he bought whatever copies he wished. Constantyne, one of the most singular characters of the day, survived the present period, at least, thirty-two years. At certain periods, doing all that in him lay, to promote the circulation of the Word of God; at another, betraying the whole cause; he is here introduced incidentally, for the first time, but he will come before us again and again, when some notice must be taken of his singular and varied life.

The reader now only requires to be reminded, that such a

man as this Robert Necton, is not to be regarded as poor and dependent, perambulating the country to obtain his bread by selling books—far from it; the occupation was too hazardous then for any mere hireling. Thus, Necton speaks of living at his *brother's* house in Norwich, and this was no other than the Sheriff of the city, as will appear in 1531. His confession was as follows:—

IX. “ He bought, at sundry times, of Mr. Fyshe, dwelling by the White friars, in London,¹⁷ many of the New Testaments in English; that is to say, now five, and now ten; and sometimes more, and sometimes less, to the number of twenty or thirty in the *great* volume. The which New Testaments, the said Mr. Fyshe had of one *Harmand*, (Harman,) an Englishman, being beyond sea; but how many he had, this respondent cannot tell.

“ And this respondent saith, that about a year and a half ago (1526) he fell in acquaintance with Vicar Constantyne, here in London; which shewed this respondent *first*, that the said Mr. Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; and caused this respondent to buy some of the said N. Ts. of Mr. Fyshe. And the said Mr. Fyshe, at the desire and instance of Vicar Constantyne, brought the said N. Ts. home to this respondent's house. And before that V. Constantyne caused this respondent to buy some of the said N. Ts., he had none, nor no other books, *except* the chapters of *Matther*.

“ And, moreover, this respondent saith, that, about the same time, (1526,) he sold five of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore, singing-man, in Stowmarket, in Suffolk, for seven or eight groats a-piece: also, two of the same Testaments in Bury St. Edmonds, for the same price.

“ Also, he saith, Vicar Constantyne, at divers times, had of this respondent about fifteen or sixteen of the New Testaments, of the *biggest*: and this respondent saith, that the said Vicar Constantyne, divers times, bought of him certain of the said New Testaments, and this respondent likewise *of him*. Also he sold Sir Richard Bayfield two New Testaments, unbound, about Christmas last, (1527,) for the which he paid three shillings, four pence.¹⁸ Furthermore, he saith, that he hath sold five or six of the said New Testaments to divers persons of the city of London, whose names, or dwelling-places, he doth not remember.

“ Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bought of Jeffrey (Lome,) Usher of St. Anthony's,¹⁹ with whom he hath been acquainted by the space of a year or thereabout, (by reason he was Mr. Forman, the Parson of Honey Lane, his servant, and for that this respondent did much resort to the said parson's sermons,)²⁰ *eighteen* New Testaments in English, of the *small* volume; and of which New Testaments, since Easter, this respondent carried fifteen of them to Lynn, to sell; which he would have sold to a young man there—but

¹⁷ On the south side of Fleet Street, between the Temple and Salisbury Court. The Library, and other parts of this priory, were granted to Sir Richard Morysine by Henry VIII., in 1540.

¹⁸ The fourth part of a mark, or equal to £2, 10s. sterling of the present day.

¹⁹ St. Anthony's School, on the north side of Threadneedle Street, where afterwards stood the French Church.

²⁰ Robert Forman, S.T.P., the Rector of All Hallows Church, where Thomas Garret had been Carate. During this visitation, on the 19th of March, Forman had been interdicted, before Tunstal, from *preaching publicly before the people*, and was therefore still under inhibition. As to Garret, see anno 1526.

he would not meddle with them, because they were prohibited ; and so this respondent left the said books at Lynn, till his returning thither again.

“ To the 19th article against him, beginning—‘ that he went about to buy a great number of New Testaments,’ he saith, that about Christmas last, there came a Dutchman, *being now in the Fleet prison*, which would have sold this respondent two or three hundred of the said N. Testaments in English, which this respondent did not buy, but sent him to Mr. Fyshe to buy them ; and said to the Dutchman, ‘ look, what Mr. Fyshe doth, I will do the same.’ But whether Mr. Fyshe bought any of them, he cannot tell : for the which three hundred he should have paid £16—5 shillings ; after, *ixd. a-piece.*²¹

“ To the 20th article he saith, that since Easter last, (12th April 1528,) he was at Norwich, at his brother’s house, where one had complained of this respondent to (Nix) my Lord of Norwich, because he had a New Testament. Wherefore his brother counselled this respondent to send or deliver his said N. T., and said to him, if he would not deliver it, my Lord of Norwich would send him to my Lord of London. And so afterwards he sent it to London by the carrier.

“ To the 21st article—‘ that contrary to the prohibition (October 1526) he hath kept the N. Testament’—he confesseth, that after he had knowledge of the condemnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a year or more, (*i. e.* in fact, nearly a year and a half, or from 23d Oct. 1526, to the 12th April 1528, as already confessed,) he hath had in his custody, *kept and studied the same Testament, and has read it thoroughly many times.* And also has read it *as well within the city and diocese of London, as within the city and diocese of Norrich, and not only read it himself, but read and taught it to divers others.*—Per me, *Robert Necton.*”

There is no account left as to the time of Necton’s death ; but after being now released, he continued to go on, much as he had done, for two or three years, when he was again apprehended. His exposure of Constantyne rendering it unsafe for *him* to remain in London, he escaped to Brabant, where he occasionally practised his first acquired profession, that of a surgeon, but passed and repassed the sea, importing books, till 1530, when he was caught. During this period, as Necton had supplied him with books, so now *he* had supplied Necton, and that with *many*. But Constantyne, once cruelly used and in fear of his life, not only exposed his old acquaintance, but different other individuals ! “ It is well known,” says Sir Thomas More, “ that Necton had himself, and a man of his also, sold *many* such books of heresy ;” and, again, “ Richard Necton was, by Constantyne’s detection, taken and committed to Newgate, where, except he happen to die before in prison, he standeth in great peril to be *burned* ere it be long, for his falling again to Tyndale’s heresy.”²² This was printed of him in 1532, but we never read of his coming to this painful yet glorious death.

X. Jeffrey Lome, the usher of St. Anthony’s School, was referred to in 1526, as having sold Testaments to Bradford, even though both Garret and Barnes were in prison, and he has just been alluded to by Necton. As an usher at such a school,—for it was then eminent,—he had been employing himself in the cause, and it is evident that Forman, Garret, and he, were zealously

²¹ Fyshe must have gone abroad again, as soon as this visitation began in earnest. The Dutchmen, as they then designated all the natives of Brabant, were evidently striving to undersell each other—a good proof of a ready sale and growing demand ; but there must be some mistake in the sums here specified. Three hundred for £16. 5s. being at the rate of *thirteen* pence. If they were *nine* pence each, there must have been 450 copies. But, at all events, these, and many other hundreds, were got into England. ²² More’s Confutation, 1532, Preface.

united in its promotion. When called up, therefore, he was not only charged with having and dispersing certain books of Luther, but with translating certain chapters of his book "de bonis Operibus,"—for holding, that Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints, &c. Though now confessed, he did not afterwards desist from circulating Testaments. St. Anthony's Free School, on the north side of Threadneedle Street, "kept equal credit," says Stowe, with that of St. Paul's, both which had the greatest reputation in former times. It was here that Sir Thomas More had received the rudiments of his education.

It is presumed that each of these cases may be considered as, in itself, interesting; but that one object, for which they have all been introduced, is now sufficiently established. For, if we now pause for a few moments, and take in the whole of the evidence laid before the reader, in regard to a period so important, and respecting which not only the greatest uncertainty, but confusion has hitherto prevailed—what, and how much has been established?

That in January 1526, Thomas Garret, at least, received from abroad copies of the New Testament, printed in the English language—that he immediately had given them out in London, sent them down to Cambridge, and carried them himself to Oxford, in that very month—that notwithstanding the grand burning of books at St. Paul's, on the 11th of February 1526, and the anathemas of Fisher on that day, nay, and the burning at Oxford soon after, when the Testament, amongst other books, was involved in the flames, still the work went on—that even Fyshe himself was soon after in London, and remained in it, receiving from abroad, and dispersing the precious volumes for a considerable time. Then come up these men from Essex, and, along with Munnouth, all agree in their testimony. Put upon their oath, not one among them could have any motive to falsify in regard to the length of the time in which these Testaments had been in their possession. On the contrary, could such an idea have occurred to any one of them, the temptation must have been to *shorten*, not extend the period; for the longer it was, so much the more guilty must they have appeared in the eye of their judges. But in receiving their united testimony, how far does it carry us? That as early as February, and downwards to October 1526, Tyndale's Testaments, both *quarto* and *octavo*, as well as the first separate edition of Matthew and Mark, were upon English ground, and reading with eagerness, not only in the metropolis,

but the surrounding counties,—that, notwithstanding the fulminations from London and Canterbury, and “the secret search, at one time,” the precious books were retained and read in secret still. Nay, we have seen one man, Necton, immediately afterwards commence his cautious operations—mentioning very distinctly, first, the quarto of Tyndale, or the *large* volume, then the octavo edition, and finally another edition, printed at Antwerp, as already described. Doubtless there had been other men before him so employed, as there were others afterwards, including himself again.

But the purposes of Infinite Wisdom in thus trying the faithful, and purifying his cause, were, for the present at least, accomplished. Tunstal, it may have been observed, had shifted his seat, from his own palace, near the old bridge of London, down to Charing Cross, and, for ought we know, this might be from *fear*; but such cool and deliberate cruelty must not continue either in London or Westminster, and so the persecution seems to have been cut short by a Sovereign hand, or the immediate visitation of God.²³

That fearful disease, styled by foreigners, the *Sudor Anglicus* on account of the violence with which it seized this nation, or, as the English themselves called it, the “swearing sickness,” broke out in the end of May. The patient expired in a few hours, and often in two or three. By the 7th of June, above two thousand had died in London, and by the 30th, forty thousand had been affected, of whom died at least two thousand more. Early in June, the King himself became alarmed; the disease entered the Royal household, and proved fatal in at least three cases; and before the month ended, it had entered Wolsey’s establishment. Henry kept himself shut up, had his household reduced to the smallest number permitted by the statutes of Eltham, and his fear increased.²⁴

²³ But why suppose this, except the evidence be strong? May it not be said that Tunstal had to be otherwise engaged? Was he not directed by Wolsey to attend the King on political business, relating to the truce with Flanders and France? MS. Cotton, Galba, B. vii., p. 373. He was, but this was on the 18th of June. The disease had made him desist, a month before this; and it deserves notice, that though his Vicar-General, Wharton, pursued the same course in June, yet then, he *went down into Essex*, and most probably to escape the malady which so raged in London.

²⁴ “The King’s Majesty is much troubled with this disease—for this night there is fallen sick My Lord and Lady Marquis (of Dorset.) Sir T. Cheney, Mr. (Sir Henry) Norris, Mr. (Sir John) Wallop, be recovered; but Mr. (Sir Francis) Poyntz, (recent ambassador to Spain) is departed. This day the King removeth to Bps. Hatfield, and hath very few with him—as few as he may;” alluding to the Statutes, the number being 15.—MS. Chapter-house, Westminster, vol. x., no. 25.

In July, on the 5th, still more apprehensive, he directs Wolsey "to cause general processions to be made, universally through the realm, as well for good weather to the increase of corn and fruit, as also *for the plague that now reigneth.*"²⁵ By the 9th, he had made his will, advises Wolsey to follow his example, and desires to hear from him every second day. "He confessed himself every day," say Le Grand and Burnet; "the Queen did the same, and so did Wolsey."

This was the fourth visitation of that singular disease, of which the English only died; and which has been described so accurately by Armstrong, both in its operation and its effects—

" O'er the mournful land
The infected city pour'd her hurrying swarms—
Others, with hopes more specious, cross'd the main,
To seek protection in far distant skies;
But none they found. It seem'd the general air
From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,
Was then at enmity with English blood;
For, *but* the race of England, all were safe
In foreign climes; nor did this fury taste
The *foreign* blood that England then contain'd."²⁶

During the prevalence of this malady, however, it does not appear that the Cardinal was so much afraid of it, as of forfeiting the entire confidence of his Master. He had appointed an Abbess to the Abbey of Wilton, which had ruffled Henry's temper; for ever since the disclosures of Clarendieux as to Spanish affairs, he was more suspicious and apt to take offence. But Wolsey once more mollified him; by August the disease had passed away, and all went on as before. The King was hunting in September, and inviting Wolsey to take part with him in the sport. All was bustle and preparation for the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio, and Henry wished to have the use of Hampton Court for three or four days to receive him there.²⁷ But we now return to more important affairs.

Though the cruel proceedings of Tunstal and his coadjutors, seem to have been cut short by frightful disease; in the course of the examinations held, the persecutors had obtained

²⁵ MS. Chapter house, Westminster, vol. x., no. 25.

²⁶ This disease, first known in the army of Henry VII. in 1563, revisited England five times, and always in summer; in 1485, in 1506, and in 1517, when a number of the higher ranks died. This was the fourth time, and the last was in 1551, when, in Westminster, it carried off 120 in a day. The poet is very nearly correct; for it never entered Scotland, but was confined to the English and the Anglo-Hibernian colonists, in all the instances. It prevailed, however, once, when England was free, and this was in the year after the present time; for in 1529 it broke out in Hamburg and Antwerp, and spreading through the Netherlands and Germany, proved very fatal.

²⁷ MS. Chapter-house, Westminster, vol. v., no. 24. Campeggio arrived at Dover 29th September.

several pieces of information, far too important in their eyes, to be either forgotten or neglected. Tyndale and Roye, (erroneously supposed to be *still* with him,) were now conspicuously before them. One gentleman in particular, Mr. Harman, had been mentioned as actively engaged in importing English Testaments, and neither George Constantyne nor Mr. Fyshe could pass unnoticed. Meanwhile, since Tyndale's writings had obtained such circulation in our country, it seemed necessary that an attempt should be made to *answer* them; and so by way of adding greater horror to the heresies said to be contained in them, as we have already seen, it was during the very period when Tunstal was busy with his cross-examinations, that, with all due solemnity, he had issued his official *license* to Sir Thomas More, that he might retain and read those troublesome publications, and, with all his skill in sophistry, write them down.

As for Cardinal Wolsey, after these examinations in London, he was bent on seizing the *Men* abroad, and *three* persons in particular, though other *two* were also specified. In June, therefore, he had written to Hackett, requesting that the Lady Margaret would sanction the delivery of these *three*, with a view to their being immediately sent into England. But on the 28th of that month, the envoy informed him, that after many arguments "debated pro et contra, they to me and I to them," the Privy Council had concluded, that even the *Emperor* himself might not send any heretic out of his dominions as a prisoner, except his first examination was held abroad, where he was; and even after that, the transmission of the party must be by the advice of the Inquisitors of the Faith there. They had, however, resolved that all the foresaid *three* heretics, when they could be found, should be taken prisoners, they and their books with them; but the Council requested one or two learned men to be sent abroad to confront them. If they should be "confounded or found guilty," they would either be sent over to Wolsey, or punished there, according to their deeds.²³

The names of these obnoxious men were not, as yet, mentioned by Hackett, but, as the reader proceeds, he will have no doubt that *Tyndale*, *Roye*, and *Harman*, were the *three*

²³ Galba. B. ix., fol. 126.

parties. George Constantyne and Mr. Fyshe may appear to have been the other two, if *Serome Barlow*, soon to be noticed, was not the fifth individual. Fourteen days they busily searched, but Mr. Harman alone could be found, when Hackett once more addresses Wolsey on the 14th of July.

“Unto your Grace I sent my last letters, the 23th of June, in post, with a servant of mine—and since that time my Lady has caused great diligence to be made for the apprehension of the *three* persons, named unto me, by your Grace’s last writing; and after long attendance, considering that the *twain* of the said three might not be found; the 12th day of this month, I caused Richard Harman to be taken prisoner at Antwerp, and the Margrave has caused his *wife* to be taken with him, as greatly suspected of such like faction as her husband is—and all their goods have been *inventorised* in the Emperor’s hands.”

This man, Hackett, was a most convenient tool in the hands of Wolsey. Having no principle, and acting fully on the maxim that no faith was to be kept with heretics, he now had the baseness to add, in this same letter—

“I would, if it might be, that your Grace had this Richard Harman there in England; for, as I hear, he is a *Roché* of great mischief.²⁹ And to get him out of these countries, I know no better means at this time, than, if the King’s Highness have any action of *treason* at him, that his Highness, or your Grace, write a good letter to my Lady, that she should send you the foresaid Harman, as *traitor* to the King—leaving the heresy *beside*, to the correction of these countries, if your Grace think so good; and in this manner we may have *two strings to our bow*: for I doubt greatly, after the statutes of these countries, that, revoking his heresies, for the first time he will escape, with a slender punishment; but for *treason* to the King, they cannot pardon him in these parts, after the statutes of our Intercourse, dated the year 1505.³⁰ I certify your Grace, that it were a *good deed*, and *very convenient*, to chastise these Lutherans, that be accused of heresy, that they were as well comprehended in the ‘Intercourse’ as traitors be: for as soon as they be past the seas, they know no more *God*, neither *King!*”³¹

Hackett, however, is now somewhat afraid. He had found considerable difficulty, when dealing with Christopher Endhoven, the German printer, in the end of 1526; but now that an English merchant and a gentleman has been seized, should the “Lords of Antwerp” still remain firm to their purpose, as then expressed; in the end, at least, our officious ambassador may find his interference to be followed by greater trouble and disgrace. Antwerp was still the *staple*, and, for commerce

²⁹ An unmanageable fellow? *Royet*, wild, irregular, unmanageable.—*Jamieson*.

³⁰ Hackett here alludes to the treaty of Henry VII., 1505, which the Flemings used to call *intercursum malus*. “In this treaty, there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by the other; purporting, that if any such rebel should be required by the prince whose rebel he was of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which if he did not, within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and be put out of protection.”—*Bacon’s Henry VII.*

³¹ Galba, B. ix., fol. 121.

sake, their English merchants must, if possible, be protected; but to England for protection it was in vain to look. She was not then, what she has often been since,—and thanks to the Sacred Volume alone!—"the refuge of the oppressed;" so that the Emperor himself must be applied to. He was, accordingly, and by two petitions, in the *Flemish* language, on behalf of the *English* prisoners. Both are now in the British Museum, dated July 1528, and the substance of them may be thus summed up—

"Richard Harman being in prison, for having sold *New Testaments to English merchants*, having been sent to him out of Germany, as also being accused for lodging in his house certain Lutherans, (as all Bible men were then nicknamed,) and for eating flesh on Sunday, does plead for himself, petitioning the Emperor: He desires that *he and his wife* might be let out upon sufficient bail, to recover his debts upon the breaking up of the fair; lest losing that which is due to him, he should not be able to give satisfaction to his creditors."³²

Wolsey, however, was not slow to act upon the vile suggestion of his correspondent, and, accordingly, in the month of August, Hackett had actually obtained letters from Henry the Eighth, to seize Mr. Harman as a traitor; but the reigning Princess wished to be informed what were the particular acts of treason. Great interest was then made for Harman, who had, for many years, been a burgher of Antwerp. Hackett implores Commissioners to be sent from England; and, little knowing the secret politics of our Cardinal at the moment, which had destroyed his influence in the Imperial Cabinet, he is eager that the Emperor should be requested to write to Lady Margaret; otherwise, he fears that "the great purse of Antwerp" would prove the deliverance of Harman, his victim.³³ And, by the 10th of September, he is obliged to confess, that "notwithstanding the King's patent letters, the Lady Margaret and her Council would not deliver up the heretics."³⁴

Our poor ambassador was now, certainly, in no very enviable plight. A pause of more than four months took place in his correspondence. Month after month passed away, and no fresh instructions nor assistance arrived, for both Wolsey and his Master were completely engrossed in a very different subject—the royal divorce. At last, in despair, Hackett having

³² Galba, B. ix., fol. 131. ³³ Idem, fol. 177; dated Mechlin, 29th Aug. 1528. ³⁴ Idem, fol. 180.

written to the King himself, on the 17th of November, we have then one curiously earnest and complaining epistle, addressed to Friar West of Greenwich, of whom we shall hear more presently, dated from Mechlin on the last day of the year, or 31st December 1528.

“ My ghostly father, Friar West, I heartily recommend me unto you, having received your last letter, written at Greenwich, the 21st day of November; by the which I perceive, by other great businesses of importance, that my Lord Grace, (the King), had no leisure to make answer to any letters of mine, nor attend to *your* verbal declaration touching Richard Harman’s business. But yet, if it had pleased his Grace to command Master Tuke, or some other to write me some little word of his mind, it should be comfortable to me, and the better I might answer in our cause.”

He is now much afraid that Mr. Harman and his lady will escape. From time to time he had prolonged the continuance of their imprisonment, and the last term ordained by the law of Antwerp, had expired on the fourth of December, so that he felt himself now personally concerned.

“ Of a certainty I may certify to you, that it were too prolix a thing, to write the great solicitations, diligences, and labours, that the Lords of Antwerp, with the said Harman and his friends, do, and have done, day by day, to clear him of our said action of *treason*, if they might.

“ But, considering that I esteem this matter of more importance, than methinks we set by it there at home; marking, that, in four months and more, I have had *no* manner of answer to any letters that I have written thitherward, touching this business and others. For the best resolution and surest way, with some little labour, but not without *great difficulty*, I have obtained from my Lady and her Council, a new term of *sorcyans* of justice, to bring our proofs forward out of England, by writing or by other probations; which term finishes and expires the last Friday of February next coming; by the which time, I trust in God, by your solicitation, that the King’s Highness and my Lord Legate’s Grace shall send me some good information and instruction, how I may best proceed in this business; for I assure you, that this is such a matter that *sees* farther than it *seems*.”

After mentioning his strong suspicion that Mr. Harman’s “ *purse may largely suffer penance*, but as touching his *person*, he doubts he will be favoured.” He proceeds,—“ I am informed that Richard Harman says, that his imprisonment has cost him above *two thousand guilders*, and that he trusts to recover his damages, and slander upon them that have kept him long wrongfully in prison; and that we have nothing to lay to his charge but suspicious and naked words; but as for this article, *if* I may have my Lord’s advice and good information, I trust he shall miss his meaning and intention—(but) without we have good information out of England, it shall be hard to bring him to penance: for he denies all his acts of heresies, and we find *not* here sufficient proofs, to prove his (*delictes*) offences, and because also, as you know well enough, the most part of Antwerp be as good Christian men as they be in Almany (Germany); wherefore he has not the less favour.”

On the 2d of January, he addresses Mr. Brian Tuke as Treasurer of the King's Chambers, and one of his Council, informing him of his having written, by duplicate, letters to *West*; but complains, whether "I write *east* or *West*, I can have no manner of answer—yet for the reputation of the *King's patent letters*, we ought to take the better regard." On the 20th he writes again, imploring that Friar West may be sent to his aid, but all in vain.³⁵ The fact was, that at such a time, neither Henry nor the Cardinal could expect to have the smallest influence with the Emperor or the Princess Margaret. No proofs or probations, therefore, having arrived, the term finally granted to Hackett, expired on the 26th of February, and consequently Mr. Harman and his wife, after an imprisonment of above seven months, were released!

This interference, however, on the part of our English Envoy, was one which "the Lords of Antwerp" could by no means brook. The *twain* of the three men named to him, he could not find, but he was to have perplexity all-sufficient, in consequence of touching with only *one* of the three; and though we trespass a little on the year 1529, we must not here lose sight of Mr. Harman and his lady. Hackett must now abide the consequences, and Harman waited his proper time for redress. Though the ambassador was resident at Mechlin, it was not long before an opportunity presented itself; and the story is far too good to withhold, since it comes from Hackett's own pen, addressed to Wolsey from Brussels, 13th April 1529.

"— I being at Antwerp the 7th day of this month, after that I executed mine exploit upon William Cley the rebel;³⁶—Richard Harman caused me to be *arrested*, for all the costs and charges that he suffered in prison, at my instance and solicitation as the King's ambassador; considering that for lack of our particular declarations of his (delictts) offences, the law of Antwerp here aforetime declared him, by their sentence, absolute free and frank, of all such actions as the Margrave and the Scout of Antwerp, as officers of the Prince, by my information, laid unto his charge.

"The 8th day, in the morning, to answer to my cause I appeared afore the Lords of the said town; shewing unto them that at the request of the rebel Richard Harman there, being present, that I was arrested by their officer, named the Amant,³⁷—declaring unto them that if the said Harman, or any

³⁵ This friar had been over and with him in September, though in vain pursuit, as will appear presently, but he could not be sent a second time.

³⁶ Accordingly we have in this same volume "A recognisance, in French, taken before a Notary by which William Cley, a merchant, engages to appear in *England*;" dated Antwerp, 7th April 1529. Galba, B. ix., fo. 168. For what alleged crime, is not stated.

³⁷ This fine city, which was only humbled by the rising of Amsterdam, long governed by its own laws, had a Senate of its own. This consisted of a Prætor, the Amant, Consuls, and Scna-

other in this country, could lay any thing to my charge, as John Hackett, that I presented myself there, ready to answer for myself. But if the said Harman has caused me to be arrested *as Ambassador* to my Sovereign Lord the King, that I would not answer to their laws, nor to any particular Town's justice; and that I knew in this country no Judge upon me as Ambassador, but that I submit myself to my Lady and the Emperor's Privy Council.

"The said Harman's Procurator answered, that I was arrested *as Ambassador*, and *causer* of the said Harman's imprisonment, and of his destruction and defamation; which Harman was purged clear, free, and frank, by the Justice of Antwerp,—desiring the said Justice that I might be condemned to pay all the said Harman's costs and damages, according to the law and privilege of the said Town. Whereto I replied, that I was not bound to answer to their laws, and desired sentence upon my declaration.

"The Lords having regard, after long consultation, declared me free and quit of the said arrest, *with condition* that I, or my Procurator, should appear again, when the said Lords, by their letter, would advertise me, and in *this manner* I departed from Antwerp.

"At my coming here in Court I advertised my Lady and her Council how I was *intretted*; of the which intrettement the said Lady and Council shewed themselves highly displeased, and immediately caused to write letters in post to the Amant and Lords of Antwerp, to appear afore her Council personally here at Brussels, to answer to that she would lay to their charge.

"The 12th day of this month (yesterday) the Amant and Lords of Antwerp appeared in this Town afore the Emperor's Privy Council, when they were highly reviled and rebuked for the exploit that they did upon me,—and that the Amant should ask my pardon and forgiveness of his misuse that he has done; and to him I answered that the said fault was not done to my *person*, but that it was done to the King my Sovereign his authority; and that forasmuch as touched me, and that the King my Master be pleased, that I forgive it him cordially. As touching this matter your Grace may perceive that my Lady and her Council have done their (devoyer) duty."

Hackett had certainly not added to his popularity by his first attempt upon Endhoven the Antwerp printer; but his imprisonment of Mr. Harman was followed by lasting consequences to himself. He had stood out, on his privilege as being "Ambassador," but in *this* character, his leaving Antwerp only under a *condition* was sufficiently humiliating, if it did not also betray some degree of cowardice. He might now crow, in writing to the Cardinal next day, but the transaction had cost him, at least, a change of residence. His letter, it will be observed is dated from Brussels. It was the first he ever wrote from thence, and there he must remain. Before this, his letters were uniformly dated from Mechlin, Antwerp,

tors. The power of the two former was perpetual, or for life; that of the latter was annual. The Senate, which was chosen from the men of rank or patricians, the Lawyers and Merchants, was renewed or prorogued annually in the month of May.—*Notitia Marchionatus, &c.*, of *Jacobo le Roy*, 1678."

or Barrow ; but, with the exception of two from Meehlin, the week after this, when he came to remove, they are dated from Brussels ever after, and for five years to come : and though he lived on the Continent, the presumption is that he never again was a welcome guest in Antwerp. At all events, his meddling with the man, who had taken a benevolent interest in sending the Word of God into his native country, eventually removed this ambassador to a distance ; and if Antwerp is to have a British resident in or near it, some other than John Hackett must now be found. The overruling providence of God will, before long, be here also very manifest. Had such a man as *this* remained, when Tyndale himself came to reside in Antwerp, never had he spoken of him, as his successor will be found to have done.

As for Mr. Harman, we shall hear of him again, but it will not be till five years after this, or in 1534 ; in which year his persecutor, Hackett, died at Douay, and in debt.³⁰ But, before then, Mr. Harman, it will appear, had returned to England—was commended for his zeal—was restored to favour, as well as all his privileges connected with “ the English House ” at Antwerp, and at the express request of the Queen of England.

This gentleman had been a devoted friend of Tyndale’s object and design, as well as of Tyndale himself, in which his wife had cordially joined with him. The printers of Antwerp managed their own business, and, by various means, imported their editions into England, which, of course, had affected the sale of Tyndale’s books ; but the Testaments with which Mr. Harman was charged, were said to be *sent to him out of Germany*. Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, must therefore, to his great mortification, have very soon perceived, that he had not, as he at first supposed, purchased *all* ; and, therefore, even in *Antwerp*, where Hackett had so raged, we shall actually find Tyndale himself ; and when his finances were at the lowest ebb, selling the remainder, with great advantage, next year. Nay, selling them to Tunstal, who, in 1524, had thought that, *as* a Greek scholar, Tyndale “ could not fail ” to find some situation !

In the midst of all this turmoil at Antwerp, however, the

³⁰ Galba, B. x., 48, 54.

truth was, that Wolsey had been far from inattentive to the information received from Hackett, although he had seemed to be remiss in not answering his letters. On the contrary, as soon as he understood by his letter of the 14th of July, that "the twain of the three," or *Tyndale and Roye*, were not to be found in Antwerp, or its vicinity, the Cardinal had bethought himself, and resolved to apply elsewhere in pursuit of them. But, at *such* a time, how striking was the display of Wolsey's enmity to the Sacred Volume! How great his fear of himself, and of the hierarchy! His alarm is more worthy of notice, as this was, perhaps, his final *official* effort in this warfare. Let it only be remembered, that sickness had been raging in the land throughout June and July, nor had it entirely ceased at the moment of which we speak—that disease of which the poet said—

— " 'Twas all the business then,
To tend the sick, and in their turns to die.
In heaps they fell, and oft one bed, they say,
The sick'ning, dying, and the dead contain'd."

Besides this, Wolsey had scarcely recovered the favour of his Master, after having ruffled his temper, by one false step, already noticed; nor had they yet met.³⁹ Notwithstanding, so important was the capture of these two men, that not a day was to be lost. The New Testament, and the two pointed publications of Tyndale, were, it is true, not the only things rankling in his mind; the bitter *Satyre* of Roye and Jerome had, by this time, begun to annoy him, as it greatly did, and no expense must be spared in buying it up. Tyndale, wishing it to be known, that he had no connexion with Roye, had said, in print, that these two men (Jerome and Roye) were "Friars from Greenwich;" and who then so fit to ferret them out, as a shrewd Friar Observant, from the *same* monastery? And to whom could the Cardinal now apply on the Continent more likely to be of service, than the man whom Cochlæus had at first roused in 1525—Counsellor Herman Rineke of Cologne? Accordingly, as early as the 5th of August, Wolsey sat down in Hampton Court palace, and addressed him. In Rineke, he had a determined enemy to the "new learning," and a man, in some respects, quite to his own heart. His letter

³⁹ Page 193.

finished, a suitable agent was found in the person of Friar John West of Greenwich, already mentioned. He had been instructed to proceed by way of Antwerp, and consult with Hackett; and from him we have some farther information upon West leaving that city on the 11th of September—

“Yesterday,” says he, “at after dinner, Friar West departed hence towards Cologne, with another Friar of *his order*, named Friar Flegh, (Flegge,) an Englishman born, and with ——, a singular good true man, for their guide to Cologne, to whom I have given money to pay for their costs; and I shall furnish the said Friar according to your Grace’s desire, of all such money as he shall require me to furnish by his commission; for whom I have already paid upon a three pounds,⁴⁰ and will let him lack no time, to bring his enterprise to a good perfection, as I trust he shall; for his intent is, at his coming to Cologne, to change raiment.”⁴¹

On their arrival at Cologne, Rincke was absent from home, at the autumn fair in Frankfort; but the letter was immediately conveyed to him by a *swift* messenger; and, by the 4th of October, we have his reply, sent by the same Friar. It is in Latin; and though defective in several words, enough remains to render it an interesting and important document. A literal translation of the greater part, must not be withheld from the reader—

“The letters of your Grace to me, given by Master John West, Priest of the Observant Order of St. Francis, written the fifth of August, at Hampton Court, in your Grace’s palace, were sent and conveyed to me from Cologne to Frankfort in two days, by a swift messenger, the 2d (22d) of September; with regard to buying up, every where, books printed in the English language, and as to the apprehension of *Roye and Hutchyn*, *i. e.* Tyndale. But neither they, nor their accomplices, have been seen in the fairs at Frankfort since (paschate) the 12th of April, or even (proximus quadragesimus) the first of March; and [we cannot find out] neither [their abode] whether they remain, or whether they be dead, nor has John (Schoot) Scott of Argentine (*i. e.* Strasburg) said that he knew them, or their printers. But their books are full of heresy, and against the magnificence and honour of your Grace, [which they treat with contempt] and with reproach. They are —— and very wicked, and opposed to Christian charity, [as well as to] his Highness, my most gracious Lord, my generous and illustrious Prince; they render [themselves odious] to all the worshippers of Christ.”

He then states that he had been at Frankfort “with ready money, labouring himself personally to the utmost—but John Scott, the printer, besides a *pledge* to be given to the

⁴⁰ Equal to £45.

⁴¹ Cotton MS., Galba, B. ix. fol. 136, “from Mechlin, 12th of Sep. 1528.” though in the Catalogue 1529 by mistake.

Jews, demanded also the reward of his own labour, and the expense of the paper; and said that he would sell them to him who would *offer him most money.*"

"When, therefore," continues Rincke, "your Grace sent me your letters and commands from England, straightway I spared neither my person, money, nor diligence, as in duty bound; but having made use of the licenses *formerly* received from his Imperial Majesty to awe, by *gifts and presents* I attached to me the Frankfort Consuls, as well as some Senators and Judges; so that I gathered together and packed up all the books from every quarter, and in three or four places. Thus I hope that as many of such books as were printed, are held by me, except two, which your Grace's Commissary, John West, wished and received from me—and for the use and advantage of his Royal Highness and your Grace, I gave him two books, as I found him both faithful and diligent for your Grace, whom he has often served, and, without doubt, will serve henceforth. But these books, (unless I had found them out and interposed,) must have been bound in parchment and concealed, and inclosed in packages, artfully covered over with flax; they would in time, without any suspicion, have been transmitted by sea, *into Scotland and England*, as to the same place; and would have been sold as merely clean paper; *but very few or none of those carried away and sold* [have been found?]

"Moreover, with the utmost diligence, I shall also take care as to the fore-said Roze and Hutchyn, and other rebels, envious against the King's Grace and yours, both as to apprehending them, and observing what places they frequent—As Mr. John West, and my son, Herman Rincke, and John Geilkyrche, my servant, will testify by mouth, and in your presence, to whom your Grace may give credit as much as to myself; for they will conceal and keep quiet the whole matter, whatsoever your Grace may commit to them—whom I specially send over into the presence of the King and your Grace, for the more convenient despatch of this very business, that I may explain and execute the matter in a way which may be acceptable to the King's grace and yours."

He then proceeds to enhance the value of his services, referring to his correspondence with Henry VIII.; but as one transaction had occurred before Wolsey's high degree, he must remind him of former days, and then apply the whole to the case in hand—

"Besides, in the year of our Lord, 1502, in the month of August, I had the pleasure to obtain from his Imperial Majesty (Maximilian) the most extensive license of his royal favour towards England, and the intercourse of merchants granted with the greatest liberality." He forgets not to add, that he had delivered his license and credentials before the whole Court at Westminster, and moreover, that he was the *bearer of ten thousand pounds*, given by Henry VII. to be conveyed to the Emperor.⁴² This prepares the way for

⁴² This was a grant of £10,000 to Maximilian, for enabling him to oppose the Turks on the side of Hungary, where, at the moment, they were pushing on their conquests. On this account, the Pontiff laboured to excite all the European princes to contribute; and certainly this was a large contribution, more especially when the avaricious character of Henry VII. towards the end of his reign, is remembered.—See *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 9. The sum was equal to £150,000 of the present day.

the following proposal—"That a license should be granted to him, with the concurrence of Charles V., of the largest extent." "In my judgment, it is fit to be continued, that as throughout the whole Roman Empire, so especially in Germany, those annoying the King of England, and the traitors against the same, ought not to be protected or endured; much less heretics, stirring up a sedition among the Christians of the whole English kingdom. On account of the force and legality of a similar license, Edmund, Duke of Suffolk, was ordered by King Philip, as was said, to be brought into England. Then also WILLIAM ROYE,⁴³ WILLIAM TYNDALE, JEROME BARLOW, ALEXANDER BARKLAY, and their adherents—also GEORGE (CONSTANS) CONSTANTYNE, and many others, ought to be taken, punished, and exposed, both for destroying the Lutheran heresy, and to confirm the Christian faith!" But again he must repeat the efforts he had already made, with the following curious enlargement—

"I lately brought the printer himself, John (Schoot) Scott, before the Consuls, Judges, and Senators of Frankfort. I put him upon oath, that he should confess whatever books he had printed in the English language, the German, French, or any other idiom. Then, upon his said oath, he confessed that he had printed only one thousand (*sex quaternionum*), and, as yet, one thousand books (*novem quaternionum*), and this by the order of *Roye* and Hutcllyn, who, wanting money, were not able to pay for the books printed—and much less could they be printed in other languages. Wherefore, *I have purchased them, almost all, and now have them in my house at Cologne.* I trust that my son will persuade your Grace, and he will desire that your Grace send me more certain instructions from his Majesty, what he wishes to be done with the books purchased, then, with all diligence, it shall be completed. And as to myself and mine, by the favour of God, possibly there may be an opportunity for his Royal Highness and your Grace to recompense us. May your Grace, therefore, prosper many happy years.—Given at Cologne the 4th of the nones, October, in the year 1528, &c. Signed *Herman Rinck, M.*"⁴⁴

After this, no one will question the anxiety or eager desire of Cardinal Wolsey to seize Tyndale, and especially this Friar Roye. How deeply he was stung by the stanzas of "*Rede me, and be not wrothe,*" is now apparent. But this strange letter, in connexion with the past, suggests several curious considerations. We are now at Frankfort great fair, and the reader may recollect of Hackett the ambassador informing Wolsey, that he heard of *New Testaments*, to the number of two thousand, having been for sale at the *spring* fair of last year; but now, when Scott is apprehended and examined, he demands *a pledge to be given to the Jews*, in security for *their* concern in such traffic, "*to Scotland and England as to the same place.*" No doubt the Jews were there last year, as well as this; and it certainly would be a very singular and memorable coincidence, if the *Jews*, for hire or

⁴³ It is very observable, that throughout this letter *Roye* takes the lead. There was reason for this. His Satyre was a *personal* offence, and it was one under the lash of which the mighty Cardinal himself now writhed.

⁴⁴ Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xxi., fol. 43.

gain, had assisted in *such* importations ! And yet, what else can be inferred, from Scott's exaction or demand ? But if so, the descendants of Abraham, to whom were committed "the Oracles of God," as recorded in the *Old Testament*, may have been unconsciously conveying to this Island, as an article of merchandise, "the living oracles," as recorded in the *New* : and doing this too at a period, when the nation, as such, was up in arms against the undertaking ! To this people, under God, we stand indebted for a Saviour, and the Bible, but we know not that it has ever been conjectured of any other nation, that the *Jews* had any concern, however remote, in giving or conveying to it the *New Testament*.⁴⁵

We are not, indeed, to suppose, that our Translator either had been at Frankfort, or that any of *his* publications are here referred to as printed at *Strasburg* ; much less that any connexion whatever now existed between him and Roye. With regard to Tyndale at this moment, or Fryth, of whom no notice is taken, happily Mr. Counsellor Rinck was altogether off the scent. Forty-five miles to the north, at Marburg, they were busily engaged, both with the pen and the press ; yet is it quite possible that some of Tyndale's productions may have passed through this Frankfort fair. Rinck, however, had certainly laid hold of the printer employed by Roye, and these as certainly were *his* publications to which reference is made. Perhaps no great dependence can be placed on the accuracy of Scott's disclosure, even upon oath ; but still there can now be little or no doubt that we have found in him the *printer* of the celebrated *Satyre* on Cardinal Wolsey, a point hitherto *unknown*. Rinck expressly states of some of the books, that they were "against the *magnificence and honour* of his Grace."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Although this singular probability cannot be more fully established—under its influence, O let this ancient people only be the more commiserated now. Woe to that nation, which, at this day, helps on their affliction, and blessed that people who compassionate them. For all such kindness there is in store an ample repayment, and why should not *Britain*, above all other nations, take the lead ?

⁴⁶ As connected with that strange production, the *Satyre*, there is one coincidence here, which must not pass unnoticed. Tyndale had affirmed that one *Jerome* was the maker of these rhymes ; and here we have a man named *Jerome Barlow* associated with Roye. Now, in the recantation of Bishop *Barlow*, he says.—"I have made certain books, and have suffered them to be imprinted ; as the treatise of the *burial of the Mass*," &c., which was another title by which the *Satyre* went,—"and in these treatises I perceive and acknowledge myself grievously to have erred, disallowing the *Mass*, with slanderous *infamy of my Lord Cardinal*," &c. In Roye's introductory address, also, the rhymes are represented as having been *sent out of England* to be printed. The Bishop's name, however, was *William*, and though he acted a strange part, it has been supposed

George Constantyne, it should seem, had soon fled from England, and most probably during Tunstall's cross-examinations in the spring, when his name was mentioned. He might not return while Wolsey lived, except it were with books; but we shall meet with him again in the hands of Sir Thomas More, a persecutor of a higher grade than the Cardinal ever was.

Most providentially, however, by the time that West and his companions arrived in England with this letter, Wolsey, so far from prospering "many happy years," as Rinck had prayed, probably never had one day of unmingled enjoyment. The confidence of his own Royal Master had begun to decline, and Rinck but little knew the game that Wolsey was playing at that moment with the Emperor; otherwise, neither he nor Hackett could have expected him to have any influence, upon any subject, with Charles. Thus the remainder of the Cardinal's wrath was restrained, and happily Rinck never obtained the license or Commission for which he panted; besides, his politics must have soon changed with the times. His son had been in England before, and now that he came a second time, he has been supposed to have remained for some time, though of this we have found no positive evidence.

As for Friar West, he entirely failed in apprehending any of the men pointed out. It must have been still more mortifying to him that, while he was wandering on the Continent, in his disguised habit, *Roye*, the very man whom Wolsey wished to have, above all others, had actually paid a visit to *England*; and to crown all, West, upon returning to his monastery, not only received no thanks for all his toil, but very soon found it a great deal too hot for him. The "new learning" had begun to spread even there! He might, as we have found, write to Hackett in November, telling him how the King and the Cardinal were engrossed, and could not answer his letters; but by the next month, he himself could not gain access even to Wolsey, and was at his wits' end.

that this recantation was prescribed to him, and that, from fear of Gardiner, he signed it. Still the coincidence is remarkable, and at all events, this Jerome Barlow must have been the man to whom Tyndale alluded. Alexander Parklay is also named; most probably the poet, the author of "the Ship of Fools," who it seems had the honour to be ranked among the heretics. John Scott of Strashurg, the nephew of Mentel in that city, was generally known on the Continent. A spirited printer, he was quite ready for any controversial or *satirical* publication. This is the same man who gave such offence to *Erasmus* by printing for Ilutten, against him. In 1524, Erasmus had written two pressing letters to the Magistrates of Strashurg, insisting on his punishment, and he became displeas'd with Hedio, simply because he would not take his part against Scott, with whom the magistrates would not interfere.—See *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*.

There is a curious letter, describing his miseries, addressed to some "Right Worshipful Sir," perhaps Brian Tuke, dated the 17th of December. It forms an appropriate conclusion to this vain pursuit.

"Sir, the cause of my writing unto your Mastership at this time, is this: Our father minister, who is Father William Robbynson, Warder of Greenwich, were yesterday, or this day, at my Lord's Grace to complain upon me, and that my Lord should take away the commission from me; and all because they will not let me come to *London*, and to seek for them that my Lord knoweth of, and to enquire, where *Roye* was, when he was in *England* with his mother, and for other sort of business according to my commission. And they have great indignation at me, because I have sped so well, and because there is more of them guilty in the matter of Lutheryans. And they cannot speak among them a good word of my Lord's Grace and the King's. And because I do reprove them of their ill-sayings, they go about, all that they can, to put me to trouble and vexations, and desolations, that I am almost weary of my life among them. And they have taken away my fellow traveller that came with me from beyond sea, and they have sent him in in a ship alone, without a fellow—(most probably the "good true man" that Hackett sent with him from Antwerp); and all because that I [went] about none of my business, but they will know it. Also they will not obey the King's *Broad-Sheet*.

"Therefore, I pray your worship, for the passion of Christ sake, as to be so good unto me, as favour me with the dispensation, as shortly as it may be possible, and if you think it cannot be afore Christmas, I pray you, get me a [letter] of an obediencie, under my Lord's broad seal for me Friar John Weston, preacher and confessor, and for my fellow, Cornelius Hewtson a Dutelman, which I intend to take for the season, because he can (speak) but little English, and so that I may do my matters the more *secretly*. The letter of obediencie you may get of Mr. *Steward*, he that is master of my Lord's faculties, and what you pay unto him for it, I shall see you be contented: for I am so desolate, that without your help, that I might come to the speech of my Lord's Grace, they will put me in prison.⁴⁷ Wherefore I pray you to help now, as my special trust is in you, and the sooner the better. If you can get the obediencie, send it me to Greenwich, by one of your servants, and that he delivers it to no man, but to myself, for I am weary of my life among them, and all because I see them that they be willing to maintain these rebels or heretics in their mischief, and they pray to God that they [may succeed.]—At Greenwich, at our convent the xvii. December, A. Dni. 1528."⁴⁸

The poor Friar had no doubt many weighty reasons for wishing once more to go abroad, but they were all in vain. Wolsey, by this time, had his hands full. Henry was absorpt in his own affair. Our Envoy, indeed, wrote in January, imploring that the Friar might be sent to his aid, but we hear

⁴⁷ *Cromwell* held "the Stewardship" of the monastery lands now confiscated. Perhaps he is here referred to, and it will be well if he does not follow in pursuit, after Wolsey's death.

⁴⁸ Cotton MS., Vitellius. B. x., fol. 171. In this letter only, the name is *Weston*, which seems to be a clerical error, as in all the others, it is *West*.

nothing more of Father West, and Hackett will never obtain any farther orders. The chase was now over till Henry *himself* began, for thus ended, at least, the Cardinal's hunt after heretics so called! After this, he will have quite enough to do, in taking care of himself. It was Providence ruling and over-ruling all things, for the sake of His own Word.

SECTION VI.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT—PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—THWARTED ONCE MORE—TUNSTAL AT ANTWERP—WOLSEY'S CAREER—TYNDALE'S INFLUENCE IN THE PALACE—CRANMER FIRST EMPLOYED—WOLSEY'S FALL—LORD CHANCELLOR MORE—RISE OF CRUMWELL—PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—COMMOTION THERE—MORE, THE BISHOPS, AND THE KING, IN LEAGUE AGAINST THE SCRIPTURES—COVERDALE SENT TO HAMBURGH—ANOTHER OR FIFTH EDITION OF THE TESTAMENT.

IN the denunciation of the English New Testament by Tunstal and Warham, in 1526, we then noticed one curious omission, that of Tyndale's *name*; at that time they appear not to have known it, but we have already seen, that very soon after the names of Tyndale and Royle were distinctly known to one of Tunstal's chaplains, Dr. Robert Ridley, prebend of St. Paul's; and he may have been the first individual, who, in writing at least, denounced the Translator by name as well as his invaluable work. Tyndale's frank acknowledgement of his authorship in 1527, made this more generally known; and, the confirmation was completed, by the examinations held before the Bishop of London during the last spring. It was then, too, that one of the ablest scholars, said to be *the greatest genius*, if not the *only wit in all England* obtained license from his friend, the bishop, first to read Tyndale, and then to write in reply.¹ Ever since his license in March last, More, as he tells us afterwards, had been busy "night and day," and this year we find him bring out his first controversial publication, consisting of above one hundred and twenty folios, or 250 pages, printed by John Rastell, his brother-in-law.²

¹ On the authority of Erasmus, we are told that Dean Colet thought Sir Thomas More "the only wit in the Island," and "the greatest genius in England."

² Its original title discovers the importance which was now attached to the exertions of Tyndale. "A dialoge of Syr Thomas More, knyghte: one of the Counsayll of our Souvrayne Lorde

If, therefore, Tyndale wished to go on with his labours, it had now become more than ever necessary that he should use precautions for the safety of his person: and removal from place to place seems to have been one of these. Before, however, adverting to these places, let us first return and mark the course of his engagements.

With regard to the translation of the Old Testament in which Tyndale had for some time been employed, with all the aid which young Fryth was so well fitted to lend, we have now some tangible proof of his progress.

It has been customary to speak of Tyndale's *Pentateuch* as published in 1530, but this is incorrect. The five books might be afterwards bound up, but originally they were neither printed at the same press, nor published together, but separately. In the order of importation, at least, the account of the creation and the early history of mankind in Genesis, seems to have been followed by Deuteronomy, that compendious repetition or summary of the law, with explanatory additions. At all events before the end of *their* year 1529, or the 25th of March, 1530, these two books are among those publicly denounced; and those *alone* under the following titles:—"The Chapters of Moses, called Genesis—the Chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomos." When we come to the spring of 1530, the five books of Moses will be more fully noticed.

During this year, the state of his native land had continued to oppress the mind of Tyndale. However modest and unpretending in his character, as he could not be unacquainted with the great effects produced by what he had already done, so he must have felt that he was raised up for a certain purpose; and that with the progress of events or the condition of his country he must endeavour to keep pace with his pen. The correctness and celerity, as well as power, with which he did so, will appear alike remarkable.

One distinguishing feature of our Translator's character, was loyalty to his King, blended with love to his country. The

the King, and chauncellore of hys duchy of Lancaster. Wheryn be treatyd dyuers maters, as of the reueracyon and worslyp of ymaggs and reliques, praying to sayntis and goynge on pylgrymage. Wyth many other thyngs touchyng the pestylent secte of Luther and *Tyndale*, by the *tone*, bygone in Saxony, and by the *tother*, *laboryt to be brought in to England.*" There was a second edition to which was added: "Newly over sene by the sayd Syr Thomas More, Chauncellour of England, 1530." In his works reprinted, we are told that this Dialogue was "*made in the year 1528.*"

latter he had discovered by commencing with "the Parable of the unrighteous Mammon," and the former, or rather both, by his next publication, "the Obedience of a Christian man." Deeply interested as he was, however, in the best interests of the reigning monarch, he would not stoop to flatter him, much less wink at the course he now pursued. Hence this year his small publication on the subject of matrimony, and his exposition of 1 Corinthians, vii. chapter. The former, a warning as to its abuse, the latter, illustrative of the sin attending its gross violation—an abounding evil of the age.³

Marriage was then a question of vital importance to the virtue and happiness of his country; dreadfully trampled on and invaded by the priesthood of the day, and now, by the highest authority of the land, in his own person, threatened to be dissolved. It became, therefore, such a man as Tyndale to take up the subject. His voice was solitary indeed, but it had now a power, which, probably, he had never anticipated; it went also through the land, for whatever he now published was sought for and read; and not the less so, that every thing he put forth was so denounced.

Fryth was engaged about this time in translating from the German a small work, entitled, "The Revelation of Antichrist," one of the first books printed in English against the Roman Pontiff. He published it, with a long prefatory epistle and an antithesis at the end, under the assumed name of Richard Brightwell. It was printed "at Malborow, in the land of Hesse, the 12th day of July 1529, by me Hans Luft."

About this period both Tyndale and Fryth had removed from Marburg; and by the month of August, in Antwerp itself, a negociation with Tunstal, respecting books, there took place, which will be narrated presently, after we have noticed other contemporary movements in England.⁴

³ This exposition had a brief translation from Erasmus prefixed, and is thus entitled, "An exhortation to the diligent study of Scripture, made by Erasmus, Roterodamus, and translated into English. An exposition into the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians." This was at first sometimes ascribed to Roze, then at Strasburg; but this was a mistake, as may be seen by the colophon, "At Malborow in the land of Hesse, 1529, xx day of June, by me Hans Luft." 8vo.

⁴ The well known Conference at MARRBURG between *Luther* and *Zwingle*, commenced on the 30th of September. Here was a convenient opportunity for Tyndale to have met with both. But by that time he was in Antwerp. We make no comment here, but request the reader to observe what is said of Tyndale and such meetings, under 1533.

With regard to the progress of that noble cause in England, for which Tyndale only lived and at last died, it must be read, as before, in the opposition displayed. Wolsey may be removed, but enemies, in reality more bitter and determined, will remain, nay still flourish and rise in royal favour.

It will be remembered that abroad, Hackett, the British ambassador, had been affronted at Antwerp, and resenting the indignity, had, in April, conveyed the intelligence to England. In the same month, at home, Tunstal was again busy at his last year's employment, and firmly pushing his victims to abjure. He seems as though he had resolved that the spring of the year should be so distinguished, and happy would he have been to have rooted up the seed sown by other hands; but this season the number of persons caught was comparatively few. Last year, Hacker, and Pykas, and Tyball, had sadly fallen, by exposing so many of their friends, but happily no one now followed their example. Among those who were examined, the most eminent was that of a respectable citizen and leather-merchant of London, John Tewksbury. His case was the more interesting from his having possessed a *manuscript copy of the Bible*, and his openly deposing that he had been studying in the holy Scriptures from the year 1512. He professed, however, that he had been brought to the knowledge of the truth by the reading of "*Tyndale's New Testament*," and his subsequent publication or exposition of the Parable of the Wicked Mammon. "In the doctrine of justification," says John Foxe, "and all other articles of his faith, he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort as Tunstal and all his learned men were ashamed, that a leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures, and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him."

The number of Bishops presiding at the examination of this good man, proves at once the importance of his case, and the extent to which their alarm and hatred had now gone. Besides Tunstal himself, there was West of Ely, and Clark of Bath, with Standish of St. Asaph, and Longland of Lincoln. These men had the truth told them on this occasion, and were even warned. Amongst other things, Tewksbury had the boldness to say,—“ I pray God that the condemnation of the Gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your

shame, and that ye be not in peril for it." They continued disputing with him day after day, for more than eight or ten days together; his first appearance being on the 13th of April. At last he abjured, though, like Bilney, only for the present.

As old Thomas Fuller said—"it takes more to make a valiant man, than being able to call another coward," though in reporting such abjurations, one cannot but revert to the first grand and public recantation of Barnes, at St. Paul's. He might, before that year ended, be selling New Testaments confidentially, and in private, but this could never compensate for the mischief he had done, by his great and sad failure. Its influence must have been yet felt, in preventing that bold decision which would have been followed by the crown of martyrdom. Thus, this worthy man Tewksbury, only required another to precede him, in the year 1531, when we shall find him gather courage, deeply repent, and follow with great and determined courage to the stake.

How criminal was that man, who, with cool deliberation, thus spent his days in laying a snare, or in weaving a net for the feet of these saints? By him, indeed, they were not put to death; they were left by him for Stokesly to butcher, though the guilt of this righteous blood must ever rest upon Tunstal, as well as his successor.

But again, and that a third, if not the fourth time, a gracious Providence interposed. This, too, was about the very *same* month as in the two preceding years; not by disease, indeed, as last year, but by a method as effectual, the occupation of Tunstal abroad. In 1526 the authorities were scattered by prevailing sickness. In 1527 they were so again by political affairs. In 1528 they were scared, as we have seen, by the "Sudor Anglicus," and this year they are again diverted from their prey by pressing affairs of state. These men could discern some of the signs of the times, but they could not, or rather would not, observe the finger of God.

Tunstal, cool and fresh, was ready to engage whenever state policy demanded his services, and the proof of his being as yet the leading persecutor of the truth, is plainly seen in this, that when once he departed, the storm in a great degree subsided. In a very short time, however, far from forgetting Tyndale's operations, we shall find him fully as busy, in another way, abroad, as he had been at home.

At an early period of this year the aspect of foreign affairs had begun to excite uneasiness in the English cabinet. France, having but feeble hope of any success in Italy, seemed disposed to some friendly alliance with the Emperor. The French army, it will be remembered, had been last year almost annihilated by disease ; its scattered remains had, indeed, rallied under Count de St. Pol, but in June he was finally defeated, so that the Emperor's power abroad was now in the ascendant. So early as the 5th of April he had deputed his aunt the Lady Margaret, Regent of the Low Countries, to meet with Lady Louisa, the mother of Francis, to settle finally the treaty of *Madrid*, so often and so long suspended through Wolsey's interested interposition ; in consequence of which the two children, exchanged as hostages for their father, the King of France, had never been restored.⁵ The Lady Margaret, on the 22d of May, apprised Wolsey of this meeting, and on the 6th of June, Henry himself ;⁶ Hackett, by the same post, stating that Cambray had been fixed on as the place of meeting.⁷

On the 30th of June, Tunstal and Sir Thomas More, with Dr. Knight, the King's Secretary, received their commissions, and left England for Cambray, where Hackett met them. Altogether they watched over their own King's interest, so far as it was involved in the treaty of Cambray ; remaining in attendance till the 5th of August, when, what was called "the Women's or the Ladies' peace," was finally concluded. It has, however, been but seldom observed, that at the same time and place, another treaty was signed, betwixt our King and the Lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor ; *Tunstal*, *More*, and *Hackett*, being the commissioners. It embraced "the continuation of *traffic for merchants* between the two countries, and the forbidding to *print or sell* any Lutheran books on either side."⁸

Thus it is that we are introduced, very naturally, to the period when Tunstal's zeal for the *burning* of the Scriptures emphatically began to display itself. No doubt he, as well as the Bishop of Norwich, had cheerfully borne his share of the first purchase by Warham in 1527 ; but he was eager to seize this fine and favourable opportunity of proving his own zeal. He was now in the north of France, and could easily take Antwerp on his way home. With three such men, all equally

⁵ Cotton MS., Galba. B. ix., 202.

⁶ *Idem*, fol. 121.

⁷ *Idem*, fol. 167.

⁸ *Idem*, fol. 136 Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 316.

hostile, the subject of heretical books must have been fully canvassed, involved as they were in a formal treaty. The *first* was bent on *burning* them; he had licensed the *second* to read them, only that he might write them down, and his first production, written in 1528, had just come out as he left London; and as for the *third*, John Hackett, he had first suggested both burning and persecution, and not as yet succeeded to the extent of his wishes; though it was only four months since he had been affronted at Antwerp, and so deeply felt the indignity. The high privileges of Antwerp, however, remained inviolate, for they had been fully and expressly recognised in the recent treaty, as well as those of all the other Hanse-towns under the Emperor's sway.⁹ No choice being thus left, as to the mode of procedure, the policy of *purchasing* books in order to *burn* them, and thus prevent progress, was discussed. This, indeed, might ultimately promote the cause they desired to damage, and More shrewdly suspected it certainly would. "So much," said he to George Constantyne, afterwards, "so much I told the Bishop, *before* he went about it." Tunstal's zeal, however, could not thus be quenched. Knight proceeded to Italy on the King's business; More returned home; Tunstal went by way of Antwerp, and the following story of his "exploit" there, is worthy of notice, on account of its natural consequences. It is introduced by Halle immediately after the treaty of Cambray, and it is copied by Foxe, as happening in the year 1529. We give the narrative with an eye on both authors.

"Here, it is to be remembered, that at this present time, one Augustine Packington, a mercer and merchant of London, the same time was in Antwerp, where the Bishop then was; and this Packington was a man that highly favoured Tyndale, but to the Bishop shewed the contrary. The Bishop, desirous to have his purpose brought to pass, communed of the New Testaments, and how gladly he would buy them. Packington then hearing him say so, said—'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 (*i. e.* Germans) 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 said—'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and, with all my heart, I will pay for them, *whatsoever* they cost you; for the books

⁹ Very threatening placards, however, were issued by the Emperor after this treaty.

are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross.' Augustine Packington then *came to Tyndale*, and said—'William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for which thou hast both endangered thy friends, and beggared thyself; and I have now gotten thee a merchant, which, with ready money, shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it 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. 'Yes,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder,' said Tyndale, 'for these two beneficts shall come thereof—I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's 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 again, and I trust the second will much better like (please) you, than ever did the first.' So, forward went the bargain—the Bishop had the books—Packington had the thanks—and Tyndale had the money!"

This story may be allowed to remain substantially correct, though the latter words put into the mouth of Tyndale, must be received as the embellishment of Packington, or rather, perhaps, of the old chronicler Halle, who was fond of a good story. Certainly Tyndale never expressed himself precisely in these terms. "After this," says Foxe, "Tyndale corrected the same New Testament again, and caused them to be new imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England!" The further illustration of this assertion will occur before long. In the meanwhile, the books purchased by Tunstal were sent home, but they were not committed to the flames till it could be done with the greatest effect.

Tunstal and More having both returned to London, the proceedings at Cambray were reported and highly approved. Before Sir Thomas was sent into France, the King had sound-ed him as to the divorce. He was then opposed to it, and as much so now; but as he had succeeded to admiration in procuring more money from the Emperor than had been expected, and Henry might anticipate that, like most men, he only had his *price*, and would come round, he was about to elevate him to the Chancellorship. Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More had never cordially agreed, for in many points they were perfect contrasts. Under the auspices of the latter, amiable in domestic life, having no thirst for pomp or display, and superior to the love of money, some great change was at hand. A new order of things, whatever that might be, was inevitable.

The concluding months of the year 1529, require, therefore, to be *particularly* observed, forming as they did, an epoch, both

in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, as well as in the history of persecution. But before that period can be understood, it becomes necessary to return, and take a very brief survey of the Cardinal's last year of office.

The reader may have been already more than satiated with the course of Wolsey's policy, but his career is now hastening to its termination. We have seen him "in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree," so that we owe it to a righteous providence to mark his decline and fall. Though now fifty-eight years of age, and within only twenty months of his death, gradually sinking in the favour of his Master, and long despised by many around him, the ruling passion of the now unhappy man, for the unenviable chair of the Pontiff, was still as strong as his feeble and broken constitution would admit. Henry again recommended him, but it must have been only from a desire to remove him to a distance, and there, perhaps, exact from him favours in return for all the past. Glad, no doubt, would he have been, to have for ever left the country where he had reigned as Lord-paramount; but his starting for the long-craved prize now, when in the act of sinking in his "sea of glory," resembled only the drowning man catching at a straw. It was the dangerous illness and expected death of Clement at the end of January, that had roused his old ambition; but the Pontiff recovered, nay, outlived him for nearly four years, and the Cardinal must therefore do his best with affairs at home.

It certainly affords a most striking proof of the wild and contradictory passions by which the wicked are agitated, that at this very time, Wolsey was holding in defiance and contempt the authority of the very tiara, the treble crown, for which he had panted so long! Both the one and the other were thus displayed.

At Christmas last, (1528), it may be remembered, that we left Henry and Catherine keeping open festivities together still! Wolsey immediately after this, through Fox, Gardiner, and Brian, exercised all his ingenuity, in negotiating with the Pontiff, to effect the divorce, and thus secure his Master's favour; though, at the same time, he was carrying on another and a *secret* correspondence with Rome. Hitherto he had failed in his policy, as well as lost Henry's confidence, by his doings in Spain. As a final attempt, on the 25th of January this year he despatched Gardiner once more, *secretly*, to Italy, to hasten the divorce of the two parties, and minister to the impatience of the monarch. As his last expedient, Gardiner was instructed to threaten, as well he could, that, without immediate compliance with the farther requests then made, the King would *withdraw his obedience*, also intimating that the nobles, as well as his Majesty, would decline subjection! In the disruption which after some time took place, there was therefore innixed, not one

grain of correct moral principle. The passions of a licentious prince, were the secret and first moving cause, while the Supreme disposer of all events, was over-ruling the thralldom and impetuosity of sin in the monarch, for the mental freedom of his entire kingdom. In such strange circumstances, the glory and the happiness of whatever change took place afterwards, ought therefore the more emphatically to be ascribed to God over all, and to Him alone.

The Cardinal's long and laboured negociations, addressed to Rome, were, however, all in vain, though in them he had put forth all his powers, and these, in truth, were of no common order. His rivals at home, the Dukcs of Norfolk and Suffolk, were secretly undermining him, by hinting, if they could not expose, his delay. Delay was ruinous, so that the once favourite minister of the King, by his own perplexities involved, could now stand only as the stag at bay.

In Wolsey's long despatch of the 6th of April, he charges the ambassadors, Gardiner, Brian, and Cassalis, to gain admission to the Pontiff, though he should be at the point of *death*, as he was actually supposed to have been but recently, and insist upon two things,—one was, that he should command all the European Princes to agree to a cessation of arms under pain of censure, for war no longer served Wolsey's purpose; the other was to press the King's business, granting all that they requested. But, in the meanwhile, to satisfy the King's impatience, to save himself, and, if possible, foil his enemies, he must proceed with the judicial drama.

On the 31st of May, therefore, Henry, by a warrant under the great seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their commission; that is, he authorised two of the most licentious men then alive, (for Campeggio was not one whit behind Wolsey), to sit in judgment once more on the legality of his own marriage; while they, of course, "made deep protestations of the sincerity of their minds, that they should proceed justly and fairly, without favour or partiality!" On the 21st of June, when both King and Queen appeared in court, the latter most solemnly protested and appealed to the Pontiff, and upon her retiring, Henry gave her one of the best of characters; but as, in the eye of Campeggio, delay was the object in view, a convenient expedient was sought for, and at last suggested by him. The courts of Rome, merely on account of the danger to health from the *malaria*, or Roman atmosphere, always adjourned from July to October, and therefore *they also* must suspend proceedings during the same period! The truth was, that the Emperor now governed the Pontiff, and he Campeggio. His red hat, as Cardinal, was gone, and with it all hope of the Popedom, (of which he stood the first chance), if he now disobeyed; but as for the poor English Cardinal, he must consent, simply because he could do nothing else, and so he sunk into disgrace.

"The peculiar character of Henry rendered him often a scrupulous

observer of rules, without much regard to their principles. The forms of law stood higher in his eye than the substance of justice ; this peculiarity affords the best key to his proceedings relating to the divorce of which he was desirous."¹⁰ A legal divorce, however cruel, and substantially unjust, would have satisfied his coarse and licentious mind, and might have so far hushed the minds of others, but the royal patience was now exhausted. Campeggio departs for Italy ; Wolsey, for the last time, saw his royal Master in September, who convicted him afresh of some double dealing, by producing his own hand-writing ;¹¹ so that now his enemies might do what they pleased, as to the speediest mode of getting rid of him.

Since the month of October 1527, the Cardinal must have frequently been filled with anxiety, and intimations of his declining influence must have often mortified him extremely ; for, before matters had arrived at this decisive conclusion, there had been various collisions between him, and his once confiding monarch.

His gorgeous and fruitless embassy to France, was the zenith of his glory. From that period, his sun began to descend, and the clouds were always returning upon him, after the rain. There had, indeed, been some trifling misunderstanding so early as 1525, but that was soon buried in oblivion.¹² The decisive change seems to have commenced with his interference as to Lady Anne Boleyn, and his attempt to divert the King from attention to her.¹³ This was followed by his intended cruelty to the Earl of Kildare, whom Henry saved from his grasp. Then, in the spring of last year, came his duplicity as to Spanish affairs, which completely shook the confidence of his King ;¹⁴ and in July, he offended again by his appointment of the Abbess of Walton.¹⁵ Yet after all this, taking advantage of Henry's temper, upon his escape from alarm under the "Sudor Anglicus," we find him, upon the 6th of October last, and the first hour he had learned that Fox, Bishop of Winchester was dead, plying the King for his own appointment to that more lucrative situation, nay, and actually proposing that his own place, as bishop of Durham, should be conferred on Winter, his natural son !¹⁶ Such was the man of unwearied ambition. It was "the character of his mind to retrieve his innate presumptuousness, at the first instant after the clouds of adversity had begun to pass away."¹⁷

Throughout this last year of declining influence, vexations in quick succession, awaited the Cardinal. About May he

¹⁰ Mackintosh's Hist. of England, anno 1529.

¹¹ This was said to be part of his *secret* correspondence with Rome, which had been sent home by Sir Francis Briun, then one of the ambassadors.

¹² Harleian MS., No. 7035, p. 174. It was a supposed invasion of the King's prerogative, and now revived, it will form one of the *forty-four* articles of impeachment.

¹³ See page 151.

¹⁴ See page 171.

¹⁵ See page 193.

¹⁶ State papers, vol. i., p. 320 9.

¹⁷ Government State papers.

had wished to proceed once more into France, upon a mission to Cambray, (on which we have found that Tunstal and More were sent in June,) but the King pointedly refused, as he could no longer confide in him.¹⁸ Again, Sir T. Cheney, for having in some way offended the Cardinal, had been excluded from the Court, when Lady Anne Boleyn interposed and secured his return, whether Wolsey would or not.¹⁹ But finally, and as if to crown all, and after we have witnessed how eager he had been to apprehend *Tyndale*, he must be brought in contact with one of *his* publications. The story, in full, is to be found in Foxe's manuscripts, now in the Museum, and it has been quoted by Strype. Lady Anne Boleyn had been in possession of a copy of Tyn-*dale's* "Obedience of a Christian man," for though the time drew nigh, it had not then been pointedly condemned by *Royal* authority. She had lent this book to one of her female attendants, named Gainsford; but one day as she was reading it, a young gentleman, also in the service of Lady Anne, Mr. Zouch, father to the knight, afterwards of that name, snatched the book away, and was very unwilling to restore it. He had been induced to read it, and was so affected, that, as the story goes, "he was never well but when he was reading of that book." Wolsey had ordered all about the Court to take special care, and prevent such writings from being circulated there, lest they should chance to come into the hands of the King; but this very caution proved the means of bringing to pass, what he most dreaded! The Dean of the Chapel-Royal, Dr. Sampson, saw this publication in the young man's hands, who was reading it in the chapel, not improbably tired of the unmeaning service. Calling Zouch, he took the publication from him, and delivered it to the Cardinal. In the meantime, Lady Anne, enquiring for her book, the attendant, fearful lest her Mistress, as well as herself, should come into trouble, fell on her knees, and told her all the circumstances. Her Mistress expressed no displeasure with the parties in her service, but replied with emotion,—“Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the Dean or the Cardinal took away.” Lady Anne forthwith applied to Henry, and upon her knees, “desired the King's help for her book.” Upon the King's *token* it was de-

¹⁸ Bayonne's Letter in *Le Grand*, p. 333

¹⁹ *Le Grand*, p. 296

livered up, and Lady Anne carrying the volume or tract, to his Majesty, requested that he would read it. The King did so, and professing to be pleased with the contents, added "this book is for me, and all Kings, to read."

This story is fully confirmed by Wyatt, with some slight variation. Lady Anne "was but newly come from the King, when the Cardinal came in with the book in his hands, to make complaints of certain points in it, that he knew the King would not like, and withal to take occasion with him, against those that countenanced such books in general, and especially *women*; and as might be thought, with mind to go farther against Lady Anne more directly, if he had perceived the King agreeable to his meaning. But the King, that somewhat before distasted the Cardinal, finding the *notes* Lady Anne had made, all turned the more to hasten his ruin, which was also furthered on all sides."²⁰

This incident therefore must, in substance have occurred; although Foxe goes on to build by far too much upon it. The words, in Henry's mouth, were probably nothing more than a compliment to the lady; or at best, they expressed only a transient feeling, similar to one of old, in the mind of King Herod towards John the Baptist. But be this as it might, Campeggio was off to Italy, and the sun of royal favour had set upon Wolsey for ever.

At this moment, the situation of his Majesty was critical in the extreme. His kingdom was in a state of *transition* similar to *no* other in Europe, and he could only steer a course, as it were, between Scylla and Charybdis. New advisers had become absolutely necessary, but where were they to be found?

After the cunning pause as to the divorce, made by the Romish Cardinal, Henry, in no small perplexity, was travelling in Essex, to dissipate his vexation; and while at Waltham, in the month of August, with no other prospect before him except the avocation of his cause to Rome, Fox, his Almoner, and Gardiner, as Secretary, were with him. The royal suite filling up every apartment, these two lodged at the house of a Mr. Cressy in the neighbourhood. At supper, the royal

²⁰ He shows that Tyndale's writings had been read within the royal palace, perhaps as carefully as in any other place. Speaking of Lady Anne's copy of "the Obedience," he adds—"which as her *manner* was, she having read, she had also noted with her *naïl*, as of matter worthy the King's knowledge." His only mistake is in placing the occurrence after Lady Anne's marriage, or at least speaking of her as *Queen*, by which time Wolsey had been two years in his grave. See Wyatt's Memoir, printed from manuscript, in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* by Singer, vol. ii., p. 202-205.

marriage became, as it was everywhere, the subject of conversation. The tutor in this family expressed surprise, that there should be any hesitation as to the mode of procedure. He was pressed to explain himself, when he suggested that there was but one truth in the matter, which should be tried on the authority of the Word of God; the Universities abroad as well as at home should be at once consulted, and a decision come to, *independently* of the Pontiff at Rome. This, it is well known, was *Thomas Cranmer*, then in the fortieth year of his age. Educated at Cambridge, he had been fixed upon in 1524, as one of the Canons for Cardinal College, Oxford, and had actually given his consent; but, acting under advice, he afterwards drew back, and had remained at Cambridge till last year. The refusal is understood to have given great offence.

Next morning Cranmer's advice was reported to his Majesty, when all at once it pleased his fauzy; under the impression, no doubt, that the Scripture either spoke, or would be affirmed to speak, in favour of his wishes. Before this, it is true, that Henry, at Wolsey's suggestion, and even Wolsey himself, had been consulting learned men, abroad as well as at home, but this by no means amounted to the advice now given by Cranmer. He was sent for instantly by the King; and though he went with apparent reluctance, refusal was in vain. Henry was pleased; and feeling, at the moment, as a man relieved from a dilemma, he immediately appointed Cranmer to be one of his chaplains, and ordered him to write upon the subject. Cranmer having also professed himself to be ready to plead the cause even before the Pontiff at Rome, Henry said that he would send him; but commanded that he should first be accommodated in the house of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and there compose his treatise.²¹

The time had now arrived when it was by no means difficult to overwhelm Wolsey, although no course of proceeding could be more unfair than that which was about to be adopted. It was for his doings as *Legate* within the King's dominions. But all these had been sanctioned by the King's own license; so that Henry was going to make "the privilege of his letters patent a crime; to sue against his own license;" and to bring the once aspiring Cardinal under severe forfeiture for making use of the royal authority! He had been all along acting under the eye of his ungrateful Master; and yet the very honour of which he was so vain, and that in which he gloried, when brow-beating Dr. Barnes, three years and a half ago, as well as upon many other occasions, was now to furnish the ostensible ground of criminal charges against him! From the

²¹ His book is lost! And it happens singularly enough, that his only composition extant, on the question, is of a directly *opposite* tendency; being a long letter to the Earl of Wiltshire, father of Anne Boleyn, in which he details, with much commendation, the arguments used by Reginald Pole, in support of Queen Catherine's marriage, with nothing on his own side, beyond a brief expression of dissent." — *Jenkins's Remains of Cranmer*. i., p. 9.

King's cause respecting his determined divorce, Wolsey must now turn to that of his own impeachment.

On the 9th of October his prosecution commenced, by the King's Attorney-General presenting an indictment against him, in the Court of King's Bench, upon the statute of provisors, "for procuring Bulls from Rome without the King's license,"—an accusation which if it had been literally true, that is, without the King's knowledge, would have subjected him to impeachment for high treason. But this was merely the beginning of sorrows. Upon *Sunday* the 17th, the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk came and demanded the Great Seal, which he declined to deliver up without a written order from the King, but his spirit was now already gone. "I have been to see the Cardinal," said the French ambassador Bellay, on that very day; "he has shewn me his case with the most deplorable rhetoric I ever saw; for both his heart and his spirit entirely failed him. I can say nothing more striking than his *face*, which has lost half its proper size." Next day the Dukes returned with the written demand, when Wolsey delivered up the seals, and they ordered him, in Henry's name, to retire to Esher in Surrey.

As his best security against the prosecution raised against him, Wolsey had confessed his offence against the statute of *premunire*.²² The Court then pronounced "that he was out of the protection of the law—that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and his person lay at the mercy of the King." Before, therefore, now leaving, what, in the days of his grandeur, he occasionally, in mock humility, styled "his *poor* house at Westminster," he took a particular account or inventory of all its contents, to be delivered over to his Majesty; and one of the identical catalogues, of forty folio pages, may still be seen in the British Museum.²³ To say nothing of the tables covered with massive gold and silver plate, which was of immense value, although *peuter* had been generally used before the days of Henry the Eighth; "there was," says Turner, "of all sorts of arras, velvets, carpets, hangings, curtains, silks, rich cloths, linen, beds and furniture, enough to have set up many a substantial tradesman, *besides* completing a nobleman's palace!" For one article he left of the most splendid tapestry, above one hundred and thirty pieces, from 21 to 27 feet long by 12 feet deep.²⁴ The entire value within the walls has been estimated at half a million sterling of the present day!

Upon Wolsey's departure, by water, a thousand boats were on the river, the people expecting to enjoy the gratification of seeing him conveyed to the Tower, but this was never proposed; and though the very

²² 25 Ed. 3. i., especially 16 R. 2. c. 5. Whereby a penalty was incurable, as infringing some statute; or, in other words, the party had incurred the forfeiture of their moveable estate, besides imprisonment at discretion. ²³ MS. Harleian, No. 599.

²⁴ The only remains of this tapestry, known to exist, *now* adorn the walls of that large room, the Board of Green Cloth, at Hampton Court.

next day, the 19th, the Duke of Norfolk, before a meeting of the Lords assembled in the Star Chamber, announced the Cardinal's dismissal from all his offices ; on the 21st the King granted him his protection.

Meanwhile, a successor must be appointed. The King had requested Warham to re-accept the seals of office, for he had been Chancellor before Wolsey ; but he declined, probably from age, and as, therefore, not equal to the burden of office. This must have happened on or before the 21st of the month, as the French ambassador apprised his Court by letter, on the 22d, that he foresaw " that *priests* would be made Chancellors *no more*."²⁵ On Saturday the 23d Henry consulted about a successor ; next day he fixed on Sir Thomas More, and on Monday the 25th he was led into Chancery by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the determined enemies of the fallen Cardinal.

Although Cranmer had been already engaged to serve the King, it was only in a subordinate capacity, at least for more than two years to come, and, during this period, almost solely abroad ; so that some other man was still grievously wanted at home, and especially before Parliament should assemble on the 3d of November. Upon Sir Thomas More, though chosen Chancellor, as already hinted, no dependence could be placed in relation to Henry's favourite project. Yet the very last day of October had ended, and no one appeared. It was only next morning that a thought was expressed by one of Wolsey's confidential servants, for such he was. This was Thomas Crumwell.²⁶ The son of a blacksmith, and born at Putney, near London, he had lived on the Continent for a number of years, and visited Rome as early as 1510. When Erasmus had published his Latin New Testament, Crumwell, it is said, had made himself intimately familiar with its contents ; for his having committed the whole to memory, though frequently asserted, may be allowed to pass merely as a flourish of the pen. This acquaintance with the Sacred Volume, however, preceded, as it had been, by residence at Rome, could not fail to have a powerful effect on his mind ; and, at all events, these were two sources of instruction and experience, of which his predecessor, Wolsey, knew little or nothing. He had never beheld the city and court, so falsely styled sacred ; he had but rarely looked into the sacred page, and then only to serve a purpose. As to Crumwell's real character or sentiments, at this moment, we affirm nothing,

²⁵ Sir H. Ellis has said, " It does not seem to have been known to our historians, that upon Wolsey's fall, Henry pressed *Cranmer* to take the Chancellorship more than once, before he offered it to Sir Thomas More."—*Original Letters*, vol. ii., p. 47. But Erasmus, who is then quoted, expressly says, the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, which Warham was, till his death in 1532. As for Cranmer, he was already engaged to start for Rome, employed by the King about the divorce.

²⁶ Never was any monarch so indebted to men of the same name. He had lost Thomas Wolsey ; but now he had got Thomas More, Thomas Crumwell, and Thomas Cranmer, besides Thomas Howard, (Duke of Norfolk,) and Thomas Bolcyn, (Earl of Wiltshire,) engaged in his service. Thomas Audley, and Thomas Wriothsley followed in succession as Lords Chancellor.

but merely notice these circumstances as accounting, so far, for the course he is about to pursue.

But it here becomes necessary, if not also very important, to observe, that the once favourite Cardinal, in the exercise of his own peculiar ambition, by his last and highest office, as *Vicar-General*, had brought into this kingdom a species of authority *altogether unknown*. His authority, as Legate, was high, but this was one step higher; so that he had begun to act absolutely as the English Pontiff. But, in doing this, he had put a cup to the lips of his Royal Master, and afforded him one taste, for the first time, of the sweetness of dominion over all the clergy in his kingdom. This, if not a new thing in the earth, was an elevation peculiar to Henry among his fellow princes of Europe. The moment that Wolsey began to exercise his functions as *Vicar-General*, of course, the King felt the position which he *thus* occupied; and yet, high as Wolsey then thought himself, he was never so completely in the King's power! It was even the time of which Henry had spoken, when "the hand that made him, could unmake him when it listed." Wolsey, therefore, once fallen, Crumwell is now about to step into his shoes, and will, before long, afford his Majesty a *full draught* of that pleasure, which he had only begun to taste.

The elevation of this man was however not a little extraordinary; as it affords a striking proof of how far Henry could sacrifice his prejudices to his reigning passion at the moment. From what he had heard of Crumwell, he was deeply prejudiced against him; and but for the earnest counsel of Russel, Earl of Bedford, whom Crumwell had once saved from being murdered, or betrayed into the hands of the French, he might never have been admitted to the royal ear.

It was upon a Monday morning, the 1st of November, and therefore only two days before Parliament met, that Crumwell had resolved on the course he should take. He saw nothing but ruin before him, if he remained in Wolsey's household; and so that morning, addressing himself to the Gentleman Usher, George Cavendish, he said—"I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my Lord hath dined, to ride to London," (from Esher,) "and so to the Court, where I shall either *make or mar*, or I come again." The very next day, Crumwell was at Court; and having sought an audience of the King, it was granted him. "After most loyal obeisance," he completely succeeded, for every word was most welcome. He suggested one mode by which Henry might accomplish his divorce—which was nothing short of his taking the authority into his own hands, by declaring himself *Head of the Church*, within his own realm. Having also explained how his Majesty's "princely authority" was invaded and abused by the "spirituality," Crumwell had taken care to have a copy of their oath to the Pontiff in his pocket; and, in explaining it, he ventured so far as to affirm, that thus Henry "was but

half a King, and they only half his subjects." They had, besides, all acted under Wolsey, as Legate, and therefore, since *he* had bowed, they now lay at the royal mercy; Crumwell "declaring thereupon, how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now *offered.*" The King listened attentively to all that fell from his adviser, or, as Foxe has it—"following the vein of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, admitting him into his service." According to another authority, he was so well pleased, that he thanked him, and admitted him to the dignity of a Privy Councillor.²⁷ That he at once succeeded in gaining Henry's entire confidence, is evident, from his not merely stepping into Parliament, as we find he did, immediately, but speaking there with such boldness, from the beginning. Without royal sanction, this course would have proved his ruin.

The fact was, that from the moment when legal proceedings were commenced against Wolsey, Crumwell had three weeks to ruminate over the whole procedure. It was substantially unfair, and, in other days, Wolsey would have stood upon his defence, and triumphed. But he knew the temper of his Master, and therefore, first yielding up his entire personal estate to the King, to conciliate his royal mercy, he craved only his ecclesiastical revenues for the time to come. But, then, if, on *these* terms, Wolsey's submission had been accepted, there were behind him many other delinquents. The clergy, to a man, having acted under him as Legate, were exposed and unsafe. Crumwell, therefore, saw his advantage, and, in one day, and that the day before Parliament assembled, dexterously improved it.

From this hour, the path was plain, though still considerable address was required; but for all this, Crumwell was peculiarly qualified. The concurrence of the clergy was essential to Henry's intended progress; but he now saw how very easily, at a convenient opportunity, he could slip on the collar of his authority, and snap the lock; as well as the wealth which must accrue to him in the process. Still it will be passing strange, if an old servant of Wolsey's, who was about to soften his master's fall, should, ere long, be the very man selected to control and punish that entire body of men so devoted to Rome; and all this to gratify the cupidity, the vanity, and the lust for dominion over them, in their "Defender of the Faith."

This shrewd adviser, however, discerned both "time and judgment." Henry had one favour to obtain, through this "spirituality," in 1530, which will occupy most of the year, and therefore a compass must be fetched, before Crumwell's advice can be followed. Meanwhile, he had placed the lash in the hands of his royal Master; and the moment he is commanded, Crumwell will not be slow to act with boldness and de-

²⁷ Singer has mentioned this fact, from Pole, as Crumwell's own statement.—*Life of Wolsey* i., p. 195.

cision. Immediately he must secure a seat in the House of Commons ; but after such an audience, this could be no very difficult matter. Accordingly, a son of Sir Thomas Rugh, already returned, gave way to him. " He obtained *his* room," says Cavendish, " and, by that means, put his foot into the Parliament House."

On the 21st of October, as formerly hinted, the King had thrown his shield over Wolsey ; and on the evening before he saw Crumwell, he had sent, by Sir John Russel, a kind message to him. The day after Crumwell had his audience, or Wednesday the 3d of November, Parliament assembled, in which Henry had now permitted the Cardinal to sit ! Thus he at once eluded the censure of such as thought the late proceedings had been severe, and seemed to place the power of farther punishment in the hands of Parliament. Should the Upper House once proceed against Wolsey, and ground their accusations against him as Legate, nothing will so exactly answer Henry's purpose.

There had been no Parliament held since 1523 ! These were troublesome assemblies, and had by no means suited the speed of Wolsey's chariot wheels ; so that now, when such an assembly as had not been convened for six years, was about to deliberate, very much will depend upon the general spirit and temper of the new Lord Chancellor. All things had been regulated by that strange anomaly,—*Legantine* authority : they were now to be discussed professedly by a legislative Assembly of Lords and Commons, so that some change, for better or worse, must await the country.

On Wednesday the 3d of November, at the Chamber in Blackfriars, Parliament met ; when Lord Chancellor More, in his eloquent oration, gave the first overtures of the King's intentions. The Cardinal's fall,—the state of the Church,—and the "*new learning*," formed the pith of this opening speech. The King was present when the Cardinal was glanced at, and in no courteous terms. It was only sixteen days since he had been sent to Esher, and the orator had only been chosen in his room ten days before ; yet, along with a fulsome compliment to Henry, as having " seen through him, both within and without," though Wolsey had so often led him as a child ; Sir Thomas having compared Henry VIII. to a *shepherd*, and his people to a *stock*, then referred to " the great *wether* which is of late fallen, as ye all know,"—" who so craftily, yea, and so untruly juggled with the King !" There was truth here, unquestionably, but though such language

from a judge, from a Lord Chancellor, referring to his predecessor, might pass in those days; in later times it would, of course, have been regarded as the height of indecency. It was much worse, when it is remembered, that though the great seal had been taken from Wolsey, still he had been summoned to attend this Parliament, and actually sat in the House after this among his peers, when the Bills were discussing during November. But it becomes a great deal more difficult to characterise this false and fulsome compliment to Henry's sagacity, when it is observed, that only on the Monday week before this, or the 25th of October, when first brought into Chancery, where the King was *not present*, More, though alluding to Wolsey's fall, had spoken in a far different style. "And now," said he, "when I look on this seat, and recollect how great persons have filled it before me,—when I contemplate who sat in it last,—a man of such singular wisdom, such skill in business, blest with such long and prosperous fortune, and visited at last with so high and inglorious a fall, I cannot but see the difficulty of my situation. For it is difficult to succeed with approbation, to one of such genius, wisdom, authority, and splendour, or to trace his footsteps with an equal pace. It seems as if we should light a taper, after gazing on the setting sun!" More might say that he eulogised only Wolsey's talents, and blamed his want of integrity; but his whole procedure was unworthy of himself, nor can it ever be justified, much less admired.

As for the various subjects then styled ecclesiastical, they were incorporated or interwoven with civil affairs. The abuses, says Herbert, having now come at last to the King's knowledge, he remitted their redress to the Lower House of Parliament. The Mortuaries, or the exactions from the children of deceased parents,—the enormous expense of Probates, or proofs of wills,—Pluralities to the extent of eight or ten livings, engrossed by one man,—abounding non-residence,—*Priests* being Surveyors, Stewards of estates, Farmers, and Graziers in every county,—*Priors*, and other ecclesiastics, being the buyers and sellers of Wool, of Cloth, and all kinds of merchandise. Such were the grievances then to be redressed.

Three bills were therefore drawn up, by the appointment of the Burgesses of Parliament,—the first relating to Mortuaries, the second to Probates, and the third embracing all the other evils.

The first, when sent up to the Lords, was rather courteously received; the second, concerning Probates, followed in two days; but on this, Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops frowned. Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, spoke with greatest violence and warmth. In the parliament chamber, says the contemporary chronicler, he said openly these words,—“My Lords, you see daily what bills come hither from the Common house, and *all is to the destruction of the Church; see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom,*—now with the Commons is nothing but *down with the Church,*—and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of *faith* only.”

These last expressions once reported to the Commons, they sent their speaker, Sir Thomas Audley, with thirty members, to the King. Henry, also dissatisfied, promised to call for the Bishop, and send them reply. Accordingly, Warham and six of his brethren, besides Fisher, had to appear, when the latter apologised, saying, he meant “the doings of the *Bohemians* were for lack of faith.” The King received his representation, but the Commons were still by no means satisfied with this “blind excuse.”

After this, the Commons referred to the laws and constitutions of the Church, as enforcing these bills, but the “Spirituality” defended the *existing* state of things by “presumption and *usage*.” One commoner, a gentleman of Gray’s Inn, had the courage to reply,—“The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooter’s hill, *er go*—is it lawful?”²³ Of course very great offence was taken at the comparison, as if the fees for Probates were to be considered robbery. The Commons stood firm, and the temporal Lords began to lean to their side, but the bills could not yet pass.

Meanwhile the Lords assented to a bill of *their own*, and sent it down to the Commons, which will remind the reader of years gone by, as it referred to measures introduced by Wolsey, and ultimately supported by the present Chancellor, then Speaker of the House of Commons. This was a bill releasing the King of all such sums as he had *borrowed* from his subjects, in the fifteenth year of his reign. The measure, of

²³ Sir Thomas Audley is said to have been the gentleman. Perhaps he saw the road to preferment, and may become Lord Chancellor, when Sir Thomas More retires.

²⁹ Yet only the year before, when Sir W. Compton, one of the King’s household, died of the disease then raging, the fees exacted by Wolsey and Warham, or the Probate to his will, amounted to 1000 merks, *i. e.* £666. 13s. 4d., which, if multiplied by 15, would be exactly £10,000!

course, was felt severely by the Commons, and the more so, as it would render them unpopular with their constituents; but as the majority of members were the King's servants, and others were gained over, the bill passed.

By way of gratitude in return, the King granted, with certain exceptions, a general pardon of offences, and aiding the Commons for the redress of their grievances, he caused two new bills to be presented afresh to the Lords, to which they at last assented, although that in reference to the probate of wills was peculiarly offensive to the Bishops.

The Commons then sent up their third bill, in reference to pluralities, non-residence, farming, &c. At this the Priests not only railed on the Commons as heretics, but the Bishops, in the Upper House, says Hall, "would in no ways consent." At last the King interposed. Causing eight members from each House to meet and confer in the Star Chamber, the Temporal Lords present united with the Commons, and next day the bill, somewhat qualified, passed into a law.

As almost all these abuses had grown up to this height under Wolsey's administration, their Lordships at least imagined that, notwithstanding his recent humiliation, he must again be dealt with. Accordingly, on the first of December, the Lords, with Sir Thomas More at their head, presented their address to the King, containing not fewer than *forty-four* articles against the Cardinal, and grounding all these "notable, high, and grievous offences," upon his usurped authority as "Legate de latere." In the Upper House, the fallen Minister, who had made France and Spain tremble, and the Pontiff himself to sigh and wring his hands, was now almost friendless; but when the charges were sent down to the Commons, defended with great ability and boldness by his old servant, Crumwell, the accusation of *treason* fell to the ground. The clouds, however, will never again disperse.

In the fall of Wolsey, his country in general, or at least the best of his Majesty's subjects, were fully prepared to rejoice. For a long series of years he had pandered to the vices of his Sovereign, as well as rioted in luxury himself, and it was fit that he should fall. Time there was, when he sat at the King's right hand, and when, with a household amounting to hundreds, he entertained his Master with a splendour superior to the throne itself; when he drunk only out of silver and gold plate, and had the highest nobility of the land rejoicing to wait upon him.³⁰ "Then he made the King doat upon him, more than ever he

³⁰ The manuscripts differ in stating the number of his household. One has it as low as 100, another as high as 300; Cavendish says, "the number was about the sum of 300 persons, accord-

did upon any lady or gentleman ; so that the King followed him, as he before followed the King. What he said, that was wisdom ; what he praised, that only was honourable."³¹ But of late he had stood in slippery places, and one false step taken, he was cast down into destruction. That divorce, the *first* idea of which, certainly originated with him—the Legantine Court which he had *himself* contrived—with an assistant Legate from Rome, as he had *himself* suggested, brought him to his ruin. Wolsey, says Turner, “ could not believe in the possibility of his fall ; but long dreaded by many, fall at last he did, like a loosened avalanche from its mountain-summit of power and intimidation, never to be replaced or dreaded any more.”³² He had “ swallowed down riches,” but must “ vomit them up again ;” and now that his judgment is come, and “ destruction is ready at his side,” though “ his excellency mounted up to the heavens, and his head reached unto the clouds, he shall flee away as a dream, and shall not be found, yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night.” He had indeed about one year more to live, but this will only sink him in deeper misery and disgrace !

After this precedent, matters were *precisely* in that state, which both the King and Crumwell wished. In the royal pardon now granted, therefore, all transgressions against the statutes of provisors and premunire were *excepted*.³³ Not one priest was safe. All who had appeared in Wolsey’s courts, and all who had suits there were thus involved—the whole body of the priesthood now lay at Henry’s mercy ! Only it was not yet time to proceed.

It is of importance now to observe, that before this Parliament was prorogued, on the 17th of December, there was one other measure respecting which there was *no* dissension among the Bishops, nor any division between the two Houses, and this was how to deal with the *new learning* come into the land. “ It had been,” says Lord Herbert, “ secretly admitted into many places of this kingdom with much approbation, so that even the most ignorant began to examine whether the errors then ordinarily controverted, did belong to the *doctrine* or the *government* of the Church.” This subject, it should be remembered, had been noticed among the “ overtures of the King’s intentions,” in this short session, and whether suggested by the new Chancellor, must appear by what followed. Sir Thomas More might smile at Tunstal’s simplicity, in having

ing to his checker roll.” This last may be regarded as a moderate computation, for even when shorn of his grandeur. Wolsey’s train, in travelling to York next year, amounted to 160 persons.

³¹ Tyndale, as quoted by Turner.

³² See his Henry VIII., c. xx.

³³ There was one curious exception, of “ all those who had *dug down crosses* on the highway,” —highly significant of the state of the people’s mind

purchased *books* at Antwerp to burn them in London, by and bye; but at the same time, whatever his pen or his power could do, was now to be employed against the *authors* and the *possessors* of all such publications. With his pen he had been busy ever since he was licensed, in March last year; and now, as Lord Chancellor, he will enjoy the gratification of employing his power, and immediately upon his entrance into office.

Sir Thomas More has certainly been fortunate, even to a proverb, in his biographers. At once the pride and the pet of the literary world, they have drawn his character on this principle—that “what offends the eye in a good picture, the painter casts discreetly into shades;” so that any writer laid under the necessity of bringing to light the generally concealed features of the man, must run the risk of being charged with a sin against taste. It is, however, chiefly with his official character, and as the opponent of Tyndale and Fryth, that we have here to do. His official movements against them, are matter of history, and as for his sentiments and feelings, there is no necessity for calling witnesses to prove what they were. Plentifully were they expressed by himself, through many folio pages.

Wolsey being degraded, had the spirit of persecution rested only in *his* breast as Prime-Minister, of course it must now have abated under his successor. Notwithstanding, therefore, the prodigious faults of the fallen Cardinal, let us enquire, and render him impartial justice.

It must have been observed, that the criminal charges preferred against Wolsey by the Lords, were presented to the King, with More at their head; and that the 43d article included these words,—“besides all his other heinous offences, the said Lord Cardinal hath been the impeacher and disturber of *due and direct correction of heresies*, being highly to the danger and peril of the whole body and good Christian people of this realm.” The neglect of Warham’s letter was now no doubt remembered;³⁴ but they specially referred to Wolsey’s inhibiting the Bishops who desired to repair to Cambridge, in 1523, for the correction of such errors as were said to reign among the students and scholars there; in consequence of which, they now affirmed, these errors had “crept more

³⁴ See pages 100, 110.

abroad, and took greater place."³⁵ This was a charge which, when the whole article is read, evidently came warm from the heart of all the prelates who were present;³⁶ and Wolsey, in various instances, certainly had not allowed them to run riot, to the extent they demanded; his own interests, at the moment, forbidding the gratification of their malice. The loftier flight of his own personal ambition had so engrossed his mind, that the fiery and unmitigable zeal of these men must have frequently been felt by him as an annoyance, retarding his progress; and now, that he is to be crushed, they were rejoicing in hope of other days under his successor—better in their estimation, but *bitter* days and nights to those who either stood in their way, or dared to oppose them.

As it regarded, therefore, what the Bishops longed so much to enjoy—"the *direct* correction of heresies," the reader will bear in mind the embassy on which More with Tunstal had been lately sent; but more especially the closing treaty at Cambray, which they had arranged and signed. It was the first amicable arrangement of any kind, between the Emperor and Henry, for a considerable time past.³⁷ Charles, before this period, had twice issued what were styled, "Placards," throughout his dominions, and, in fulfilment, it seems, of this treaty, on the 14th of October he had issued a third. By this, all those who had relapsed after abjuration, were to be burnt—as for others, men were to die by the sword—women to be buried alive! All were warned against receiving any heretic to their houses, on pain of death and confiscation of goods! Suspected persons were to receive no honourable employment; and, in order to find out heretics, one-half of their estates was promised to informers!³⁸

Was there then no echo in England to this ferocious placard? or did More and Tunstal pay no regard to the treaty they had signed? So far from this, the subject was one to which both immediately bent all their energies. For months past, indeed, the pen of More, dipped in gall, had been busy on the subject of suppressing heresy; arguing for persecution unto death, in his strange and characteristic "Dialogue;" and the first time he opens his mouth in

³⁵ See before, under 1526, p. 101.

³⁷ MS. Cotton. Galba, B. ix., 204, b., and p. 196.

³⁶ See Herbert, 301.

³⁸ Brandt. anno 1529.

Parliament as Chancellor, he has it among the overtures of the King's intentions. His appearance in print, since the month of June, as the determined opponent of Tyndale, had fully shown the man, for five months before his elevation to the Great Seal; and the spirit now displayed by him, afforded no comfortable prospect for those who had espoused the truth, and were promoting its diffusion at great hazard and expense.

“As soon,” says Burnet, “as More came into favour, he pressed the King much, to put the laws against heretics in execution, and suggested that the Court of Rome would be more wrought upon by the King's supporting the Church, and defending the faith vigorously, than by threatenings: and, therefore, a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, many of their *books* were prohibited, and all the laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into England.”³⁹

The facts of the case may be more distinctly stated. Tunstal, as well as More, must perform his part; and Warham also, now that Wolsey is out of the way, has no objections to go all lengths with his fellows. Accordingly, before the opening of this Parliament, the Convocation had been summoned to meet. They did so on the 5th of November, when at their *first* meeting a reformation of abuses was proposed; and with that an enquiry was made concerning heretical *books*. A Committee of *Bishops* was appointed with relation to *heretics*. On the 19th of December, two days after Parliament had risen, *secrecy* was enjoined, and again a second time, on pain of excommunication, so eager were they to catch the prey. They closed their Convocation on the 24th, or a week after Parliament, and then came out that proclamation which, as Foxe says, was made throughout all England, the year of our Lord 1529, and the 21st year of Henry VIII.; commencing, “*The King our Sovereign Lord,*” &c.—“*The Bishops,*” he tells us, “were the procurers of this fierce and terrible proclamation, devised and set out in the King's name;” but there can be no question that the Chancellor's influence was united with theirs in this matter. Indeed, the style in several places will show, that it must have been their joint production. More and Tunstal, no doubt, drew it up; and

³⁹ Burnet, edit. 1720, lib. ii., p. 139.

as the Chancellor's hand is so visible throughout, this consequently may be regarded as about the first of his official papers. A few of the items must not be omitted.

"First—that no man within the King's realm, or other dominions subject to his highness, hereafter presume to *preach, teach, or inform*, any thing openly or privily, compile and write any *book*, or keep any *school*, contrary to the determination of Holy Church. That no man willingly favour or maintain any such person. That all persons having such books and writings deliver them up, within fifteen days.

"Furthermore, if any person be convicted, before the Bishop or his Commissary, in any case above expressed, the *Bishop* may keep in prison the said person or persons, as it shall *seem best to his discretion*, and may set a fine, to be paid to the behoof of the *King*, except where the said persons ought totally to be left to the secular power.

"Also, if any person within this realm do abjure, and after their abjuration relapse, they ought to be relinquished to the jurisdiction *secular*—wherein *faith* is to be given to the *Bishop*, or his Commissary. The *Sheriff* of the county, or *Mayor* of the city, town, or burgh, to be present at the sentence given by the Bishop or his Commissary, and receive the said persons to further execution.

"Also, the *Chancellor, the Treasurer of England, the Justice of the one Bench and of the other, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailies*, and other officers, shall make oath on taking their charge, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and make utterly to cease and destroy, all heresies and errors commonly called *Lollardies*.⁴⁰ They shall *assist* the Bishops and their Commissaries—shall favour and maintain them as often as required by them.

"Moreover, the *Justices of the King's Bench, Justices of Peace and of Assize*, shall *enquire* at their Sessions of all those that hold *errors or heresies*, and who be their maintainers, the common writers of *books*, as also of their *schools*, sermons, &c.

"Furthermore, as all offenders 'appertain to the Judge of Holy Church and not to the Judge secular,' they be delivered to the Bishops or Commissaries, by indenture between them, to be made within ten days, or sooner, after their arrest; if those persons be not indicted for other things, whereof the knowledge belongs to the Judge secular. In which case, after they be acquitted before the latter, that they be conveyed in safe-guard to the Commissaries, there to be acquitted or convicted after the laws of Holy Church.

"That no person is henceforth to bring into this realm, or to sell, receive, take, or detain, any *book or work*, printed or written, against the faith Catholic—the decrees, laws, and ordinances of Holy Church—or in reproach, rebuke, or slander of the King, his counsel, or the Lords spiritual and temporal. In case they have any such books they shall immediately bring them to the Bishop of the diocese, without concealment or fraud: or if they know any person having any of the said books, they shall detect them to the said *Bishop*, all favour or affection laid apart, and that they fail not thus to do as they will avoid the *King's* high indignation and displeasure."

That no man might pretend ignorance, a list of the books restrained or forbidden, specially named by the Bishops, was also published; including ninety-

⁴⁰ *Luther's* influence is not noticed, but certain opinions indigenous to the country.

four distinct tracts or books in Latin, and at least twenty-four in English, the great majority of which were by Tyndale or his friends, viz.—

By *Tyndale*. The New Testament—The Parable of the Wicked Mammon—The Obedience of a Christian Man—Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans—Exposition of 1st Cor., vii. chapter—The chapters of Moses called Genesis—The chapters of Moses called Deuteronomy—The Matrimony of Tyndale.

By *Fryth*. The Revelation of Antichrist, with an Epistle to the Christian Reader. By *Pyshe*. The Supplication of Beggars—The Sum of Scripture. By *Roye*. A Dialogue between the Father and the Son—The Satyre on Wolsey, or Burying of the Mass. Besides various others, "Godly Prayers"—The Psalter—*Hortulus animæ*, in English—The Primer, or A. B. C. against the Clergy. &c.

"The Bishops," says Foxe, "had that *now* which they *would* have; neither did there lack, on their part, any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same."⁴¹

Here, then, we have the first *Royal* proclamation interdicting printed books, and pursuing the importers, the possessors, or authors of them to death by fire. This was one of the first fruits of the *new* administration, and it marks the present period as an era in the history of persecution for conscience' sake; since the government of the country, that is, the King and his Council, were now fully committed. The only formal public instruments hitherto issued, were the injunctions of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tunstal, Bishop of London, in the close of 1526; and up to December 1529, this persecution had been an affair of the "Spirituality" alone. The King, it is true, had approved of what they did in 1526, and, before then, was himself writing to the Netherlands, and eager about the burning of books. But his name, *as* Sovereign, had never, till this period, been employed to strike terror into the hearts of his *own* subjects, to make *heresy* and *treason* convertible terms, and lay the entire civil power at the feet of the Bishops.

⁴¹ Though there be no date to this proclamation and list of books, it is not difficult to fix the period. The 21st year of Henry ended on the 21st of April 1530, and the year 1529, by their reckoning, ran on to the 25th of March; consequently the proclamation framed before the 24th of December must have been issued soon after. In the Register of Tunstal there is a *copy* of this proclamation, and then a list of books had been inserted, from whence Foxe took his account; but as the "Practice of Prelates" is there mentioned, this must have been copied later in the year 1530, as that book could not possibly be in England so early as March. Foxe, however, in his vague manner, is recapitulating under 1531. These proceedings are not to be confounded with the next measure of the Chancellor and the Bishops, when the King met them two months after, on the 24th of May 1530, and Tyndale was held up by name, to the whole nation, as the arch heretic of the day.

Wolsey, unquestionably, had great influence over his Majesty, but he had never employed it in persuading him thus publicly and personally to embroc his hands in the blood of his subjects on English ground ; this was reserved to distinguish the administration of Sir Thomas More ; so that the chief redeeming point in the character of the lofty and overbearing Cardinal, must stand in contrast with the greatest blot in that of his unostentatious and learned successor.

O, when writing his *Utopia*, in earlier life, or, as Sir James Mackintosh has described it, “ his admirable discussions on criminal law, his forcible objections to *capital* punishment for offences against property, his remarks on the tendency of the practice of inflicting needless suffering on animals, in weakening compassion and affection towards our fellow-men,” and his extraordinary latitude of toleration as to the mind ; had any one said to him—“ I know the evil and the cruelty thou wilt yet inflict on the people around you,”—would he not have replied, “ What ! is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing ?” But now, it seems the only answer might have been, “ Thou shalt, one day, be Lord Chancellor of England,” and then —— !

But before then, and only just before, he had himself already given a fearful omen to his country, of what might have been anticipated from his administration. His appearance this year as a controversialist, must have been hailed by the entire hierarchy, licensed or hired as he had been by high prelatial authority ; and certainly the English language had never been so prostituted before he took up his pen. Even in the eulogised “ *Utopia*” of his early days, it should never be forgotten that he there stood forth, more than insinuating the lawfulness of suicide ; and now, alas, he must appear as regarding with equal indifference the blood of others. The proclamation already quoted, which was to be read throughout all the land, was in him but the natural result of the sentiments he had already expressed in print ; and now the civil authority, from the Lord Chancellor of England down to the lowest Bailiff of a burgh town, bound by oath, must make official enquiry after “ heretics.” “ The prelates,” he had already said, in print, “ ought *temporally to destroy* those ravenous wolves ;” they were by *grievous punishment* to be repressed in the beginning, and the *sparkle well quenched*, ere it

was suffered to grow to over great a fire!" But once in possession of power, the mace as well as the pen must be employed to prevent the progress of the "new learning;" so that if Wolsey had chastised the people with whips, More, as led by these Bishops, seems determined to do so, with scorpions.

And what was the existing condition of this prelatical cause, which the new Lord Chancellor was so eager to defend and maintain? It consisted mainly of priests, and according to his own admission in his "Dialogue,"—"he wot well that *many* were very lewd and naught,"—but "let the priest be never so vicious, and so impenitent, and so far from all purpose of amendment, that his *prayers* are rejected and abhorred; yet the profit of his *mass* was to every one else, just as good as if he were the most virtuous man!" And again,—“If the Church say one thing, and *the Holy Scriptures* another thing, the faith of the Church is to be taken as *the word of God*, as well as the Scripture, and therefore to be believed.” These are a few of his own express words; but no solitary selected expressions can convey an adequate idea of the virulence, not to say the verbosity, and fallacious reasoning of this writer. It certainly would exhaust the patience of most readers, in the present day, to wade through his folio Dialogue.

Such was, in part, the state of things in England at the close of this year and commencement of the next. It was purely with a view to enlighten and bless his country and to deliver it from thralldom, that Tyndale had hitherto laboured, assailing only what was positively sinful, and worthy of destruction. No English writer had drawn his pen against him till this summer, when Sir Thomas More put forth his laborious Dialogue. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, he had severely condemned, *artfully approving of a new translation*, to meet the pressure from without,—a translation of course by the Bishops; one, of which Crammer said about eight years after this, that he had no idea of its being accomplished "till one day after Doomsday."

No choice therefore was now left to Tyndale, but to encounter this "ornament of the Pontifical chair,"—"one of the greatest prodigies of wit and learning," according to Anthony Wood, "that this nation ever before his time had produced." Tyndale, however, entertained no fear of him, and he will not long remain without a sufficient answer. On the whole, it is now

ovident that this had been a most busy season, nor is it difficult to perceive the occasion or cause of all the turmoil. For while the “nether house of parliament,” as Foxe calls it, had been “communing of their griefs wherewith the spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them;” the Convocation had been communing also, with mingled grief and indignation, over the “*new learning*” come into the land. Some might say that the hand of Tyndale was in all this, and in one sense it was, but then he was not in the country. Properly speaking, the commotion is to be ascribed to the Word of God, however denounced, which he had translated, and sent home, to fight its own way.

Before the close of this year, however, if we look abroad once more, we are cheered by observing that the great cause went on. The Government at home had been absorpt in *human* legislation, and confounded by its perplexities. All the while, Tyndale had been diligent in preparing more of the *divine* law for his countrymen, and it will be home presently. He had been employing the press at Marburg, but had left it himself, for Antwerp, as already explained. It is in reference to this period that we find a statement by John Foxe. He had already narrated the negociation at Antwerp with Tunstal, through Packington; but in his story of William Tyndale, he presents the following information, under 1529:—

“At what time Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at *Hamburgh*, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship both money, his copies, and time, he came in another ship to *Hamburgh*, where, at his appointment, Master *Coverdale* tarried for him, and helped him in the translation of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter to December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Enmerson, anno 1529—a great sweating sickness being the same time in the town. So having despatched his business at *Hamburgh*, he returned afterward to *Antwerp* again.”

This story, though fully charged with inaccuracy, has passed current up to the present hour; yet is it so pointed throughout, that there is no choice left but to concede the fact, that Coverdale actually had sailed for *Hamburgh*, and there “tarried” for Tyndale. That Coverdale may have written to our Translator, and that he might fix a place of

meeting; that the latter had endured distressing calamity, and that they both met, we may admit, but little or nothing more. If so, it is a circumstance the more to be observed, not only because Coverdale could, as yet, render him *no* assistance whatever, as a translator; or because this was the *first* interview, and almost to a certainty the *last* they ever had; but because there are other circumstances which will explain the *real* intent and purpose of Coverdale's voyage. The language of Foxe confirms, indeed, the truth of Tyndale being at Antwerp in 1529, it brings him from thence, and makes him return thither again; but as the negociation, through Packington, could not be before August, of course Tyndale had not resided in Hamburgh from Easter, or *April* to December. Nor is it at all likely that even Coverdale did, though he might be in waiting. After he had disposed of his books, that Tyndale should immediately depart from Antwerp, was to be expected, since it could not be safe for him to remain where he was; not merely after such a negociation, and after all that had occurred between John Hackett and Mr. Harman, but more especially on account of the Emperor's "placard" after the treaty of Cambray. Hamburgh, too, on the contrary, was, at this moment, in a very different state, and quite favourable for his reception.⁴² But to represent Coverdale, at this period, as helping Tyndale in *translating*, is preposterous, since he was not qualified to do anything of the kind. About two years have yet to pass away, when we shall find him intimate to Crumwell, that he had then only "*begun* to taste of Holy Scripture," and was then only "*set* to the sweet smell of holy letter;" but that to the knowledge of "*holy and ancient doctors, he could not attain, without diversity of books.*" "*They* once had," he would sit down, and do Crumwell's pleasure. Then as for the idea of Tyndale himself now *only* "*translating the five books of Moses,*" it will appear presently, or in the opening of next year, to be a mere fiction. Whatever assistance Tyndale had received in preparing the Pentateuch, was derived from Fryth.

What, then, could possibly be the object of Coverdale's

⁴² Pomeranus, or John Bugenhagen, was there. A scholar and a gentleman, distinguished among the Germans for his meekness and humility; he had come by invitation of the citizens, whose freedom of thinking demanded a judicious adviser in reference to their profession of Christianity. In 1525, he had written to the saints in England, and in *him* Tyndale might find an intelligent friend.—See *Datke's Hist. of Hamburgh.*

voyage? We have only to advert to the state of England, and observe how far Tyndale had already proceeded. *Wolsey's* pursuit after heretics had terminated in December *last* year, and throughout the present, the kingdom was in a state of transition as to its rulers. Tyndale's masterly exposure of "the Practice of Prelates," and his triumphant "answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue," had *not yet* appeared. Two Lords Chancellor, in succession, were before him, and, for the sake of divine truth, both of them must be met, next year. At this moment, therefore, a different course was about to be tried with Tyndale, which we shall see followed up afterwards. The first object, *then*, was to induce our Translator to return into England; so that *if* Coverdale now actually proceeded to Hamburg, it could only be to present to Tyndale the first tender of a professedly different style of policy. Crumwell, as we have seen, had succeeded in gaining entire ascendancy over Coverdale; and, at this critical moment, it was of no small importance to ascertain, whether Tyndale was a *practicable* man. At all events, Coverdale returned to England, and Tyndale went on his way. At the same time, it ought to be noticed, that we have no confirmation of this meeting between these two men, by a single hint or expression from Tyndale himself; nor any other authority than that of Foxe; nay, it is curious enough, that in the whole of Tyndale's or of Fryth's writings, whatever was the cause, we have not the shadow of a reference to Coverdale, more than if he had never existed!

In conclusion of this year, we have been, and will continue to be, cautious of admitting into these pages any loose conjecture. But after all that we have read, it would be difficult to believe that the Antwerp press had stood still, either last year or the present. An edition of Tyndale's Testament has been long assigned to about this period, though we are not able to fix it, by adducing such curious evidence, as in preceding cases. Hackett, however, as early as May 1527, has hinted at as many as 2000 having been for sale at Frankfort; and Joye affirms that the Dutch, as he calls them, had printed it a *third* time. We may, therefore, with all safety, put down another, or the *fifth* edition, to 1529. It is quite possible that there might have been one last year, as well as this; but, at all events, Tyndale himself will reprint his Testament next year.

SECTION VII.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT—PRACTICE OF PRELATES—STATE OF ENGLAND—WOLSEY'S FINAL RUIN, SICKNESS, DEATH—PERSECUTION GOES ON—KING AND PRELATES DENOUNCE THE SCRIPTURES—LATIMER'S BOLD REMONSTRANCE—NEW TESTAMENTS BURNT—ANOTHER, THE SIXTH EDITION—VIGOROUS IMPORTATION—DEATH OF S. FYSHE.

WE have come to a more noted period in our Translator's eventful life. From the variety and importance of his publications which had now appeared in print, it is evident that the past and the present had been years of great and incessant activity on his part; nor were his opponents less active. The bench of Bishops, now headed by the civil power, were firmly leagued together, and arrayed against him. Considering all that Tyndale already knew, it is quite apparent from his writings, that he had, long before this time, been prepared in spirit for martyrdom. Resolved to tell the whole truth, and, as far as he knew, nothing but the truth, his path lay right before him. When pressed out of measure, he might and did seek for quiet and safety, that he might pursue his work; but he was of one mind—and no peril, no prospect of danger, could turn him. Depending on the sword of the Spirit for success, and feeling, as he had translated, that “the wrath of the God of heaven appeareth against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who *withhold* the truth in unrighteousness,” he must have resolved to suppress nothing, or sooner “die upon his shield,”—a better than that of the ancient warrior, because the shield of faith.

Tyndale's translations of the five books of Moses were soon in circulation through his native country. His treatise entitled “The Practice of Prelates,” was also this year in England; and his “Answer to the Dialogue of Sir Thomas More,” will follow. After disposing of Wolsey and the prelates in general, he had taken up the production of Wolsey's successor in office. Two Lords Chancellor against one poor expatriated Exile, might seem to be fearful odds, but time will show who gained the victory.

That portion of the Sacred Volume now sent into England, has frequently been referred to by previous authors, as being

“the first edition of Tyndale’s *Pentateuch* ;” but that this is incorrect, will at once appear from the following collation.

Genesis, in *black* letter, 76 leaves, with this colophon at the end,—“Emprented at Marlborow, in the land of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of our Lorde, M.D.XXX., the xvii dayes of Januarii.” Exodus, in *roman* letter, 76 leaves ; Leviticus, *roman* letter, 52 leaves ; Numbers, in *black* letter, 67 leaves ; Deuteronomy, in *roman* letter, 63 leaves. There is a separate title and a prologue to each book ; at the end of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and at the beginning of Numbers, are tables expounding certain words. There are a few notes in the margins, and throughout the whole, ten wooden cuts. There is no colophon or date, except that already given, attached to Genesis. From all this, but especially from inspection, it is evident that these five books were printed at separate presses ; Genesis for certain, and probably Numbers, at Marburg. Deuteronomy, and for aught we know, Exodus and Leviticus, at Hamburgh. That they were circulated at first, *separately*, in England, is evident, because they were thus distinctly denounced ; first, Genesis and Deuteronomy, and then the whole five books, but still distinctly noted. At the same time, when the whole were finished, Tyndale meant them to be bound together, as he then printed a general preface, which may have led to the popular description of “the *Pentateuch*, first edition.”

The rarity of these five books, entire, is almost equal to that of the first octavo New Testament of 1525. Only one *perfect* copy is known to exist, which once belonged to Mr. Wilkinson, and is now in the library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. The next best copy, as it has been completed, in the finest fac-simile, from the preceding, once belonged to Mr. Tutet. It was purchased at the sale of his books, by the late Mr. Heber, and from his collection by Mr. Grenville ; who only seems to have parted with it, on obtaining his present unique perfect book. We know not what the perfect copy cost, but this second was advertised for sale in 1836, by Thorpe of London, at fifty guineas. Little did Tyndale imagine that, at the distance of more than three centuries, the labour of his hands would be so highly estimated.

Besides these two, all the other copies known to exist, are incomplete. That in the Museum at Bristol, wants the book of Genesis ; that in Zion College, presented by Mr. Lewis, the book of Deuteronomy, and besides, the marginal notes are *cut off*, as directed by Act of Parliament in January 1543 ! The copy in the British Museum wants the first and last and two other leaves ; the one at Cambridge is also imperfect. In the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a beautiful copy of Genesis alone.

Tyndale’s next publication was “The Practice of Prelates ;” and, as far as it regards the subjects introduced, as well as the manner in which they are handled, it is, in some respects, the most remarkable of all his controversial writings. More than ever bent upon the emancipation of his country from mental bondage, he longed to see the *throne* established in righteousness ; but he could entertain no hope of this until the power behind it, which had risen above the throne itself, was laid prostrate. “If that King of the grasshoppers,” said he,

“which devoureth all that is green, were destroyed; then were the kingdom of our caterpillars at an end.” In his able exposure of this noxious system, he explains it to his readers, in one place, by the following graphic parable:—

“To see how our holy Father came up, mark the ensample of an *Ivy tree*. First, it springeth out of the earth, and then a while creepeth along by the ground, till it findeth a great tree: then it joincth itself beneath alow¹ unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a little and a little, fair and softly. And at the beginning, while it is yet thin and small, that the burden is not perceived, it seemeth glorious to garnish the tree in winter, and to bear off the tempests of the weather. But in the mean season, it thrusteth roots into the bark of the tree, to hold fast withal; and ceaseth not to climb up, till it be at the top, and above all. And then, it sendeth his branches along by the branches of the tree, and overgroweth all, and waxeth great, heavy, and thick; and sucketh the moisture so sore out of the tree and his branches, that it choaketh and stiflcth them. And then the fonl ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree, and becometh a seat and a nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark, and dare not come at the light.

“Even so the Bishop of Rome, at the beginning, crope along upon the earth, and every man trod upon him in this world. But as soon as there came a Christian Emperor, he joined himself unto his feet, and kissed them, and crope up a little with begging,—now this privilege, now that,—now this city, now that; to find poor people withal and the necessary ministers of God’s word.—And the alms of the *congregation*, which was the food and patrimony of the poor and necessary preachers, that he called St. Peter’s patrimony,—St. Peter’s rents,—St. Peter’s lands,—St. Peter’s right; to cast a vain fear and superstitiousness into the hearts of men; that no man should dare meddle with whatsoever came once into their hands, for fear of St. Peter, though they ministered it never so evil; and that they which should think it none alms to give them any more, (because they had too much already,) should yet give St. Peter somewhat, to purchase an advocate and an intercessor of St. Peter; and that he should, at the first knock, let them in.

“And thus, with flattering and feigning, and vain superstition, under the name of St. Peter, he crept up and fastened his roots in the heart of the Emperor; and with *his sword* climbed up above all his fellowships, and brought them under his feet. And as he subdued them with the Emperor’s sword, even so, by subtlety and help of *them*, after that they were sworn faithful, he climbed above the Emperor and subdued *him* also; and made him stoop unto his feet, and kiss them another while. Yea, Cœlestinus crowned the Emperor Henry the Fifth, holding the crown between his feet. And when he had put the crown on, he smote it off with his feet again, saying—that he had might to make emperors and put them down again.”

Then, “he made a constitution, that no *layman* should meddle with their matters, nor be in their councils, or wit what they did; that the pope only should call the council, and the empire should but defend the pope, provided always, that the council should be in one of the pope’s towns, and where his power was greater than the Emperor’s. Then, under a pretence of condemning some heresy, he called a General Council, where he made one a patriarch,

¹ The converse to our *aloft*.

another cardinal, another legate, another primate, another archbishop, another bishop, another dean, another archdeacon, and so forth, as we now see.

“And as the Pope played with the Emperor, so did his *branches* and his members, the bishops, play in every kingdom, dukedom, and lordship; inasmuch, that the very heirs of them by whom they came up, hold now their lands of them, and take them for their chief lords. And as the Emperor is sworn to the Pope; even so, every king is sworn to the Bishops and Prelates of his realm; and they are the chiefest in all Parliaments. Yea, they and their money, and they that be sworn to them, and come up by them, rule altogether.

“And thus,—the *Iry tree* hath under his roots, throughout all christendom, in every village, holes for foxes, and nests for unclean birds, in all his branches,—and promiseth unto his disciples all the promotions of the world.”

But it was when, in the same publication, he came down to what he styled “the practice of *our* time,” and “the cause of all that *we* have suffered these twenty years,” that Tyndale’s powerful sentences were so deeply felt. Other men, before this year was done, might sing a requiem over the grave of Wolsey, but before he died, this despised and unpatronised exile had already exposed to public view his entire policy; and withal, so ably, that it is still quoted by the best of our historians. By Burnet and Strype in former times; by Turner and Tytler in our own day.

Wolsey, it is true, we shall soon see, was descending to the tomb, but what did that signify? Sir Thomas More, had just come into power. He had opened the first Parliament which had been held for years, and with what was said to be, an eloquent oration. What then must have been his surprise and regret, if not his indignation, to find the man whom he had laboured to overwhelm by his sophistry, and all the quip and merry turns in his Dialogue, reviewing this very session of Parliament, and the first bills that were passed under his administration? Exposing the proceedings as only so many strokes of policy, Tyndale showed that they had been merely clearing away the brushwood, or lopping the branches of a tree, which would grow again, while it ought to have been *uprooted* from the soil of England. “The root yet left behind, whence all that they have for a time weeded out, will spring again, by little and little, as before; if they, as their hope is, may *stop this light of God’s word that is now abroad*. These few last words show the soul of our Translator. The authority of the Divine word, was, in his mind, paramount to every other consideration, and this was the cause of his now speaking out so boldly; but it certainly was no common proof of talent and of

an enlarged mind, that so early after Parliament rose, Tyndale should be able to send such a publication into England; embracing, as it did, not merely the corruption of past ages traced to its source, but the national doings of the day, down to the end of March in the present year, if not later. Glancing, too, at what he styles "the blasphemies of More in his Dialogue," he reserves himself for a full answer before long.

And "whence," said he "cometh all this mischief? Verily, it is the hand of God, to avenge the wantonness of great men, which will walk without the fear of God; following the steps of the high prelates, contrary to their profession; and to avenge also the wrongs, the blasphemies and subtle persecuting of his word."

One of the latest eulogists of Sir Thomas More is Sir James Mackintosh, and a more able and fascinating pen could not have been employed; but in his just indignation at the brutality of Henry in putting More to death, and his warm admiration of the Chancellor, he is not the first who has shot rather beyond the mark. "He was," says he, "the first Englishman who signalised himself as an orator, *the first writer of a prose which is still intelligible*, and probably the *first layman since the beginning of authentic history, who was Chancellor of England.*"²

It is not improbable that Sir James had never thought of looking into the pages of More's opponent in controversy. Tyndale's prose, however, in one sense, it must never be forgotten, has been read in Britain ever since, and that too "every Sabbath day;" for notwithstanding all the confessed improvements made on our translation of the Bible, large portions in almost every chapter still remain verbally the same as he first gave them to his country. In this, it is true, he was merely a translator, but then the *style* of his translation has stood the test of nearly ten generations. It has been their admiration all along, and it will continue to be admired while the language endures.

But independently of his translation, the purity of his native language was maintained by Tyndale in as high a degree as by any of his contemporaries. We have already given one specimen from his present publication. And even as to his

² Hist. of England, ii., p. 179. To such an able judge, the "oratory" may be conceded; but as for lay Chancellors there had been at least six before Sir Thomas More. The last had been Sir Thomas Beaufort, under Henry IV., but authentic history had certainly begun long before then. The *clerical* Lords Chancellor since, form an index to ecclesiastical power, now on the decline. The "intelligible prose" must be noticed above.

opponent, it may safely be questioned, if in the wide compass of More's controversial writings there is one passage to be compared with the following, whether as to pathos or simple beauty. It was abundantly *intelligible* in the year 1530, it must have gone with a knell to the heart of the King's new adviser, and it will speak for itself, even now. It is the solemn appeal of Tyndale to his King and Country, after Parliament and the Bishops had drawn the sword of persecution from its sheath, and placed it, naked, in the hands of their Sovereign.

"I beseech the King's most noble grace, therefore, to consider all the ways by which the Cardinal and our holy bishops have led him, since he was first King; and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain boast of the Cardinal is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates, in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet in all matters; and have spent for our prelates' cause, more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but rebuke, and shame, and hate, among all nations; and a mock and a scorn thereto, of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen of late days, as the saying is, made a play or disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor danced with the French King, and wearied them, the King of England sitting on a high bench and looking on. And when it was asked, why *he* danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages only! As who should say, we paid for all men's dancing!

"And I beseech his Grace also, to have mercy on his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his Holy Testament to be persecuted, *under his name* any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, *which for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.*

"And I beseech his Grace to have compassion on his poor subjects, which have ever been unto his Grace, both obedient, loving, and kind; that the realm utterly perish not, with the wicked counsel of our pestilent prelates. For if his Grace, which is but a man, should die, the Lords and Commons, not knowing *who* hath most right to enjoy the crown, the realm could not but stand in great danger.

"And I exhort the Lords temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the King's Grace, and humbly desire his Majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed, and if he or she fail, who next, yea, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly. And let all the Lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the Knights, and Squires, and Gentlemen, and the Commons above eighteen years old, that there be no strife in the succession. For if they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see none other likelihood, but that, as the Cardinal hath prophesied, it will cost the realm of England.

"And all that be sworn unto the Cardinal, I warn them yet once again, to break their oaths, as I did in 'the Obedience.' And all my Lord Cardinal's *privy secretaries and spies, by whom he worketh* YET, I warn them to beware betime.³ My Lord Cardinal, though he have the name of all, yet he wrought

³ Thus Tyndale was not improbably the *first* to inform his country of what turned out to be the fact, that in 1530 Wolsey was forming conspiracies against the government, both in England and with Rome, to revenge his fall. See Harl. MS. No. 296, p. 38. Halle, p. 773. Turner's Henry VIII. chap. xxx.

not all of his own brain; but of all wily and excreised in mischief, he called unto him the most expert, and of their counsel and practice, gathered that which most seemed to serve his wicked purpose.

“And all that be confederate with the Cardinal, and with the Bishops, upon any *secret* appointment, be they never so great; I rede them to break their bonds, and to follow right by the plain and open way, and to be content, and not too ambitious; for it is now evil climbing, the boughs be brittle. And let them look well on the practice of Bishops, how they have served all other men in times past, and unto what troubles they have brought them that were quiet. Many a man, both great and small, have they brought to death in England, even in my days, beside in time past, whose blood God will seek once. Let them learn, at the last, that it is but the cast of the Bishops, to receive the sacrament with one man, secretly upon *one* purpose, and with another man, as secretly upon the *contrary*, to deceive all parties. For of perjury they make as much conscience as a dog of a bone; for they have power to dispense with all things, think they.—And unto all subjects I say, that they repent; for the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture; and the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth,—2 Thess. ii.—We be all sinners, an hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us, therefore, each forgive the other, remembering, the greater sinners the more welcome, *if we repent*, according to the similitude of the riotous Son. For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood their treasure to pay for their sins,—and his merits, that goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of our sins.

“These be sufficient at this time, although I could say more, and though other have deserved that I more said: yea, and I could more deeply have entered into the practice of our Cardinal, but I *spare*, for divers considerations,—and namely, for *his sake which never spared me*, nor any faithful friend of his own, nor any that told him truth; nor spareth to persecute the blood of Christ, in as clear light as ever was, and under subtle colour of hypocrisy, as ever was any persecution, since the creation of the world.”

Thus did Tyndale prove, that he was intimately acquainted with all that was going on in England, up to the moment of his publication, as well as able to give sound advice; an evidence of such talent that Sir T. More could not but recognise it, two years afterwards, though he affects to despise the writer. “Then,” says he, “have we ‘the Practice of Prelates,’ wherein Tyndale had wente to have made a special show of his high worldly wit; and that men should have seen therein that there was nothing done among princes, but that he was fully advertised of all the secrets; and *that* so far forth, that he knew the privy practice made between the King’s highness, and the late Lord Cardinal, and the reverend father, Cuthbert, then Bishop of London, and me.”⁴ A facetious vein of style

⁴ The idea which Sir Thomas would very fain turn to ridicule was this,—that Wolsey, in bowing, as we have found him do, to the storm which burst upon him, did so, with some lingering hope of restoration to favour or power in some way or other; and certainly nothing was more likely, even supposing that there was no secret understanding between any parties.

continued to be the favourite mode of Sir Thomas. Perhaps he preferred it for effect, or saw no necessity for any other; but Tyndale was ever in earnest, to the end.

“ And, finally, if the persecution of the *King's Grace*, and of other *temporal Lords*, conspiring with the Spirituality, be of *ignorance*, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see, and repent, and God shall show them mercy. But, and if it be of a *set malice against the truth*, and of a *grounded hate against the law of God* by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their own ways of ignorance; whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle, which is the sin against the Holy Spirit: then, ye shall see even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword, wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, homeward to shed their own again, after all the ensamples of the Bible.

“ And let them remember that I, well toward three years ago, to prevent all occasions and all carnal beasts that seek fleshly liberty, sent forth ‘the true Obedience of a Christian,’ which yet they condemned, *but* after they had condemned the *New Testament* as right was, whence the Obedience hath his authority. Now, then, if when the light is come abroad, in which their wickedness cannot be hid, they find no such obedience in the people unto their old tyranny, whose fault is it? This is a sure conclusion: any obedience that is not of love, cannot long endure; and in your deeds can no man see any cause of love: and the knowledge of Christ, for whose sake only a man would love you, though ye were never so evil, ye persecute. Now, then, if any disobedience arise, are ye not the cause of it yourselves? *Say not, but that ye be warned.*”

As far, therefore, as intelligent and skilful, though pungent, warning could go, Tyndale had thus nobly done his duty. He had fully exposed the once aspiring Cardinal, now sinking into ruin, and the enormous expense entailed on the country by his tortuous administration; he had faithfully warned his Sovereign, and put the country on its guard, as to the state persecution, which, we have seen that the new Chancellor as well as the prelates had advised. Few men, if indeed any one of that age, could have written such an exposition of the times, as Tyndale had just given; and yet his labour for this year was not at an end. He had commenced his reply to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, and in the printed edition of his works it is said to have been *made* in 1530; but as it certainly did not appear in print till next year, we defer till then saying more of a production which Henry the VIII. was so eager to see, that a part of it at least was actually *written* out, by his Envoy in Brabant, and sent him for perusal before its publication. This, too, as we shall find, was done without Tyndale's knowledge, and it is mentioned now simply as a proof

of his powerful influence, as well as the interest attached to any thing which might come from his pen.

Upon returning to England, before we advert again to the fiery opposition of the hierarchy, and the decided progress in the cause of truth notwithstanding all, two individuals demand notice. First, the King, and then Wolsey, his fallen minister.

Cranmer must soon have felt that he had entered into the service of an impetuous and impatient Master; and, whatever were his own opinions, it is strange if he did not see also, a very licentious one. His treatise once finished, in the beginning of this year, no time was to be lost in making use of it, abroad, as well as at home. And now the greater part of 1530 was to witness the strange spectacle, of an English monarch consulting all Europe, respecting the legitimacy of his marriage, with a Queen to whom he had been united above twenty years, and the possibility of his being separated from her. A spectacle the more glaring from the manifest purpose of the King, as well as the steps taken to effect it. The Pontiff, and the Emperor, and the foreign Universities, were all to be moved on the question. Charles remained firm on the one side, and Henry on the other, while, with regard to the Universities, as well as learned individuals, *money* was about to be employed on *both* sides, as well as other means.⁵ Such was the sphere in which Cranmer first moved.

So early as December last, Sir Thomas Boleyn, Drs. Lee, Stokesly, Cranmer, and various others, had been deputed by Henry to obtain the attestation of foreign Universities in favour of his wishes; these opinions being intended to affect the Lords and Commons in Parliament, as well as the rest of his subjects, many of whom were still decidedly opposed. Sir Thomas Boleyn, however, must first be created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; when he and his party were instructed to repair first to the Pontiff, then to Charles V. at Bologna, and there plead the cause.⁶ Upon their arrival, with the long wonted ceremony of *kissing the Pope's foot*, compliance was declined or omitted; most probably the *first*

⁵ As to *money* having been employed, there can be no question, however anxious Burnet was to diminish the amount. Any one who turns over only one volume in the British Museum, Vitellius, B. xiii., will be fully satisfied on this point. "I doubt not," says Dr. Croke in one letter, "but all Christian Universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highness;" but then again, "Cæsar, by threats, prayers, *money*, and sacerdotal influence, terrifies our friends, and confirms his own."

⁶ "Henry," says Lord Herbert, "wrote letters with his own hand to (Ghinucci) the Bishop of Worcester, and Sir Gregory Casalis, then at Bologna, that he had sent Sir Thomas Boleyn, newly created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, with John Stokesly and Edward Lee, as his ambassadors to the Emperor, and that they should advise together what was to be done." The letters were dated 8th Dec. 1529; and Burnet adds, that "Cranmer went with them, to justify his book in both these Courts. This Jerome de Ghinucci, once Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, was the same man who, in 1518, summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days. He was afterwards, as already stated, made Bishop of Worcester, of which he was deprived four years after this, on the ground of his not residing in England. He had never seen it."

instance for many hundred years, and it is curious enough that it should have fallen to the lot of Lady Anne's father. To send *him*, however, on such an errand, was, to say the least, a strange and indelicate proceeding; and, accordingly, it exposed him to the cutting irony of the Emperor, who was still at Bologna, since his coronation on the 24th of February. After intimating to the Earl his repugnance to receive, in such a case, a party *so interested as himself*, Charles said that "he was resolved not to abandon his aunt, the Queen of England, whose cause was that of truth and justice, and whom he was bound in honour to defend." The Earl could only reply, "that he attended not as a father, but as his Sovereign's minister; and that no ill-humour from his Spanish Majesty would prevent the execution of what Henry *intended*."⁷

As for Clement, he was, at first, more cautious, but, in the end, to oblige Charles, by the 7th of March he issued an order, commanding Henry, during the process, to treat Catharine as his wife, and not to marry another; informing him that *he* had been cited to appear before the Consistory at Rome, where "he would hear the matter disputed, and according to right do justice." Nor could any other reply be given by one who was simply a prisoner at large, and could act only as the Emperor dictated. Lord Wiltshire and Dr. Lee returned home by way of Paris, but Stokesly went on to Padua, and Cranmer to Rome itself, where he remained for months; but where, however, Clement took care never to hear him "dispute the matter." By way of empty compliment, indeed, he gave to Cranmer the title of "Penitentiary for all England." It was only strange that he should accept it; but if this was the first, it would have been well had it been the last of those inconsistencies which remain attached to him. In history, however, to palliate or conceal the defects in any character, would be to rob posterity of all its benefit.

It may easily be imagined, that all this was a great deal too much for the heated impatience of the English Monarch; and had his subjects only been now ready to have gone along with him, it is almost certain that he would not have waited for any foreign party. While, therefore, the Bishops were brooding over fresh measures, and still stronger, as we shall explain presently, with regard to the *destruction of the Scriptures*, a very different subject engrossed the cogitations of Henry; and it seems not at all improbable, some will say evident, that he actually had gone so far as he did, with *their* measures, in order to secure more fully their concurrence with *his own*, immediately afterwards. This was an address, by way of intimidation, to Clement. The opinions of certain foreign Universities, and of learned individuals, in favour of Henry's separation, were arriving, and, by the month of June, this letter or

⁷ Bishop of Tarbe's letter, in Le Grand.

address being ready, it was to be sent off as soon as signatures could be obtained. The Pontiff was here very pointedly informed, that if he delayed longer what they styled justice, some *other remedy* would certainly be tried. The reader, of course, has not forgotten that the idea of Henry himself being "Head of the Church," had already been suggested by Crumwell, and that it had taken full possession of his mind; but his subjects were not, as yet, prepared for such a step; though the hierarchy and all its dependences lay at his feet, as they are to feel, in time convenient.

The signatures to this document are of some importance, as affording some light with regard to Henry's critical situation at the moment. After Wolsey's degradation and banishment from the court, for months, one should not have supposed that *his* name would have been regarded as any ornament; but then it might still have great weight at *Rome*, and here it stands at the top of the list. Though so late in the year, nothing positive seems as yet to have been suspected of him. At all events, so eager was the King to have the Cardinal's name, that Brereton, one of his privy counsellors, and Wriothsley, King-at-Arms, were sent down from London; and arriving at Wolsey's on the 15th of June, he was raised out of his bed, near the dead of the night to sign this letter, that they might reach the Earl of Shrewsbury before the morning.⁸ But though the Cardinal of York had subscribed, here we find only *four* Bishops; Longland of Lincoln being the only one of eminence.⁹ As for others, they took part with the Queen. Fisher, West, and Standish were of her council; and Tunstal, though formerly with the King, seems to have so far changed his opinion. The number of Abbots might seem to compensate for this, as they had great influence, and were very wealthy; but had they, by this time, only suspected that the dissolution of monasteries was so near, assuredly there had not been so many of their signatures. We look in vain for the new Lord Chaucellor's name. Eighty-one signatures were ultimately obtained.¹⁰

This letter was not long despatched, before Wolsey's artful proceedings had excited apprehension; nor was the influence of Catharine, at the Court of Rome, undreaded. As a precautionary step, something more must be done than merely wait for any reply to this menacing epistle. On the 16th of September, therefore, a proclamation was issued "pro-

⁸ See the graphical account of this in Cavendish's life of Wolsey, by Singer, vol. i., p. 252. Wolsey signed with great good will *apparently*, but most probably as a blind, "and gave each of them four old sovereigns of gold, desiring them to take it in *grace*" (good will) "saying that if he had been of greater ability, their reward should have been better." But they were not contented, and Cavendish was far from being pleased with their accepting the money "so disdainously."

⁹ The other three were Sherburn of Chichester, Kite of Carlisle, and Rawlins of St. Davids.

¹⁰ Namely—The two Archbishops, four Bishops, and twenty-two Abbots, two Dukes, two Marquises, thirteen Earls, twenty-five Barons, eleven Knights and Doctors, or about fifty laymen out of eighty-one. Herbert and Turner date this letter on the 30th of July, and represent it as proceeding from the Lords and Commons *in* Parliament. But there was no Parliament sitting, as Burnet has remarked, and the letter was sent about for signature. He also asserts that the letter bears date the 13th, which is most probable, as the King was gathering signatures by the middle of June. The name of *Sir Thomas More*, though Lord Chancellor, is *not* subscribed here.

hibiting any person to purchase *from Rome*, to publish or divulge any thing, heretofore *within this year past purchased*, or to be purchased hereafter, prejudicial to Henry's royal prerogative, or to the *hindrance of his noble, virtuous, and intended purposes!*" Such a step could not pass unheeded. "It was," says Halle, "much mused at, and every word of the same well noted. Some said it was made because the Queen had purchased a new Bull, for the ratification of her marriage; others said, it was made because the Cardinal had purchased one, to curse the King, if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and suffer him to correct the Spirituality, and he (the King) not meddle with the same." It was no doubt an effectual stop-gap against both parties; but "this last conjecture," Halle adds, "sounded most like the truth;" and the sequel will show how far it was correct or well grounded.

It was in these circumstances that the once aspiring Cardinal was fast approaching his tombless grave, and so far from restoration to his "old dignities," he was soon to bid farewell,—“a long farewell to all his greatness.” Whatever were the misdemeanours with which Wolsey had been charged in the close of last year, Henry, on the 12th of February, had granted him a free pardon, assigned to him a liberal donation, amounting in money and moveables to above £6000 sterling; and had left him in possession of the revenues of Winchester and York.

From Esher he had removed to Richmond park, in March, and from thence, ultimately took up his abode at Cawood Castle, twelve miles from York. Still, however, it was not in Wolsey's nature to remain passive under disgrace. He was gaining most effectually on the hearts of the people, carrying himself to all ranks, as Shakspeare said, "sweet as summer;" and thus there seems to be too much reason to believe, laying a train by which he might influence, if not overawe the King. The first suspicions of Wolsey's policy and proceedings, appear not to have come to a point till the very time when this proclamation was issued; but even as early as the 18th of August, Crumwell, in about the last letter he ever wrote to him, had warned him very seriously of their existence.

"Sir, some there be that doth allege that your Grace doth keep a great house and family, and that ye are *continually* building. For the love of God, therefore, I again, as I *oftentimes* have done, most heartily beseech your Grace to have respect to every thing; and, considering the time, to refrain yourself, for a season, from all manner (of) building, more than mere necessity requireth; which, I assure your Grace, shall cease, and put to silence some persons that much speaketh of the same." He then adds significantly,—“In my opinion, your Grace being *as ye are*, I suppose ye would not be *as ye were*, to win a hundred times as much as ever ye were possessed of.”¹¹

¹¹ Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, vol. iii., No. 303.

In short, as his secret movements in England, and his correspondence with Rome were detected, he was arrested for high treason by the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Walsh, and ordered up to London for trial. By various historians it has been supposed, that this step was adopted with the view of rendering Wolsey more conformable to the divorce. But had he not subscribed the threatening address to Clement? and except it was actually found out that this was only a stroke of policy, how could he seem *more* conformable? He was arrested on Friday the 4th of November, and on the 6th he was upon his way to London; the *very day* he had fixed for his being enthroned at York, as Archbishop. "The Lords of Norfolk and Suffolk have told me," said the French ambassador, in writing to his court on the 10th of November, "that they have many important matters against him, and many grave accusations; and among these, *as the King informed me*, that he has been machinating against his Majesty, both in the kingdom and abroad; and has mentioned to me where and how; and that one of his own servants had discovered it, and laid the accusation. These new things much aggravate the old ones. I greatly lament his misfortune, but cannot remedy it."¹²

Wolsey professed himself to have no fear, but he could not disguise it; the shock was unexpected at the moment, and he soon sunk under it; for though he set out on his journey in safe keeping, he could move no farther than Leicester Abbey. The most melancholy feature of his dying hour was, that he literally expired with the language of a persecutor on his lips. Addressing himself to Sir William Kingston, the Constable of the Tower, whom Henry had sent down to convey him, he said:—"Well, well, Master Kingston, I see the matter against me, how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal Majesty. And say furthermore, that I request his Grace, *in God's name*, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such a sort, as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them;" and after exhausting himself by a long harangue in the same style, referring to Wickliffe and Sir John Oldcastle, he closed with these words,—"*from the which mischief, God, of his tender mercy defend us!*" Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draweth on fast. I may not tarry with you. And forget not, I pray you, what I have said and charged you withal: for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words much

¹² Le Grand 3, p. 529. This was evidently the language of sympathy and regret,—it was that of his former friend and inmate, Giovanni Joacchino Passano, commonly called Joachin, and afterwards Seigneur de Vaux, originally a Genoese merchant.

better." "And even with *these* words," adds Cavendish, "he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail; his eyes being set in his head, his sight failed him."

He had arrived at this Abbey only on Saturday evening, and now breathed his last, at eight o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, the 29th of November. The body was dressed in his robes, and in less than *twenty-two hours* committed to the grave; for by six o'clock on Wednesday morning, Cavendish, his confidential servant, and the other parties, had left for London.

Thus the man who had been literally clothed in purple or scarlet and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day,—having daily in his hall three special tables spread for his principal officers; who had the highest nobility for his household servants; his steward, treasurer, and comptroller in waiting, with their white robes, as in the King's palace; his master-cook, in damask satin, with a chain of gold round his neck; with hundreds of individuals, of various ranks, in daily attendance on his person: This man who had a most penetrating judgment, in consequence of a well furnished mind;—who had raised himself from humble rank to the highest degree of power, of wealth, and of worldly dignity, which had ever been enjoyed by any English subject;—who had not only governed England for the space of twenty years, but influenced the most important affairs of Europe; and during that period, had been courted, flattered, caressed, by the Kings of the civilized world;—this man dies, not merely in obscurity, but disgrace; and though the charge of high treason hung over him unrefuted, with his last breath he enforces persecution!!

In vain had he for years, been preparing for himself a monument of brass, of exquisite workmanship and at great expense. He may be buried in an abbey, but the very grave will, before long, be so treated, that no man in England shall be able afterwards to point to the spot where his bones were laid! Since 1524, or in other words, for the last six years of his prodigious power, though uncertain whether he should be interred in Italy or England, Wolsey had been preparing for posthumous glory. "He had begun," says Lord Herbert, "a monument for himself long since, (wherein, as appears by our records, he had not omitted his own *image*), which one Benedetto, a statuary of Florence, took in hand in 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for so much as was already done 4250 ducats; the design whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry the Seventh. Nevertheless, dying in this manner, King Henry made use of so much as he found fit, and called it his. Thus did the tomb of the Cardinal partake the same fortune with his college, as being assumed by the King."

Wolsey was the man with whom the dissolution of monasteries *originated*, employing *Crumwell* as one subordinate agent; and it is a singular

fact, that he had thus laid the train for his final resting-place being very soon disturbed. In less than seven years after this, and by this same Crumwell's authority, his servant and successor, *Leicester Abbey* was dissolved—the very place where Wolsey was now interred, had been bereaved of all its ornaments and plate, its lead and bells; and the visitors were only waiting one word from Crumwell to deface the buildings.¹³

A hundred years after this, Corbet, the Bishop of Norwich, supposing he had found the spot, in his own uncouth rhyme, exclaims:—

“ And though from his own store Wolsey might have
A Palace or a College for his grave,—
Yet here he lies interr'd,—as if that all
Of him to be remember'd, werc his fall.
Nothing but earth to earth, nor pompous weight
Upon him, but a pebble or a quoit.”¹⁴

About the year 1716, the very place of interment could not be ascertained. “That great lover of antiquity, Brown Willis, Esq.,” says Carte the English historian, “having an extraordinary veneration for Cardinal Wolsey as the original founder of Christ Church in Oxford, desired me to *try* if I could find out the sepulchre of the Cardinal, which I did, hoping that when I had provided tools and labourers, some others would have contributed with me to the expense; but finding that only *one* person would contribute *twelve-pence*, I desisted.”

“In the year 1787,” says the Cambridge Chronicle of the 2d of June, “as a labourer was digging for potatoes upon the spot where the high altar was *supposed* to stand, he found a human skull, with several other bones, all perfect. From the situation of the place, and other circumstances, it was conjectured, at the time, that this *might* be the identical skull of Wolsey!”

Thus, when he died, he carried nothing away, neither did his glory descend after him. Perhaps there never was another instance in the history of this country, which reminds one so strongly of that “great power” which the King of Israel said he saw “spreading like a green bay tree,—yet he passed away, and lo, he was gone: yea, I sought him, but he could nowhere be found!” Monuments, indeed, he left behind, which still remain as proofs of his taste in that age, as well as of his prodigious wealth; nor is the nation, even at this moment, entirely free of a peculiar influence, which, as *Vicar-General*, he first imparted to Henry the Eighth. This will be explained hereafter, when once Crumwell has stepped into his shoes, as the second, and far more influential, but the last *Vicar-General*.

The virulent opposition now manifested to Tyndale's translation of the Scriptures, and his other writings, it will be un-

¹³ Cotton MS. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 215.

¹⁴ Corbet's Northern Journey.

derstood, could only refer to his publications before this year ; so that what we are now going to relate, may be regarded as no slender testimony to their powerful effects upon his native country. As for the "Practice of Prelates," as soon as it begins to be known and felt, we shall find other measures resorted to, besides that of denunciation in England.

The first person who excites notice in 1530, was that poor old and blind, literally blind man, the Bishop of Norwich once more. He felt sorely annoyed by the circulation and effects of these English books. Three years ago, he had contributed, with great good will, towards the purchase made by Warham, of Tyndale's New Testaments,—a vain expedient, as might have been anticipated, to prevent their getting into the hands of the people. But he was as warm in the cause as ever, and his own words will best display the spirit with which he was agitated, though now in the eightieth year of his age ! His letter is addressed, as before, to his friend, the Archbishop.

"After most humble recommendations, I do your Grace to understand, that I am accumbered with such as keepesth and readeth these erroneus books in *English*, and believe and give credence to the same, and teacheth others, that they should so do. My Lord, I have done that lyoth in me for the suppression of such persons ; but it *passeth my power*, or any 'spiritual' man for to do it. For divers saith openly in my diocess, that the King's Grace *would* that they should have the said erroneus books, and so maintaineth themselves of the *King's*.¹⁵ Whereupon I desired my L. Abbot of Hyde,¹⁶ to shew this to the King's Grace, beseeching him to send his honourable letters, under his seal, down to whom he pleases in my diocess ; that they may show and publish that it is *not* his pleasure, that such books should be had or read, and also punish such as saith so.—The said Abbot hath the names of some that craeketh in the King's name, that their false opinions should go forth, and will die in the quarrel ; that their ungracious opinions be true ; and trusteth by Michaelmas day there shall be more that shall believe of their opinion, than they that believeth the contrary. If I had known that your Grace had been at London, I would have commanded the said Abbot to have spoken with you ; but your Grace may send for him, when ye please, and he shall show you my whole mind in this matter, and how I thought best for the suppression of such as holdeth these erroneus opinions ; *for if they continue any time*, I THINK THEY SHALL ENDO US ALL !

"The said Abbot departed from me on Monday last ; and sith that time I

¹⁵ This may seem strange,—but it is by no means unaccountable. The reader may call to mind the anecdote respecting "*The Obelisk*," p. 219. Henry was a strangely capricious being, saying one thing to day, and doing another to-morrow. Any of his loose expressions of favour would be eagerly caught up, and often repeated, so that nothing was more likely to follow than the impression of which Nix here complains. But ere long the Lords of Parliament, led on by the Bishops, will try to fix his Majesty, and make the royal trumpet give a *certain* sound.

¹⁶ John Saleot, alias Capon, D.D. Abbot of Hyde, who was made Bishop of Bangor afterwards at Croydon by Cranmer 19th April 1534, when he surely must have professed other sentiments.

have had much trouble and business with others in like matters ; as they say, wheresoever they go, they hear say, that the KING's pleasure is, *the New Testament in English shall go forth, and men should have it, and read it.* And, from that opinion, *I can by no means turn them, but (except) I had greater authority to punish them than I have.* Wherefore, I beseech your good Lordship to advertise the King's Grace, as I trust the said Abbot hath done before this letter shall come unto your Grace, that a remedy may be had.

“ But now it may be done well in my dioecess ; for the gentlemen and the commonality be not greatly infected ; but merchants, and such that hath their abiding not far from the sea. The said Abbot of Hyde can shew you of a Curate, and well learned, in my dioecess, that exhorted his parishioners to believe contrary to the Catholic faith. There is a Colledge in Cambridge, called Gnnel Hall, of the foundation of a Bishop of Norwich.¹⁷ I hear of no clerk that hath come out lately of that Colledge, but *saroureth of the fryng-pan*, though he speak never so holily.¹⁸

“ I beseech your Grace to pardon me of my rude and tedious writing to you : the zeal and love that I owe to Almighty God cause me this to do ! And thus Almighty God long preserve your Grace in good prosperity and health. At Hoxne, the xiiii day of May 1530, Your obediensary and daily orator.”¹⁹

But there was no occasion for this miserable old man being so urgent. Little did he know how deeply Warham and his brethren were impressed with the impending danger, if these books were not seized and burnt. The highest authorities were now all alive to the perils of the hierarchy. For some time, the united strength of the most able opponents in the kingdom—Lord Chancellor More, Warham, Tunstal, and Gardiner, had been employed in framing an authoritative list of all the heresies detected in Tyndale's writings, with a denunciation of them all. Tyndale's *name*, too, in connexion with his *New Testament and Pentateuch*, was now still more distinctly branded, even by *royal* authority. These prelates and their assistants had contrived to find out about two hundred heretical sentences in only six publications, of which one hundred and seven were charged upon “ Tyndale and Fryth.”

“ All which great errors and pestilent heresies, being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, with the *translation* also of Scripture *corrupted* by William Tyndal, as well in the *Old Testament* as in the *New*, and all other books in *English* containing such errors ; *the King's Highness present in person*, by one whole advice and assent of the Prelates and clerks, as well of the Universities, as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his subjects.”

¹⁷ Referring to Gonvill, now Gonville and Caius College.

¹⁸ These men seem to insinuate that they literally *smell* a heretic, for it was a cant phrase among them. West, the Bishop of Ely, applied it to Dr. Barnes. Indeed, a similar style was as old as the days of Chaucer—“ *I smell a Loller in the wind.*”

¹⁹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra. E. v., fol. 360.

After this followed a long "Bill in English to be published by the Preachers," that his Highness' pleasure and determination should be known in "all his Realm." From this it is worth while to quote a few significant sentences and phrases, as some index to the virulence of the whole—

"Wherefore, you that have the books called—'The Obedience of a Christian Man—the Sum of Scripture—the Revelation of Antichrist—the Supplication of Beggars—Mammon—the Matrimony of Tyndale—the New Testament in English, of the translation that is now printed,' and such other books in English—*detest them—abhor them—keep them not in your hands—deliver them to the superiors, such as call for them:* And if by reading of them heretofore, any thing remains in your breast of that teaching, either forget it, or, by information of the truth, expel it. This you ought to do; and being obstinate, the *Prelates of the Church* ought to compel you; and your *Prince* to punish and correct you, not doing the same. Finally, it appeared that having of the whole Scripture is not necessary to Christian men; and like as the having of the Scripture in the *vulgar* tongue and in the *common people's hands*, hath been by the Holy Fathers of the Church in *sometimes* thought meet and convenient, so, at *another time*, it hath been thought *not expedient* to be communicate amongst them. Wherein, forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture, *at this time*, in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, should rather be to the farther *confusion and destruction*, than the edification of their souls. And it was thought there, in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the King's Highness, and the Prelates, in so doing, not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate to the people in the English tongue, at this time, doth *vell*. 'And I also think' (was the preacher to say) 'and judge the same; exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his Highness did there openly say and protest, that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue: to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.' "

At the close it is said, "his Grace's Highness being in person in the Chapel called the Old Chapel, which sometime was called St. Edward's Chamber, sat on the east side of the Parliament chamber, within his Grace's Palace at Westminster, upon the 24th day of May, the year of our Lord 1530, and in the twenty-second year of our reign. And then and there, in the presence of all the personages there assembled, required three Notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and set to thereunto *our seal* accordingly." The Notaries attesting were Thomas Ashley, Richard Watkyns, and Matthew Grafton; the last of whom had been frequently employed by Tunstal in 1528.

This original document, closely written on eight skins of parchment, may still be seen in the Library at Lambeth Palace.²⁰ At the end there is an array of twenty names, pointing out the most noted persons *present* on this occasion, to which they add, "with many more learned men of the said

²⁰ It is engrossed in Warham's Reg. fol. 100, and in Wilkins, vol. iii., p. 727. The heresies, falsely so called, are well answered by Foxe; and the "Bill to be published by the Preachers," is given by Collier, without abridgment.

Universities, in a great number assembled, then and there together witness to the premises required and adhibited." But although the language employed was no doubt intended to convey the idea, it by no means follows, that they *individually* assented; far from it. A minority there was, we know from other sources, though we cannot give their names. More and Warham, Tunstal and Gardiner, the framers of the whole, besides others, of course cordially approved of every word; but *Hugh Latimer* was among the number present, and this has perplexed or misled more critics than one.²¹ Perhaps he had no business to be there, however anxious to know what was going on; but the occasion of his being in such bad company admits of explanation, after which he will appear in his noblest character.

Latimer had been preaching, ever since he saw Wolsey at Whitehall, and before then he had argued for the Scriptures being given to *all*. For some time, also, before the present period, it had been in his favour, that his old opponent, West, the Bishop of Ely, took part with Queen Catherine, and was one of her Advocates. Henry, eager to have the assent of the University of Cambridge to his divorce, had sent down Dr. Butts, the physician, to promote this object. Latimer, whatever may be said, approved of the divorce, and, therefore, so pleased if not aided the Doctor, that he invited him to accompany him to London. Introducing him to the King, he had been officiating before him at Windsor in the month of March. In the afternoon of Sunday the 27th, while Latimer was preaching, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. William Buckmaster, arrived with the University's letters for his Majesty.²² The King was not altogether satisfied with their decisions, but Latimer was already high in favour. "At afternoon," says Buckmaster himself, "I came to Windsor, and also to part of Mr. Latimer's sermon, and after the end of

²¹ One of these, Henry Wharton, under the assumed name of Anthony Harmer, was very severe. In his criticism on Burnet, he says, "Latimer was one of those divines, who, (being deputed by the University of Cambridge,) joined with Archbishop Warham, and other Bishops and divines, in condemning all English translations of the Scripture; and solemnly subscribed this determination, *the publication of the H. Scripture in the vulgar tongue, is not necessary to Christians; and the King's Majesty and the Bishops do well in forbidding to the people the common use of the H. Scripture in the English tongue.* This was done in the year 1530." Wharton ought to have known better than this. No one subscribed but the three Notaries. Latimer was not deputed by the University. But more than this, the whole representation is not only incorrect, but the reverse of the truth.

²² Not Dr. Edmonds, as erroneously stated by some writers.

the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary—and so after even-song I delivered our letters in the chamber of presence, all the Lords beholding. His Highness gave me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. But by and bye, he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and, in so praising, said on this wise: 'This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vic-Chancellor yonder. Yon same,' said he unto the Duke of Norfolk, 'is Mr. Vic-Chancellor of Cambridge,' and so pointed to me."²³ The next day, after another conversation with Henry, the King having told him that he would have their final and a better decision, Buckmaster was dismissed home after Easter; but Latimer still remained, and continued preaching.

Meanwhile, Warham's party were already sitting in council at Westminster, and Latimer, not having left London, was present among others, on the 24th of May, but *his* account of the meeting afterwards was this. Referring his Majesty to that very day, he tells him, "As concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors were they, whose *evil living* and *cloaked hypocrisy* these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that (although) there were three or four that *would have had the Scripture to go forth in English*, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcome the better; and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as *yours*, but as *theirs*, set forth in your name; as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury."

These proceedings, says Burnet, were printed in June, but when once they were sent forth through the country, so far from having assented to them, they proved the urgent motive to one of the noblest acts of Latimer's varied life—his well known letter to Henry the VIII., of this year. The words already quoted are taken from it, and though it be an anticipation, by way of despatching all we require to say of Latimer at present, a few sentences more will explain his views and feelings, as to these Bishops and their doings.

"Your Grace," says he, "may see what means and craft the Spirituality (as they *will* be called) imagine to break and withstand the *acts*, which were made

²³ MS. c. c. c. Burnet's Reform. iii., app. p. 23, ed. 1715.

in your Grace's last Parliament, against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ."²⁴

Alluding then to the results of this proclamation, he goes on to say, "Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, 'by their fruits ye shall know them.' For where you see persecution, *there* is the Gospel, and *there* is truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light which 'is come into the world,' and which shall utter and shew forth every man's works. And they whose works be nought, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting (obstructing) as much as they may, *that the Holy Scripture* should not be read in our *mother tongue*, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection; and so they persuade, at the least way they would fain persuade, your Grace to keep it back. But here, mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that *that* which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing, (in order) to hold and keep still this wicked *Mammon*, the goods of this world which is their *God*; and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the Sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

"But as concerning this matter, *other men* have showed your Grace their minds, *how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English*. The which thing also your Grace hath *promised* by your last proclamation: the which promise, I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let not the *wickedness of these worldly men* detain you from your godly purpose and *promise*.

Nor was Tyndale's New Testament, or even the Pentateuch only arrived this year, forgotten on this occasion. "For what marvel is it," says he, "that they being so nigh of your Council, and so familiar with your Lords, should provoke both *your Grace and them* to prohibit these books, which before, by *their own* authority, have forbidden the *New Testament*, under pain of everlasting damnation? For such is their manner; to send a *thousand* men to hell, ere they send *one* to God: and yet the New Testament, and so I think by the *other*, (the Pentateuch or the old) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault." Thus repeating to Henry the precise language of our Translator, though now so denounced by name.

Even the Lord Chancellor More was not spared. "And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in *this* matter. For there be some that for fear of losing their worldly worship and honour, will not leave their opinion; which rashly, and that to please men withal, by whom they had great promotion, they *took upon them to defend by writing*, so that now they think that all their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have *so slanderously* oppressed, should be *now* put forth and allowed.

"Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance: whom I pray to God that your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God: that you may do that which God commandeth, and not that which seemeth good in your own sight, without the Word of God: that your Grace

²⁴ The acts in reference to mortuaries, pluralities, and non-residence, at the close of 1529.

may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the *members* of His Church; and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, that you may be found a faithful *minister* of his gifts, and *not a defender of his faith*; for He *will not have it defended by MAN, or man's POWER, but by His Word only*, by the which He hath evermore defended it; and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

“Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself. Have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and be not ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have, as they say, your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to Him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace. Anno Domini 1530, lmo. die Decembris.”

Certainly no monarch was ever more pointedly addressed, or more seasonably and faithfully warned. It seems, therefore, unaccountable that Latimer should have ever been supposed to assent to such proceedings, merely because his name was mentioned as being present. The calumny, however, no doubt unwittingly, has been bound up, even with the reprint of Tyndale's New Testament, in our own day. At that moment, indeed, the Bishops might think it fortunate to have such a name appended, but had they foreseen the result, it had never been there. Meanwhile, Latimer had done what he could to damage this Royal and prelatial Bull.

To return, however, to these Bishops as a body; having in May secured their object, in so far as a *Royal* proclamation could go, it seems to have been with a view to greater effect, that a second grand and more public *book-fire* was then determined. The first had been the result of Wolsey's “secret search” in 1526; the present was the consequence of the negociation at Antwerp last year. Warham's purchase in 1527, was disposed of, or consumed, without show; but Tunstal had reserved his books till now. Tyndale by name, and his translation, had both been branded by royal authority, and the Bishop, no doubt, thought it a fortunate moment for fulfilling his purpose. “I intend, surely,” said he at Antwerp, “to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross.” Accordingly, says Halle, “this year in *May*, the Bishop of London” (formerly, now of Durham) “caused all his New Testaments which he had bought, with many other books, to be brought into Paul's Church Yard, in London,

and there were openly burned."²⁵ That Tunstal was acting for Stokesly, till his return from the Continent, and recording what was doing in the diocese till then, is evident from several documents at the *close* of his Register.²⁶

There was, however, a great difference between the effects of this burning, and that in the year 1526. Then the people, generally, were not aware of the value of what they saw consumed; but it was far otherwise *now*, and this alone is a proof that the cause of Divine Truth, which the Bishops would

²⁵ Strype, and several other writers, erroneously have ascribed this burning of books to Stokesly, as he was then Bishop of London *elect*, but all this was Tunstal's doing alone. Stokesly was then in Italy, as already noticed. Tunstal had been translated to Durham, by a bull dated 18th Feb. 1530, and confirmed to that See on the 25th of March.—*Rymer*, xiv. p. 364. Before his removal, it may be added, he had bestowed much money in furnishing a library in Cambridge, both of printed books and manuscripts; but the *printed Scriptures in English*, with other good books, he had separated for destruction, and most cordially would he act for Stokesly, till he came home. Wood in one place represents Stokesly as installed on the 19th of July, but this he could not be. In June he was at Bologna, very busy in Henry's service, and there is a despatch from him as late as 23d September.—*Herbert*, p. 320. Probably he did not arrive in England for some time after this, as he was not installed Bishop of London till the 20th of December.—*Wood's Fasti*. And hence it is, that, when he consigned Bayfield to the flames, on the 20th Nov. 1531, he dates it "the first year of our consecration."

²⁶ One of these documents has rather perplexed some inspectors of the Register. It is the bull of Leo the Tenth, against Luther and his doctrines, though dated as far back as 1520, which has been formally copied and inserted in 1530. The fact is, that in most of these ancient Registers, from that of Baudake, beginning in 1306, down to that of Compton in 1700, there are various instruments to be found, bearing date *before the time* of their respective Bishops. Some cause, in the Bishop's estimation, called for the exhibition of the original document, and hence its insertion at a later period, even though not recorded at the time. Without attention to this, the most ridiculous blunders may be committed. Thus, here we have a bull, though dated in 1520, inserted ten years later, or immediately after certain proceedings against Dr. Edward Crome in 1530, and before others against Latimer. But this insertion is highly significant, and the mystery admits of an easy solution. It is notorious that Tunstal and Sir Thomas More were at once zealous and united in the persecution of men called heretics, as well as violently opposed to the books they had published; the Bishop's famous license to Sir Thomas also preceding this document; and though Tunstal saved his own head, no one Bishop was more slow in the admission of Henry's assumed supremacy, so that we shall find him hesitating even next year. Both these men persecuted, without the King's writ, and Tunstal being thus busy for years, *preferred at this juncture*, the bull of Leo, as the ground and warrant of his proceedings, to that of Henry's sanction as "Head of his Church." It will be recollected that neither Tunstal's nor More's name were affixed to the letter sent to the Pontiff.

This view is strengthened, or rather confirmed, by a list, or column of names, written on the last leaf of this copy of the bull. There are nineteen foreigners, beginning with Luther and his adherents, and three Englishmen, or Tyndale, Brightwell, and Roy. These are the names of those very authors whose books had been proscribed and condemned in 1530. The translations, expositions, and tracts, of at least fifteen, out of these twenty-two living writers, "imported into the City of London," had just been condemned, as given by Foxe. In this list of names we observed the ink to be faded, and therefore it had been written *afterwards*, but, by *internal evidence*, not long after. Thus, the three Englishmen, who are placed by themselves, last in the list, and marked *Angli* on the right, are "Willms Tyndall, Willms Roy, *Apostata*, Ricus Brightwell." Here *Roy alone* is distinguished as *apostate*, he alone being a *friar*, and belonging to the Monastery of "Grenwycche," as marked on the left, and agreeably to the information furnished by Tyndale himself, in his first edition of the "Wicked Mammon." But the last appellation, *Brightwell*, being that which was affixed by Fryth to his first publication, "the Revelation of Antichrist in 1529," shows that "Richard Brightwell" was *still* supposed to be the real name of some person. This fixes the time of writing to about 1531, at the latest. The strangely mistaken use made of this list, in a recent sketch of Tyndale, occasioned a reviewer in the Christian Observer of 1836 no little research, without his being able to arrive at any distinct solution. The length of this note may therefore be excused. Another instance of an *old* document copied into this Register, and in connexion with one of the men who finally apprehended Tyndale, will occur afterwards, in its proper place.

tain have crushed, was making decided progress. This burning “*had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded, there must be a visible contrariety between that book, and the doctrines of those who handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament was increased.*”²⁷

In corroboration of this statement, it is certain that neither the purchase at Antwerp, nor the burning at Paul’s Cross, had any effect on the importations into this country, except the reverse of what was intended and desired by the enemy; and before long Tunstal himself was fully sensible of this. “*Afterwards,*” says Halle, “*when more New Testaments were imprinted, they came thick and threefold into England, the Bishop of London,*” (now of Durham,) “*hearing that still there were so many, sent for Augustine Packington, and said to him—‘Sir, how cometh 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 then 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 you are sure.’ The Bishop smiled at him, and said—‘Well, Packington, well;’ and so ended the matter.*”

And so, perhaps, ended the device of purchasing books in order to burn them; but it will not be long before we find these enemies proceed to men themselves, and, with a bitter zeal, still more inflamed, consign *them* to the fire; for very soon after this, seizing and burning men instead of their productions, or the books in their possession, became the order of the day. But it is with books we have now to do, and there is no doubt that while Wolsey was descending to the devouring grave, and the Bishops, with the King at their head, were imagining a vain thing, the printing press was as busy as ever. Another edition of Tyndale’s New Testament was executed this year, and it is the more worthy of notice, that there appears to have been a positive connexion between him and it. The author is perfectly aware that the edition of 1534, has

been styled the *second* genuine edition of Tyndale, but so many mistakes have been detected already, that one need not feel any surprise if this should prove another.

It has, indeed, been often stated, that with the money received from Tunstal, Tyndale reprinted the New Testament, and Hamburgh has also been mentioned as the place where one edition was printed. Tyndale had, as we have seen, gone to Hamburgh, and there is no evidence to be found of his having returned to Antwerp during the whole of this year. But whether it was executed in Hamburgh or elsewhere, of his having now printed an edition, though he had no time as yet to *revise* the version, there can be little or no doubt. Foxe, and Strype, and Tanner, expressly assign this edition to Tyndale, the last stating Marburg as the place of printing. But there are corroborating circumstances as to the book itself. It is not till the close of this year, or rather the following spring, that we hear of Tyndale having *a brother*, and resident in London; and if the records of the Star Chamber are to be received as evidence, it is there distinctly stated, that he "sent the Testaments, and divers other books, to his brother, John Tyndale, a merchant in London." This impression, too, has been pronounced to be more correct than the Antwerp editions, at least so said the late Bishop Tomline: and when we come to John's apprehension and appearance before Sir Thomas More, as well as the importations by Richard Bayfield, little doubt will remain as to this reprint coming from the original translator, although he had not found leisure as yet to improve the translation.

About the end of this year an incident occurred, which may seem unaccountable, as out of keeping with the usual current of events; were it not that the capricious temper of the monarch admitted both of words and actions, directly at variance with each other. Mr. Fyshe, the author of "the Supplication of Beggars," we found had been in London in the summer of 1526, as well as in 1528; and, according to his wife's representation, in Foxe, "he had been absent now the space of two years and a-half." His tract, as we have seen, had interested Henry, when first he saw it in 1526; and this excellent woman having gained access to the King, he engaged that her husband should "come and go safe, without peril, and that no man should do him harm,"

if she brought him to the royal presence. Emboldened by the King's words, she went and brought him. His Majesty conversed with him, it is said, for above three hours, and, in the end, desired him to take his wife home, for she had taken great pains for him. Fyshe had fled formerly for fear of the Cardinal, and now he replied—"he durst not so do, for fear of Sir Thomas More the Chancellor, and Stokesly the Bishop of London." The King, taking the signet from his finger, recommended him to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to molest him. More received the signet as a sufficient safe-guard, of course, but enquired if he had any discharge for his *wife*? She had displeased the *friars*, by not allowing them to say their Gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, and insisted that they should say them in *English*. Next morning, More actually sent his man for her, but her young daughter being sick of the plague, prevented his approach, as well as any farther molestation. Within six months after this, Mr. Fyshe himself died of the same disease, and was interred in St. Dunstan's, *the very same church where Tyndale had been accustomed to preach in 1523*. The Chancellor, in his loose and mendacious style, represented him as recanting before he died, of which there is not the slightest evidence. His widow was afterwards married to a gentleman of the same profession as her first husband, Mr. Baynham, of whom we shall hear before long.²⁸

SECTION VIII.

FORMIDABLE OPPOSITION—PURSUIT AFTER TYNDALE BY THE KING AND CRUMWELL—STILL IN VAIN—TYNDALE'S ANSWER TO SIR T. MORE—EPIS-
TLE OF JOHN EXPOUNDED—JONAH, WITH A PROLOGUE—CRITICAL STATE
OF ENGLAND—RENEWED PERSECUTION—BROTHER OF TYNDALE—BILNEY
—BAYFIELD—MANY BOOKS IMPORTING—CONSTANTYNE CAUGHT—ESCAPES
—PERSECUTION ABROAD—POWERFUL REMONSTRANCE FROM ANTWERP
WITH CRUMWELL, INCLUDING THE KING AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

THE principal feature of the present year was that of deter-

²⁸ See Wood's *Ath.* by Bliss, i., p. 59-60, and Foxe's "Story of Simon Fyshe." The latter is full of mistakes as to years, a not unusual fault, but the substance of his narrative often supplies the corrective. Foxe traces the hand of Anne Boleyn in this transaction, and this is not im- probable. But, at the same time, it is particularly worthy of remark, that the incident took place just at the period when Henry had received the noble letter of *Latimer* already referred to, and it may be allowed to have produced some temporary impression. Surely it must.

mined opposition to Divine truth, abroad as well as at home ; for although one man had been raised up by God to lead on the faithful, unquestionably it was truth alone which occasioned all the uproar, not the opinions of men. And as to our native land especially, if we should still farther discriminate, it was through the Book of God, in our native language, that Divine truth now penetrated into the heart of this country.

Last year had witnessed the Royal denunciation of our Translator by name, as well as all that he had then published ; but since then, by his " Practice of Prelates," he had advanced one step farther, in combating the darkness and superstition which covered the land. That tract had been read by men of every grade, from the palace itself, down to the hamlet ; by citizens of London, and husbandmen in Essex, in Suffolk, and elsewhere. Here he had not only implored, but warned the King to beware of persecution, and faithfully gave his judicious opinion with regard to the divorce ; that miserable question still in discussion throughout Europe. By this year, however, Henry had nearly got this question framed, according to his own liking, and as he was soon to bring it before Parliament, he must have felt incensed by Tyndale's reference to its proceedings, not to say that the next would lie open to a second review. Besides, Sir Thomas More had but lately come into office, and he, with the Bishops, had cordially concurred in advising persecution, having secured the royal name to sanction and enforce their measures. The safety of Tyndale, therefore, was now in far greater hazard, than it ever had been in the days of the Cardinal. Wolsey had been roused from his lair, chiefly by the Satyre of Royle, and his chase of the prey had ended with his own downfall ; but the truth and good sense contained in Tyndale's last production, was like a spur by far too sharp for the passions and the pride of such a man as Henry the Eighth. His anxiety to seize the man, or allure him into the kingdom, will be found to harmonise with the growing ferocity of his character. Tyndale's escapes, during this year, must have illustrated the tender care of a gracious Providence ; but the mystery now is, how he had contrived to make such progress at the press. Yet once engaged he had determined not only to maintain his ground, but advance in the prosecution of his great enterprise. This year was, therefore, distinguished by the appearance of not

fewer than three distinct pieces. His answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue ; his Exposition of the First Epistle of John ; and his translation of the Prophet Jonah, with a long preface or prologue.

The annoyance and persecution of Tyndale personally, however, preceded the appearance of any of these pieces, and it is due to their contents that this should first be noticed. Denunciation of the Scriptures, and of all that he had published, would now no longer suffice. The King was incensed, and before the summer of this year, would have dealt with anything of Tyndale's, as Jehoiakim did of old with Jeremiah's roll. The Priests of the day also, as in the case of another ancient Prophet, had thought of the man, if not said,—“the land is not able to bear all his words.” The strong arm of power must be stretched out to reach him if possible, and, no doubt, there were not a few who imagined, that his days were now numbered. Amidst all *other* affairs, the apprehension of Tyndale at this period, held a place in point of importance, which has never before been fully explained. It would certainly be too severe, to ascribe all the measures adopted to Henry alone, even though he should appear most conspicuous, and engaged in eager pursuit, through the instrumentality of three, if not four, individuals ; for still the head and hand of Sir Thomas More, and the hearts of the Bishops, sanctioned all ; but it will be far more melancholy, if Crumwell, so lately come into power, should appear to be a most willing agent, and even Cranmer, for many a day, nay, throughout the whole of Tyndale's lifetime, evince no sympathy whatever !

The Government persecution of our Translator, which had now commenced, lends a peculiar emphasis to every page he had already emitted, but more especially to the publications of the present year.

In December last, the aunt of Charles, Lady Margaret, or Regent of the Low Countries, had died, and the Emperor had nominated his sister, Mary, Queen of Hungary, to succeed. She, however, did not assume the reins of government till October of this year. Whether this interregnum was deemed favourable to the apprehension of Tyndale, is not distinctly expressed ; but certainly no time was lost in taking advantage of it : and it was during this season that he was next so keenly pursued. Hackett, who is already well

known to the reader, returned to England after Lady Margaret's decease, bearing a letter, dated 3d January 1531, from the Emperor to Henry;²⁹ but he was sent abroad again that same year, and had an audience in June, at Ghent, with Mary, the new Regent.³⁰ Most gladly would *he* have apprehended the Translator of the books he had so repeatedly burned; but, independently of him, or immediately after the death of Margaret, if not before, it had been resolved to send two accredited Envoys to the Low Countries, one of whom, if not both, were charged with special instructions in reference to Tyndale. The first, Mr. Stephen Vaughan, was much employed in commercial and pecuniary negociations, down to as late a period as 1546. The second was Thomas Wriothsley, uncle to the first Earl of Southampton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and the second Earl. The first, by far the most candid of the two, was stationed at Barrow and Antwerp, and the second, a uniform enemy of the truth, repaired to Brussels.³¹ The draught of their credentials afterwards, upon Lady Mary's appearance, and as corrected by Henry's *own* hand, is now in the Museum.³²

So early as the 22d of January, Vaughan writes to Crumwell; and, on the 26th, we have his first letter to the King himself, the whole of which will disclose how much in earnest his Majesty had been, to lay hold on this eminent man, or get him within his grasp. The reader will have to bear with the style of his Majesty's correspondent, as well as his fulsome anxiety to please his royal Master; but there is no history to be compared with *letter* history, whether in regard to the evolution of character, or the actual state of things—

“Most excellent Prince, and my most redoubted Sovereign, mine humble observation due unto your Majesty—My mind continually labouring and thirsting, most dread and redoubtable Sovereign, with exceeding desire to attain the knowledge of such things as *your Majesty* commanded me to learn and practice in these parts, and thereof advertise you, from time to time, as the case should require. And being often dismayed with the regard of so many mischances, as always obviate and meet with my labours and policies, whereby the same (after great hope had, to do something acceptable unto your Highness' pleasure) turn suddenly to become frustrate, and of none effect, bringing me, doubtless,

²⁹ Cotton MS. Galba. B. ix., fol. 234.

³⁰ *Idem*, fol. 233.

³¹ Vaughan, in short, was the successor to Hackett, as King's agent or royal merchant, at a salary of twenty shillings per day, the usual sum to ambassadors; and equal to about £500 per annum, of the present time. This man will prove to have been an *à l'ère* of Crumwell's.

³² Galba, B. x., fol. 38, no date.

into right great sorrow and inquietude, considering that. Wherefore, lately, I have written three sundry letters unto *Willyam Tyndall*, and the same sent, for the more surety, to three sundry places—to Frankfort, Hamburgh, and Marleborough, (*i. e.* Marburg;) I then not being assured in which of the same he was. I had very good hope, after I heard say in England, that he would, upon the promise of your Majesty, and of your most gracious safe-conduct, be content to repair and *come into England*, that I should, partly therewith, and partly with such other persuasions as I then *devised* in my said letters, and, finally, with a promise which I made him—that whatsoever surety he would reasonably desire, for his safe coming in and going out of your realm, my friends should labour to have the same granted by your Majesty—(but) that now, the bruit and fame of such things (as since my writing to him) hath chanced within your realm, should provoke the man, not only to be minded to the contrary of that whereunto I had thought, without difficulty, to have easily brought him, but also to suspect my persuasions to be made to his more peril and danger; than, as I think, if he were verily persuaded and placed before you, (your most gracious benignity, and piteous regard natural, and custom always had, towards your humble subjects considered, and specially to those, which, (ac)knowledging their offences, shall humbly require your most gracious pardon,) he should ever have need to doubt or fear. Like as your Majesty as well by his letter, written with his own hand, sent to me for answer of my said letters; as also by the copy of another letter of his, answering *some other person*, whom your Majesty perhaps had commanded to persuade by like means may plain apperceive—which letters, like as together I received from the party, so send I, herewith inclosed to your Highness.

“And whereas I lately apperceived, by certain letters directed to me from Mr. Fitzwilliam,³³ Treasurer of your household, that I should endeavour myself, by all the ways and means I could study and devise, to *obtain* you a copy of the book, which I wrote was *finished*, by Tyndall, answering to a book put forth in the English tongue by my Lord Chancellor, and the same should send to your Majesty, with all celerity—I have undoubtedly so done and did, before the receipt thereof. Howbeit, I neither can get any of them, nor, as yet, (is it) come to my knowledge that any of them should be put forth; but being put forth, I shall then not fail, with all celerity, to send one unto your Highness.

“My business is such, during the marts, as giveth me little or none occasion to go abroad, whereby I might, by chance, hear some things meet for your gracious knowledge.—From Barrow, the 26 January, anno 1530,” *i. e.* 1531.³⁴

Vaughan, before he became irritated, was extremely solicitous to please the King, and was therefore anxious about the favourable reception of this, his first despatch; he therefore

³³ Sir William Fitzwilliam is meant, afterwards Earl of Southampton, the nephew of Wriothsley, already mentioned. The occasion of his being knighted, as reported by Stowe, was curious enough. He was one of those who subscribed the articles against Wolsey, but after his downfall, or in April last, he entertained him most kindly at his house in the country near Peterborough. “Being called before the King, and demanded how he durst entertain so great an enemy to the State? His answer was that he had not contemptuously or wilfully done it, but only because he had been his master, and partly the means of his greatest fortunes.” The King was so well pleased with his answer, that, saying, “himself had too few such servants,” immediately he knighted him, and afterward made him a Privy Counsellor.—*Stowe's London*. He died before his uncle, or in 1542, and Wriothsley himself, one of the ambassadors now before us, was then created Earl of Southampton, under King Edward, or immediately after Henry was laid in his grave.

³⁴ Cotton MS. Galba, B x., fol. 42.

accompanied it with the following—"To his Right Worshipful Mr., Master Thomas Crumwell, in London;" who had recommended him to his Majesty's notice.

"Sir,—Here see you my rudeness and inability to be a writer to so great a Prince, but his gracious benignity encourageth thus to do; which chancing to be acceptable to his Majesty, shall be to me an exceeding pleasure, and otherwise, the contrary. Wherefore, I most heartily pray you to wait a time for the delivery thereof, to be taken when you think his Highness will immediately look upon them; for then may it chance, if any fault be, your goodness towards me will excuse the same in the best manner.

"Herewith I send you the copy of one of Tyndalle's letters, which he sent to me; the other, for lack of leisure, I could not copy, being so long a matter. The 'Dialogue of Okham,' I have delivered to Mr. Tuke, who will bring you it in his mail, and will depart within four days next.³⁵ I pray you let me know how the King taketh my letters, as soon as it is possible.

"It is *unlikely* to get Tyndall into England, when he *daily heareth* so many things from thence which feareth him. After his book, answering my Lord Chaucellor's book, be put forth, I think he will write no more! *The man is of a greater knowledge than the King's Highness doth take him for, which well appeareth by his works. Would God HE WERE IN ENGLAND.*"

This envoy of Henry's, it may have been observed, alludes to some *other* person who had also written to Tyndale, and to whom he had replied. This could not be Wriothsley, otherwise he would have named him; but Vaughan's impression evidently was, that *various* individuals were now out in pursuit, and had been commissioned to seize the same man, or entice him into England. Tyndale also had replied to Vaughan, though still he could not find him out. In the meanwhile, chancing to meet with a part of the intended answer to Sir Thomas More, in *manuscript*, he immediately informs Crumwell, and actually sits down to copy it out for the King. February and March had passed away, when at last, and most unexpectedly, Tyndale himself gave him the benefit of a personal interview. Still more deeply interested, without loss of time, on the *next* day, or 18th of April, Vaughan despatches the following letter to his royal Master, from Antwerp, where Tyndale then was:—

³⁵ "A dialogue between a knight and a clerk, concerning the power spiritual and temporal." Thus early was this dialogue published abroad, which was afterwards printed by Berthelet, *cum privilegio* of Henry VIII. William of Ockham, so called from the village of that name, in Surrey where he was born, the author of this dialogue, written in the *beginning of the fourteenth century*, was the pupil of Duns Scotus, and afterwards his acute opponent, as head of the Nominalists. This notable little tract was written about 1305, to answer or silence the *Clergy* of the day, that the Roman Pontiff might exercise any jurisdiction over the temporalities of Princes; or the Church so called, be exempted from contributing in time of need, either for the relief of the poor, or the security of the nation where they abide. See Oldy's *British Librarian*, p. 5. Should Tyndale yet escape, this was a hook quite to *Crumwell's taste*, as to other men at home.

“ Please it your Majesty to be advertised, how that of late I obtained a copy of one part of Tyndale’s book, answering to the book put forth by My Lord Chancellor ; whereof immediately I gave knowledge to my Master, Mr. Crumwell, and him required thereof to advertise your Highness, as appertained (to him.) Which copy being rudely written, interlined, and difficult to be read, methought uncomely and not meet, in so vile array, to be sent to the hands of your Majesty. The regard whereof moved me to write it *again*, that it might come to your most gracious hands, the more legible and easy to your reading. Which part I have herewith sent unto your highness ; thinking that the matter therein contained, (for the modest order thereof,) in regard of his former writing, will somewhat better like you, than some other of his works, which he hath, with less advisement, more rashness, and ruder spirit, put forth before this time. This part, which your Grace receives now, is but a third or fourth part of his sole work ; but comprehendeth, in effect, the substance and pith of the other parts ; where he particularly answereth to every chapter of my Lord’s book, with such grounds as he hath laid in his first part, though he use in it a larger circumstance. The second part, I have in likewise obtained, which I will in likewise *write*, and send unto your Grace, with all convenient speed and celerity.

“ The day before the date hereof, (17th of April,) I spake with Tyndale without the town of Antwerp ; and by this means. He sent a certain person to seek me, whom he had advised to say, that a certain friend of mine, unknown to the messenger, was very desirous to speak with me ; praying me to take pains to go unto him, to such place as he should bring me. Then I (said) to the messenger,—‘ What is your friend, and where is he ? ’ ‘ His name I know not,’ said he, ‘ but if it be your pleasure to go where he is, I will be glad thither to bring you.’ Thus doubtful what this matter meant, I concluded to go with him, and followed him, till he brought me without the gates of Antwerp, into a field lying nigh unto the same, where was abiding me this said Tyndale.

“ At our meeting—‘ Do you not know me ? ’ said this Tyndale. ‘ I do not well remember you,’ said I to him. ‘ My name,’ said he ‘ is Tyndale.’ ‘ But, Tyndale,’ said I, ‘ fortunate be our meeting ! ’ Then Tyndale—‘ Sir, I have been exceeding desirous to speak with you.’ ‘ And I with you ; what is your mind ? ’ ‘ Sir,’ said he, ‘ I am informed that the King’s Grace taketh great displeasure with me, for putting forth of certain books, which I lately made in these parts ; but specially for the book named “ *The Practise of Prelates*,” whereof I have no little marvel,—considering that in it, I did but warn his Grace, of the subtle demeanour of the Clergy of his realm, towards his person ; and of the shameful abusions by them practised, not a little threatening the displeasure of his Grace, and weal of his realm : in which doing, I showed and declared the *heart of a true subject*, which sought the safe-guard of his royal person, and weal of his Commons : to the intent, that his Grace thereof warned, might, in due time, prepare his remedies against their subtle dreams. If, for my pains therein taken,—if for my poverty,—if for mine exile out of mine natural country, and bitter absence from my friends,—if for my hunger, my thirst, my cold, the great danger wherewith I am every where compassed ;—and finally, if for innumerable other hard and sharp fightings which I endure, not yet feeling of their asperity, by reason (that) I hoped with my labours, to do honour to God, true service to my Prince, and pleasure to his Commons ;—how is it that his Grace, this considering, may either by himself think, or by the persuasions of others, be brought to think, that in this doing, I should not show a pure mind, a true and incorrupt zeal, and affection to his Grace ? Was there in me any such

mind, when I warned his Grace to beware of his Cardinal, whose iniquity he shortly after proved, according to my writing? Doth this deserve hatred?

“Again, may his Grace, being a Christian prince, be so unkind to God, which hath commaunded his Word to be spread throughout the world, to give more faith to wicked persuasions of men, which presuming above God’s wisdom, and contrary to that which Christ expressly commaundeth in his *Testament*, dare say, *that it is not lawful for the people to hate the same, in a tongue that they understand; because the purity thereof should open men’s eyes to see their wickedness?* Is there more danger in the King’s subjects, than in the subjects of all other Princes, which, in every of their tongues have the same, under privilege of their sufferance? As I NOW AM, *very death were more pleasant to me than life, considering man’s nature to be such as can bear no truth.*”

“Thus, after a long communication had between us, for my part, making answer as my poor wit would serve me, which was too long to write; I assayed him with gentle persuasions, to know whether he would come *into England*; ascertaining him that means should be made, if he (only) thereto were minded, without his peril or danger, that he might so do: And that what surety he would devise for the same purpose, should, by labour of friends, be obtained of your Majesty. But to this he answered—that he neither would, nor durst, come into England, albeit your Grace would promise him never so much surety; fearing lest, *as he hath before written*, your promise made, should shortly be broken, by the persuasion of the Clergy; which would affirm, that promise made with hereties ought not to be kept.

“After this, he told me how he had finished a work against my Lord Chancellor’s book, and would not put it in print, till such time as your Grace had seen it; because he perceiveth your displeasure towards him, for hasty putting forth of his other works, and because it should appear that he is not of so obstinate mind, as he thinks he is reported unto your Grace. This is the substance of his communications had with me, which, as he spake, I have written to your Grace, word for word, as near as I could by any possible means bring to remembrance. My trust, therefore, is that your Grace will not but take my labours in the best part. I thought necessary to be written to your Grace.

“After these words, he then, being something fearful of me lest I would have pursued him, and drawing also towards night, he took his leave of me, and departed from the town, and I towards the town—saying, ‘I should shortly, peradventure, see him again, or if not, hear from him.’ Howbeit, I suppose, he afterward returned to the town by another way, for there is no likelihood that he should lodge without the town. Hasty to pursue him, I was not, because I had some likelihood to speak shortly again with him; and in pursuing him, I might perchance have *failed of my purpose, and put MYSELF in danger.*”

“To declare to your Majesty, what, in my poor judgment, I think of the man, I ascertain your Grace, I have not communed with a man——”³⁶

But, thus abruptly, does the manuscript break off. The character about to be given, no doubt, from what we have read, a favourable one, was most probably more than Henry could bear; and it would only have been in perfect conformity

³⁶ Cotton MS. Titus. B. 1., fol. 67, dated at “Antwerp the 18th day of April,”—as appears by Crumwell’s reply.

with his passionate manner, if he tore it off, and burnt it ; for the conclusion is nowhere else to be found. Sufficient, however, remains, to render the reception of such a letter, at this time, and from his own envoy, rather remarkable. Vaughan, it is evident, was above all things anxious to please his royal Master, but he must have been sadly out of his reckoning, if he imagined that such a communication as this, would prove at all acceptable. His copying, with his own hand, a part of Tyndale's answer to More, may be excused, as explaining the impatience of Henry to see it ; but that he should send to the King, Tyndale's *remonstrance*, even in such terms as he had now penned it, was certainly one false step, as it regarded his own advancement in royal favour ; and the *character* given at the close, must have been a second. However, since the letter was sent and received, it is obvious to remark, that, after Latimer's sterling counsel, not four months ago, and that of Tyndale himself now, if Henry goes on to sin, it must be with his eyes open.

Tyndale's having *sent* for Vaughan, is also worthy of notice. His predecessor, Hackett, would have apprehended Tyndale immediately, nay, and from what we have read, would have consigned him to his native land, without a sigh, not as a heretic only, but as a *traitor*. Hackett, however, had been providentially removed from Antwerp, and Vaughan will turn out to be a man of a very different stamp ; though certainly he does not seem to have been aware that he was acting with too much temper and candour, to secure the approbation of his fiery and impetuous sovereign. But be this as it may, in his next letter, very soon after this, Vaughan had made mention of *John Fryth* also, wishing to know from his Majesty what was his pleasure in regard to him, if he should happen to meet with him.

We have already hinted that Vaughan was an élève of Crumwell's, and it will now be very apparent. The envoy was acting in a manner too mild or straightforward, ever to rise in the royal favour ; and, therefore, this letter of the 18th of April, as well as that which followed, demanded immediate notice, lest he should go farther wrong. The policy which Crumwell himself was pursuing may with all safety be inferred, from the style in which he *tutors* this man ; while at the same time the entire letter discovers to us a view of *his*

character at this moment, which we leave the production itself first to explain.

“ Stephen Vaughan, I commend me unto you, and have received your letters dated at Antwerp the 13th day of April, with also that part of Tyndale's book, inclosed in leather, which ye, with your letters, directed to the King's Highness. After the receipt whereof, I did repair unto the court, and there presented the same unto his Royal Majesty, who made me answer for that time; that his Highness, at opportune leisure, would visit, oversee, and read the contents, as well of your letters, as also the said book. And at my next repair thither it pleased his Highness to call for me—declaring unto me as well the contents of your letters, as also much of the matter contained in the said book of Tyndale. And albeit that I might well perceive that his Majesty was right well pleased, and right acceptably considered your diligence and pain taken, in the writing and sending of the said book, as also in the persuading and exhorting of Tyndale to *repair* into this realm; yet his Highness nothing liked the said book, being filled with seditious slanderous lies, and fantastical opinions, shewing therein neither learning nor truth. And farther communing with his Grace, I might well conjecture that he thought, that *ye* bear much affection towards the said Tyndale; whom, in his manners and knowledge in worldly things, ye undoubtedly in your letters do much allow and commend: Whose works being replete with so abominable slanders and lies, imagined and only feigned to infect the people, declareth him both to lack grace, virtue, learning, discretion, and all other good qualities; nothing else pretending in all his works, but to seduce and deceive.

“ The King's Highness, therefore, hath commanded me to advertise you, that his pleasure is that ye should *desist*, and leave any farther to persuade, or attempt the said Tyndale to come into this realm. Alleging that he, perceiving the malicious, perverse, uncharitable, and indurate mind of the said Tyndale, is in manner without hope of reconciliation in him, and is very joyous to have his realm destitute of such a person—than that he should return into the same; there to manifest his errors and seditious opinions, which (being out of the realm by his most uncharitable, venomous, and pestilent books, crafty and false persuasions,) he hath partly done *already*. For his Highness right prudently considereth, if he were present, by all likelihood he would shortly, (which God defend) do as much as in him were, to infect and corrupt THE WHOLE REALM, to the great inquietation and hurt of the common-wealth of the same.

“ Wherefore, Stephen, I heartily pray you, in all your doings, proceedings, and writing to the King's Highness, ye do justly, truly, and without dissimulation, shew yourself *his* true, loving, and obedient subject; bearing no manner (of) favour, love, or affection to the said Tyndale, nor to his works, in any manner of ways, but utterly to contemn and abhor the same. Assuring you, that in *so* doing, ye shall not only cause the King's Royal Majesty, whose goodness at this time is so benignly and graciously minded towards you, (as by your good diligence and industry to be used to serve his Highness, and eschewing and avoidiug to favour and allow the said Tyndale his erroneous works and opinions,) so to set you forwards, as all your lovers and friends shall have great consolation in the same. And by the contrary doing, ye shall acquire the indignation of God!—displeasure of your Sovereign Lord, and, by the same cause, compel your good friends, which have been ever glad, prone, and ready to bring you into his gracious favours, to lament and sorrow, that their suit in that behalf, should be frustrate and not take effect, according to their good

intent and purpose. Having, therefore, firm trust, that, for the love ye owe to yourself, me, and your friends, ye will beware from henceforth to enter into any opinions, whereby any slander, dishonesty, danger, or suspicion, might ensue towards you, whereof, I promise you, I would be as sorry as your natural father.

“As touching *Fryth*, mentioned in your said letters, the King’s Highness hearing tell of his towardness in good letters and learning, doth much lament that he should in such wise as he doth, set forth, shew, and apply his learning and doctrine, in the semination and sowing such evil seeds of damnable and detestable heresies; maintaining, bolstering, and advancing the venomous and pestiferous works, erroneous and seditious opinions of the said Tyndale, and other such. Wherein his Highness, like a most virtuous and benign Prince and governor, having charge of his people and subjects; and being very sorry to hear tell that any of the same should, in such wise, run headlong and digress from the laws of Almighty God, and wholesome doctrine of holy Fathers, into such damnable heresies and seditious opinions; and being ever inclined, willing, and greatly desirous to foresee and provide for the same; and much desiring the reconciliation of the said Fryth, firmly trusting that he be not so far as yet inrouted in the evil doctrine of the said Tyndale and others; but that, by the grace of God, loving, charitable, and friendly exhortations and advertisements of good people, he may be called again to the right way; hath willed me to write unto you, that ye, therefore, with your friendly persuasions, admonitions, and wholesome exhortations, counsel and advise the said Fryth—if ye may conveniently speak with the same—to leave his wilful opinions, and, like a good Christian, to return into his native country, where he assuredly shall find the King’s Highness most merciful and benignly, upon his conversion, disposed to accept him to his grace and mercy. Wherefore, oftsones (*again*) I exhort you, for the love of God, not only utterly to forsake, leave and withdraw your affection from the said Tyndale, and all his sect, but also, as much as ye can, *politely* and charitably to allure the said Fryth, and other such persons, being in these parts, which in any ways ye shall know, or suppose to be factors and assistants to the same, from all their erroneous minds and opinions. In which doing ye shall not only highly merit in Almighty God, but also deserve high thanks of the King’s Royal Majesty, who will not forget your devoir and labours in that behalf, so that his Majesty may evidently perceive that ye effectually do intend the same.”

Crumwell then closes his letter by enforcing on Vaughan a vigilant attention to certain shipments of grain,—to the Emperor’s affairs,—the advance of the Turk into Germany,—the abiding of the Emperor in the Low Countries,—his agreement with the Princes of Germany; and if in all these things Vaughan can only make his allegiance and service apparent unto his Majesty,—then Crumwell doubts not that it will be to his “singular profit and *advancement*.”³⁷

This communication is so corrected, and recorrected, in the original draught, that it has been no easy matter to decipher it; but the above is word for word as nearly as might be,

³⁷ Cotton MS. Galba, B. x., fol. 330.

the letter as it must have been sent.³⁸ It is in vain to say that it is any thing else than the production of a crafty, heartless, and time-serving politician; fearful, it may be, that his own credit might suffer, through Vaughan's defect in what was then styled "politic handling." After the letter was finished, however, it must be observed that Crumwell added a postscript or saving clause, apparently softening his stern commands as to Tyndale; but in fact only suggesting another snare, by which, if possible, to entrap him. Of this last passage Vaughan immediately availed himself; and as the King's business demanded haste, he writes in reply on the 20th of May, or only two days after receiving the above.

"Pleaseth it your Royal Majesty to be advertised how upon the receipt of certain instructions lately sent to me from my Master, Mr. Crumwell, at the commandment of your Majesty,—I immediately endeavoured to learn such things as were contained in the said instructions; and although the time since the receipt of the said instructions, which was but two days before the date hereof,³⁹ is so short, as were right hard for me therein fully to answer to your Majesty to every of the same, yet hath it seemed to me not necessary, for lack of knowledge of the whole to desist and leave to write such part as I have already learned."

He then intimates his having heard that the Turk and King Ferdinand have made peace,—that "the Germans and the Emperor agree not, nor are likely, considering the earnest labour of the same Germans made to the Emperor, for the stablishing and advancement of their doctrine, and the deaf ears of the Emperor, nothing inclined to hear or regard the same,"—that Brabant and Flanders have offered to give the Emperor twelve hundred thousand crowns on certain conditions,—that Mary, Queen of Hungary will be "Governante" of these Low Countries, and that the Emperor will remain in these parts;—after which he thus proceeds:—

"As touching a young man being in these parts named *Frithe*, of whom I lately advertised your Majesty, by my former letters, and whom your Royal Majesty giveth me in commandment, with friendly persuasions, admonitions, and wholesome counsels, to advertise to leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his native country. I shall not fail according unto your most gracious commandment to endeavour, to the uttermost of my power, to persuade him accordingly, as soon as my chance shall be to meet with him. Howbeit, I am informed that he is very lately married in Holland, and there dwelleth, but in what place I cannot tell. This marriage may, by chance, hinder my persuasions. I suppose him to have been thereunto driven through poverty, which is to be pitied, his qualities considered."

Whatever Vaughan might think of the general tenor of

³⁸ It has been asserted that the King himself corrected this letter, but this is a mistake. There is nothing of his hand-writing here, nor is it probable that he ever saw either the draught or copy. It is, in fact, a *scold* from Crumwell to a person of inferior authority, though he will before long discover himself to be a man of spirit. Vaughan was not to be brow-beat, even by Crumwell.

³⁹ Consequently the preceding letter of Crumwell's must have been dated before the 18th of May. And Vaughan immediately tries to please, nay flatter, his Royal Master.

Crumwell's thundering letter, he had resolved immediately to avail himself of the artfully softened conclusion or postscript, already referred to. He knew not where Fryth was to be found, but Tyndale was still at hand. He therefore goes on :—

“ I have again been in hand to persuade Tyndale ; and to draw him the rather to favour my persuasions, and not to think the same feigned, I showed him a clause contained in Master Crumwell's letter, containing these words following—‘ And notwithstanding other the premises, in this my letter contained, if it were possible, by good and wholesome exhortations, to reconcile and convert the said Tyndale from the train and affection which he now is in, and to excerpthe and take away the opinions sorely rooted in him, I doubt not but the King's Highness would be *much joyous* of his conversion and amendment ; and so, being converted, if then he would return into his realm, undoubtedly the King's Royal Majesty is *so inclined to mercy, pity and compassion*, that he refuseth none, which he seeth to submit themselves to the obedience and good order of the world.’ In these words I thought to be such sweetness and virtue, as were able to pierce the hardest heart of the world : and as I thought, so it came to pass. For after sight thereof, I perceived the man to be exceeding altered, and to take the same very near unto his heart, in such wise that water stood in his eyes ; and he answered, ‘ what gracious words are these ! ’ ‘ I assure you,’ said he, ‘ if it would stand with the King's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the Emperor in these parts, and of other Christian Princes,—be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his Majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts, after the same ; but immediately repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his Royal Majesty, offering my body, to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his Grace will, *so that this be obtained*. And till that time, I will abide the asperity of all chances, whatsoever shall come, and endure my life in as much pains as it is able to bear and suffer. And as concerning my reconciliation, his Grace may be assured,—that whatsoever I have said or written, in all my life, against the honour of God's Word, and (if) so proved ; the same shall I before his Majesty and all the world utterly renounce and forsake,—and with most humble and meek mind embrace the truth, abhorring all error soever,—at the most gracious and benign request of his Royal Majesty, of whose wisdom, prudence, and learning I *hear* so great praise and commendation, than of any creature living ! But if those things which I have written *be true and stand with God's word*, why should his Majesty, having so excellent a gift of knowledge in the Scriptures, move me to do any thing *against my conscience?*—with many other words, which were too long to write.⁴⁰

“ I have some good hope in the man, and would not doubt to bring him to some good point, were it that something now and then might proceed from *your Majesty* towards me, whereby the man might take the better comfort of my persuasions. I advertised the same Tyndale that he should not put forth the same book, till your most gracious pleasure were known : whereunto he an-

⁴⁰ All this language, however, put in the mouth of Tyndale, it must be borne in mind, came from a man who was exceedingly eager to please his royal Master. No one, therefore, can now imagine that Tyndale's words were correctly given.

swered,—mine advertisement came *too late*, for he feared lest *one that had his copy*, would put it very shortly in print which he would let if he could; if not, there is no remedy. *I shall stay it, as much as I can.* As yet it is not come forth, nor will not in a while, by that I perceive.”⁴¹

Here, however, and perhaps unexpectedly by the reader, the subject drops for months; but, for the best of all reasons. Tyndale had something else to do, than to continue in conversation with this man. He retires from public view, and proceeds with vigour in his work. His letters, here mentioned, as sent to England, we have been unable to find. They must have added greatly to our interest, as well as enabled us to *correct* some of the expressions which Vaughan has evidently put into the mouth of Tyndale, to please the King, since Crumwell had *so* enjoined. His offer to Henry of “*a bare text of the Sacred Volume*,” as a “*sine qua non*,” was all-important; only that text must be a genuine and intelligible one, otherwise, Tyndale was to pursue his own path. But although we cannot follow our Translator to the exact place of his retreat, we now come with far greater advantage, to whatever he may publish. He had a character to maintain, which was still most shamefully traduced, and traduced alike by his opponent in controversy, by Master Crumwell, and the King. The Scriptures he had translated, besides the cause of God and his truth, which he had so promoted in England, alike required him to speak out; while the account now given, must not only set the courage and energy of the man in a stronger light, but lend additional emphasis to every page.

We have witnessed Henry’s apprehension and anxiety respecting Tyndale’s answer to Sir Thomas More. He would have rejoiced in its suppression; but the fact was, it had been much farther advanced at press, than the author himself supposed. It was actually in England before Tyndale himself was aware, or, as will appear afterwards, by the month of April this year, and therefore, it now demands some notice.

This new Lord Chancellor, the admiration of foreign countries as well as his own, had employed sarcasm and

⁴¹ Cotton MS. Galba, B. x., fol. 5, 6. If we could rely upon the testimony of George Joye, the individual to whom Tyndale now referred was *Fryth*,—who he says, corrected Tyndale’s Answer to Sir T. More at the press, printing it in *Amsterdam*. The same young man who before long, will meet the Lord Chancellor personally, as well as the Bishops assembled; and answer them all, in a style such as neither Crumwell or the King now anticipated.

sophistry throughout three hundred folio pages, chiefly against Tyndale and his translation. But why such a laborious and wordy production, if manifest error, and only one solitary heretic were all the host to be devoured? Yet thus unwisely did Sir Thomas proclaim the power of his opponent; while one page after another only proved, that he was contending for victory, and not for truth.

In commencing his answer to this *dialogue*, a form which was evidently adopted with a view to effect, Tyndale singles out or describes the readers, to whom *he* addressed himself.

“The grace of our Lord, the light of his Spirit, to see and to judge, true repentance towards God’s Law, and a fast faith in the merciful promises that are in our Saviour Christ, fervent love toward thy neighbour, after the ensample of Christ and his saints, be with thee, O reader, and with all that love the truth, and long for the redemption of God’s elect.”

Of the subtle and vague or indefinite style of More’s production, Tyndale had frequently just reason to complain; and in one place he thus describes these great defects:—

“M. More declareth the meaning of no sentence, he describeth the proper signification of no word, nor the difference of the significations of any term; but runneth forth confusedly, in unknown words and general terms. And where one word hath many significations, he maketh a man sometime believe that many things are but one thing; and sometimes he leadeth from one signification unto another, and mocketh a man’s wits. As he juggleth with his term Church, making us in the beginning understand *all* that believe, and in the conclusion, the *Priests* only. He telleth not the office of the Law, he describeth not his Penance, nor the virtue thereof, nor use; he declareth no sacrament, nor what they mean, nor the use; nor wherein the fruit of confession standeth; nor whence the power of absolution cometh, nor wherein it resteth, nor what Justifying meaneth.”

Besides all this artful caution on More’s part, he evidently placed great reliance on the power of his wit or drollery, his ribaldry, and downright abuse; supposing, in the employment of all these in turn, that every man would be affected by repartee, as powerfully as he was himself.⁴² But he knew not the man whom he had now thus assailed. Tyndale, it is true, was no cynic, and he had no objection to an occasional sally of wit,—

⁴² He even showed merey to one man, whose name was *Silver*, when he was just about to consign him to the flames; but simply for a stroke of wit! More, in conveying him to be burnt, punned on his name, as if he had no heart, at a moment so distressing to every natural sensibility. “Silver must be tried in the fire,” said he. It was the lucky thought of the man to answer—“Ay! but *quick-silver* will not abide it.” This paronomasia had the effect which reason and pity had failed to produce. More was delighted with it, and dismissed him! So little had principle, in this instance, to do with persecution.—*Steupe—Turner.*

“ A Christian’s wit, — that inoffensive light,
A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight.”

But since the antagonist had chosen to be playful and profane, as well as low and foul by turns, Tyndale would, of course, by no means descend to his level. On the contrary, he seems, in his reply, as though he had resolved that his short and pithy sentences should stand out in bold contrast to the wire-drawn and verbose sophisms of his opponent. He twits him occasionally with what is facetiously styled his “poetry,” but

“ Still he was serious in a serious cause,
And understood too well the weighty terms
That he had ta’en in charge. He would not stoop
To conquer him by joecular exploits,
Whom truth and soberness assailed in vain.”

And certainly, in a few lines, he often demolishes an entire folio page of “the first Englishman who signalised himself as an orator.”

The translation of the New Testament into the vernacular tongue was, however, the great eye-sore to Sir Thomas, though what he styled the wickedness of Tyndale’s other productions, was plentifully denounced. Tunstal had boasted of his having found two thousand errata, and More had spoken of a thousand texts by tale, as being erroneous, but now they are all reduced to the general rendering of about six words. Tyndale had translated *ecclesia* into *Congregation*, and not *church*,—he used *elder*, and not *priest*,—*knowledge* or *acknowledge*, and not *confession*,—*repentance*, and not *penance*,—*favour*, and not *grace*,—*love*, and not *charity*. These were his mighty offences, and no wonder than More at least *professed* to be shocked and offended, for certainly these simple and faithful renderings, once read in their connexion, shook to its very foundations that fabric which the Chancellor had strained all his powers to defend. We have said *professed*, as there is so much evidence that Sir Thomas was still a free-thinker to his dying hour.

In reply, Tyndale appealed to the Greek original, and to More’s acquaintance with the language, before himself, and completely triumphed. At the commencement, when referring to the very first controverted word, “congregation,” he lent his opponent a blow, which he afterwards showed that he felt exceedingly, but could not parry. Erasmus and More were bosom friends; and as the latter had published the Greek and Latin New Testament in parallel columns, *eight*

years before this; and had, under More's own roof, written *Moria*, or "The Praise of Folly," a satire on the very system which he now defended, Tyndale enquires—

"But how happeth it that M. More hath not contended in likewise against his darling Erasmus all this *long while*? Doth he not change this word *ecclesia* into congregation, and that not seldom in the New Testament? Peradventure he oweth him favour, because he made 'Moria' in his house—which book, if it were in English, then should every man see, how that he *then* was far *otherwise minded* than he now writeth."

When he came to the other terms complained of, Sir Thomas was still as pointedly answered. For example, *metanoia*, Repentance—

"He cannot prove that I give not the right English unto the Greek word. But it is a far other thing that paineth them, and biteth them by the breasts. There be secret pangs that pinch the very heart of them, whereof they dare not complain. The sickness that maketh them so impatient is, that they have lost their juggling terms. These things to be even so, *M. More knoweth well enough*; for he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them, long ere I. But so blind is covetousness, and drunken desire of honour.⁴³ So now the cause why our Prelates thus rage, and that which moveth them to call M. More to help, is, not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost their juggling and feigned terms, wherewith Peter prophesied they should make merchandise of the people."

In this "Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue," there are to be found some interesting passages illustrative of Tyndale's sentiments as to Christian doctrine. Thus, in reference to the doctrine of Paul and James with regard to justification being in perfect harmony, he says—

"When Paul saith, faith only justifieth, and James, that a man is justified by works, and not by faith; there is a great difference between Paul's *only* and James's *only*. For Paul's *only* is to be understood, that faith justifieth in the heart and before God, without help of works, yea, and *ere* I can work. But James's *only* is this wise to be understood, that faith doth not so justify, that nothing justifieth save faith—for deeds do justify also. But faith justifieth in the heart and before God, and the deeds before the world only, and maketh the other seen, as ye may see by the Scriptures—Rom. iv. And the same mayest thou see by James, when he saith—'Abraham offered his son, and so was the Scripture fulfilled, that Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness, and he was thereby made God's friend.' How was it fulfilled? before God? Nay, it was fulfilled before God many years before, and he was God's friend many years before, even from the first appointment that was made between God and him. But it was fulfilled before us, who can-

⁴³ Covetousness, on the part of the Bishops—desire of honour, on the part of the Chancellor.

not see the heart—which can see nought in Abraham more than in other men, save by his works.

“ And what *works* meant James? Verily the works of mercy. As if a brother or a sister lack raiment or sustenance, and ye be not moved to compassion, nor feel their diseases, what faith have ye then? No faith, be sure, that feeleth the mercy that is in Christ—for they that feel that, be merciful again and thankful. But look on the works of our Spirituality, which will not only be justified with works before the world, but *also before God*. They have had all Christendom to rule these eight hundred years; and as they be only anointed in the head, so have *they* only been King and Emperor—and have had all power in their hands—and have been the doers only, and the leaders of those *shadows* that have had the name of Princes—and have led them whither they would—and have breathed into their brains what they listed. And they have wrought the world out of peace and unity, and every man out of his welfare—and are become alone well at ease—only free—only at liberty—only have all things, and only do nought therefore—only lay on other men's backs, and bear nought themselves. And the good works of them that have wrought out of faith, and gave their goods and lands to feed the poor, them devour they, also alone. And what *works* preach they? Only those that are to them profitable, and whereby they reign in men's consciences as God: to offer—to give—to be prayed for—and to be delivered out of purgatory—and to redeem your sin of them—and to worship ceremonies—and to be shriven—and so forth.

“ When Mr. More is come to himself, and saith, ‘ the first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving.’ God be thanked! and I would fain that he would describe me what he meaneth by the second justifying. I know no more to do, when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, than to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour.”

Before leaving this controversy for the present—one which interested and agitated so deeply at the time, and the effects of which remain to the present hour—it may be remarked, that, independently of his sound reasoning, there was in Tyndale's style and manner, a solemnity, of which the Lord Chancellor was more than half afraid, and which he knew neither how to manage or evade. This grave style of writing sometimes referred to himself, sometimes to the translation, and at others, to the parties in opposition.

In reference to himself, More having said—“ When Tyndale was apposed of his doctrine, ere he went over sea, he said and sware he meant no harm.” To this Tyndale replies—“ He sware not, neither was there any man that required an oath of him; but he now sweareth by Him, whom he trusteth to be saved by, that he never meant, or yet meaneth any other harm, than to suffer all that God hath prepared to be laid on his back, for to bring his brethren unto the light of our Saviour Jesus; which the Pope, through falsehood, and corrupting such poets as ye are, leadeth in the darkness of death.”

Referring to the subject of translations in the mother tongue, so hardly driven was the Chancellor, that he had

the weakness to insinuate that there were ancient translations, (Saxon or English,) which it was *not* unlawful to read!

“As for other old ones,” he had said, “that were *before Wickliffe's days*, remain lawful, and be in *some folks hands* had and read.”—“What,” replies Tyndale, “may not M. More say by authority of his poetry? There is a lawful translation that no man knoweth! which is as much as no lawful translation. Why might not the Bishops shew *which* were the lawful translation, and let it be *printed*? Nay, if that might have been obtained of them with large money, it had been printed, ye may be sure, long ere this. But, sir, answer me hereunto—How happeneth it that ye defenders translate not one yourselves, to cease the murmur of the people, and put to your own glosses, to prevent heretics? Ye would, no doubt, have done it long since, if ye could have made your glosses agree with *the text* in every place. And what can you say to this, how that, *besides they have done their best to disannul all translating by Parliament, they have disputed, before the King's Grace, that it is perilous, and not meet, and so concluded that it shall not be, under a pretence of deferring it for years—where M. More was their special orator, to feign lies for their purpose.*”

And as for *all* the parties now in opposition—“Mark,” says Tyndale to his reader, at the outset—“Mark, whether it were ever truer than now; the Scribes and Pharisees, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas, and Annas, are gathered together against God and Christ: but yet, I trust, in vain; and he that brake the counsel of Ahitophel, shall scatter theirs. Mark, whether it be not true, in the highest degree, that for the sin of the people, hypocrites shall reign over them. Wherefore, it is time to awake, and to see, every man with his own eyes, and to judge, if we will not be judged of Christ when he cometh. And remember, that he which is warned, hath none excuse, if he take no heed. Herewith, farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit be thy guide and doctrine, and the light to judge withal.”

But even this answer was not sufficient in Tyndale's apprehension. He regarded Sir Thomas as the official attorney in their spiritual court; and as he had put forth, after this Dialogue, another thing in folio, entitled, “the Supplication of Souls,” &c., by way of reply to the notable tract of Fyshe—“the Supplication of Beggars,” it must not be allowed to pass, although Tyndale did not choose to name Sir Thomas. It was this piece which led him to designate More as “the Proctor of Purgatory,” elsewhere; and as he had resolved to print an exposition of the first Epistle of John, he there, without any controversial form, met, most judiciously, even more than had been advanced by the Lord Chancellor, in relation to purgatory and the worship of saints, image worship, and other evils; explaining to the people how they might detect false teachers.

From these two consecutive publications, one is at no loss to ascertain, what were Tyndale's sentiments on two important

points: the existing state of literature among the priests, and the condition of those who at least professed to be Christians.

With regard to literature, and addressing himself to More directly, having asserted that "out of the ceremonies sprang the ignorance of the Scriptures," he then proceeds,—

"For as soon as the prelates had set up such a rabble of *ceremonies*, they thought it superfluous to preach the plain *text* any longer, and the law of God, faith of Christ, love toward our neighbour, and the order of justifying and salvation; forasmuch as all such things were played before the people's faces, daily in the ceremonies, and every child wist the meaning—until at the last, the lay people had lost the meaning of the ceremonies; and the prelates, the understanding of the plain text, and of the GREEK, *Latin*, and especially of the HEBREW, *which is most of need to be known*, and of all phrases, the proper manner of speakings, and borrowed speech of the *Hebrews*. Remember ye not how, within this thirty years and far less, and yet dureth to this day, the old barking curs, Dun's disciples, and the like draff, called Scottists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit, against Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; and what sorrow the schoolmasters, that taught the *true Latin tongue*, had with them? Some beating the pulpit with their fists for madness, and roaring out with open and foaming mouth—that if there were but *one Terence and Virgil* in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burn them therein, though it should cost them their lives; affirming that all good learning decayed, and was utterly lost, since men gave them to the Latin tongue. Yea, and I dare say, that there be *twenty thousand* priests curates this day in England, and not so *few*, that cannot give you the right English unto this text in the Pater-noster, *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra*, and answer thereto."⁴⁴

Then, as to the condition of the people, before his exposition of the Epistle of John, having laid down this axiom—"The knowledge of our baptism is the key and the light of the Scripture, for to understand *it*, is to understand the Law and the Gospel." He then remarks—

⁴⁴ After such a passage as this, and many others might be adduced from the writings of Tyndale, that such an author as M'Knight, when introducing his translation of the Epistles, could represent Tyndale as little more than acquainted with *Latin*, and therefore translating from the Vulgate, must appear strange; but throughout he labours to depreciate former translations, as if to recommend his own. If he did not choose to inform himself, he had much better have been sitting at Tyndale's feet, to learn the meaning of "justification through the righteousness of Christ." Dr. Herbert Marsh, the late Bishop of Peterborough, has been still more unfortunate. Though quite ignorant of Tyndale's character and attainments, he determined to be more pointed, and, descending to particulars, he would insist that Tyndale translated from the *German!* *Dates* were far too insignificant to engage his notice, and so he laboured on, to prove that Tyndale was much more of an adept in languages than he actually was. By his theory, Tyndale had gone to Germany, and to Luther, and acquired *his* language so perfectly, as to be able to translate our New Testament from *it!* But for all this, there was left only *one year*, or little more!! He has been triumphantly refuted in two successive letters by Professor Walter of the East India College, Herts. The Bishop, however, never had the grace to confess his mistake, but kept on reprinting his blunders to the end of life. The *Germanisms* he thought he had found in Tyndale, he might have found, in abundance also, in the style of Sir Thomas More himself, who certainly knew nothing of German. It is singular enough, that no English prelate should have ever made himself acquainted with the history, character, and acquirements of William Tyndale.

“ Now, we be all baptised : but, alas ! not one, from the highest to the lowest, ever taught the profession or meaning thereof. And, therefore, we remain all blind generally, as well our great Rabbins, for all their high learning which they seem to have, as the lay people : yea, and so much the more blind are our great clerks, that where the lay people, for a great number of them, are taught nought at all, they be all wrong taught—so that the light which they bring with them to understand the Scripture withal, is utter darkness, and as contrary unto the Scripture, as the devil unto Christ. By reason hereof, the Scripture is locked up, and become so dark to them, that they grope for the door, and can find no way in, and it is become a maze unto them, in which they wander as in a mist.—It is become a *turn-again lane* unto them, which they cannot go through, nor make three lines agree together. And finally, the sentences of the Scripture, are nothing but very riddles unto them, at the which they cast, as the blind man doth at a crow ; and expound by guess, an hundred doctors an hundred ways ; one man in twenty sermons alleging one text after twenty fashions, having no sure doctrine to cleave unto ; and all for lack of the right knowledge of the profession or meaning of our baptism.

“ Another conclusion is this : As he which ever creepeth along by the ground, and never climbeth, cannot fall from on high ; even so no man that hath the profession of his baptism *written in his heart*, can stumble in the Scripture, and fall into *heresies*, or become a maker of divisions and *sects*, and a defender of wild and vain opinions. For the whole and only cause of heresies and sects is *pride*.

“ Now, the Law of God, truly interpreted, robbeth all them in whose hearts it is written, and maketh them as bare as *Job*, of all things whereof a man can be moved to pride. And, on the other side, they have utterly forsaken themselves, with all their high learning and wisdom ; and are become the servants of Christ only, which hath bought them with his blood ; and have promised in their hearts unfeignedly to follow Him, and to take *Him only* for the author of their religion, and His doctrine *only* for their wisdom and learning, and to maintain it in word and deed, and so keep it pure ; to build no strange doctrine thereupon, and to be the highest never, but *fellow* with their brethren ; and in that fellowship to wax ever lower and lower, and every day more fervent unto his weaker brethren, after the example and image of Christ, after his commandment and ordinance, and not in feigned words of the Pope.”

And still addressing himself to his reader, or the people at large, having quoted that passage : “ all the Scripture was given of God by inspiration, and is good to teach withal, to improve and so forth ;” he proceeds :—

“ Ye see by the example of Christ and the Apostles, how they confounded the Jews, with the *same* Scripture which they had corrupt, and understood them amiss after their own darkness ; and, ye see, by the example of us now also, how we have manifestly improved the hypocrites in an hundred texts which they had corrupt, to prove their false opinions, brought in *besides* the Scripture, and have driven them off. And they be fled, and openly confess unto their shame, that they have no Scripture, and *sing another song, and say they received them by the mouth of the Apostles !*

“ Unto which I answer here grossly, seeing they are answered before ;—
‘ That as he were a fool, which would trust him to tell his money in his absence,

that hath picked his purse before his face ; even so, sith ye have corrupt the open Scripture before our eyes, and (are) taken in the manner which ye cannot deny ; we were mad to believe that *that* which hath lain fifteen hundred years, as ye say, in your rotten maws, should now be wholesome for us. Can ye bear us in hand, and persuade us, think ye, with your sophistry, to believe that ye should minister your *secret traditions, without ground truly*, when we see you minister the *open Scripture* falsely? Can ye bewitch our wits with your poetry, to believe that ye should minister your secret traditions for our *profit*, when we see you corrupt the open Scripture to the *loss* of our souls, for *your profit*? Nay, it is an hundred times more likely that ye should be false in secret things than in open. And therefore, in the very sacraments, which the Scripture testifieth that Christ himself ordained them, we must have an eye unto your hand how ye minister them. AS WE RESTORE THE SCRIPTURE UNTO HER RIGHT UNDERSTANDING, FROM YOUR FALSE GLOSSES, EVEN SO DELIVER WE THE SACRAMENTS UNTO THEIR RIGHT USE, FROM YOUR ABUSE.

So spake this *alumnus* of Oxford, above three hundred and ten years ago ; while at the same time, one idea, then broached by his enemies, and especially by his controversial opponent, he wished his countrymen to mark, as an old and hackneyed device.

“ The light that rebuketh them, they call *seditions* ; that it maketh subjects to rise against their Princes,—which thing the hypocrites laid sometimes to the Prophets, as ye may see in the Old Testament ; and at last they laid it unto Christ’s charge, as ye may see in the gospel, and to the charge of the Apostles, as ye may see in the Acts. But at *all such times*, the hypocrites themselves stirred up such a sword to maintain their falsehood, that evermore a great part of the world perished through their own mischievous incensing and provoking Princes to battle. They laid to *Wickliffe’s charge*, and do yet, that his doctrine caused insurrection,—and so they say *now* likewise, that *God’s Word causeth insurrection* ; but ye shall see shortly that these hypoerites themselves, shall rise *one against another*, and some against *themselves*. Ye shall see them run out before the year come about, *that* which they have been brewing, as *I have marked, above this dozen years.*”

Hackett, when at Antwerp, first lent such base counsel to Wolsey, and we have seen how readily Henry himself had followed it, to the disgrace of his ambassador. The idea, or device, of constructive *treason* had been fully sanctioned by the Bishops and Sir Thomas More, and now also Crumwell had joined in the cry. Among other passages, the preceding was intended for all these parties, as well as to arm the people with that fortitude, which must be added to faith.

The concluding expression, however, as formerly hinted, is an important one, in relation to Tyndale himself. He kept himself much in the background, and it is only by such incidental hints, that any one can ascertain how *early* his mind had been enlightened, as to the corruptions reigning around

him ; and so enlightened, as to be engaged in “marking” them. The expression seems to go a great way towards establishing the character of Tyndale, as that of a man whose heart God himself had moved, independently of *all* influence from his contemporaries, whether at home or abroad.⁴⁵

But to crown all in the year 1531, nothing could possibly have been more seasonable or appropriate, than “*Jonah* ;” that book of sacred writ, which Tyndale now printed for his country. The critical position of England, and the situation of the Translator himself, sufficiently account for its appearance, at this moment. Tyndale was now getting fast into the heat of the battle. The Bishops of England, as a body, with Tunstal the ablest of them all, were against him ; the Lord Chancellor, as a man and as a licensed writer, was against him, nay, the wrath of the King, as “the roaring of a Lion,” was against him. On high principle, for the sake of Divine truth alone, he had to encounter an entire people in the persons of its rulers ; nor was he slow to advance. The book of *Jonah* spoke alike to the peasant and the prince. It contained the memorable example of a great King bowing before the majesty of the Voice of God. “The people of Nineveh believed God—from the greatest of them, even to the least of them ;” and this was precisely what Tyndale longed for the people of England to do ; and would their haughty and licentious monarch have now only risen from his throne, and laid aside his robes, like the King of Nineveh, and urged his subjects “to cry mightily to God,” saying, “let them turn every one from his evil way, and *from the violence that is in their hands*,”—nothing could have filled the Translator with higher delight. The Ninevites “repented at the preaching of *Jonas*,” but for more than five years the New Testament had been in England, and even Scotland, and “a greater than *Jonas* was there.” Tyndale besides, to evince the ardour of his mind, had prefixed a long prologue to the book,—an admirable production, and peculiarly adapted for the moment, in which he once more boldly *cried* to his country.

“As the envious Philistines stopped the wells of Abraham, and filled them up with earth, to put the memorial out of mind, to the intent that they might challenge *the ground* ; even so the fleshly-minded hypocrites stop up the veins

⁴⁵ See before, page 281.

of life, which are in the Scripture, with the *earth of their traditions*, false similitudes, and lying allegories; and that, of like zeal, to make the Scripture their own possession and merchandise, and so slutt up the kingdom which is in God's Word; neither entering in themselves, nor suffering them that would." To induce his countrymen to *search* the Divine Word for themselves, he then adds—"The Scripture hath a body without, and within a soul, spirit, and life. It hath without a bark, a shell, and as it were an hard bone for the fleshly minded to gnaw upon: but within it hath pith, kernel, marrow, and all sweetness for God's elect whom he hath chosen, to give them his Spirit, to write his Law and the faith of his Son in their hearts." But still to lead the nation to Repentance, was now his main object, and hence we have many forcible appeals—

"Since the world began, wheresoever repentance was offered, and *not* received, there God took cruel vengeance immediately. As ye see in the flood of Noah, in the overwhelming of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the country about; and as ye see of Egypt, of the Amorites, Canaanites, and afterwards of the very Israelites; and then at the last of the Jews too, the Assyrians, and Babylonians, and so throughout all the empires of the world.

"Gildas preached repentance to the old Britons that inhabited England: they repented not; and therefore God sent in their enemies upon them on every side, and destroyed them up, and gave their land to other nations; and great vengeance hath been taken in that land for sin, since that time.⁴⁶ *Wickliffe* preached repentance unto our fathers not long since: they repented not, for their hearts were indurate; but what followed? They slew their true and right king, and set up three wrong kings in a row, under which all the noble blood was slain up, and half the commons too; what in France, and what with their own sword, in fighting among themselves, for the crown; so the cities and towns decayed, and the land was brought half into a wilderness, in respect of that it was before." Tyndale, however, would arrogate nothing to himself; but in reference to the Word of God, now and formerly sent, he then adds—

"And now *Christ*, to preach repentance, is *risen yet once again out of his sepulchre*, in which the Pope had buried him, and kept him down with his pillars and pole-axes, and all disguisings of hypocrisy—with guile, wiles, and falsehood, and with the sword of all princes, which he had blended with his false merchandise. And as I doubt not of the ensamples that are past, so *I am sure that great wrath will follow, except repentance turn it back again and cease it.*"⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Gildas is no favourite with one of our modern historians; yet he concludes by saying—"There is too much reason to fear, that many of the deformities, (which his coarse daubing has distorted almost into incredibility,) degraded the character, and accelerated the downfall of our ancient British predecessors."—*Turner's Ang. Saxons.*

⁴⁷ Dr. Marsh, in pursuing his blind theory, was unable to imagine any other reason for Tyndale publishing Jonah at this critical period, except that Luther had translated it into *German* before him! Referring every thing to Luther, was the artful cant of the sixteenth century, to answer every cruel and evil purpose; and, without any malicious feeling, the practice has been too often blindly followed to the present day; but it would have been worthy of all the Bishop's talents rather to have searched, and then exposed the mistaken bias. Professor Walter, in meeting this idea, has the following curious note—"It is only from the connexion between the mission of Jonah, and endeavours to reform the religion of *States*, that I can account for the long list of separate editions of this Prophet, published in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In Mash's *Le Long*, twenty-two editions, with Latin versions, or paraphrases, are enumerated, besides the *vernacular translations.*" It is only strange that in the letters of Mr. Walter, any doubt should have been expressed as to the translation of the prophet into English, having accompanied the Prologue! Without this, the entire Prologue would have been unintelligible, while it contains abundant internal evidence that the prophetic book was appended. It was the "Prologue to the Prophet Jonas," and went with it, that all might "read *Jonas*

But now, and notwithstanding all, as it is well known, neither Henry nor his advisers were to be moved from their course. It was, as we shall find, a year of most savage cruelty, though Tyndale was now "pure from the blood of all men, having not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God."

After this brief and very imperfect survey of the present year's exertions, let the reader only contemplate the state of his native land. He remembers the restless ambition, and but recent death, of her fallen Prime Minister. Let him now mark the one subject which engrossed her monarch's mind; the furious counsels and blind infatuation which occupied the united strength of her government, and then say, whether the value of such a man as our Translator has ever been fairly appreciated. But was there no one at home, not one man in all England to lift the warning voice? "None to guide her among all the sons she had brought forth? There was Hugh Latimer, it is true, but if his voice was now drowned, then was there not even one, save and except this exiled Christian patriot! Yet he, as we have seen, had been already denounced by name, and in the foulest terms, by the highest authority, under the desecrated name of Christianity, as doing God service! Nay, and he had been so harassed by emissaries, that, as he himself expressed it, "very death would have been more pleasant to him than life."

Such was his reward from *man*, but his work was not finished; and that God whom he so served, though He did not as yet put to silence "the lying lips, which spake grievous things, proudly and contemptuously, against the righteous;" yet did He, in a most wonderful manner, "hide the object of their hatred, in the secret of his presence," from the pride and the power of man. Tyndale had yet five years to live.

fruitfully, and not as a poet's fable, but as an *obligation* between God and the soul." Sir Thomas More does not even glance at the Prologue. "Then have we *Jonas*, made out by Tyndale," which he could not mention without another specimen of his usual facetiousness. That no copy of this edition is known to exist, is not surprising. Dr. Cotton suggests, that, in the days of burning, it may have been given up, to *save* a New Testament; but be this as it may, since there was no evidence of the *quarto* New Testament, printed in 1525, till only the other day, a copy of the first "*Jonas*" may yet transpire. In reference to Tyndale, the *Vatican* has never yet been searched. Let this hint suffice, and some one of our countrymen, when in Rome, remember it. The proof of the existence of *Jonas*, and upon English ground, *this year*, is to be found in the list of books denounced by Stokesly, on the 3d of December, which will come before us presently. It is the last on the list—"Jonas in English."—See Lambeth MS., No. 346, fol. 65.

Upon returning into England, and before adverting to the spirit of persecution properly so called, at the commencement of this year the reader has only to recollect the counsel that Crumwell gave to Henry VIII., at his *first* interview with him. It was then observed that there was something to be first obtained from the clergy, in the matter of Henry's divorce; and on this account it was politic to fetch a compass throughout the whole of last year, before the advice could be followed out. About the end of that year, (1530) the King saw that he could now carry his purpose: he and Crumwell understood each other, and the latter was, of course, ready to act. There certainly was a consistency of character in Crumwell at this period, if we include his own advancement as the end in view, and desire to please the sovereign as the means of effecting it; so that while seeking to ensnare the Translator of the Scriptures abroad, he was every whit as anxious to humble the clergy at home. Parliament had been opened on the 6th of January, and the Convocation assembled the next day. But before this, as a preliminary step to what the King and his adviser intended, the Attorney-General had filed a bill of indictment in the Court of King's Bench, against the whole body of the clergy, for having acknowledged Cardinal Wolsey's legantine authority, and acted under him! When the Convocation met, they must have soon resolved not to appear in court, by counsel, since they never did; but they were eager to compound for a pardon. Wolsey, unfortunately for the entire body, had yielded up the *whole* of his property to the King; but this was a fearful precedent. And if it was fearful now, it had been not less vexatious to these men from the day he thus acted. When the said statute of Provisors was passed, power had been conferred on the Crown to dispense with its operation, and thus *save* any party from incurring a *premunire*. Wolsey had not acted so blindly as not to procure from his Master a permission, under the great seal, by which he was empowered to do all he ever did. Had he then, we repeat, only acted with spirit, he would have stood on his defence; but instead of doing this, he crouched, from fear of bodily harm, and gave up all!

The moment, therefore, had now come, when Henry could send Crumwell, with his own signet, to the Convocation. "Crumwell, coming boldly into the clergy house, and there placing himself among the Bishops, began to make his oration—Declaring unto them the authority of a King, and the office of subjects;—and especially the obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under public laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the Commonwealth: which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal estate, falling under the law of *Premunire*,—in that they not only had consented to the power legantine of the Cardinal, but also in that they had also all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their Sovereign Lord the King,—and therefore had forfeited to the King *all* their goods

and chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had!" The Bishops remonstrated, of course, but it was all in vain; only, as they desired a respite, they were allowed time to consider what they should, or rather must, do. Thus the precedent of Wolsey, in sacrificing all that he had, proved like a mill-stone round the neck of every man who had been under him! He had, in past days, been the idol, the boast, and glory of his order; but what would they not, or did they not, say of him now? Still, whatever might have been the principles or opinions of these men, the reader must be fully aware, from what has been already stated, that nothing could be more harsh or inconsistent, nay unjust, if not illegal, on the part of Henry, than the entire proceeding, even although it had ended here: but here, neither the King nor Crumwell intended it should end. Meanwhile, the southern province, or that of Canterbury, agreed to offer the King not less than one hundred thousand pounds, or £20,000 annually for five years to come. The northern province, or that of York, some time after, compounded for eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.⁴⁸

Such was the advantage taken of Wolsey's last step, so far as his brethren were concerned: but this was not all he left behind him, by way of legacy or precedent, to his country at large. He had introduced into England a species of authority or power, called spiritual, *superior* even to that of a Legate à latere. He had arrived from France under the higher character of *Vicar-General*; and his Sovereign having enjoyed only a transient gratification, in ruling the clergy, through such a medium, it will not surprise the reader if that had only provoked his appetite. Crumwell had improved upon this idea; and now money *alone* will not suffice. The men who were to pay it, must do so under a new character. They had agreed to offer this immense sum; but the far more serious question, now pressing for consideration, was, to *whom* were they to pay it? To the King of course; but then, under what *character*? As King only, or as any thing more? If they either petitioned or addressed him, in mitigation of punishment,—how *were* they to address him?

And so now a question rose, compared with which, the entire substance of the whole body—their goods and chattels, their lands and livings—were but like the drop of a bucket, or the small dust of the balance—a question which was to affect not England alone, but Great Britain and Ireland, with all their dependences in other quarters of the world, for many generations. The fact was, that the anticipated moment had now

⁴⁸ "This was a prodigious fine," says Collier, "at that time of day, and 'tis probable, was twenty times the value of the same sum at present." We calculate the amount, however, at only fifteen times,—and even this makes it £1,782,600 sterling! Thus did Henry recover to himself almost, if not all the money that Wolsey took with him to France, in 1527, professedly to uphold the Pontiff.

arrived, when it was convenient to divulge that no subsidy *would* be accepted, unless his Majesty were acknowledged in the petition or address, as "Head of the Church."

The moral deportment of these two men, the King and Crumwell, who were now pressing this question to its decision, we need not describe. They are both before the reader, and, by succeeding acts, their characters will be farther developed.⁴⁹ Crumwell, of course, sought only his own personal advancement, at least this secretly prompted all his advice; and as for the office of Vicar-General or Vicegerent, of what was about to be denominated the Church of England, whether he thus early had it in view for himself, or not, it is certain that he alone at last reached it; and, moreover, that the office also died with him, as being no longer necessary, either for the support or security of the King. The title, as gained by Wolsey, and its effects, may have first suggested the idea of its continuance, upon English ground, but the anomalous office was no longer needed, when the superior was once securely seated. As for Henry, granting that he was at present only the *advised* party, never was advice more willingly accepted, nor more eagerly pursued.

The acknowledgement, as first proposed to be inserted in the petition or preamble to the Bill of Subsidy was this—"Henry the Eighth," &c.,—"the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and the Clergy of England." To this opposition was made, and the subject was put off to another day. The article being expressed in such general terms, they were afraid it might be misunderstood in future ages, and interpreted or wrested to an immoral or presumptuous sense.⁵⁰ Warham of Canterbury, however, at last supported the designation, and even Fisher of Rochester consented upon one condition, that these words be added—"et quantum per legem Christi licet"—"as far as by the law of Christ is lawful." But this addition being reported to Henry, he at once replied, that he would have "no *tantum* or *quantum* in the business, but let it be done out of hand." The words in addition certainly admitted of every variety of opinion, and even the Headship was very differently interpreted. Some, according to Burnet, "understood this headship to be only a temporal authority, even in ecclesiastical matters; and they thought that by the laws of Christ, the secular authority ought *not* to meddle in ecclesiastical matters." But others thought that the magistrate had a full authority, even in ecclesiastical matters; but that the administration of this was so limited by the laws of the Gospel, that

⁴⁹ Crumwell, though not present at the sack of Rome, is said to have certainly been there in earlier life, when soliciting pardons for the people of Boston, in company with one Geoffrey Chambers. His contrivance for gratifying the palate of Julius II. in 1510, by certain presents of *jelly*, made after the English fashion, might be true; but if so, he was now about to furnish Clement VII., the quondam Bishop of *Worcester*, with a course of proceeding by no means pleasing to his taste, or that of any future Pontiff.

⁵⁰ "Ne termini, &c., in sensum improbum traherentur."—*Journal of Convocation*.

it did not warrant him to command anything, but what was conform to these,—“so that the words being equivocal, were *differently* understood even by those who subscribed and afterwards swore them!” They had “great reasoning among themselves,” but Crumwell and the Judges coming to them in February, by the 11th of that month the article was thus expressed,—“We recognise his Majesty to be the singular (sole) protector of the Church and Clergy of England, and our only Sovereign Lord, and, as far as by the law of Christ is lawful, also our Supreme Head.”⁵¹ The form being thus agreed on, Warham offered it to the whole body—all were *silent*: on which he said, “Whosoever is silent, seems to consent;” and to this one replied, “then we all are silent!” Thus the Bill of Subsidy passed the Upper House; but lo, on its being introduced to the Commons, they demurred. The fact was, that they were afraid of themselves, and wished to be included in the pardon granted: upon which Henry, in a rage, now disclosed all the baseness of his character. “Wherefore,” said he to the Speaker, “since you have denied your consent to the pardon of the Clergy, I must inform you that such consent is *not necessary*; I can pass it under my *Great Seal*; and, look ye, I shall be well-advised, before I pardon those who endeavour to restrain my liberty, and compel my mercy!” The Commons were terrified, when Henry sent them a pardon, through his Attorney-General, having now brow-beat and conquered *both Houses*.

After all this violent turmoil, however, the work of Henry was not yet finished,—his title not yet generally acknowledged. Tunstal of Durham, who belonged to the province of York, with some others in the north, professed to have serious objections and great difficulty at this crisis. That *they* did not understand the sacred prerogatives of the Redeemer is certain, or that He alone is the Prophet, the Priest, the King of his Church on earth, it being the earth especially to which these offices, as revealed, apply. But still, as the invasion of the Saviour's Supremacy, and especially of his priestly office, by a *Priest* in Italy, was now to be abjured, for on this point, Tunstal, at present, professed himself to be quite clear,—so now he and others expressed great difficulty, in knowing how to transfer the same homage to the invasion of his office as *King*. There was another difficulty in the *person* of the monarch, who could trample on laws, both human and divine, and whose example, as a man, was filling the air, as it continued to do, with its pestilential exhalations; an objection, however, which could be stated only at the risk of liberty, or of life itself. But the other was put forth by Tunstal in a formal Protest.

“If,” said he, “the words hold forth no more than this meaning, that the

⁵¹ —“Ecclesie et cleri Anglicani cujus singularem protectorem *Unicum et Supremum Dominum*, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam SUPREMUM CAPUT *ipsius Majestatem* recognoscimus.”—*Roper*, xiv., p. 414.

King is, under Christ, supreme head in his dominions, and particularly of the English Clergy, in temporal matters: this, as it is nothing more than we are all willing to acknowledge, so to prevent all misconstructions from heretics, the clause should be put in clear and decisive language. But, on the other side, if we are to understand that the King is supreme head of the Church both in spirituals and temporals, and that this supremacy is conferred upon him, by the laws of the gospel; for thus some heterodox and malevolent persons construe the proviso,—‘*quantum per Christi legem licet*,’—then this construction being repugnant, as I conceive, to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, I must dissent from it. And notwithstanding the clause of *quantum*, &c. may be taken by way of limitation and restriction, yet because the proposition is still somewhat involved, I think it ought to be still farther discharged from ambiguity. For ‘Supreme Head of the Church,’ carries a complicated and mysterious meaning: for this title may either relate to spirituals or temporals, or *both*. Now when a proposition is thus comprehensive, and big with several meanings, there is no returning a single and categorical answer. And, therefore, that we may not give scandal to weak brethren, I conceive this acknowledgement of the King’s supreme headship, should be so carefully expressed, as to point *wholly* upon civil and secular jurisdiction. And with this explanation, the English Clergy, and particularly myself, are willing to go the utmost length in the recognition. But since the clause is not, at present, thus guarded and explained, I must declare my dissent, and desire my protestation may be entered upon the Journal of the Convocation.”

Henry professed great respect for Tunstal, and therefore replied to this, through one of his Casuists. But there were other similar protests, so that several months had to elapse, before they could be over-ruled. The Clergy of the province of York, and especially Tunstal, on the principle already pursued, were equally exposed to instant prosecution, and yet, it is very observable, they were *never* molested; a clear indication that the whole affair was only a dexterous stroke of hand, meant to intimidate the Roman Pontiff, but not, *as yet*, absolutely to separate from him.

To return, however, for one moment, to the first Bill of Subsidy; it was presented to the King on the 1st of April.—But after all, cautious to avoid the imputation of *forfeiture*, the money was here granted under the form of a “benevolence” or “gratuity,” and the Clergy do this by way of *gratitude*, particularly for the King’s having written his book against Luther! his having suppressed heresies, and checked the insults on their body! It was like a retaining fee to a persecutor.

Yet still, Henry had now assuredly gained his object; for if Rome had given him one title for his Authorship, this Convocation had added a second, and, as they chose to express it, partly for the *same* work. The bill, even as amended, at once gratified, and answered the design of the monarch; “which was to take this unsuspected opportunity of insinuating an appellation, pregnant with pretension, amidst the ancient formularies and solemn phraseology consecrated by the laws, and used by the high assemblies of the commonwealth. The new title, full of undefined but

vast claims, soon crept from petitions of the Convocation, into the heart of Acts of Parliament."⁵²

After an organic change such as this, whatever might be sanctioned by authority, and now took place within the shores of England, could never, with propriety or truth, be laid to the charge of any *foreign* power or influence; and the reader, therefore, must be curious to enquire what were the consequences, or current of events, during the rest of the year; more especially, as the very same Convocation which acknowledged the King's supremacy, still continuing to sit, gave a tone to the times.

If we were to believe Crumwell, when writing to the Continent, in April, soon after the Convocation of this year had adjourned, as far as the King was concerned, he could not now appear, except as clothed in the white robes of innocence and peace. When trying to entice *Tyndale* into England, as into a sanctuary, he had talked of "the most gracious benignity"—"the piteous regard *natural*"—"the mercy and grace" of that "most virtuous and benign Prince and Governor," Henry the Eighth! Let the events immediately preceding and following such language, now be observed.

The Convocation having not only yielded so far to Henry's ambition, but given him the promise of a sum equal to above £350,000 annually, for five years to come; perhaps he thought that, by way of *courtesy* in return, he must comply with the wishes of this body; but be this as it may, we shall presently find the Clergy and the Star Chamber, in perfect harmony. It was the triumphant reign of Sir Thomas More, for the one party, and of Stokesly, Bishop of London, for the other.

Immediately after agreeing to the preamble of the Bill of Subsidy, or in the 50th Session of the Convocation, enquiry had commenced, at Stokesly's motion, into the opinions of *Latimer, Bilney and Crome*; and by the 69th Session Warham was examining *John Lambert* before two notaries. In the intermediate space, finding no *living* victim, the very bones of the dead did not escape them; but emulating the example of 1428, when they dug up the bones of Wickliffe, they pronounced judgment on the deceased William Tracy, Esq. of Todington, because in his last will he had committed

⁵² Sir James Mackintosh.

his departing Spirit to God, through Jesus Christ *alone*, and left no part of his property to the priests, to pray for his soul.⁵³

It was while these transactions were going on, Sir Thomas More and Mr. Brian Tuke introduced the business of Henry's divorce before Parliament, by laying before it the sentence of certain Universities, and the opinions of individuals, amounting to a hundred, in its favour, soon after which the House was prorogued, and the Convocation also dissolved, to the month of October.

But before then, two of the earliest victims of the present year had been apprehended and punished; and just as if the entire honour of this arduous contest must redound to the praise of our first Translator, these were no other than his own younger brother, John, and a devoted friend, Thomas Patmore, both merchants in London. They appear to have enjoyed the double honour of passing through the hands of Sir Thomas More and Stokesly, or the Star Chamber, and the Bishop's Court.

With regard to the first court, the following statement is from Foxe's manuscript, which seems fully to ratify the idea that Tyndale had reprinted his New Testament in 1530.

"There were soon after the coming over of the New Testaments in English, translated by William Tyndale, which he sent to his brother, John Tyndale, a merchant, apprehended, the said John Tyndale, and Thomas Patmore, a merchant, and a young man that dwelt about London Bridge, by the Bishop of London, and brought before Sir Thomas More, being the Chancellor, and by him committed to ward. After they were brought forth before the Lords in the Star Chamber, and there were charged with the receiving of Tyndale's Testaments, and divers other books, and delivering and scattering the same abroad in divers places of the city of London, which they *confessed*, and therefore had judgment—That they should be sent to the Counter of London, and there to remain until the next market-day, and then each of them to be set upon a horse, and their faces to the horse's tail, and to have papers upon their heads, and upon their outward apparel, that is to say, upon their gowns or cloaks, to be tacked or pinned thick with the said *New Testaments* and other books. And at the Standard in Chepe (Cheapside) should be made a great fire, wherinto

⁵³ The sentence, however, had proceeded no farther than that of removal from the graveyard; but Parker, the Chancellor of Worcester, in the heat of his zeal, applying for no writ, burnt the body to ashes. Both Tyndale and Fryth commented powerfully on this transaction: and Richard Tracy, Esq., well known as an author afterwards, the son of William, raised a prosecution against Parker for exceeding his commission. Burnet has stated erroneously, that "he was turned out of his office, and fined £400." He continued Chancellor till 1535; "but he was now fined," says Strype, "in a great sum." "It cost him," says *Halle*, "three hundred pounds to procure his pardon." This was very well—as it was equal to about £4500 of the present day. So much for the officious man, who, after entering upon office, had rated Tyndale as though he had been a dog.—See anno 1522, or page 34.

every of them (the three) should throw their said books; ⁵⁴ and, farther, to abide such fines, to be paid to the *King*, as should be assessed upon them; which penance they observed." Foxe then adds—"this is extant, to be seen in the records of the Star Chamber."⁵⁵

At this period it was not unusual for More, when he suspected his victims might be condemned for any thing else, to deliver them over, by an indenture, into the paw of the Bishop of London, but at all events, both these worthy men now fell into Stokesly's hands. Tyndale was punished by him "for sending *five marks* to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him, certain letters from his brother!" As for Patmore, who was charged with saying "that the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now," &c.—"he had long hold with the Bishop. First, he would not *sware*—then he would appeal to the King; but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the Bishop's nets, that he could not get out; but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the *King*, an *hundred pounds*."⁵⁶

In the month of May, a second edition of Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue" was published; and now, during the rest of the year, persecution became general. Stokesly and

⁵⁴ The Lord Chancellor could not forbear to indulge his drollery even on this, as upon other occasions, and no doubt was gratified in having the translation, which he could not write into disrepute, thus treated; but by ordering these reputable men to the *Standard*, once situate close by Bow Church, or opposite to Honey Lane, Cheapside, he meant to fix a stigma, similar to that which belonged to the "place of skulls" in the days of old. The *Standard* had been notorious as the place of occasional execution, for more than two hundred years.

⁵⁵ MS. Harleian, No. 425, fol. 15. There is a strange mistake, which has run through different histories, from the days of the industrious Strype, to the present moment, in regard to the *fine* imposed on these London merchants—inasmuch that we have found it broadly stated in a publication, of wide circulation, and dated 1836, that "they were condemned to pay the enormous sum of eighteen thousand pounds, equal to *two hundred thousand pounds* at the present day!" Some others before, startled at the sum, have merely said that the fine was enormous. The origin of the mistake may amuse the reader. On the *margin* of the original manuscript by John Foxe, in the Museum, and as given above, there is the following notandum—"A foul faute, page 1195, for this some (sum) xviii thousand viii c. xl pounds and x pence, ye have printed xviii c. xl pounds and x pence." Strype, seeing this, but very unlike his usual accuracy, took upon him to add, in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, immediately after the word "observed"—"The fine set upon them was heavy enough, viz. eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence—as was extant to be seen in the records of the Star Chamber!" thus adding the *note* at the *foot* of the MS., applicable only to the authority for his story, as though it verified the prodigious sum on the *margin*. The fact, as the reader may begin to suspect, is, that the sum referred to was that which the *whole province of York* agreed to pay to the King; see page 292; and in the note, Foxe is simply correcting "a foul faute," or misprint of the York subsidy! As for the fine, now referred to, it seems as if it had been left to the "Spirituality," except they were fined *twice*; and if it was £100 each, as may appear presently, even then it will be allowed by all to have been "heavy enough," being equal to £1500 each at the present time.

⁵⁶ Such is Foxe's record in his *Acts and Monuments*. He states no sum for Tyndale, but we have supposed it could not be more. The one case, Foxe dates 1530, the other 1531. So that most probably they both occurred before the 25th of March 1531, as 1530 ran on to that day.

the Lord Chancellor, in London; Warham, and Fisher, and Longland, elsewhere, were all busy; and by the month of August, it seemed as if Henry and his advisers had stepped into blood, and would have struck down any man who presumed to question or oppose their measures. We might repeat the sad tale of many, but select only a few cases, as being peculiarly characteristic of the times. The particulars are at once humiliating and painful. We have to read them also amidst the fires that were now kindled in England; though, amidst all the lurid glare, it is easy to perceive the rapid and decided progress of truth, or the glorious extent of that cause, for which Tyndale only lived, and at last died.

The first victim to the flames was Bilney. For though he had fallen, and, in his own apprehension, past redemption, to him was given the honour of leading the way in England at this period, of resistance "unto blood, striving against sin." If we except the case of John Hitton, of which we know little, he was the first burnt, after the burning of the Scriptures, for more than five years past. How long he had remained in prison after his abjuration, cannot distinctly be ascertained; but after his release and return to Cambridge, he was in the deepest distress of mind for a long season. His agony of mind was so great, that Latimer affirms, "his friends dared not suffer him to be alone, day or night. They comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve! And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them to him, was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword!" It was Tunstal who had been the tempter, and the instrumental cause of all this mental anguish. At last, however, his conscience was quieted only by the same blood of atonement, which at first had given him such peace and joy. And ere long, determined no more to dissemble or conceal the truth, he took farewell of his friends at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, saying that he must now go up to *Jerusalem*.⁵⁷ He then went into Norfolk, preaching first from house to house, and then in the open fields. Making no secret of his former abjuration, he warned all to beware of following his example. He appears then to have gone down through Essex, and not improbably visited London itself, as the "*Jerusalem*" he had

⁵⁷ Acts xx., 22-24.

referred to ; for at one period, six weeks before his apprehension, we find him as near to it as *Greenwich*. There he committed four of Tyndale's New Testaments, with a budget of books, to a faithful friend, Laurence Staple, who conveyed them to Cambridge, and was afterwards called to sharp account for so doing.⁵⁸ But at last Bilney proceeded to Norwich itself ; and having given a New Testament of Tyndale's, and his book on "Obedience," to a convert residing there, he was soon apprehended by authority of the old Bishop. He immediately sent up to Sir Thomas More for a writ ; and if it be correct, as generally stated, it must have been with his wonted hilarity that he replied—"Go your ways, and burn him first, and then afterwards come to me for a bill at my hand." At all events, Bilney was soon condemned to die at the stake, and delivered to the Sheriffs ; one of whom was no other than Thomas *Necton*, the brother of Robert, already mentioned as a great distributor of books. From dread of the Chancellor and the Friars, Necton officially was obliged to receive him ; when he implored Bilney's forgiveness, and was not present at his death. The night before his execution, the dying martyr, quite composed, resigned, and even cheerful, among other passages of Scripture, dwelt much on this one—"Fear not ; for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee : and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee : when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt ; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." It was not that Bilney expected any other than mental support, or that he superstitiously anticipated exemption from pain ; but "a pain for the time," said he, "whereon, notwithstanding, followeth joy unspeakable." At the stake, he closed his devotions with the beginning of the 143d Psalm ; and the second verse—"Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no flesh living be justified"—he repeated, in deep meditation, three times. He had been led through the Bishop's gate to this spot, called the Lollard's pit, and there expired in the flames, on Saturday morning, the 19th of August, amidst the most cruel enemies, and not a few decided friends.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See his confession before Stokesley in Foxe.

⁵⁹ The day of Bilney's death has been stated with strange variety. Foxe and Collier are cor-

Thus, although Bilney's progress in divine knowledge may have scarcely surmounted the superstition of the mass, his views of divine truth, on the points of the sinner's acceptance before God through the righteousness of Christ alone, were clear and most decided, so that he died a martyr for the truth of God. All Sir Thomas More's sad, if not unprincipled, attempts to blacken his memory, as though he had recanted at the stake, only recoiled in ultimate disgrace upon himself. It was a favourite, though weak device of the Chancellor's, when he vainly attempted to answer Tyndale next year, to represent the martyrs as recanting before death.

If the reader is not aware of the fact, he will be gratified in knowing that the identical copy of the Latin Bible once belonging to Thomas Bilney is still in existence. At least it is said to be in one of the libraries at Cambridge. Many annotations are inscribed upon its pages with *his own* hand; and it is certainly an interesting circumstance that the passage in *Isaiah*, already quoted, which consoled the owner of the book when in prospect of the flames, is particularly distinguished with a pen, in the margin. The words if not so marked with his own hand, must have been by others at the time, for they received the words as the legacy of a martyr; they had them fairly written on tables or in books, and derived comfort from them till their dying day.

Among the persecutions under Stokesly of this year, there is one which deserves notice, as one more illustration of the connexion between Antwerp and London. "Christopher," says Foxe, "a Dutchman of Antwerp, for selling certain New Testaments in English to John Row, book-binder, a Frenchman, was put in prison at Westminster, *and there died.*" This could not have been Christopher *Buremund*, already mentioned, as he continued in business to 1541; nor is it at all likely to have been *Endhoren*, of whom we heard so much. Christopher was a common name, but it was quite in character with the times thus to treat a foreigner, for simply importing the Word of Life, in the language of the people.

We have no design merely to harrow up the feelings, by

rect. Burnet says the 10th of November, perhaps confounding it with an execution on the 20th, at London. Even a note in Tunstall's Register, the 31st of August, is incorrect. Foxe fixes the date, by saying it was "*St. Magnus day, and on a Saturday:*" now in 1531, St. Magnus day, the 19th August, was Saturday.

the recital of brutal treatment, having a more important and profitable object in view; which is to ascertain, as nearly as may be, the precise state of things, the rate of progress, and the extent to which the cause of truth had by this time arrived. We have one valuable illustration in the exertions of Mr. *Richard Bayfield*, whose history cannot fail to gratify the reader; as, among the very hazardous, yet innumerable instances of the importation of books, he occupied a conspicuous place.

Blest himself, at a very early period, with a copy of Tyndale's New Testament, he laboured for a considerable time to bring them into the country, along with other valuable books; and now, when examined by Stokesly, with what view he had done all this, he at once replied—"To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm among Christian people."

The year and place of Bayfield's birth cannot be ascertained, but by his own confession he entered the monastery of St. Edmondsbury as a monk in 1514, and took orders as a priest in 1518. After the return of Dr. Barnes from Louvain to Cambridge in 1523 he used to visit a Dr. Ruffam, then in that monastery, who had been one of his fellow students abroad, and Bayfield, being chamberlain of the house, became interested with the conversation of the visitor. From him he ere long received a copy of the New Testament in Latin, but two citizens of London, Maxwell and Stacy, who were zealous for the circulation of the Scriptures, and went round the country, with this in view, presented him with Tyndale's English New Testament. From the subsequent history of his life, it is evident that this must have been one of the *earliest* copies given away in the country parts. After being at Cambridge with Barnes, he seems to have not returned to his abbey, but proceeding to his friends, Maxwell and Stacy, in London, he remained there in concealment for a short time in the close of 1526. At this early period, as appears by Foxe, he was a suspected person. It is true he talks, in a vague way of Bayfield suffering imprisonment and cruel treatment for two years and nine months, but this was merely an anticipation, or rather loose summing up of all his trials. At all events, he fixes the period of his first escape beyond sea; Dr. Barnes being then *in the Fleet for God's Word*,

which continued till August 1526 ; though Bayfield remained, in fact, two months longer.

On his first going abroad, Foxe says, " this Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale and Mr. Frythe, for he brought substance with him, and was *their own hand*, and sold all their works, both in France and England." This is a general description of Bayfield's life and services, during at least four different voyages to the Continent, within the last five years. His first return to England was sometime in the year 1527. It had so happened that in October 1526, just before leaving England, he met, in Lombard Street, with three parsons of his own standing, Edmund Pierson, James Smith, and Miles Garnet, when some conversation ensued, by no means pleasant to their ears, but sufficiently explicit as to Bayfield's sentiments. Having therefore now returned, it must have been but a very short time before Pierson detected him, as by the 13th of September 1527, we find his accusation against Bayfield recorded at full length in Foxe's history.

Once brought before Tunstal, in 1528 he was enjoined for penance " to go before the cross in procession, in the Parish Church of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, and to appear before the Bishop again on the 25th of April," 1529. The first part he fulfilled, but not the latter. He had gone to the Continent, but what may seem strange, he did appear, and presented himself before Tunstal on the 20th of June : and it was still more so, if he then had brought over with him any books of the " new learning."⁶⁰ However, there being no fresh witnesses against him, the Bishop merely pronounced upon him sentence of banishment from the city and diocese of London. But in the face of this, as Bayfield now entertained no reverence for their ecclesiastical authority, he went on more determined than before. In May or June 1530, he arrived at Colchester, with a cargo of books, which were all successfully sold or circulated : an importation specially to be noted, as it was imme-

⁶⁰ This is by no means improbable : though truly no dependence can be placed on Sir Thomas More, except he be confirmed by other circumstances or other authorities. He actually abounds in unmeasured mendacity when speaking of such men. But he says that Bayfield " was occupied in *two* things at once—in suing for pardon for bringing in books and selling them here secretly, and sending over for *more*." At the same time this was pardon for his *former* charges, as already noted, which, though it included nineteen distinct articles by Pierson, never once alludes to *books*

diately after the "burning" at St. Paul's, if not at the moment; immediately after the Royal proclamation had been framed, which Latimer so reprobated; and it is one among other proofs of books then coming *thick and threefold* into England, to the annoyance of Tunstal. Abroad once more, Bayfield returned with a second importation in November, but landing at St. Catharine's, the whole parcel fell, as a coveted morsel, into the hands of Sir Thomas More. Nothing daunted, and at the very season when Vaughan and Crumwell were trying to inveigle Tyndale into England, Bayfield had another cargo upon English ground. These he landed safely in Norfolk, about the beginning of April, and not being detected, they were of course circulated far and wide, to the farther vexation of the poor, infirm, and literally blind Bishop of Norwich, as well as his brethren. But at last, in the fall of this year, coming to his old friend Mr. Smith in Bucklersbury, the frequent receiver of his books, he was betrayed; and being traced to his book-binder's in Mark Lane, he was first committed to the Lollard's Tower, where, and afterwards in the Bishop's coal-house, he was most barbarously treated. Being now, however, stedfast in faith, he had made up his mind to die; and though tortured to accuse others who had bought his books, and three times in the consistory of St. Paul's put to his trial, as to whether he would abjure, he remained unmoveable. From such men as now bore sway, he could expect no mercy, and he received none; indeed, Stokesly displayed all the ferocity of his character, and behaved in the most brutal manner. Being condemned, actually upon a Lord's-day, the 19th of November; on Monday, when he came to be degraded, as they phrased it, not satisfied with the mere ceremony, Stokesly with a blow of his crosier, struck with such violence on the breast of Bayfield, that, falling backward, his skull was almost fractured, and he swooned away! When once he recovered himself, the good man "thanked God that he was (not degraded but) delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the sincere Church of Jesus Christ militant here on earth; and "I trust anon," said he "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church triumphant for ever." Nor was he mistaken, for that day he was in paradise. After this outrageous conduct, he was led forth to Newgate, and in about an

hour afterwards committed to the flames. He remained alive for so long as half an hour, but continued in prayer to the end without moving!

How many persons, in a greater or less degree, had been, or were now engaged in the importation of books, it is impossible to say; but if we take this one valuable agent as an index, and refer merely to his last successful adventure, it will be evident, that amidst all the fury of opponents, a tide had set in, which it was beyond the power of man to stem.

According to the list of books exhibited against Bayfield, at the head of the whole, in point of number, we have William Tyndale. This zealous importer had brought this year—The five books of Moses, in distinct tracts or volumes—The New Testament, including the prologue to the Romans—The parable respecting Mammon—The Obedience of a Christian Man—The Practice of Prelates, and even The Answer to More; or ten different publications in all. There was also one of Fryth's on Purgatory. We give the principal names of the authors, with the number of publications by each.

By Tyndale there were at least *ten*, all in *English*, and in Latin we find

By Luther, . . . 5	By Ecolampadius, 4	By Pomeranus, 3
— Melancthon, 5	— F. Lambert, . 4	— Capito, . 2
— Bucer, . . . 5	— Brentius, . . . 4	— Zuinglius, 1

Besides eight others by various authors—and the Sum of Scripture—The Primer—The Psalter—The A. B. C. against the Clergy—and The Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Ploughman. There were, in short, *fifty-seven* distinct publications—"of all which books," Bayfield is charged with having brought "a *great number* into this realm of England."

On the 3d of December, or only a fortnight after having tortured and murdered this excellent man, Stokesly proceeded to the denunciation of books. "The first Sunday of Advent," says the manuscript, "in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and xxxi., these books following were openly at Paul's Cross, by the authority of my Lord of London, under authentical seal, by the Doctor that day preached, prohibited and straitly commanded of no manner of man to be used, under pain of suspension, and a greater pain, as more largely appeareth in foresaid authority." This list of books is valuable, as verifying the present history. We therefore give it verbatim, only arranging the books under their respective authors. No *Latin* works are mentioned.

By Tyndale.—The New Testament in English, with an introduction to the Epistle to the Romans⁶¹—The first book of Moses called Genesis—A prologue in the iid book of Moses called Exodus—A prologue in the third book of Moses

⁶¹ This list is important, as confirmatory of Tyndale having reprinted the New Testament in 1530. None of the Antwerp editions as yet had the Prologue to the Romans inserted, but *this had*. Bilney, it has been supposed, had a copy of this impression; but we know for certain that it was among the importations of Bayfield this year,—here it is formally interdicted, and John Tyndale as well as Patmore having been so treated; all these circumstances leave but little or no hesitation that Tyndale reprinted his New Testament in 1530, though he had not time as yet to revise the translation. In the valuable List of Lowndes' Bib. Manual, Tyndale's edition of 1534 is represented as the *first* that had the Prologue to the Romans inserted—but this now seems to be a mistake. He appears to have inserted it first in his reprint of 1530.

called Leviticus—A prologue in the iijth book of Moses called Nuneri—A prologue in the vith book of Moses called Deuteronomye—The Parable of the Wicked Mammon—The Obedience of a Christian Man—An Exposition into the viith chapter to the Corinthians—The Matrimony of Tyndale—The Practise of Prelates—An Answer of Tyndale to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, in English—Jonas, in English.

By Fryth.—The Revelation of Antiechrist—A Disputation of Purgatory.

By Fyshe.—The Supplication of Beggars—The Sum of Scripture.

By Roye.—The Disputation betwixt the Father and the Son—The Burying of the Mass, in English, in rhyme—A book against the Seven Sacraments.

A. B. C. against the Clergy—Ortulus Anime, in English—A book against St. Thomas of Canterbury—A book of Thorpe or of John Oldecastle—The Primer in English—The Psalter in English, by Joye—A Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Ploughman.⁶² N.B. all *English*, for they formed the heavy artillery.

In the course of only eight or ten days after this interdict, both Stokesly and More were busy with another martyr. The reader may remember *John Tewksbury*, who, in 1529, on being examined before Tunstal, answered so well, but getting entangled by his sophistry, abjured. Moved now by the noble example of Bayfield, he resolved to confess the truth at all hazards. On Saturday the 16th of December, Stokesly being down at Chelsea, condemned him on the spot, in the house of the Chancellor, and they delivered him to the sheriffs. Stokesly had been consecrated or installed *Lord Bishop of London* on the 20th of December last; and so whether it was to give the anniversary some farther celebrity, or as an appropriate memorial of the day—yet so it was—the sheriffs delivered this worthy man to the stake, and he perished in the flames at Smithfield, on St. Thomas' Eve, the 20th of December!

Before concluding this first year of Henry's supremacy, among the men apprehended, we must on no account omit *George Constantyne*, were it only on account of the consequences. We first heard of him in 1528, when the examination of Robert Necton occasioned his flight. Since that time he had been in Brabant, and having been originally bred a surgeon, he had there, by his own account, practised as such. At the same time, he evidently had taken a deep interest in the importation of books, and coming over himself this year, had, as well as Bayfield, brought books with him; but he was not

⁶² See Lambeth MSS., No. 306, folio 65. The Exposition of the Epistle of *John* by Tyndale had not yet fallen into their hands. The Satire on Wolsey is here styled "the Burying of the Mass."

possessed of similar fortitude, nor was he ever, like him, to wear the crown of martyrdom.

Falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, he appears evidently (by More's own expressions in the preface to his next *folio* against Tyndale) to have been, in some degree, smitten with the man and his shrewdness. He must have conversed with him frequently, and at great length, as will appear presently.

“ After divers communications, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying—‘ Constantyne ! I would have thee be plain with me in *one* thing that I will ask ; and I promise thee, I will shew thee favour in *all* other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you : I know they cannot live without help. There *are* some that help them, and succour them with money ; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and, therefore, knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me who be they that help them thus ?—‘ My Lord,’ quoth Constantyne, ‘ I will tell you truly : it is the *Bishop of London* that hath holpen us ; for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments, to burn them ; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort.’—‘ Now, by my troth,’ quoth More, ‘ I think even the same ; for so much I told the Bishop *before* he went about it.’”⁶³

The communications of Constantyne at this moment, there is now no doubt, had excited great attention. Crumwell will be seen, presently, to ground his *foreign* correspondence upon them ; and, by the man's own account in 1539, the King himself had conversed particularly with him. “ His Majesty reasoned with me himself almost nine years ago,”—and Constantyne then presumed to form his own opinion of the *depth* of the King's learning. But More was the chief cross-examiner, and Constantyne, very harshly treated, was now at the lowest point of degradation throughout his varied life. Very strange indeed were the changes that took place in these times. How astonished would the Chancellor have been, could he have been informed of the future path of the person he then held in irons ! But Sir Thomas was not aware that he was now conversing with a man who should return to England after his death ; who should get into the service of Sir Henry Norris, and thus become intimately acquainted with the Court ; who should be present at the death of Henry's

⁶³ Halle and Foxe. This refers to Tunstal's exploit at Antwerp in 1529, though it be evident that Constantyne is now stretching a point, for the sake of the joke—a style of reply, with which he well knew that More was often fascinated.

now intended Queen; and, moreover, whose *son-in-law* should rise to be Archbishop of York, (the very place that Wolsey himself once occupied,) nay, and become President of Queen Elizabeth's Council for the North of England!⁶⁴

The Chancellor is represented by one manuscript, as having put Constantyne in the stocks;⁶⁵ but by a subsequent letter it will appear, that this was another way of expressing that he was in *irons*. Sir Thomas, by his official severity, it will be proved, at last constrained the man, through fear, to affirm much more than he could have substantiated, respecting people abroad, including even *Mr. Vaughan*, the English Envoy, himself; and as these forced confessions came out, they soon found their way across the sea. The Chancellor, it will soon be evident, had an evil eye fixed upon Vaughan, as having been far from that rigour which would have gratified him; while, on the other hand, the Envoy displeased with the freedom now used with his character, immediately wrote to Crumwell on hearing the first rumours.

“ I am informed that George Constantyne hath of late declared certain things against me, before my Lord Chancellor. If it be true, I pray you let me know what things they be. Be you hereof assured, that he can declare nothing against me that is truth, to hurt me. Peradventure he hath declared that I spoke with Tyndale. If so he have done, what hath he herein declared, that I myself have not signified to the King's Highness? Peradventure he hath also declared, that I *laboured* Tyndale, upon the King's safe-conduct, to *come into England*. This also I have signified to his Highness. What other thing soever he have declared against me, being true, I care not for it. If otherwise, *veritas liberavit.*”⁶⁶

Crumwell himself, however, now writes to Antwerp, once and again counselling the Envoy; as men of violent spirit abroad, alone could satisfy the violent at home. But in the meanwhile, to the no small mortification of our Lord Chancellor, Constantyne contrived to escape from his iron chain, and sailing for the Continent, he arrived in safety at Antwerp, on the 6th of December!

Vaughan, by this time, was effectually roused, and he will now disclose to us, very graphically, what had been *the actual*

⁶⁴ All these curious particulars will come before us in due course.

⁶⁵ Manuscript life of More, edited by Dr. Wordsworth.

⁶⁶ Cotton MS., Titus, B. I., fol. 303. Strype affirms that “ he disingenuously confessed to Sir Thomas, several of his companions, and disclosed the shipmen, who brought over many of these books, and the marks of the fardles,” or bundles.

state of England for the last nine months. The following interesting, and, in some respects, noble letter, from which *Cromwell*, at this crisis, might well have taken many a hint, *Vaughan* despatched to him, only three days after *Constantyne* had reached his home, his wife, and his children.

“Right worshipful, your humble commendations premised.—The 6th day of this present month, at mine entrance into the English house in Antwerp from Tournay, I received your letters which I long looked for, with certain copies inclosed therein, which I desired to receive.—

“And whereas in the same your letters, among other things therein contained you signify unto me the taking of *George Constantyne*, and the doubt which your friends putteth, that the said *George* will accuse me, not only to be a fautor and adherent to the Lutheran sect, but also to have given help for and towards the setting forth of such books and works as be erroneous and suspected: And therefore cease not, after your *accustomed* manner, with many friendly, loving, earnest, and discreet exhortations, to move, stir, and persuade me to be circumspect; and clearly separating and alienating myself from such sects and erroneous opinions; only to apply and endeavour myself, truly and unfeignedly, to serve the King his Majesty, in such things as his highness hath trustily commended unto me in these parts. Promising me thereby the increase of my laud, praise, and commendation, with other things too long to write.

“To these things before rehearsed, pleaseth your benignity to receive mine answer in these words following. If *Constantyne* have accused me to be of the Lutheran sect, a fautor and setter-forth of erroneous and suspected works, I do not thereat marvel, for two causes specially. One is, for that my Lord Chancellor, in his examination of the said *George*, and of all other men; (as I am credibly informed,) being brought before him for cases of heresy, doth deeply enquire to know, what may be said of me; and in the examination thereof, *showeth evident and clear desire, in his countenance and behaviour, to hear something of me, whereby an occasion of evil might be fastened against me; which, no doubt, shall soon be espied in the patient whom he examineth,—who perceiving his desire in that behalf, and trusting, by accusing of me, to escape and avoid his present danger, of pure frailty and weakness, spareth not to accuse the innocent.* The other is, for that *George*, besides the imminent peril and danger in which he was, abiding prisoner *in my Lord's house*, was vehemently stirred and provoked. What with the remembrance of his poor wife remaining here, desperate, bewashed with continual tears, and pinched with hourly sorrow, sighs, and mourning, and the sharp and bitter threatenings of his poor (state) and condition, likely to be brought unto an extreme danger of poverty; and more hard than the first, by the excess of his misery, to accuse whom they had longed for, rather than to be tied by the leg, with a cold and heavy iron, like a beast,—as appeared by the shift he made to undo the same, and escape such tortures and punishments. Will not these perils, fears, punishments, make a son forget the father which begat him? And the mother that bear him, and fed him with her breasts? If they will, who should (wonder) though he would accuse me, a thousand times less dear to him than either father or mother, to rid him out of the same?

“Would God! it might please the King's Majesty to look into *these* kinds of punishments; which, in my poor opinion, threateneth more hurt to his realm, than those that be his ministers to execute the same tortures and punishments

do think or conjecture : and by this reason only,—It shall (will) constrain his subjects, in great number, to forsake his realm, and to inhabit strange regions and countries, where they will not practise a little hurt to the same. Yea, and whereas, they (the King's ministers) think that tortures, punishments, and death, will be a mean to rid the realm of erroneous opinions, and bring men in such fear, that they will not once be so hardy to speak or look,—Be *you assured*, and let the King's Grace be thereof advertised at my mouth, that his highness (shall) will duly prove, that in the end, it will cause the sect to wax greater, and those errors to be more plenteously sowed in his realm, than ever afore. For who have so mightily sowed those errors, as those persons which, for fear of tortures and death, have fled his realm? Will they not, by driving men out of his realm, make the *roent* (irruption) and company greater in strange countries, and will not many do more than one or two? Will not four write where *one* wrote afore? Counsel you the King's Highness, as his true subject, to look upon this matter, and no more to trust to other men's policies, which threateneth, in mine opinion, the weal of his realm; and let me no longer be blamed nor suspected for my true saying.

“That I write I know to be true; and daily do see experience of that I now write, which, between you and me, I have often said and written, though per-adventure, *you have little regarded it*. But tarry a while, and you will be learned by experience. I see it begun already.

“To some men it will seem, by this my manner of writing, that I being, (as they suppose, and as I have been falsely accused to be) one of the sect, do write in this manner, because I would that both I and the same sect should be suffered without punishment. Nay truly—But rather I would that an evil doer should be charitably punished, and in such manner as he might thereby be won with other, than lost with a great many. And let his Majesty be farther assured, that he will, *with no policy, nor with no threatenings of tortures and punishments take away the opinions of his people*, till his Grace shall fatherly and lovingly reform the Clergy of his realm. For there springeth the opinion. From thence, riseth the grudge of his people. Out of that, men take and find occasions to complain. If I say truth, let it be for such received. If otherwise, I protest, before God and the World, that whatsoever I here write, I mean therein nothing but honour, glory, and surety of my only Prince and sovereign, and the public weal of his realm.

“And as to myself, and the fame and opinion of some men had of me.—Let all men know, whatsoever the world babble of me, that I am neither Lutheran nor yet Tyndalian,—nor have them or any other, or esteem them and any other, for my Gods,—nor for the persons in whom, or in whose learning I have any trust.—Nor yet do trust in the doctrine and learning of any earthly creatures, for all men be liars—in *quantum homines*, as Scripture saith: and again “*male-dictis qui confidit in hominibus.*” Christ's Church hath admitted me . . . a learning sufficient and infallible, and by Christ taught, which is the Holy Scripture; let the world brawl, I am sure to have no other. I find not myself deceived, nor I trust shall be. As the world goeth, men's learnings are not to be trusted; God's learning cannot deceive me (if) that I embrace it humbly and with reverence: His learning is an *only truth* in the World; and among men, besides that, is there found no truth; but the contrary, sin, untruth, corruption, and wretchedness.

“And as to my truth to my Prince and Sovereign, and my service towards his Grace, be not afraid, nor think that any worldly thing can corrupt my mind, nor move my body or any member thereof, once to think or do any manner of

thing, that shall not both become a Christian man, and also a true and faithful subject to his Prince. If I were of another sort, and as the *more part are*, I might by chance obtain more favour. But whatsoever I do, or shall do to my Prince, I do it not for any reward, nor thereby seek reward, which, with *half an eye*, ye may perceive: And whether I be rewarded or not rewarded, it is all one to me; I will nevertheless do my duty. God hath eyes to see, and his reward prepared, and will prepare a living for me, wheresoever I be come, no less than he doth for those his creatures which neither sow nor mow.

“I am unkindly handled, to have such sharp inquisitions made of me in mine absence: I am (rude)ly handled for my service. Such stripes and bitter rewards would faint, and make weak the heart of some men towards their Prince; but I am the stronger, because I know my truth, and am at defiance with all men pretending the contrary. What! should I be longer in declaring my mind? Receive you the sum thereof, in short words. I will not be untrue to my Prince, though he were the *doublest* person of his realm, though his governance were such as should offend both heaven and earth: as his Grace is the very contrary, most noble, gracious, benign, and Am I not commanded by God, to be obedient to my Prince? Do I not, by the contrary, break God's ordinance? Am I ignorant in these things, supposeth the world, whose eyes are covered with ambition, dissimulation, and such like? I can no longer forbear but shew you my mind—it presseth my heart, like a deadly wound, when I hear that I am otherwise meant. I had much rather forsake my natural country, my most dear friends and family, and wander into some strange region and country, there to lead the rest of my short life, than thus to be handled for my true service, and my good mind—considering that truth hath no better estimation, insomuch that it standeth in such danger, and is so vilely reputed.

“I hear *every where*, how diligently my Lord Chancellor enquireth of all those (whom) he examineth in cases of heresy, for me. What are my manners? my opinions? my conversations? my faith? finally, what is my life entirely? And besides him, there be others deputed for such like examinations, which also make like inquisitions. Wherefore take they so great pains? What think they to hear? Or what think they that I am less than they? As concerning my creation—a man, a sinner, a vessel conceived in sin; finally, a wretched creature, barren and devoid of goodness—and this might they consider, without so great pains-taking. Who so miserable a creature as I am! beholding himself to be threatened with men so puissant, would not think himself to be in great danger? Who so unkindly and unchristianly entreated, may not wofully sing the verses painted in your stained cloth, resembling the evertion of Italy—changing the feminine into the masculine—*Et sola et mediis herens in fluctibus, ecce, me miseram quantis unlique pressa malis*.

“I see there is no remedy—but I must depart out of this country. I am here suspected above all men. I would it might please his Grace to license me to come into his realm, and no longer to be occupied in these things which so dangerously threaten my displeasure. I shall be contented to live in a corner of his realm, far from the company of men, and there to pass the residue of my short time.”

It may here be called to mind that we have already seen one English envoy in no small perplexity, and forced to move from his ground, in consequence of his zeal in opposing this great cause; but here we have the second, and in greater per-

plexity still. Eager to gratify his impetuous Sovereign, and his no less temporising superior, Master Crumwell, the man had, in truth, been only doing his utmost. But being at once no favourite of Sir Thomas More's, (nor he assuredly of Vaughan's,) and, at the same time, the pupil of Crumwell, by whom he had been recommended to Henry; between the two, this ambassador was now in a maze. After such sound advice as he had tendered to his King, and all around him; after such fine sentiments as he had now so well expressed; one cannot but regret to find, in the end, that he had been only one of those of whom the Scriptures speak—"their webs shall not become garments, and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein, shall not know peace." But the secret comes out at last, and he is frank enough to tell it plainly; well knowing, as he must have done, that to such a man as Crumwell now was, it would be no blot in his character—for thus he proceeds—

"I have too much laboured in truth. My policies have been here *divers*. My conversation amongst men, like unto *theirs*. Amongst Christian men I have been a *Christian*. Amongst Jews, alike to *them*. Amongst Lutherans, a Lutheran *also*. What can I here do, without such policy? Shall such policies hurt me, because I used them to compass *other* things? Then, either think they that they sent a fool, or me constrain they to think, that they have no 'discrete perreveraunce!'

"Another thing that most grieveth me is this, that by this mean I should lose a most dear friend and special good Master of you, as I have been lately informed. And that you have excused you to the King's Majesty for me, and showed to him, that you are very sorry, that ever you commended or advanced me to his Majesty,—considering that I am one of such sort as I am, and that you were greatly deceived by me; supposing that I had been far otherwise disposed than I now am. Thus saith my Lord Chancellor, and so it is reported to me, of his mouth. If you have *so* done, then again increase my troubles into a more bitter passion than ever; and think not that whatsoever you have said, or shall say, have done, or shall do, it can yet turn my heart from you, of whom I have received far greater pleasures, than these displeasures.—But rather I will owe you all my powers, (besides that part which belongeth to God,) while I live, and will not be driven from you, though my body should extremely suffer. I speak it not feignedly, intending by such colour and manner of writing to win your favour, or to gape for your gift,—having no need thereof; nor, God willing, shall have, being right able, *par tout*, as the Frenchman saith, to get my living. But I declare by this my writing unto you, the earnest meaning of my heart, and that thereunto your exceeding merits have drawn me, *volens volens*. Here leave I, to write any farther of this matter, till I hear either from you, or some other of my friends."

After informing Crumwell of his doings at Tournay, and the Emperor's movements, he then adds—"George Constantyne came to Antwerp, after his break-

ing from my Lord Chancellor, the vi. day of December. With him, nor with none other such, *will I meddle or have to do*, considering that *I am beaten with mine own labours*. And thus, with most humble heart I bid you farewell, &c.—from Antwerp the ix. day of December 1531.—Your answer, if it so stand with your pleasure. Your humble and true servaunt, *S. Vaughan.*⁶⁷

It may only be stated here that Constantyne again went on, importing books: but it will be remembered that we have given these instances, merely as a characteristic specimen of this sad year. “For why stand I here,” says Foxe in one place, “numbering the sand?” And again,—“So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them, which during those bitter days, before the coming in of Queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. *Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God’s gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence and policy of the adversaries; but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the persecution of those days.*” But still besides those whose names are given, there must have been many who were never detected.

By these furious proceedings, the deep interest abroad, not one whit diminished, was increased, and in more places than one, for of course the parties molested fled to different ports. But on the 30th of December Vaughan concludes the year, by giving us the result, so far as his own residence and neighbourhood were concerned. His letter, as before, is addressed to Crumwell.

“I hear of divers, as well men as women, whose persons or names I know not, nor will know, to be fled out of England, for fear of punishment; bringing with them all that ever they can make. So that by this means, it is likely, that new *Tyndales* shall spring, or worse than he. I am unwise thus to write, being so unkindly treated in England in examinations: so that it seemeth my poor house, my body, and finally my life, standeth only in the untrue reports of any evil disposed person in the King’s realm; which being examined of me, by chance evonite or spit out any venom against me, whereby he may trust to es-

⁶⁷ Cotton MS., Galba, B. x., fol. 21.—For several of the incidents before and afterwards mentioned as to Constantyne, see his own curious memorial to Lord Crumwell, dated 19th August 1539, with its introduction and notes, as first printed in the *Archæologia* of 1831, or vol. xxiii., pp. 50-78. “The caustic humour with which his remarks abound,” says Mr. Amyot, “serves to give them additional point and effect.” Some farther information furnished by Constantyne will occur under the years 1536 and 1539.

cape himself. Doth such unkindness, trow you, move me to use my policy with these manner of people, or to go about any thing which by chance might either *help or ease*? Nay, truly; but much rather I am utterly determined, henceforth, never to intermeddle, or to have any communication, with any one of them; but shall rather give place to some other man, which, peradventure, shall have better luck, than I hitherto have had; whom they go about thus unkindly to threaten, beat, rend, and tear for my service. I marvel of their exceeding thrift to bring me in danger, which never offended them. What *Job* could here have patience? What mind, so quiet, will here not be troubled?

“Let their manners, their behaviours, their meanings, their communications, their companies, their opinions, their conversations, the orders of their livings in all things, be as nearly examined as mine; as subtilly searched and tried as mine; by so many sundry persons as mine;—And what think you? they shall be found Innocents? Nay, *nocentes*, the worse, peradventure, than He, of whom they so greatly examine. I would they all, which so greatly examine, did know, I am no heretic, nor for them all, will be made one. I neither have so corrupt a mind, so evil a conscience, nor so little understanding, as it seemeth they would I had, which seek ways to destroy the innocent. I pray God amend them!”⁶⁸

Vaughan, it is evident, was now thoroughly frightened, yet he need not have greatly “marvelled.” The reports respecting him, must, of necessity, have been very contradictory, and the miserable plight, of which he complained so loudly, was nothing more than the natural result of those “*divers policie*s,” which he had dreamt to be the fruit of wisdom, or the evidence of his superior talent. He only adds in this letter,—“If in any part of this my writing, I have erred or offended, I ask thereof pardon. My passion is so great, I cannot resist. And thus, &c.—from Antwerp the 30th day of December 1531.” Nor did he ever write again on this subject. The truth, was, he was at once alarmed for himself, and disgusted with the proceedings at home; yet he retained his station, long survived Sir Thomas More, and remained on the Continent for years. But if Henry the Eighth be still resolved to have other agents out in pursuit after Tyndale, he must find some other man than Mr. Vaughan. Already we have seen a Friar, and two Ambassadors, completely foiled, and disappointed of their prey; though still the long pursuit is not even yet at an end! In the persons of her rulers at this period, no nation upon earth had surpassed Britain, in her opposition to Divine truth.

⁶⁸ Galba, B. x., fol. 25.

SECTION IX.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS—EXPOSITION IN MATTHEW—HIS SENTIMENTS UNDER PERSECUTION—THE KING NOT APPEASED—RENEWED PURSUIT OF TYNDALE—NOW BY SIR THOMAS ELYOT—STILL IN VAIN—STATE OF ENGLAND—PARLIAMENT—THE BISHOPS FINED—THE KING'S AFFAIRS—PERSECUTION GOES ON—BAINHAM—LATIMER—MORE AGAINST TYNDALE—FRYTH ARRIVES IN ENGLAND—IN PERIL—IN THE TOWER—WRITING THERE IN DEFENCE OF THE TRUTH, AND ADDRESSING THE CHRISTIANS IN ENGLAND.

HAD Tyndale been only left unmolested, or left to proceed with the Scriptures, he would, unquestionably, have had some additional portion finished at press; but since the year 1528 the reader may now judge of his situation. Already he had given the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Prophet Jonah, to his native land. The work of Translation, or the joy of his heart, he still pursued, but without due deliberation, he would not employ the press. Our English exile fled for protection to no foreign prince; nor had he the aid of eminent literary assistants, like his contemporary, Martin Luther. If he had hitherto enjoyed the assistance and fellowship of only John Fryth, this was soon to be withdrawn, by his journey to the martyr's stake in England; and though labouring under the frown of his own monarch, as well as that of all his counsellors and bishops, on he went.

Meanwhile, he had one solitary encouragement. He well knew that whatever he put forth from the press, excited immediate notice; for, in fact, every thing he had yet published, had enjoyed the honour of being denounced in England, and interdicted both by royal and priestly authority. The only piece unnoticed as not being so, his "Exposition of the Epistle of John," was this year added to the catalogue, and reprobated in print, by the Lord Chancellor.

Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, in the gospel by Matthew, now engaged Tyndale's attention, as demanding to be expounded, owing to the errors which still reigned triumphant; and his exposition first came out sometime this year. In this fundamental portion of the Sacred Volume, he represents the Saviour as "opening the kingdom of heaven," which the enemies "had shut up, that other men should not enter."

“He restoreth the key of knowledge which they had taken away,” having also “broken the wards, with wresting the text contrary to its due and natural course, with their false glosses. He plucketh away from the face of Moses, the veil which the Scribes and Pharisees had spread thereon, that no man might perceive the brightness of his countenance. He weedeth out the thorns and briars of their pharisaical glosses, wherewith they had stopped up the narrow way and strait gate, that few could find them.”

Before this, we have had occasion to observe that Tyndale was almost immediately in possession of whatever was transacted in England; more especially by the King, and his obsequious or subdued Parliament; and, of course, he must have been fully aware of their doings in the spring of last year. His opinion of the change for which Henry and Crumwell had been so eager, may be inferred from various passages now put forth. Already he had shown himself a most loyal subject, and an ardent admirer of good government; in desiring, above all things, that his King and country should be rescued from spiritual thralldom: but in desiring this, he was no less ardent in drawing the line of distinction between the *world* and the *Church*. As to the latter, he longed for its restoration to its original spirituality, and simple grandeur; and as to his much loved native land, that the throne should be established on a safe and righteous basis. A few sentences will explain his views of both subjects.

“When Christ, which is the door, the way, and the ground or foundation of all the Scripture, is lost, concerning the chiefest fruit of his passion, and no more seen in his own likeness; then is the Scripture locked up, and henceforth extreme darkness and amaze; wherein if thou walk, thou wottest neither where thou art, nor canst find any way out! It is a confused chaos, and a mingling of all things together without order;—every thing contrary to another. It is an hedge or grove of briars, wherein if thou be caught, it is impossible to get out, but that if thou lose thyself in one place, thou art tangled and caught in another for it.

“This wise was the Scripture locked up of the Scribes and Pharisees, that the Jews could not see Christ when he came, nor yet can. And though Christ, with *these three chapters*, did open it again; yet by such glosses, for our unthankfulness’ sake, that we had no desire to live according, have we lost Christ again, and the understanding of the most clear text, wherewith Christ expoundeth and restoreth the law again.

“For the hypocrites have so *ruffled and tangled the temporal and spiritual regiment together*, and made thereof such confusion, that no man can know the one from the other: to the intent that they would seem to have *both* by the authority of Christ, which never usurped temporal regiment unto him—Go to, then,—and read here the words of Christ, with this exposition following, and thou shalt see the law, faith and works restored, each to his right use and true

meaning. And thereto the clear difference between the spiritual regiment and the temporal, and shalt have an entrance and open way into the rest of all the Scripture."

"Ye must understand there be two states or degrees in this world. The *kingdom of heaven*, which is the regiment (the established government) of the Gospel; and the *kingdom of this world*, which is the temporal regiment.

"In the first, or SPIRITUAL state, there is neither Father, Mother, Son, Daughter; neither master, mistress, maid, man-servant; nor husband, nor wife, nor Lord, nor subject, nor man, nor woman: But Christ is all, and each to other is Christ himself. There is none better than other—all brethren, and Christ only, is Lord over all.

"Every man then may be a common Preacher, thou wilt say, and preach everywhere by his own authority. Nay, verily: no man may yet be a common Preacher, save he that is called, and chosen thereto by the common ordinance of the congregation, as long as the Preacher teacheth the true word of God. But every private man ought to be in virtuous living, both *light* and *salt* to his neighbour; insomuch that the poorest ought to strive to overrun the Bishop, and preach to him in *ensample* of living. Moreover, every man ought to preach in word and deed unto his household, and to them that are under his governance. And though no man may preach openly, save he that hath the office committed unto him, yet ought every man to endeavour himself, to be as learned as the Preacher, as nigh as it is possible. And every man may privately inform his neighbour, yea, and the Preacher and Bishop too, if need be. For if the Preacher preach wrong, then may any man, whatsoever he be, rebuke him, first privately, and then, if that help not, to complain farther. And when all is proved, according to the order of charity, and yet none amendment made; then ought every man that can to resist him, and to stand by Christ's doctrine, and to jeopardy life, and all for it. Look on the *old* ensamples, and they shall teach thee.

"The Gospel hath another freedom with her, than the temporal regiment. Though every man's body and goods be under the King, do he right or wrong, yet is the authority of God's Word free, and above the King: so that the lowest in the realm may tell the King, if he do him wrong, that he doth nought, and otherwise than God hath commanded him, and so warn him to avoid the wrath of God, which is the patient avenger of all unrighteousness. May I then, and ought also, to resist father and mother, and all temporal power with God's Word, when they wrongfully do or command that which hurteth or killeth the *body*? And have I no power to resist the Bishop or Preacher, that, with false doctrine, *killeth the souls* for which my Master and Lord, Christ, hath shed his blood? Be we otherwise under our Bishops, than Christ and his Apostles, and all the other Prophets were under the Bishops of the old law? Nay, verily: and therefore may we, and also ought to do as they did, and to answer as the Apostles did, Acts v., *We must rather obey God than men.*"

"Whosoever studieth to destroy one of the commandments following, and teach other men even so, in word or ensample, whether openly or under a colour, and through false glosses of hypoerisy; that same doctor shall all they of the kingdom of heaven abhor and despise, and cast him out of their company, as a seething pot doth cast up her foam and scum and purge herself. So fast

shall they of the kingdom of heaven cleave unto the pure law of God, without all men's glosses. But whosoever shall first fulfil them himself, and then teach others, and set all his study to the furtherance and maintaining of them, that doctor shall all they of the kingdom of heaven have in price—and follow him and seek him out, as doth an eagle her prey, and cleave to him as burs. For these commandments are but the very law of Moses, interpreted according to the pure Word of God, and as the open text compelleth to understand them, if ye look diligently thereon.

“The ‘kingdom of heaven,’ take for the congregation or Church of Christ. And to be of the kingdom of heaven, is to know God for our Father, and Christ for our Lord, and Saviour from all sin. And to enter into this kingdom it is impossible, except the heart of men be to keep the commandments of God purely, as it is written—‘If any man will obey his will, that is to say, the will of the Father that sent me, (saith Christ) he shall know of the doctrine; whether it be of God, or whether I speak of mine own head.’ For if thine heart be to do the will of God; he will give thee a pure eye, both to discern the true doctrine from the false, and the true doctor from the howling hypocrite. And therefore he saith—‘For I say unto you, *except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*’ For the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees cannot enter into the kingdom. The kingdom of heaven is the true knowledge of God and Christ: *ergo*, the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees neither knoweth God nor Christ. He that is willing to obey the will of God, understandeth the doctrine. But to obey the will of God, is to seek *the glory of God*. For the *glory* of a master is the meek obedience of his servants; The *glory* of a Prince is the humble obedience of his subjects; the *glory* of a husband is the chaste obedience of his wife; the *glory* of a father is the loving obedience of his children; but the Scribes and Pharisees have no desire to obey the will of God: *ergo*, they seek not the glory of God.”

“In the TEMPORAL regiment, (government,) is Husband, Wife; Father, Mother; Son, Daughter; Master, Mistress; Maid, Man-servant; Lord and subject.

“In the *first* regiment, thou art a person *for thine own self*, under Christ and his doctrine, and mayest neither hate nor be angry, and much less fight and avenge. But must, after the ensample of Christ, humble thyself, forsake and deny thyself, and hate thyself, and cast thyself away, and be meek and patient, and let every man go over thee, and tread thee under foot, and do thee wrong—and yet love them, and pray for them, as Christ did for his crucifiers. For love is all, and what is not of love, that is damnable and cast out of that kingdom.

“In the *temporal* regiment, thou art a person *in respect of another*. Thou art an husband, father, mother, master, mistress, lord, ruler—or wife, son, daughter, servant, subject.—And there thou must do according to thine *office*. Now, to our purpose, whether a man may resist violence, and defend or avenge himself. I say nay, in the first state, where thou art a person for thyself alone, and Christ's disciple. There thou must love, and of love, do, study, and enforce; yea, and suffer all things (as Christ did) to make peace, that the blessing of God may come upon thee, which saith—“Blessed be the peace makers, for they shall be the children of God.” If thou suffer and keepest peace *in thyself alone*, thy blessing is the possession of *this* world; but if thou so love the peace of thy brethren, that thou leave nothing undone or unsuffered, to further it, thy blessing is, thou shalt be God's son, and consequently possess heaven.

“But in the *worldly* state, where thou art no private man, but a person in

respect of *others*, thou not only mayest, but also must, and art bound, under pain of condemnation, to execute thine *office*. Of thy servants, thou must exact obedience and fear, and mayest not suffer thyself to be despised.

“ And where thou art a *Ruler* thereto appointed, thou must take, prison, and slay too ; not of malice and hate to avenge thyself, but to defend thy subjects, and to maintain thine office. Concerning thyself, oppress not thy subjects with rent, fines, or custom at all ; neither pill them with taxes, and such like, to maintain thine own lusts ; but be loving and kind to them, as Christ was to thee, for they be his, and the price of his blood. But those that are evil doers among them, and vex their brethren, and will not know thee for their judge, and fear not thy law, them smite, and upon them draw thy sword, and put it not up till thou hast done thine office.”

At this very early period, the distinction between spiritual and civil government was understood by scarcely any man, and probably no one then alive could have drawn the line so clearly ; nor is it at all to be wondered at, if, in the end, Tyndale himself should so far entangle the two *regiments* with each other. This he does, however, in a way then peculiar to himself—and in a way, also, which, it will be now observed, could never harmonise with the *supremacy* so lately acceded to, seeing it was merely forced from a spirituality, falsely so called, and one which this writer still laboured to level with the dust—

“ Moreover, when I say there be two regiments, the spiritual and temporal ; even so I say that every person baptized to keep the law of God, and to believe in Christ, is under both the regiments, and is both a spiritual person and also a temporal, and under the officers of both the regiments : so that the *King* is as deep under the spiritual officer, to hear out of God’s Word, what he ought to believe, and how to live, and how to rule, as is the poorest person in his realm. And even so the spiritual officer, if he sin against his neighbour, or teach false doctrine, is under the King’s or temporal correction, how high soever he be. And look how damnable it is for the King to withdraw himself from the obedience of the spiritual officer ; that is to say, from hearing his duty, to do it, and from hearing his vices rebuked, to amend them ; so damnable is it for the spiritual officer to withdraw himself from the King’s correction, if he teach false, or sin against any temporal law.”

But the truth was, that the King was yet to be born whom Tyndale wished to see. When he comes to expound the last clause of the Lord’s prayer, he says—

“ Finally, no King, Lord, Master, or whatever ruler he be, hath absolute power in this world, nor is the *very thing* which he is called, for then they cease to be brethren, neither could they sin whatsoever they commanded. But now their authority is but a *limited* power.”

Such were some of Tyndale’s views on a subject, which, at this period, agitated all England. If they have been partly

the occasion of his memory being permitted to sleep in oblivion ; if he had measured out " meat too strong " for the age in which he lived ; we leave his sentiments, without comment, to the consideration of his countrymen now living, after more than three hundred years have passed over the land. And we leave them to enquire what might be his own feelings, as a persecuted man, and still to be pursued. Here they are in the same publication—

" Blessed are ye, when they revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake, and yet lie. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Eren so, verily, they persecuted the prophets that were before you. Here seest thou the uttermost that a Christian must look for. It is not enough to suffer for righteousness ; but that no bitterness or passion be left out of thy cup, thou shalt be reviled and railed upon ; and even when thou are condemned to death, then be excommunicate and delivered to Satan, deprived of the fellowship of holy Church, the company of the angels, and of thy part in Christ's blood ; and shalt be cursed down to hell, defied, detested, and execrate with all the blasphemous railings that the poisonous heart of hypocrites can think or imagine ; and shalt see before thy face, when thou goest to thy death, that all the world is persuaded and brought in belief, that thou hast said and done that thou never thoughtest, and that thou diest for that (which) thou art as guiltless of as the child that is unborn.

" Well, though iniquity so highly prevail, and the truth for which thou diest, be so low kept under, and be not once known before the world, insomuch, that it seemeth rather to be hindered by thy death than furthered, (which is of all griefs the greatest,) yet let not thine heart fail thee ; neither despair, as though God had forsaken thee, or loved thee not. But comfort thyself with old ensamples, how God hath suffered all his old friends to be so entreated ; and also his only and dear son, Jesus, whose ensample, above all other, set before thine eyes, because thou art sure he was beloved above all other, that thou doubt not but thou art beloved also ; and so much the more beloved, the more thou art like to the image of his ensample in suffering.

" Did not the hypocrites watch Him in all his sermons, to trap Him in his own words ? Was He not subtilly apposed, whether it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar ? Were not all His words wrong reported ? Were not His miracles ascribed to Beelzebub ? Said they not, He was a Samaritan, and had a devil in him ? Was He not called a breaker of the Sabbath—a wine-drinker—a friend of publicans and sinners ? Did He aught, wherewith no fault was found, and that was not interpreted to be done for an evil purpose ? Was not the pretence of His death, the destroying of the temple, to bring him into the hate of all men ? Was He not thereto accused of treason, that He forbade to pay tribute to Cæsar, and that He moved the people to insurrection ? Railed they not on Him, in the bitterest of all His passion, as he hanged on the cross, saying, ' Save thyself, thou that savest others, come down from the cross, and we will believe in thee.' Yet He was beloved of God, and so art thou. His cause came to light also, and so shall thine at the last ; yea, and thy reward is great in heaven with him, for thy deep suffering.

" And, on the other side, as they be cursed which have righteousness destitute, and will not suffer therewith ; so are they most accursed which know the

truth, and yet not only flee therefrom, because they will not suffer ; but also for lucre become the most cruel enemies, and most subtle persecutors, and most falsely lie thereon also."

The power of Tyndale's writing lay in his drawing from the life, and his discerning, with superior judgment, the precise moment when certain truths required to be pressed upon the notice of his country. His views, whether of civil government, or the Church of God, were far above his age, and few there must have been who could then understand him; but apart from these subjects, many passages, besides that last quoted, were peculiarly well timed. The preceding page, and several others, were evidently intended to nerve the minds of the martyrs and confessors in England; to raise them above all the fury of the Chancellor, or Stokesly, or any other Bishop. *Hitherto it seems as if all who had been apprehended and examined, from Barnes down to the present hour, had abjured.*¹ And though the fire had been now prepared for the bodies of men, as well as the books they read, still the methods of Tunstal and More, for perplexing the mind or tormenting the conscience, were preferred in the first instance. The stake was the last resort, merely on this account, that abjuration and recanting not only saved appearances, but served, in some degree, to bolster up the reigning superstition.

If, then, *England* herself could furnish the enemy with *no* man of eminence, who had courage sufficient to act fully up to his principles on the *first* call;—a man, in whom there should be no wavering, no subterfuge, no compromise or concession, not one faltering word;—one who should first triumph in argument before the Bishops assembled, and abide firm by every syllable of his noble confession;—then such a man must come to London from abroad. The time is drawing near for his arrival in the kingdom, though little did Tyndale imagine, when thus addressing the faithful in England, that the example which he now enforced, was to be *first* given by his own bosom friend—FRYTH!

But it is with Tyndale himself we have to do at present. It was now six years since his translation of the New Testament had been denounced and committed to the flames; and not

¹ Thomas Hitton, to whom Tyndale has once alluded, might possibly be a solitary exception. He was put to death by Warham, but we know not all the particulars.

less than four, since his person had been in danger. By the authorities in England, from the year 1528, he had been a man sought for, but never yet seized. His pursuers too, seem to rise in point of rank, as we proceed. The first was Friar West, who, but for his commission from Wolsey, had remained in oblivion. Hackett, most gladly, would have sent Tyndale to England, even by the foulest means, and, according to his own logic, as a traitor; but he could never find him. Vaughan was incapable of so base an action, though Tyndale favoured him with, at least, two interviews; and from what we have read, it may safely be inferred, that *he* would never more engage in hunting after heretics,—having, according to his own confession, been “so beaten with his own labours.” He well deserves, however, to be remembered as the only man of the age, who lifted up his voice against the extreme folly of *persecution for opinion*. Henry had no man near him so enlightened at the moment, or if he had, not one who dared to speak out, not even Crumwell himself; for though so pointedly charged by Vaughan, it may be presumed that he never had shown that envoy’s letter, or reported its contents, to the King.

But be this as it may, Henry was not appeased. Tyndale had gone on to publish, it is true, and besides his Answer to Sir Thomas More, his translation of Jonah was now in England; but his Majesty was no admirer of the King of Nineveh, nor were his ministers like the nobles of that great city. The person now put in commission, and by the King himself, to pursue the best of his subjects, was no other than the well known Sir Thomas Elyot, a literary man, author of “The Governor,” and other publications. Vaughan had been patronised by Crumwell, yet thought for himself; but Elyot was the very intimate, if not bosom friend of Sir Thomas More, as well as a favourite of the King’s, so that no zeal can be lacking now, even if Tyndale should not be apprehended. In all the histories yet published, Elyot is first mentioned as sent by Henry the VIII. to Rome, about his divorce in 1532; but he was on the Continent last year. He was with the Emperor in November at Tournay, and had then been abroad some time. Vaughan had met him there; and on the 9th or 19th of December 1531, he writes to Crumwell:—

“Maister Ellyot, the King’s Ambassador, this day sent me a letter from

Tournay, with another enclosed to you, wherciu I think he desireth you to be a solicitor to the King's Majesty and to his honourable council for him, that he may from time to time have answer of his letters, and be made thereby more able to do the King honour in these parts. It is not well done that he should be *so long* without letters.²

The Emperor, leaving the Low Countries in the beginning of January this year, directed his journey towards Ratisbon, in order to hold a diet there. Taking Mentz on his way, he had not arrived till February or the beginning of March, but to this city Elyot followed him. Whether his correspondence had been still neglected, as both Henry and Crumwell were absorpt in Parliamentary affairs at home, does not appear, but the ambassador had been anxious to revisit England. This desire, however, could not be gratified, and on the 14th of March, we have the following letter, dated from (Regensburgh) Ratisbon, addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, the successor of Wolsey, as Prime Minister of England, and as determined an enemy as the Cardinal ever was.

"My duty remembered, with most humble thanks unto your Grace, that it pleased you so benevolently to remember me unto the King's Highness, concerning my return into England. Albeit the King willethe me, by his *Grace's* letters, to remain at Brussels, some space of time, *for the apprehension of Tyn-dale*, which somewhat minisheth my hope of soon return; considering that like as he is in wit moveable, seemblably so is his person uncertain to come by. And, as far as I can perceive, hearing of the King's *diligence* in the apprehension of him, he withdraweth him into such places where he thinketh to be farthest out of danger. In me there shall lack none endeavour. Finally, as I am all the King's, except my soul, so shall I endure all that shall be his pleasure, employing my poor life gladly, in that which may be to his honour, or wealth of his realm.

"Pleaseth it your Grace, according as I have written to the King's Highness, the Emperor being yet sore grieved with a fall from his horse, keepeth himself so close, that *Mr. Cranmer* and I can have none access to his Majesty, which almost grieveth me as much as the Emperor's fall grieveth him."³

Every one who has paid any attention to these times, cannot fail to be excited by the mention of Elyot's companion and associate, and more especially as this is the earliest distinct notice of Cranmer when abroad, which appears on the face of these manuscripts. He had been at Rome for some time in 1530, but returned to England in 1531, where we find him at Hampton Court in June, and in close attendance

² Cotton MS., Galba, B. x., fol. 24-5.

³ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 54.

upon his Majesty there. As busy as ever in Henry's one affair, from thence, on the 13th of that month, he dates a long letter to Lady Anne's father, the Earl of Wiltshire, criticising the book of Cardinal Pole, on this business;⁴ and as he remained at home till January, he could not fail to be intimately acquainted with all the sad occurrences of last year. In that very period the fatal fires had been kindled, and were blazing in England. Then the martyrdoms of Bilney, of Bayfield, and of Tewksbury, had taken place; there were the grievous cross examinations and cruelties of More and of Stokesly; and the public denunciation, by the latter, of Tyndale's writings, in December; and yet here is Cranmer, associated as ambassador and fellow traveller with the man who has been charged, by their King, to seize the Author! But still it were nothing short of an injury done to posterity, to represent any man, whoever he may have been, as interested in a cause *before* he really was, even so far as to evince sympathy for the cruelty and death endured in it; and the truth of history does not furnish us with even a vestige of such interest or feeling in Cranmer, for some time to come. One eminent service in relation to the Scriptures, he will perform for his country, which will come before us, in its proper place, five years hence; but at *this* momentous period, let the men who bore the brunt of this never-to-be-forgotten contest; the men who died with their face to the foe—

"Who neither fear'd the darkest hour,
Nor trembled at the tempter's power;"

let them enjoy the place to which they alone are entitled; an eminence unapproached by others, whether from shame or fear, from worldly policy or criminal ignorance. No unbiassed writer can now wittingly confound Tyndale and Fryth with any other men, who in the days of peril, persecution, and universal obloquy, either dared not, or could not, speak one word; nor will he allow *their* characters to be obscured by any, who never came forth till after the battle of eleven years'

⁴ Sir W. H. M.S., printed in Strype's Cranmer, App., No. 1. But Strype has mistaken the year for 1530, when Cranmer was at Rome. Mr. Todd in his *Life* gives the correct date, vol. i. p. 38. What was called a *book* by Cranmer might be nothing more than a long argument in manuscript, which Pole had presented to the King, his cousin. Book and letter were then occasionally used as synonymous terms. This book or argument, however, is not to be confounded with Pole's subsequent publication—"Pro Fœclesiasticæ Unitatis," which he sent to Henry in 1536. See note 21, page 221.

duration was fought and won. Since the year 1526, Divine truth, like concealed leaven, had been in vigorous operation, enlightening, saving, and sanctifying the souls of men; but the Translator, after his long unaided warfare, had washed his robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, before that Cranmer had ever once expressed his approbation of the translation. It will not be till in a moment of surprise, and after finding himself in a dilemma, that he will speak out. But even this will not occur till five years more have passed away.

It was on the 24th of January this year that Cranmer had received his credentials as ambassador to the Court of the Emperor, when he immediately left England, and must have overtaken Elyot somewhere on the Rhine.⁵ The letter, from which we have already quoted, narrates their progress towards Ratisbon, and as it contains some curious information respecting the places where they stopped and made enquiries, another extract, illustrative of the times, must not be omitted.

“I have promised to the King,” says Elyot, “to write to your Grace, the order of things in the town of Nurenburg, specially concerning the faith. But first, I will rehearse some other towns, as they lay in our way. The City of Worms for the more part, and almost the whole is possessed with Lutherans and Jews; the residue is indifferent, to be shortly the one, or the other. Truth it is, that the Bishop keepeth well his name of *Episcopus*, which is in English an overseer, and is in the case that overseers of *testaments* be in England; for he shall have leave to look, so that he *meddle not*.⁶ Yet sometime men calleth him *overseen*, that is drunk,—when he neither knoweth what he doeth, nor what he ought to do. The City of *Spire* keepeth yet their faith well, except some say there be *many* do err in taking so largely this article *sanctorum communionem*, which hath induced more charity than may stand with honesty. All towns ensuing, be rather worse than better, but I pass them over at this time. Touching *Nurenburg* it is the most proper town, and best ordered public-weal that ever I beheld. There is in it so much people, that I marvelled how the town might contain them, besides them that followed the Emperor: and notwithstanding there was of all victual more abundance than I could see in any place, although the country adjoining is very barren. I appointed to lodge in an Inn, but Sir Laurence Staber, the King’s servant,” (an ecclesiastic in Henry’s pay,) “came to me desiring me to take his house, whereunto I brought with me the French Ambassador, where we were well entertained.

“Although I had a chaplain, yet could not I be suffered to have him to sing mass, but was constrained to hear theirs, which is but one in a church, and that

⁵ Strype has said 1531, and others have followed him. It is true the commission in which Cranmer is styled “*Consiliarius Regius et Cæsarem Orator*,” bears date 24th January 1531, but as their year ran on to the 25th of March, this is 1532. This was Cranmer’s *second* journey to the Continent. and in a higher character than before.

⁶ See pages 228, 229.

is celebrated in form following. The Priest, in vestments after our manner, singeth every thing in Latin as we use, omitting suffrage; the epistle he readeth in Latin. In the *meantime* the sub-deacon goeth into the pulpit and readeth to the people the epistle *in their vulgar*. After, they peruse (perform?) other things as our Priests do. Then the Priest readeth *softly* the gospel in Latin. In the *mean space* the Deacon goeth into the pulpit and readeth *aloud* the gospel in the *Almayne* (German) tongue. Mr. Cranmer saith it was shewed to him that in the epistles and gospels they kept not the order that we do; but do peruse every day *one chapter of the New Testament*; afterwards the Priest and the choir do sing the *Credo*, as we do. The day after our coming, the Senate sent gentlemen to show us their provision of harness, ordinance and corn, &c. —Written at Regensburgh the xiiii day of March.⁷

For about six months *Cranmer* continued to reside chiefly at Nuremberg, and Elyot at Ratisbon. In prospect of the Turkish invasion, Charles was now in treaty with the German Protestant Princes to secure their co-operation against the common enemy of Europe, who proudly insisted that no man should be called Emperor except himself. These negotiations commencing in April terminated on the 23d of July at Ratisbon, on which day Elyot wrote again to the Duke of Norfolk.⁸

This letter, however, conveyed no very welcome news to Henry at least; though the Princes (seven in number, and twenty-four Cities,) regarded it as the first religious peace in Germany. None were now to be molested on account of *opinions* till the meeting of a General Council; all judicial processes relating to religion were to be *suspended*, and all law suits for the restoration of Church property were null and void; concessions which were published throughout Germany, by imperial proclamation. These were measures, too, in perfect accordance with those which Vaughan had urged upon Henry the Eighth, through Crumwell; yet so bent was our English Monarch upon his favourite project, and the gratification of his own will, that even the prospect of such relief to thousands of the best minds in Europe, had no charms for him; and Cranmer had been engaged to employ all his skill in *preventing* such enjoyment! He had been "instructed to make a *secret* visit to the court of Saxony, to deliver letters both to the Elector

⁷ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xvi., fol. 54, &c., endorsed, "from Sir T. Elyot to my Lord of Northfolke's grace." This and another long epistle, dated 11th Aug. 1531, are misquoted in the catalogue, as addressed to Wolsey, and the former, as if dated in 1530. But he was in disgrace all that year, and died before it ended. Both letters were written in 1532; the first is proving that they were prepared for the Turkish invasion; but the other parts, here quoted, are very curious, as addressed to *Norfolk*, who was now the head of the *old learning party*.

⁸ Harbert's Hen. VIII. The pacification was ratified in August at Nuremberg.

and the other Princes who had joined the Protestant league, and to assure them, by conversation also, of his Sovereign's friendship. Henry was disposed, like the French King, to foment between these confederates and the Emperor any ill humour. It was his project of revenge for the Imperial opposition to the divorce; but it had no important result. The pacification of Nuremberg indeed was effected within a few days after this effort to impede it, and Cranmer had to relate to his Sovereign, instead of dissension, the principal terms of that memorable treaty."⁹

How long before the 14th of March, Elyot had been charged with his commission from the King to seize Tyndale, does not appear; but as he chose to say, that he was "*all the King's except his soul,*" from the first moment he must have been on the look out; and as he had been moving from place to place for about two months before he arrived at Ratisbon, he could then speak from some experience of Tyndale "withdrawing" himself, "as far as he could perceive. Now, however, he was far distant from Brussels, and there he must remain. Providentially, for Tyndale at least, he was detained month after month; and if Cranmer failed in his "secret visit," so did Elyot as to his "commission," from the King. A storm was gathering in the East which occasioned every monarch in Europe to pause and think; it was the invasion of Solyman, the grand Turk, with an army of three hundred thousand men. Elyot's letters, therefore, were now full of little or nothing else, if we may judge by his very long epistle to Norfolk on the 11th¹⁰ of August. And thus was he *diverted* from a pursuit which must have for ever disgraced his memory, if it had ended in the apprehension of England's greatest benefactor. Tyndale has yet four years to live.

Upon returning to England, in the year 1532, two parties engage our notice. The King and Crumwell on the one hand, and in connexion with Italy; More and Stokesly on the other, in relation to affairs at home. The former, still busy with Parliamentary affairs and those of the Clergy; the latter more than ever opposed to freedom of opinion and the progress of Divine Truth.

In the beginning of January, certain parties having resolved to present Henry with new year's gifts, the total sum, according to the

⁹ Todd's Life of Cranmer, I., 41. 42.

¹⁰ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 64

Burghley Manuscript, was £771, 10s. 10d., or above £11,000 of our money. This is worthy of remark, merely as a proof of the Clergy's earnest desire to please their new Head. He had exacted from them no small amount *per annum*, for five years to come, and yet thus early they come forward with a new year's gift! If they imagined that such a trifle would slake his supremacy's thirst for gold, or retard his onward progress, they were soon to learn their mistake. Of this sum, however, they had subscribed nearly £600, the nobility and others only £174. Strype supposes that this was done to *sweeten* the Sovereign, or prevent farther provocation.

But then Parliament had been summoned to meet on the 15th of January, and the first business of the Commons' House was to present their "Supplication"—a regular digest of their grievous oppressions by the Clergy. It was laid before the King by their Speaker, Sir Thomas Audley. The reader may now call to mind the strong and complicated connexion which had subsisted for ages between Britain and Rome. It is even worth repeating. There was the Annate or first-fruits, payable by the Archbishop downwards to the lowest, upon election to office; the Appeal; the Dispensation; the Indulgence; the Legantine levy; the Mortuary; the Pardon; the Ethelwolf's pension; the Peter's pence for every chimney that smoked in England; the Pilgrimage; the Tenth; besides the sale of trinkets or holy wares from Rome, or twelve distinct sources of revenue! Had it been resolved that *all* these baneful and unceasing drains on the country should cease, or be abandoned, the round dozen might have been soon disposed of: but this was not now the question. That was merely, *which* should be abandoned, and which *transferred* into other hands, or from Italy to England, that is, from the Pontiff to Henry. The Mortuary and the Appeal had been dealt with already; the Annate or first-fruits now came before Parliament. A bill was, accordingly, introduced into the House of Lords, then sent through the Commons, and received the Royal assent, with this proviso, that the King should either annul or confirm it within two years. That is, Henry was first to use it in threatening the Pontiff, and, in case of failure, by transferring the payment, he will so far enrich himself. The bill was confirmed in July next year. From this source alone, there had passed out of the kingdom to Rome, during the last forty-five years, or since the second of Henry VII., a sum equal to £160,000, or nearly two millions and a half sterling of the present day.

This Parliament, which had been prorogued, met again in April, when the principal grievance complained of by the Commons had to be considered. The Bishops made canons by their *sole* authority, which was represented as at once an invasion of the royal prerogative, and a source of vexation to the King's subjects. The Clergy resolutely evaded or resisted as long as they could, but they were no match for Henry's de-

termination. He was displeas'd with the whole Bench, and especially with Stephen Gardiner, whom he had but very recently made Bishop of Winchester. His Majesty refer'd again to the oaths they had taken, and insisted that they were but half what he desired, or half his subjects. Rising in his demands, he then press'd upon them that they must neither attempt to enforce the *old*, nor enact any *new* canons. The King, however, finally contented himself with the last restriction, though this concession was only to serve till a more convenient season.

The truth is, that throughout the whole of this contention about secular affairs, and which was to continue for some time to come, any impartial witness can behold nothing else on the part of the King and these Bishops, except a course of proceedings distinguished only for chicanery and deceit. The latter, straining every nerve on behalf of their order and emoluments,—the former resolv'd to look after his own pecuniary interest, his personal gratification, and his power. Individually and collectively, the whole Bench did what they could to retain all they had ; but the day of their decline had arriv'd, and their ancient power and privileges were fast waning. One expiring effort indeed may be seen on the part of their Archbishop, Warham, only six months before his own death. He had, last year, agreed to Henry being "Head of their Church," with, no doubt, mental reservations lingering in his mind, according to the deceitful fashion of the times. He saw now the gathering or impending storm, though he could not avert it. While, therefore, Henry was proceeding, by degrees, in his own aggrandisement, Warham on the 9th of February, was recording in his official Register, the following powerless protestation,—“that whatsoever statutes *had* pass'd, or were to pass in this *present* Parliament, to the prejudice of the Pope or the Apostolic See, or that derogated from, or *lessened*, the ecclesiastical authority, or liberties of his See of Canterbury, he did *not consent* to them, but disown'd and dissented from them !” This, though done quietly perhaps, was no secret, as Burnet has imagin'd. The *three* notaries and *four* witnesses present at Lambeth, were allsufficient to have render'd the thing actionable another day, if circumstances had turn'd out otherwise.¹¹ And this is Warham ! The man who seem'd so forward in the House of Lords last year, nay took the lead ! But the protest was of no moment, the Archbishop died in August, and Cranmer will, by and bye, be ready to fulfil all Henry's pleasure, and seat the Monarch more firmly in his chair.

Symptoms of the plague now appearing in London, Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of May. Two days after, Sir Thomas More, alive to the onward progress of events, thought it was time for him to take some step ; and therefore, suddenly, without acquainting any one of his in-

¹¹ See the Register itself, or Wilkins' Council. III., 746.

tention, on the 16th of May having tendered his resignation of the great seal, it was committed on the 20th to Sir Thomas Audley, with the title of Lord-Keeper ; and in September following, when a new seal was given to him, it was still with no higher title. The fact has generally been overlooked, that Sir Thomas More continued to act as a Law officer throughout the rest of the year, and the title of Lord Chancellor was not transferred from him to Audley, till January next. But the preceding transactions at home, will acquire additional interest when viewed in connexion with Italy.

During the whole of the present year, as well as the following, it is evident that both Henry and the Pontiff were straining every nerve to excite each other's fears. England, for that blind and slavish obedience, which, compared with other nations, she performed to the See of Rome, having been, by Italians and other foreigners, not unfitly termed—*the Pope's Ass* ; Clement was very reluctant to his being dismounted ; but, watched and ruled by the Emperor, he had often felt it difficult to retain his seat, and the time was now fast approaching when he must so ride no more. On the other hand, Henry had to take care of his ascendancy, and even the security of his throne ; many of his subjects being by no means in favour of the course on which he was bent, whether relating to the divorce of his Queen, or the place he had recently arrogated to himself, in reference to the clergy. On his part, therefore, a degree of wariness or caution, very unlike his natural temper, is observable throughout. His Parliamentary measures were carried in such a style as to excite alarm at Rome, and in the meanwhile, lead on his subjects, if they should pass into positive statutes. On his part, they wore somewhat of the appearance of reluctance, while, at the same moment, they chimed in with the complaints of his Commons.

With regard to Clement, on the other hand, Queen Catherine having informed him of her banishment from court, as well as the royal presence, for some time past, and claimed his protection ; the Pontiff, in January, had transmitted a letter to the King, trying to awaken in him a sense of shame and fear, as to his conduct. In the very same month, Henry had despatched Dr. Bennet, as ambassador, to enforce at Rome the sentences received from the Universities and Lawyers in favour of his separation ; and in February, Sir Edward Kernes followed as *excusator*, to say that, as King, he could not and would not appear before Clement. In March, the King of France, as his ally and professed friend at the moment, sent an urgent if not a warning letter to Rome, by the hands of Cardinal de Gramont, Bishop of Tarbe ; and the very next intelligence which arrived there, related to these Bills in Parliament. To this it was added, that a man who had been convicted of heresy before Warham, had been released, in consequence of his appeal to the King, as "Head of the Church of England." Besides all this, Henry, now finding that the Emperor and Clement were in such firm alliance, resolved to meet this by a

stricter amity with Francis. He proposed, therefore, to visit France himself; and taking Anne Boleyn in his company, who had lately been created Marchioness of Pembroke, the two Sovereigns met at Boulogne, in October. A treaty, akin to that of Wolsey's in 1527, was the result, and Henry returned by Calais to England in November. In the same month also, Craumer arrived from the Emperor's court, having been recalled to fill the place of Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury.

By way of return for this course of proceeding, Clement had prepared a Bull, positively prohibiting the King from all intimacy with the new made Marchioness. It was ready by the 15th of this month of November, as it was originally framed on that day, but by an additional note, it is dated the 23d of December; or, in other words, it was drawn up at Rome, and now finished at Bologna, where Clement had arrived to meet his *master*, the Emperor. It is worthy of noting, merely as illustrative of the duplicity of the man who then professed to send out his thunder; for on the very *next* day, Bennet, the English ambassador, not yet aware of the step taken, lamenting to the Pontiff himself that no means could be found to satisfy his royal master,—Clement replied “that he would, it had cost him a *joint of his hand*, that such a way might be excogitated.” “And here speaking of the justness of your cause, he called to remembrance the thing which he told me two years past, that the opinions of the lawyers were more certain, favourable, and helping to your cause, than the opinions of divines,”—adding, that he would “imprint the same in the Emperor's head!”¹² The people said of Wolsey, that “he could not leave his lying;” and Clement also pursued the same course to his dying day.

But enough of these tortuous movements, whether secular or political. They are here of no other value than to show the course of the world at the moment.

Sir Thomas More and Stokesly still went on as the most eminent and busy persecutors of the Truth. In December last, a gentleman of his own profession, had fallen into the hands of the Chancellor;—Mr. James Bainham, the son of Sir Alexander Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, who had married the widow of Mr. Fyshe, already noticed. He had been seized by the Sergeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple down to More's own house at Chelsea. This was another victim to console him for the recent escape of George Constantyne. Imagining that there must have been others of the profession who had imbibed the same opinions, the Chancellor

¹² Bennet, to the King. MS. State Paper Office.

particularly degraded himself by his cruelty to this excellent man; for after being shamefully handled under his own roof, if not also in his own garden, he was afterwards conveyed to the Tower, and there, in his presence, tortured by the rack till he was lamed. He would, however, neither accuse any gentlemen of his acquaintance in the Temple, nor disclose where his books lay concealed. His worthy partner in life also, no more able to see the face of Henry, and who might have been repulsed though she had, now fell into trouble. Denying the books to be at her husband's house, she was thrown into Fleet Prison, and their goods confiscated. After all this torment, Bainham was handed over to Stokesly; and some parts of his examination before him, at Chelsea, on the 15th of December last, are well worthy of being recorded. They will be found at once honourable to the confessor, illustrative of the times, and of the positive enmity now reigning against the truths of Divine revelation.

Being asked—"Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed?" He simply answered—"If we walk in light, even as He is in light, we have society together with Him, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son, hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities."

Being then asked—"Whether the saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us?" Again he answered—"My little children, I write this unto you, that ye sin not. If any man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but also for the sins of the whole world."

It was enquired what he had meant by affirming "that the truth of holy Scripture hath been *hid*, and appeared not these eight hundred years, neither was known before *now*?" To this he said "That he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these *six* years." [Bainham here reckons from January 1526, the very season when Tyndale's Testaments first arrived.]

He was demanded further—"For what cause holy Scripture hath been better declared within these *six* years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before?" He answered—"To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the Word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Scripture, except Master Crome, and Master Latimer.—And he said, that the *New Testament now translated into English* doth preach and teach the Word of God, and that *before that time* men did preach only that folks should believe as the Church believe; and then, if the Church should err, men should err too. Howbeit the Church of Christ cannot err, and that there were two Churches, that is the Church of Christ militant, and the Church of Antichrist; and that this Church of Antichrist may and doth err, but the Church of Christ doth not."

Lastly, for his books of Scripture, and his judgment of Tyndale, because he

was urged to confess the truth, he said—"That he had had 'the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale,' (till) within this month, and thought he offended not God, in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the King's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in name of the Church, at Paul's cross; but for all that, he thought the Word of God had not forbid it. Confessing, moreover, that he had in his keeping, (till) within this month, these books—The Wicked Mammon,—the obedience of a Christian Man,—the Practice of Prelates,—the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue,—the Book of Fryth against Purgatory,—the Epistle of George Gee, alias Clerke,¹³—Adding, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books.—And as concerning *the New Testament in English*, he thought it *utterly good*, and that the people should have it, *as it is.*"

Notwithstanding all this, it is to be lamented that Bainham began to waver in a state of doubtful perplexity, between life and death; so that, after two months' confinement, he read his abjuration, was fined twenty pounds (equal to £300 now) to the King, and being released on the 17th of February, was dismissed home. He was, however, scarcely a month at large before he lamented his conduct most bitterly; and the terms in which his penitence are recorded, deserve special notice.

"He was," says Foxe, "never quiet in mind and conscience, until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before *THE Congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow Lane*. The next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with 'the New Testament in English' in his hand, and 'the Obedience of a Christian Man' in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with tears, that he had denied God; and prayed all the people to forgive him, to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he had done,—'for,' said he, 'if I should not return again to the truth (having the New Testament in his hand,) this Word of God would damn me, both body and soul, at the day of Judgment. And then he prayed every one rather to die, by and bye, than to do as he had done; for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel, for all the world's goods.' He wrote a letter also to the Bishop of London, so that shortly after, he was apprehended, and again committed to the Tower. On the 19th of April he was examined, and again on the 20th, in the Church of All-Saints, Barking, Tower Street, after which he was condemned. On being brought to the stake on the 1st of May, he addressed all present, in the following words:—

"I come hither, good people! accused and condemned for an heretic; Sir Thomas More being my accuser and my judge. And these be the articles that I die for, which be a very truth, and grounded on God's Word, and no heresy. They be these: First, *I say it is lawful for every man and woman, to have God's book in their mother tongue*. The second article is,—that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and that *I know no other keys of heaven-gates but only the preaching*

¹³ These were two names assumed by *George Joye*, of whom afterwards.

of the *Law and the Gospel*; and that there is no other purgatory, but the purgatory of *Christ's blood*; and the purgatory of the cross of Christ, which is all persecutions and afflictions; and no such purgatory as they feign of their own imagination: for our souls immediately go to heaven, and rest with Jesus Christ for ever, &c."

The City clerk, Pave, having spoken cruelly to him.—"Thou heretic," said he, "set fire to him and burn him." "God forgive thee," cried Bainham, "and shew thee more mercy than thou shewest to me; ¹⁴ the Lord forgive Sir Thomas More! and pray for me all good people." He died, and according to his own statement, even when half consumed in the flames, without any pain.

In this account, painful so far as the enemies of Bainham were concerned, there is, however, one expression, which should not escape notice;—"The *Congregation*, in *those days*, meeting in *Bow Lane*." What was this? That it was the assembly to which Bainham *first* resorted to bewail his conduct, and ask forgiveness, is evident; but why did he there resort first, except it was that against *that* Congregation he thought he had more especially offended? It may never have been observed, or if so, accounted worthy of notice before; and yet, if the proper definition of a Church is allowed to be—"a Congregation of faithful men,"—in such a connexion as the present, there seems to be no slight evidence, that upon this spot, there assembled "in those days," perhaps the earliest resemblance of a Christian Church, upon English ground, in the sixteenth century. That there was such a congregated body of people, in London, by this time, will be rendered more interesting, if, before the close of this year, we find its character for Christianity described, by the man, who, of all then in England, was best qualified to judge.

In the early part of this year, however, there was another instance of cruelty, too notable to pass unnoticed, although it did not terminate fatally. This referred to no other than Hugh Latimer, and Stokesly was the prime mover. He had summoned Latimer to appear before him, but he contemned the message, referring to the Bishop of Salisbury as his ordinary. Stokesly then applied to Warham, and Latimer was summoned to appear before him on the 29th of January. According to Latimer's own statement, the case was remitted to five or six Bishops, and he appeared before them thrice every week. Firm and resolute for some time, he refused to

¹⁴ Pave died the week following, by his own hands.

subscribe the articles they presented. For this he was declared contumacious, and afterwards excommunicated. In order, however, to bring him to some submission, it was resolved, to take *off* the sentence, if he would sign two of the articles, namely, one respecting the observation of Lent, and another concerning the crucifix and the lawfulness and profit of images in Churches, for the worship of Jesus Christ and his Saints! Foxe is in doubt whether Latimer submitted; and Gilpin in his Memoir roundly asserts that he did not recant; but the fact is put beyond all question, by the minutes of the Convocation in March and April 1532. His words were—"My Lords, I do confess, that I have misordered myself very far, in that I have so presumptuously and boldly preached, reprovng certain things, by which the people that were infirm have taken occasion of ill. Wherefore I ask forgiveness of my misbehaviour. I will be glad to make amends. And I have spoken indiscreetly in vehemence of speaking, and have erred in some things, and in manner have been in a wrong way, lacking discretion in many things."

After this confession, which it may be said, did not amount to a retractation of opinions, he desired absolution. This, however, was deferred to the 10th of April, when he subscribed the two articles already mentioned, and a further hearing was appointed. Unwilling to let him go, when the day arrived a new complaint was produced, respecting a letter he had written to one Greenwood of Cambridge, upon which Latimer appealed to the *King* as head of the Church of England, and was ultimately restored to his functions.¹⁵

Alas! that Latimer should have so far identified himself with the train of those who had gone before him, from Barnes to the present hour—for there was none like him in all England! It was at the last Convocation that Warham attended, before his death in August; and Latimer, it is true, will not forget all this; but *another day*, in St. Paul's itself, Stokesly will have to sit still, and listen to certain awful truths, by way of reminiscence, to which his ears had never been accustomed. John Foxe, in his narrative, tries to palliate this whole affair by saying—"whether he subscribed, no

¹⁵ See the Convocation Journal and the Bishop's Register. Or Foxe, compared with the *Life of Latimer*, by Watkins, prefixed to "The Sermons of Latimer." 1824.

great *matter* or marvel, considering the iniquity of the times :” but this is far from the manner of sacred writ, in the biography of its highest characters. No, however painful, besides too many others, we have seen Barnes, and Bilney, and now even Latimer at the first onset, blench and falter through fear of death ; so that at this special period, to the impartial writer, there seems to be nothing left for him, but to look out for John Fryth. *He* will revive the spirit of any reader, and give a new *tone* to the cause of God and his truth. He was just about arriving in England, but, as a controversialist, Sir Thomas More first stands in our way.

If the laborious Lord Chancellor had been busy in persecuting his fellow subjects at home, he had been no less so with his pen, in opposition to Tyndale abroad. His friend, Sir Thomas Elyot, might be “doing his best endeavour” to seize the man, but More was determined to overwhelm and expose him as a writer and translator. His huge publication being now, in part, ready, must be put forth. The first three books of it, with a long preface, printed by the son of his brother-in-law, Rastell, appeared with this title, “the confutation of Tyndale’s answer, made by Sir Thomas More, knight, Lord Chancellor of England,—cum privilegio.” He had *six* books more to come, although the present *folio* extended to 363 pages, thirty-seven of which filled his preface ! This, it will be observed, was printed before he had resigned the seals, in May ; so that between cross examinations of worthy men, on the one hand, and proof sheets against Tyndale on the other, he must have been engrossed indeed. In his preface he took care to shield himself under the authority of his royal Master.

“Now seeing the King’s gracious purpose in this point, I reckon that being his unworthy Chancellor, it appertaineth unto my part and duty, to follow the ensample of his noble Grace, and after my poor wit and learning, with opening to his people, the malice and poison of those pernicious books, to help as much as in me is. Toward the help whereof, am I, by mine *office* in virtue of mine oath, and *every officer of justice through the realm* for his rate, right specially bounden, not in reason only, and good congruence, but also by plain ordinance and statute.”¹⁶

In the outset, evidently vain of his powers, he very unadvisedly, boasted great things. He was only putting on his

¹⁶ Alluding to the proceedings of 1530, no doubt of his *own* framing.

harness, and so afterwards had to publish his apology when putting it off. At present, however, he is full of triumph.

“ And for because the matter is long, and my leisure short, I cannot, as I fain would, send out all at once,—I send out now, therefore, of this present work, these three books. And now, shall I, God willing, at my next leisure go farther in his (Tyndale’s) book, and come to the very breast of all this battle, that is to wit, the question,—*which is the Church*,—for that is the point that all these heretics labour to make so dark, that, by their wiles, no man shall wit what they mean. But I trust to *draw the serpent out of his dark den*; and as the poets feign that Hercules drew up Cerberus, the mastiff of hell, into the light, where his eyes dased; so shall I, with the grace of that light which illumineth every man that cometh into this world, make you that matter so lightsome and so clear to every man, that *I shall leave Tyndale never a dark corner to creep into, able to hide his head in.*”

Even in this first part, however, Sir Thomas thought it was time to admit the talents of his opponent; and, therefore, though jesting, as usual, he affirms, that he had “an eagle’s eye,” that he was “cunning enough, and can, I assure you, make as much poetry upon any part of Scripture, as any poet can in England, upon any part of Virgil.”¹⁷ But then Tyndale’s views and wishes were the subject of his professed apprehension.

“ As evil as I like the man, in such things as he saith nought, that is almost in all, yet would I find no fault with him in that he said well. But now he saith not that *some* things be misordered somewhere, but that there is *none other*. For Tyndale can be pleased with no fashion; neither *Cathedral church, nor Parish church, nor Chapel, nor Monks, nor Friars, nor Nuns, neither Greenwich, Zion, nor Charter-House*. So that I see well no fashion can please Tyndale but his own: as he neither crieth out, nor halloweth, nor baiteth, nor buzzeth in any service—saying; for as they say, that know him, he saith none at all, neither *matins, even-song, nor mass.*”

The rest of this Confutation, falsely so called, as well as More’s apology, will come before us next year, so that we refrain from farther remark till he has done. In the meanwhile, another opponent had started up, and fretted him not a little. Fryth’s publication had arrived, and was now greedily read in England, and the Chancellor must tell us, beforehand also, how he meant to dispose of him. Like Goliath of old, he looked round, and disdained him, for he was but a young man, of fine person, and of a fair countenance; but certainly

¹⁷ Tyndale appears to have either known or suspected that Sir Thomas was rather vain of his *poetry*, and hence he had twitted him with it repeatedly. This is More’s retort.

it was rather mortifying if, in meeting three such seniors, (as Fisher, More, and Rastell,) Fryth was to overthrow them all, and *convert* one of them, and that one, the brother-in-law of the Lord Chancellor. He speaks of him, however, with an air of affected pity, and would fain have weaned him from his spiritual father; only they were bound together by a tie of which the unhappy Chancellor had no conception. In the preface, already quoted, referring to the "breast of all this battle," the Church, he says—

"Then after that I have *so clearly* confuted Tyndale concerning that point, before I go farther, I purpose to answer good *young* father Fryth, which now cometh forth so sagely, that three old men, my brother Rastell, the Bishop of Rochester, and I, matched with father Fryth alone, be now but very babes, and, as he calleth us, *insipientes*. But thus goeth the world forth, between Fryth and us. *He increaseth, I see well, as fast as we decay.*¹⁸ For once, I ween, the youngest of us three, three days ere father Fryth was born, had learned within a little as much as father Fryth hath now. Howbeit I shall leave young father Fryth in his pride and glory for the while. But when Tyndale is once, in the article touching the Church, confuted; then hath Fryth already, concerning purgatory, *clearly lost the field*, and all his well beloved book is not worth a *button*, though it were all as true as it is false. For then is the faith of the Church in that point infallible, or at *the least, unculpable*, were there Scripture there for, or not.¹⁹—And yet shall I, for all that, go farther with young father Fryth, and touch, if God will, every part of his fresh painted book; and so shall I pluck off, I trust, the most glorious feathers of his peacock's tail, that I shall leave him, if he have wit and grace, a little less delight and liking in himself, than he seemeth now to have, which thing hath hitherto made him *to stand not a little in his own light.*²⁰ I pray God heartily send that young man the grace to bestow his wit and learning, such as it is, about some better business than Tyndale mis-bestoweth it now. For now is Fryth's wit and learning nothing but Tyndale's instrument, whereby he bloweth out his heresy. Finally, after that I shall have answered Fryth, I purpose to return again unto Tyndale's book, and answer him in every chapter—I think that no man doubteth, but that this work both *hath been, and will be*, some pain and labour to me, and, of truth, *so I find it.*"

We have thus, for once, fairly allowed the old gentleman to expectorate all his vanity, of which it seems to be too evident, his breast was full. Covetousness and vanity are sins, which, in some men, are eminently conspicuous in old age. Of the former, every one will cheerfully exonerate the Chancellor; as for the latter, and more especially when contrasted with

¹⁸ A *truth* in itself, as it regarded the respective causes of the two parties, though now uttered in contempt, and one too, which we shall find Sir Thomas more than half admit, before he died.

¹⁹ "For we have compelled More, with shame, to *fil* from the Scripture." So says Tyndale, including Fryth, as we shall find next year.

²⁰ We have seen how the enemy attempted to separate Fryth from Tyndale, as possibly not so fixed in his principles. Whether hypocritical pacific proposals had again been held out, we have not ascertained, but something of this kind seems to be insinuated.

the close of the combat, we need say nothing more at present, and yet this is but a specimen. In early life, the stream of human depravity has several channels, but in its later stages, those channels are in a manner dried up, by the decay of the natural powers, when the whole current flows in one direction; and then, as ambition is often associated with blood, so is vanity with venom. The bitterness and contempt which distinguished Sir Thomas on *these* subjects, can only be imagined by those who have the patience to wade through his folio pages, while he goes on consigning every one to perdition, for opinions which have long distinguished the British population. Utopia was the blossom of his youth, but there had been little congenial moisture within him, and so it dropped off. His tedious controversial writings were the fruit of his mature age, and they remain, to any who look upon them, the saddest memorial of his falling into the yellow leaf.

In the meanwhile, it may here be remarked, that it would have been prudent in Sir Thomas, to have let Fryth alone, as the interference only exposed him, in the end, to a double defeat. Even Tyndale was younger than himself, and he was more than his match; but John Fryth was only twenty-eight years of age, when his book was published, last year. Besides, the Chancellor had crowed by far too soon, as he had then no idea that in a few months after, Fryth himself would come over, and not only confront him upon English ground, though writing from a dungeon; but overcome in argument the Bishops assembled, with Cranmer at their head.

It is not possible to ascertain in what month of this year Fryth had arrived in England, but from what we are about to relate, it may have been as early as July or August. Having been absent from his native country for six years,²¹ he was first heard of at Reading in Berkshire, a place into which the Divine Word had found an entrance, at least four or five years before this. In 1528, we have read of Rodolph Bradford carrying New Testaments there from London, and by the next year even the Prior of that abbey was a suspected man, and had been placed in confinement.

“The King’s Highness willed me,” says Stephen Gardiner, then his secretary,

²¹ Foxe, indeed, says in one place only two years, and in another three; but the period is as stated above, viz. from August or September 1526, to about the same time this year.

to Wolsey on the 7th of September 1529, "to write unto your Grace, that suit being made unto him, in favour of the Prior of Reading, who, for Luther's opinion, (the phrase of the day,) is now in prison, and hath been a good season, at your Grace's commandment; that unless the matter be much notable and very licinous, he desireth your Grace, at his request, to cause the said Prior to be restored to liberty, and discharged of that imprisonment."²²

We have noticed this man, as one purpose for which it is said Fryth came over, was to obtain some pecuniary aid from him, or rather induce the Prior to accompany him; on his return to the Continent; a movement to which he might be more disposed, after such usage. In one place, indeed, Foxe states that Fryth came over at the Prior's request; but be this as it may, his account is as follows:—

"Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination, where the simple man, loath to utter himself what he was, and unacquainted with their manner of examination, and they greatly offended with him, committed him to the stocks, where, when he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what he was; at last, he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought unto him, which, at that time, was one Leonard Coxe, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Fryth by and bye, in the Latin tongue, began to bewail his captivity. The schoolmaster, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such state of misery. Afterward they, conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, fell from the Latin tongue to the *Greck*; wherein Fryth did so inflame the love of the schoolmaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when he heard him, by heart, rehearse Homer's verses, out of his first book of Iliad. Whereupon the schoolmaster went, with all speed, unto the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew to so excellent and innocent a young man. And so, through the help of the said schoolmaster, the said Fryth was freely set at liberty without punishment."

The "stocks" in England had certainly never before been so honoured, whatever they were afterwards; nor should the worthy and learned schoolmaster be forgotten.²³ Thus enlarged, we hear nothing of the Prior, and he might have removed after this outrage; but Fryth proceeded to London

²² Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter-house. vol. v., no. 102.

²³ Leonard Coxe, a native of Caerleon, Monmouth, who had studied at Cambridge, was an early popular philological writer, under Henry VIII., from whom he had a house in Reading, and an annual pension of ten pounds. He became a great traveller, and was well known on the Continent. He defended the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. The intimate of Erasmus, he translated his paraphrase of the Epistle of Titus into English, and was living in the reign of Edward VI. His "Art or Crafte of Rhetoricke," printed so early as 1524, is dedicated to Hugh Farringdon, a patron of critical studies, and the last *Abbot of Reading*, who was ere long to fall, under Cromwell's hands, to satisfy the craving of his Royal Master.

itself, and there saw those friends of truth, to whom *Bainham* had first made his confession, a few months before. The danger, however, was extreme—but there was to be no more any thing bordering upon abjuration—no more halting between two opinions, or between life and death—in Fryth's case. He had come to read a lesson to the *Martyrs of England*, and he read it nobly, by his tongue, nay by his pen, and finally by the flames. It was altogether a sight which had never been seen in England since the days in which he himself had been reading the first imported Testament, or was immured in the dungeon at Oxford. Yet though of so decided a character, that he afterwards astonished both friends and foes, Fryth still accounted it his imperative duty to avoid apprehension if he could; and, according to the Divine commandment, first fled from place to place, rather than his enemies should be involved in the guilt of blood. He changed his raiment and place of abode again and again, but could not remain long anywhere, even among friends. Sir Thomas More had now heard of his being in England, and “beset,” says Foxe, “all the ways and havens, yea, and promised great rewards, if any man could bring any tidings of him.”²⁴

While, however, he was yet at large, there was a Christian brother, of whom Fryth says, “for his commendable conversation, and sober behaviour, he might better be a bishop, than many that wear mitres, if the rule of St. Paul were regarded in their election.” He had applied to Fryth for his opinions respecting the Lord's Supper, and after complying with his earnest request, “he desired me,” he adds, “to entitle the sum of my words, and write them for him, because they seemed over long to be well retained in memory. This was done with no intention of its being read, *except* by select or choice friends, who had already received the truth; “for they knew the spiritual and necessary eating and drinking of his body and blood, which is received but with the ears and faith, and only needed instruction in the outward eating; which thing,” adds Fryth, “I only declared.” By this time, More especially, if not Stokesly, had various spies on the look-out

²⁴ One evidence that he was *still* acting officially as Lord Chancellor, though no longer Keeper of the Great Seal.

in London; base men, who insinuated themselves among the best of the city. Two of these are named—one Withers, and William Holt, the foreman of Mr. Malte, tailor to the King. The latter was the guilty man, who betrayed confidence. Having seen the manuscript of Fryth, he begged a perusal of it, and once obtained, he carried it forthwith to the Chancellor. But two other copies were conveyed to him by similar men, which gave Fryth occasion to warn his friends, from the Tower, afterwards,—

“ Saint Paul protesteth that he was in peril among false brethren, and surely I suppose that we are in no less jeopardy. For if it be so, that his Mastership had received one copy, and had a couple of copies more offered in the meanwhile, (as More had printed,) then may ye be sure that there are many false brethren, which pretend to have knowledge, and indeed are but pick-thanks, providing for their belly. Prepare ye, therefore, *cloaks*, for the weather waxeth cloudy, and rain is like to follow. I mean not *false excuses and forswearing of yourselves*, but that ye look substantially upon *God's Word*, that you may be able to answer their subtle objections; and rather choose manfully to die for Christ and His Word, than cowardly to deny Him, for this vain and transitory life; considering that they have no farther power but over this corruptible body, which, if they put it not to death, must yet, at the length, perish of itself. But I trust the Lord shall not suffer you to be tempted above that you may bear; but according to the Spirit that he shall pour upon you, shall he also send you the scourge, and make him that hath received more of the Spirit, to suffer more, and him that receiveth less thereof, to suffer according to his *talent*.”

Sir Thomas More, however, as if conscious of his incompetence to answer “the young man,” for so he generally called him, had now become more cautious, though it was only a few months since his vaunting preface was abroad. This must have been the more mortifying, when Fryth let out the secret; for referring to his manuscript, he tells us,—

“ Mr. More, which of late hath busied himself to meddle in all such matters, (of what zeal I will not define,) hath sore laboured to confute it; but some men think that he is ashamed of his part, and for that cause *doth so diligently suppress the work which he printed*; for I myself saw the work *in print*, in my Lord of Winchester's house, upon St. Stephen's day last past, (26th Dec. 1532.) But neither I, neither all the friends I could make, might attain any copy, but only one written copy, which, as it seemed, was drawn out in great haste. Notwithstanding, I cannot well judge *what* the cause should be that his book is kept so secret; but this I am right sure of, that he never touched the foundation that my treatise was builded upon. And, therefore, since my foundation standeth so sure and invincible—I will thereupon build a little more.”²⁵

²⁵ Preface to his Answer to More

From this passage it is evident that Fryth was not only in safe keeping, and under examination by this month of December, but that More had replied to his manuscript, and in print, and therefore he must have been in England for some months. He had been apprehended, says Foxe, at a place called Milton Shore, in Essex, where he had gone with a view to embark for the Continent, and after that had been committed to the Tower. The last six months of his valuable life will come before us in due time.

But with regard to that great cause, for which Fryth was now in prison, and Tyndale had been pursued for years, there was no possibility of stopping its onward progress. The importation of the Scriptures, as well as other books, went on. A tide had set in, which no vigilance, no power upon earth, could either stop or turn aside. Though it be in vulgar, and even profane language, by far the finest eulogium, on this department of exertion, was pronounced by Sir Thomas More himself, and in this very year. He would not, it is true, open his eyes to the fact, that there was a thirst for the Word of Truth, and that a market or demand had been created in England, in spite of all opposition; and, therefore, he is incorrect as to the way in which money was raised, or rather capital embarked, but, in other respects, his denunciation involves the very highest praise which could have been elicited.

“There be fled out of this realm for heresy, a few ungracious folk; what manner folk, their writing and their living sheweth.” And so, after pointing at Tyndale by name, he goes on—“These fellows that nought had here, and, therefore, nought carried hence, nor nothing finding there to live upon, be yet sustained and maintained with money sent them by some evil-disposed persons out of this realm thither, and that for none other intent but to make them sit and seek out heresies, and speedily send them hither.

“Which books, albeit that they neither can be there printed *without great cost*, nor here sold *without great adventure and peril*: yet cease they not with money sent from hence, to print them there, and send them hither, *by the whole ratts-full at once*. And, in some places, *looking for no lucre*, cast them abroad *by night*; so great a pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught, *with the labour, travel, cost, charge, peril, harm, and hurt of themselves*, to seek the destruction of other. As the devil hath a deadly delight to beguile good people, and bring their souls into everlasting torment, without any manner winning, and not without final increase of his own eternal pain: *So!* So do these heretics, the devil's disciples, bysett their whole pleasure and study, to their own final damnation, in the training of simple souls to hell, by their devilish heresies!”²⁶

Such was the language of Sir Thomas More, and the same spirit reigns throughout his pages. It was the testimony of an enemy, addressed to enemies, which is the strongest of all, and therefore includes the higher commendation of unwearied zeal in the cause of God and his truth. And certainly it was a marvellous thing, that one of those "fellows," with his junior companion, "who nought had here, and therefore nought carried hence," should be able to kindle such a fire in England. They were but "earthen vessels," it is true; persecuted, but not forsaken; as unknown, and yet well known; as poor, yet making many rich; for their friends, by this time described as "evil-disposed persons within this realm," had already become more than two bands. But now, since our only controversialist thought so badly of them, we must hear the opinion of a better judge.

We have alluded to a Congregation of these people, meeting in London, but there were groups, in secret, throughout different counties. John Fryth had seen those in London, and then proceeded from place to place, before he was to address them all from his prison. He had worshipped God along with them, and expounded the Sacred Volume they held so dear; and what was *his* deliberate opinion of those people, whom the Chancellor and the Bishops so defamed? Here it is in a Letter addressed to them, "whilst he was prisoner in the Tower of London, for the Word of God—anno 1532."²⁷

"It cannot be expressed, dearly beloved in the Lord, what joy and comfort it is to my heart, to perceive how the *Word of God* hath wrought, and continually worketh among you; so that I find *no small number* walking in the ways of the Lord, according as he gave us commandment, willing that we should love one another, as he loved us. Now have I experience of the faith which is in you, and can testify that it is without simulation; that ye love, not in word and tongue only, but in work and verity.

"What can be more trial of a faithful heart, than to adventure, not only to aid and succour by the means of others, which without danger may not be admitted unto us, but also personally to visit the poor oppressed, and see that nothing be lacking unto them, but that they have both ghostly comfort and bodily sustenance, notwithstanding *the strait inhibition and terrible menacing* of these worldly rulers; even ready to abide the extreme jeopardies that tyrants can imagine?

"This is an evidence that you have prepared yourselves to the cross of Christ: This is an evidence that ye have cast your accounts, and have where-

²⁷ Fryth's Works. As their year ran on to the 25th of March, this letter was written in the beginning of 1533,—or at all events, before that day.

with to finish the tower which ye have begun to build. And I doubt not but that He, which hath begun to work in you, shall, for his glory, accomplish the same, even unto the coming of the Lord, which shall give unto every man according to his deeds. And albeit God, of His secret judgments, for a time keep the rod from some of them that ensue his steps; yet let them surely reckon upon it, for there is no doubt but all which will devoutly live in Christ, must suffer persecution; for 'whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, and scourgeth every child that he receiveth;' for what child is that, whom the Father chastiseth not?—

"Of these things, God had given me the speculation before; and now it hath pleased Him to put them in use and practice upon me. *I ever thought, and yet do think*, that to walk after *God's Word* would *cost me my life*, at one time or another. And albeit that the King's Grace should take me into his favour, and not to suffer the bloody Edomites to have their pleasures upon me; yet will I not think that I am escaped: but that God hath only deferred it for a season, to the intent that I should work somewhat that he hath appointed me to do and so to use me unto his glory.²⁸

"And I beseech all the followers of Christ to arm themselves with the same supposition, marking themselves with the sign of the cross; not *from* the cross, as the superstitious multitude do, but rather to the cross, in token that they be ever ready, willingly to receive the cross, when it shall please God to lay it upon them. The day that it cometh not, count it clear won, giving thanks to the Lord which hath kept it from you; and then when it cometh, it shall nothing dismay you, for it is no new thing, but even that which ye have continually looked for.

"And doubt not but that God, which is faithful, shall not suffer you to be tempted above that which ye are able to bear, but shall ever send some occasion, by the which ye shall stand steadfast; for either He shall blind the eyes of your enemies, and diminish their tyrannous power, or else, when he hath suffered them to do their best, and that the dragon hath cast a whole flood of waters after you, He shall cause even the very earth to open her mouth and swallow them up. So faithful is He, and careful to ease us, what time the vexation should be too heavy for us.

"He shall send a Joseph before you against ye shall come into Egypt; yea, He shall so provide for you, that ye shall have an *hundred fathers for one*; an *hundred mothers for one*; an *hundred houses for one*; and that in *this life*, as I HAVE PROVED BY EXPERIENCE; and after this life, everlasting joy with Christ our Saviour."

Such were the fruits of the Sacred Word, printed in the vulgar tongue! In the outset, it was but like an handful of corn, sown in a most unpromising soil, on the top of a mountain; yet now that one of the sowers has come, "it cannot be expressed, what joy and comfort it was to his heart, to perceive" far more than the green blade above the ground. The commendation is worthy of being written in letters of gold, and especially that closing sentence.

²⁸ For the feeble hope of escape here expressed, there was some ground, which, when the time comes, will be explained; but this is a proof that the letter was written between the month of January and the 25th of March.

That a Christian should receive an hundred-fold of *temporal* good, *with* persecutions, has often seemed to be a mystery, and the passage has so perplexed the expositors of more peaceful times, that they have felt obliged to escape to the supposition of celestial gratifications. How a man should *leave* one house and find an hundred, in the days when mere professors are loth to *leave* any thing for Christ, has appeared to be impossible; although the Saviour expressly confines the hundred-fold to *this* life. But the exuberant love and hospitality of the primitive Christians untie the knot, and explain the promise.²⁹ On the part of our Redeemer, it was indeed a most extraordinary intimation; informing the earliest age, not only that Christianity should gain ground, but prevail in such power over its believers and all that they possessed; and it remained for John Fryth especially to come over, and draw out the proof that primitive Christianity had effectually taken root in England. All the believers' houses had been open to entertain him, and there was he treated with all a father's, or a mother's, a brother's or a sister's kindness. Now that he was in bonds, he was overcome with joy, by finding that such was their concern for him, and that they felt his private or personal suffering as a general calamity, or a public wrong.

Of this fine epistle, so well worthy of the man, we have only given this extract, and yet we must not omit to notice how anxious Fryth was, even still, to be of service to those who had shown him such kindness for his Master's sake, and the books of sacred writ, translated by his dearest friend.

"The Father of glory," he concludes, "give us the spirit of wisdom, understanding and knowledge, and lighten the eyes of our mind, that we may now his ways, praising the Lord eternally. If it please any of our brethren to write unto us, of any such doubts as peradventure may be found in our books, (Tyndale's or his own,) it should be very acceptable unto us, and, as I trust, not unfruitful for them. For I will endeavour myself, to satisfy them in all points, by God's grace,—to whom I commit to be governed and defended for ever, Amen. John Fryth, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, at all times abiding His pleasure."

And now that the year is ended what can be said, as to the

²⁹ "It is beyond imagination, to what excess the Christians carry their profusion on these occasions," namely of persecution. "They esteem each other indiscriminately as brethren, and all goods are in common with them:"—a remarkable testimony in even the profane *Lucian's Philopatris*. He died anno 214, æt. d. 50.

Old man and the Young! the Chancellor and his prisoner! What else than that "wisdom excelleth folly, and as far as light excelleth darkness;" or that "the wise man's eyes are in his head, and that it is the infatuated only, who walk on in darkness?"

By the mercy of God, however, Sir Thomas More must now withdraw. He had resigned the Great Seal in May, but still had acted officially till towards the close of the year; in a few weeks hence he will be entirely dismissed, and left free, and at leisure to go on with his voluminous controversy, though this should only be to his final overthrow.

We have not been able to ascertain the precise object of Fryth's journey into England, at a period so fraught with danger. It must have been something of importance in his own apprehension, as well as in that of Tyndale.³⁰ The latter had no other man like-minded, no other companion, properly so called, upon earth. For years together, he himself had been pursued on the Continent, but Fryth was now in England itself. One can, therefore, easily conceive what trembling anxiety must have been felt by our Translator, in his absence; and we have one fine letter of judicious counsel, before he knew the worst—that Fryth was apprehended, and in the Tower of London. By way of precaution, he addresses his friend under the name of *Jacob*, though he does not conceal his own:—

"The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, amen! Dearly beloved brother, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cool, sober, wise, and circumspect; and that you keep you aloof³¹ by the ground, avoiding high questions that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses, to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable. And then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. Then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites, and the Spirit of God

³⁰ In one brief account of Fryth, it is said—"At the last, he, being driven to necessity and lack of money, was forced secretly to return over into this realm, to be relieved of his friends, namely, of the Prior of Reading; and it was thought he purposed to have had the Prior over with him." The last might be his wish; but the entire strain of Tyndale's letters forbids the idea of his having come merely for personal assistance. Foxe states, that "he came over at the request of the Prior of Reading," not the *Abbot*, as has been vaguely stated. Testaments had been distributed at Reading seven years ago, (see page 116,) but we have no account of who this Prior was.

³¹ The contrast to our term *aloof*, still retained.

shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on these *two*, to shadow and hide them, I mean, the law of God and mercy of Christ, *that resist, with all your power*. Sacraments without signification, refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

“Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. *Barnes will be hot against you.*³² The Saxons be sore in the *affirmative*, whether constant or obstinate, I omit it to God. Philip Melanethon is said to be with the French King. There he in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with 150 horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the Word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them.³³ George Joye would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he will do, if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons, little serving to the purpose.³⁴ My mind is, that nothing be put forth till we hear how you have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within, in the heart, in spirit and verity; even so to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere, (though it cannot be proved,) hurteth no man that worshippeth him *nowhere*, save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind; howbeit, if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

“I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the *Spirituality*, to catch themselves in their own subtilty; and I trust it is come to pass. And now, methinketh, I smell a Council to be taken, little for their profits, in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the harlot's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones.³⁵ Wherefore, cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to Him; and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the world, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, *that the Scripture may be in the MOTHER tongue, and learning set up in the Universities*. But and if ought be required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, *then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions*, which haply shall say, we see no other way to bring in the truth.

“Brother Jacob, beloved of my heart, *there liveth not*, in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth

³² Barnes, we shall find, was now in England, and he a Lutheran, as to the Lord's Supper. Neither Tyndale or Fryth ever were, and their works, in strict propriety, ought never to have been printed in the same volume, as Foxe did. It may be but small consolation to the publishers of the beautiful modern edition of Tyndale's and Fryth's works, by the Rev. T. Russel, that they were interrupted in their progress, intending, as they did, to print the works of some other men; but there was great propriety in stopping where they did, as Tyndale and Fryth, among the earliest writers, truly stand *alone*, or in a place and position peculiar to themselves.

³³ This was a mistaken rumour. Melanethon never went to Paris. By the *affirmative*, Tyndale refers to Consubstantiation, the dogma of Luther, and it is hinted at here, evidently, in the way of regret.

³⁴ So uniformly had Tyndale deprecated the subject of Christianity being hastily absorpt in an intemperate war of opinion respecting one of its positive institutions.

³⁵ He foresaw, or anticipated the dissolution of the monasteries, long before the subject was mooted in Parliament by Cromwell.

herself, *as in you*: not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether they be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch, that if you be sure you know; yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say, methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding; yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly, in earnest and necessary things.

“And I trust you be persuaded even so of me. *For I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God’s Word against my conscience, (as Sir Thomas More had insinuated,) nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that (liberty?) without which I cannot keep his laws.*

“Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you, if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God: my soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted: your part shall be to supply that which lacketh in me—remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of *love* maketh me exceed in babbling.”—

No one can for a moment mistake this lowliness on the part of Tyndale, for lack of ability; though it discovers the very high opinion which he entertained of Fryth and his talents, both as a Christian and a scholar.

—“If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing something, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost. My Lord of London hath a servant, called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and was once *my* scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador *secret*, I wot not.

“The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves and trust in Him; and his is the glory, Amen. William Tyndale. I hope our redemption is nigh.”

But whatever Tyndale might intend by his last expression to Fryth, it was not long before he heard of his being in the hands of Sir Thomas, and also in the Tower; for, however impossible it had ever been to find Tyndale’s abode, it is remarkable that no circumstances could ever impede his immediate communication with England. Though Fryth had

found it difficult to procure a copy of More's reply to himself, either that, or some other copy, was soon in Tyndale's possession, when he immediately discovered all that deep interest which he had already expressed so warmly in his letter. Before this, too, he had also received the Chancellor's vaunted Confutation, so that, according to More's own concession, he could now "pry upon" them both, "narrowly, and with such eagle's eyes as he hath." By a single passage, at the outset, which will be noticed presently, he effectually damaged the fame of the knight's "Confutation;" but the perilous situation of Fryth demanded haste, and Tyndale immediately did his "uttermost" for him, as he had promised. Whether he left Antwerp to superintend the press, is not certain, but it is more than probable, for it is curious enough that his pointed production was printed at Nuremberg by Nicolas Townson, and was finished by the beginning of April. It is entitled—*"The Supper of the Lord"*—after the meaning of John, vi. and 1st Corinthians, xi.—"wherein, incidentally, Master More's letter against John Fryth is confuted."³⁶

For fresh events we must now, therefore, look forward to the next year.

SECTION X.

ONE DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF TYNDALE'S COURSE AND CHARACTER AS COMPARED WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES—HIS ANSWER TO SIR T. MORE—HIS LETTER TO FRYTH IN PRISON—STATE OF ENGLAND—FRYTH'S VOICE FROM THE TOWER—STRANGE CONDITION OF ENGLAND—THE KING MARRIED—CRANMER'S PROCEDURE—GARDINER ROUSED—FRYTH'S EXAMINATION BEFORE THE BISHOPS ASSEMBLED—HIS TRIUMPH IN ARGUMENT—MARTYRDOM—ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT—ONE EFFECT OF FRYTH'S DEATH—SIR T. MORE WRITING STILL—ONE POWERFUL OPPONENT AT HOME—MORE AS A CONTROVERSIALIST—HIS PRODIGIOUS EXERTIONS—OTHER QUALITIES—FINALLY OVERCOME—THE PROSPECT BRIGHTENING.

BEFORE recurring to Tyndale's last publication, we are con-

³⁶ "Imprinted at Nornburg, by Nicolas Twonson, 5 April, An. 1533." It was reprinted, with a preface, by Crawley, in 1551. Herbert, in reporting this, had said, that the original edition had no printer's name, but when he came to his third vol. he had found his mistake, and gives it as above.—*Herbert's Ames*, iii., p. 1541. In the Harleian Catalogue, vol. i., No. 2896, the editor had loosely said, "set forth by Myles Coverdale:" and Watts, in his *Bibl. Brit.*, mistaking this for authorship, inserted the piece under Coverdale's name. In consequence of this, it has recently been placed in a list at the head of *Coverdale's Works!* *He would not have so attacked More, nor edited it, at such a time, no, not for any consideration in the world.*

strained to pause for a few moments, and observe more distinctly one marked or distinguishing feature in his character. His one object in life, was to gain over his native land to the faith of the Mediator. The foundation of all his hope of success, rested on the Word of God itself. With its translation into English he began, and laboured in it to his dying day. And having once conveyed the *New Testament* to England, as containing truth without any mixture of error; he might, indeed, because banished from the soil, assail the love of the world or covetousness, in those who had arrogated to themselves the title of "the Spirituality," in his parable of "*the Wicked Mammon*;" he might lay down the law of "*Christian Obedience*," but built on that *faith* which he had already explained; might expose the hypocritical "*Practice of Prelates*," who had sunk his country into immorality, licentiousness and debt; or warn the whole nation by *Jonah* and his prologue. These were great subjects, and worthy of his pen; but when once he found a *Preacher* upon *English* ground, in whom, and in whose doctrine, he reposed unlimited confidence, and came to explain the course which he thought that Preacher should pursue, his ideas are worthy of observation in any, or rather in every age. He himself had been "about a great work and would not come down," and so he would have Fryth to act. His weapons were to be only two,—the Law and the Gospel; subjects to which the conscience would respond; and hence his fervent anxiety that he would commend himself to every man's conscience, as in the sight of God; or only "walk in those things that the *conscience* might feel." He thought that matters of essential *belief* should *first* be received in England, and *first* settled in all cases, before those of *obedience* should be enforced; that the souls of men should first have in possession that rest which Christ *gives*, before his gentle *yoke* could be assumed; that men should first *be* disciples, and then taught all things whatsoever Christ has commanded. During his entire residence on the Continent, from this fixed judgment he had never swerved, though amidst many temptations so to do, and this it is which should procure for him, in the eye of posterity, one distinguishing eminence among *all* his contemporaries. There is actually not a second man to be placed by his side, except the prisoner respecting whom he is now so concerned. In consequence of pursuing a course all his own,

at no Conference, Diet, or Assembly can we ever hear of him, nor do we find any references to these, in his writings. There was in 1524, the Diet at Nuremberg, the Assembly at Ratisbon in July, and another afterwards at Spire. In 1526 the Conference at Baden *against* Zuingle in May, and the Diet at Spire in June. In 1527 the Conference of Bern, not to say the provincial Councils at Bruges and Paris. In 1529 the Diet in March held at Spire, then *the Protestation*, and then the Conference in October, at *Marburg*, between the Lutherans and Zuinglians. In 1530 there was the Diet of Augsburg; to deliberate on the Ausburg Confession, or the articles of Torgau, including what they called "Sacraments," and "religious ceremonies" and then the league at Smalkald. In 1531 the Assembly again at Smalkald, and afterwards at Frankfurt. But at not *one* of these do we hear of Tyndale being present; an absence or retirement so uniform, that it could only have sprung from some fixed determination, more especially as his talents would have secured a chair for him, on any such occasions.

And as he frequented no public conferences or disputations, so he courted the patronage of no German circle, of no Duke or Elector, no Landgrave or Counsellor, but, to use his own expression, "kept *alow* by the ground." His rejection, at first, by the Lord Bishop of London, actually seems to have made an impression which never left him, and six years afterwards he refers to it, as though it had governed him ever since,—"*God saw*," says he "that I was beguiled, and that *that Counsel* was not the next way unto my purpose; and *therefore* he gat me no favour in my Lord's sight.¹ After that period he seems to have felt, as Johnson did in modern times, that a Patron would only have "encumbered him with help;" or he was not willing that posterity should consider him as owing that to any earthly protector, which Providence enabled him to accomplish, without one smile of court-favour from his country. In short, Tyndale's lack of protection from princes, and assistance from learned men, taken in connexion with the course which he had so steadily pursued, form a forcible contrast to the path and circumstances of all his contem-

¹ He refers to Sir Henry Guilford, who had counselled him as to the best mode of approaching Tunstal; or with a translation from the Greek.

poraries. If these statements be observed, they may so far account for the fact, that during the last nine years, with a sound and discriminating judgment, Tyndale had stedfastly deprecated the *Bellum Sacramentarium*, and never more so than at this period, as he himself has already explained. It had commenced about the very time of his arrival at Hamburgh, in 1524, and, upon fixed principles, he had kept out of it, from year to year. This of itself alone, was quite sufficient to have preserved him from personally combining with Luther; a confederacy, which he himself denied after six years' residence on the Continent;² and one, which, owing to the violence of the Saxons, could not possibly have taken place since. But, now that Tyndale's dearest friend upon earth, his "own son" in the faith, is incarcerated, and in danger of his life,—now that he has fallen into the hands of these English Philistines,—now that both Providence and Christian friendship call him to speak out, having no choice, he will not be slow, or rather was not, so to do.

And never was triumph more complete, than that of Tyndale and Fryth over Sir Thomas More on the subject of the Lord's Supper, though on their part it was entirely *unprovoked*. Fryth, it must be observed, was precisely of Tyndale's opinion; that Repentance and Faith, or matters of essential belief, should be first propounded and settled, previously to discussing any Christian ordinances; that the former were to be testified to the world at large; the latter, settled within the Church itself: that the *messenger* of God to guilty men, was to preach and might print on the former, but as to the latter, beware of the printing-press. The latter were to be "reasoned in peace and at leisure," among believers alone, or within the Church. Oh, had the counsel of the "first two" been taken, what a different aspect had the Church of God exhibited by this time! And why may not some invaluable instruction, even now, be drawn from this, the very spring-head of religious controversy?

It must be remembered, therefore, that, believing, as he did, in the plainness, and all-sufficiency of the Sacred Oracles, Fryth had been exceedingly averse from putting pen to paper, and that when he did so, it was only in compliance with the urgency of a beloved Christian brother. But this was only a

² A confederacy which he might have denied all along

manuscript, and one sacredly intended only for the eye of *believers*, in whose faith Fryth had already found such reason to rejoice. In these circumstances, the Chancellor stepped out of his way, to his own discomfiture; and so infatuated was he, that he must *print* in reply, though he afterwards laboured to suppress it. Copies, however, having gone out, Fryth must not shrink from confuting him, and Tyndale having received it also, neither does he. Throughout this piece, Sir Thomas having contemptuously styled Fryth “the young man,” this it was which led Tyndale frequently to place the Lord Chancellor in contrast as “the old man;” and he will now require to put on his spectacles once more.

In the outset of his attack on Fryth, the Chancellor had insisted that in the sixth chapter of John the Saviour had referred *literally* to the Lord’s Supper.

“After this text,” says Tyndale, “thus *wisely* proved to be understood in the literal sense, with carnal Jews, and not in the allegoric or spiritual sense, with Christ and his Apostles: the whole sum of More’s confutation of “the young man” standeth upon this argument. *A posse ad esse*. That is, to wit, God may do it, *ergo*, it is done! Christ may make his body in many, or in all places, at once, *ergo*, it is in many, or in all places, at once. Which manner of argumentation, how false and naught it is, every sophister, and every man that hath wit, perceiveth. A like argument. God may shew More the truth, and call him to repentance, as he did Paul, for persecuting his Church: *ergo*, More is converted to God!—or God may let him run, of an obdurate heart with Pharaoh, and at last take an open and sudden vengeance upon him, for persecuting His Word, and burning His poor members: *ergo*, it is done already!—But let us return to our purpose. To dispite of God’s almighty absolute power, what God *may* do with his body, it is great folly, and no less presumption to More. But, Christian reader, be thou content to know that God’s will, his word, and his power, be all one, and repugn not. The glory of his Godhead is to be present, and to fill all places at once, essentially with his almighty power; which glory is denied to any other creature, himself saying by his prophet, ‘I will not give my glory to any other,’—but to attribute to his manhood that property which *only* is appropriated to his Godhead, is to confound *both* the natures of Christ.

“But M. More saith at last, ‘if God would tell me, that He would make each of their bodies two, (meaning the young man’s body and his,) to be in fifteen places at once, I would believe him, that he were able to make his words true in the bodies of both twain, and never would I so much as ask him, whether he would glorify them both first, or not: but I am sure, glorified or unglorified, if he said it, he is able to do it.’ Lo! here may ye see what a fervent faith this ‘old man’ hath, and what an earnest mind to believe Christ’s words, *if he had told him*. But I pray you, Mr. More, what and if Christ never told it you, nor said it, nor never would, would you not be as hasty *not* to believe it?”

But Tyndale was shocked with such light and profane

language, on a subject so sacred ; he, therefore, pauses, to add with solemnity—" Sir, ye be too busy with God's almighty power, and have taken too great a burthen upon your weak shoulders ; ye have overladen yourself with your own harness and weapons ; and *young David* is likely to prevail against you, *with his sling and stone*. God hath infatuated your high subtle wisdom. Your crafty conveyance is spied. God hath sent your Church a meet cover for such a cup, even such a defender as ye take upon yourself to be, that shall let all their whole cause fall flat in the mire, unto both your shames and utter confusion. God, therefore, be praised ever. Amen."

It was within the compass of last year that Sir Thomas had printed against both Tyndale and Fryth, and yet he palpably contradicted himself. When he attacked *Fryth*, he forgot what he had printed against *Tyndale*. This did not escape the latter, whom he fondly dreamt he had already confuted.

" At last note, Christian reader, that M. More, in the third book of his confutation of Tyndale, to prove St. John's Gospel imperfect and insufficient, (for leaving out so necessary a point of our faith, as he calleth the Supper of Christ his Maunday,) saith, that John spake *nothing at all* of this sacrament. And now, see again, in these his letters against Fryth, how himself bringeth in John, the sixth chapter, to impugn Fryth's writing, and to make all for the sacrament, even thus : ' My flesh is verily meat, and my blood drink.' Belike the man had there over-shot himself foul : the young man here causing him to put on his spectacles, and pore better and more wisely with his old eyes, upon St. John's Gospel, to find that thing there written, which before he would have made one of his *unwritten* verities. Thus may ye see how his words fight against himself into his own confusion."

It is unnecessary to notice every corner out of which he dragged his opponent, or the chain of argument by which he bound him ; but, at the close, Tyndale did not finish without giving intimation that he was quite prepared to meet, not merely the Chancellor, but all who either believed or dissembled with him.

" If our scholastical sophisters will object and make answer to this Supper of the Lord, bringing in for them their *unwritten* words, deeds, and dreams, (*for we have compelled More with shame to flit from the Scripture,*) strewed with their vain, strange terms, which Paul damneth, and giveth Timothy warning of ; I shall, by God's grace, so set the almighty Word of God against them, that all Christians shall see falsehood and deceit in this (their) sacrament ; and so disclose their devilish doctrine and sleighty juggling, that all that can read *English*, shall see the truth of God's Word openly bear down their *un-*

written lies. For it is verily the thing that I desire, even to be written against in this matter. I have the solution of all their objections ready, and know right well, that the more they stir in this sacrament, the broader their lies be spread, the more shall their falsehood appear, and the more gloriously shall the truth triumph; as it is to see this day, how More, his lies, utter (spread) the truth every day, more and more."

In conclusion, Tyndale longs for the day, when this ordinance of Christ shall be "restored unto the pure use," as the Apostles used it in their time; giving a particular account of the manner in which he wished it to be observed. The preacher was to appoint certain days after his discretion and godly zeal, on each of which, his flock was to "come together to celebrate the Lord's Supper." On which occasions after propounding 1 Cor. xi.—

"The bread and the wine set before them in the face of the Church, upon the table of the Lord, purely and honestly laid, let him declare to the people the signification of those sensible signs; what the action and deed moveth, teacheth, and exhorteth them unto."—"Then let this preacher exhort them lovingly to draw near unto this table of the Lord, and that not only bodily, but also, their hearts purged by faith, garnished with love and innocency, every man to forgive each other unfeignedly."—"This done, let him come down, and accompanied honestly with other ministers, come forth reverently, the congregation now set round about it, and also in their other convenient seats, the pastor exhorting them all to pray for grace, faith, and love."—After reading out of the sixth of John, and 1 Cor. xi.,—Exhortation,—Prayer, "which done, let him take the bread, and eat the wine, in the sight of the people, hearing him with a loud voice, with godly gravity, and after a Christian religious reverence, rehearsing *distinctly* the words of the Lord's Supper in their mother tongue; and then distribute it to the ministers, which taking the bread, with great reverence, will divide it to the congregation, every man breaking and reaching it forth to his next neighbour and member of the mystical body of Christ.—Other ministers following with the cups, pouring forth, and dealing them the wine—All together, thus being now partakers of one bread and one cup, the thing thereby signified and preached, printed fast in their hearts. But in this meanwhile, must the minister or pastor be reading the communication that Christ had with his disciples after his Supper, beginning at the washing of their feet; so reading till the bread and wine be eaten and drunken, and all the action done. And then let them all fall down on their knees, giving thanks highly unto God the Father, for this benefit and death of his Son, whereby now, by faith, every man is assured of remission of his sins.—This done, let every man commend and give themselves whole to God, and depart."

Such, it may be presumed, was the form which Tyndale would hold forth to the "Congregation meeting in Bow Lane, Cheapside," or elsewhere.

But now, whether Tyndale had been to Nuremberg, where

this was printed, or not, he had heard in May of Fryth's dangerous condition in the Tower, and was in Antwerp again at that time. Certainly he had not sojourned in this city since January, where he must have heard much sooner, or if there was an earlier communication from him to England it is irrecoverable. His whole soul, however, was now moved with intense feeling, and he poured it forth in the following final epistle:—

“The grace and peace of God our Father and of Jesus Christ our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John ! I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way, have brought it to a stay, they return to their own nature again.³ The will of God be fulfilled, and that which He hath ordained to be, ere the world was made : that come, and his glory reign over all !

“Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord, and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair ; but trust Him that is true of promise, and able to make His word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If, when we be buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God ; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that He laid down his life for us ; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified with Him ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working, whereby He is able even to subject all things unto him.

“Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may, at his coming, be made like to his immortal ; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, *they find NONE but that will ABJURE, rather than suffer the extremity.* Moreover, the death of them that come again, after they have *once denied*, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, *yet it is not glorious*, for the hypocrites say, ‘he must needs die ;’ denying (then) helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denied, five hundred times, but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and malice together, they speak with their mouths, that their conscience knoweth false.

“If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, *wholly and only*, to your loving Father ; then shall *his* power be in you, and make you strong, and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death ; and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out His truth by you,

³ Alluding to the divorce of Queen Katherine.

wonderfully, and work for you, above all that your heart can imagine : yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death.

“*Una salus iustis, nullam sperare salutem.*” [The only safety for the vanquished, is not to hope for safety.] To look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God, to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites : Yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin, for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come ; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thanks.

“Fear not the threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words : with which twain, the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart : No, though they be your *friends* that counsel you. *Let Bilney be a warning to you.* Let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember—*whatsoever ye shall ask in my Name, I will give it you,*—and pray to your Father, in that Name, and he shall ease your pain or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen. *William Tyndale.*”

He then adds the following postscript. “Two have suffered in Antwerp, unto the great glory of the Gospel ; (which must have been during his absence,) four at Rysels (Brussels ?) in Flanders, and at Lucca (or Luke—Laken ?) hath there one at least, and all the same day. At Roane (Rouen) in France they persecute, and at Paris are five doctors taken for the Gospel. See, you are not alone ; be cheerful, and remember, that among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace ; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's case. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his plenteousness, and fill you that may flow over. If when you have read this, you may send it to *Adrian*, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.⁴

“George Joye, at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed two leaves of Genesis, in a great form, and sent one copy to the King, and another to the *new Queen*, (Anne Boleyn,) with a letter to N. (Norris ?) for to deliver them ; and to purchase license, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this sprung the noise of the new Bible :⁵ and out of that is the great seeking for English books, at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English Priest that should print. This chanced the 9th day of May.

“Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered. *William Tyndale.*”

In both these letters the reader has beheld the ardent affection of Tyndale for his friend ; but see, in the last, how strong his supreme regard for the *truth of God!* The young man was dear to him as his own soul, yet had he prepared

⁴ One “John Byrt, alias *Adrian*, alias Bookbinder,” is mentioned by More. *Adrian* was friendly, and perhaps a binder of their books in England.

⁵ And hence, perhaps, also the mistake of some historians, that a Bible was printed in 1552 ; as well as the equally groundless conjecture, that these two leaves had any connexion with the Bible afterwards issued by Miles Coverdale. It was a proposal which came to nothing. Before long, Joye will have to retire from Antwerp, as well as Barrow.

his mind for the severe trial, and given him up, though now, evidently, in a state of great agitation; but it was one of breathless anxiety for the glory of God, and the subordinate glory of his friend's *character*, rather than his *life*. Tyndale was in that frame of mind, which no man, without a martyr's heart, such as he truly possessed, can fully appreciate; nor is the wife of the prisoner, to whom he had been but recently united, less to be admired. This letter, which was "delivered to Fryth in the Tower," must have proved most welcome; although, ere long, we shall find that, strengthened by the power and grace of his Redeemer, he had needed no *human* counsel to die with all the heroism of Stephen, the first martyr to Christianity.

Here, then, we must leave Tyndale for a season, and return to the field of battle in England.

Before the insidious and cruel proceedings against Fryth can be understood and felt, as they ought to be, the preceding events of this year require to be noticed.

Notwithstanding Henry's ardent thirst for dominion in all things, and his having been acknowledged Head of the Church of England, he still found that he was not able to make an *Archbishop*; at least such a one as the Prelates, and even the people, would at once acknowledge; and therefore he applies to *Rome* once more. This he must have done pretty early in January, since the Bulls for Crammer to succeed Warham are dated from the 21st of February to the 2d of March.⁶ These were not fewer than eleven, and all connected with this one appointment; the wonted charge for which had been 15,000 florins, or £3375; but, on this occasion, it is said, no more was demanded than 900 ducats! or £180! After all he had done in forwarding his Royal master's design as to his divorce, no man could be more objectionable to the Pontiff than Crammer; so that this compliance, and at so *low* a rate, must have been with some view to retain Henry; though assuredly Clement was now outwitted, or dreaming in forgetfulness of the thunder he had issued on the 23d of December, forbidding intercourse with Lady Anne Boleyn. In January, however, lo! *that* Bull arrived, when his Majesty, highly incensed, determined at once to put an end to the long debated question. This he did on the morning of St. Paul's day, or the 25th of January, by being married to Lady Anne Boleyn, Marchioness of Pembroke, and daughter to the Earl of Wiltshire. The ceremony was per-

⁶ Burnet, indeed, says it was in the *end* of January that the King applied to Clement. If so, it was immediately *after* his marriage; but the 22d of Feb., in return, seems to be inconsistent with so late a date.

formed in private, by Rowland Lee, one of the Royal Chaplains, afterwards Bishop of Chester. No distinct motive has been assigned for this privacy; but it is very easy to see one now, in the request sent to Rome, before the Pontiff's indignation was known. In the game now playing, few things could be more important, at this moment, to Henry, than Cranmer's elevation; but had Clement only divined what his Majesty was about, certainly no such Bulls had ever reached England. However, they did arrive safely—they exactly answered Henry's purpose and intentions—and were the *last* for which he ever applied. Cranmer was not present at this marriage, nor, by his own account, was he aware of it for about a fortnight.⁷

Of Lady Anne, we have hitherto taken no notice, nor do we even now refer to the very discordant statements respecting her. The fairest way will be to wait till we come to the close of her brief career, when we shall be better able to estimate a character which has been so differently represented.

We cannot affirm that there was any positive connexion between the marriage of Henry to Lady Anne Boleyn and the resignation of the Chancellorship by More; but still it is very observable, that the *next* day, or January 26th, Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, delivered it to the King; when his Majesty, retaining it only a quarter of an hour, re-delivered it to him, with the title of *Lord Chancellor*.⁸ Thus, though Sir Thomas More had resigned the Seals in May, he had been acting as an officer of the Crown till about this period.⁹ We have seen him, long after May, active in the pursuit and persecution of Fryth; but the mace being gone, he must now wield only the pen. It was the solitary instrument left him to carry on his warfare; and with this he continued more busy than ever, throughout the whole of this year.

This new appointment is worthy of notice, chiefly on one

⁷ It would be vain to look for principle in any part of Henry's progress; but it is curious enough, nor should it pass unnoticed, that in thus marrying Queen Anne, he was so far simply following the opinion and advice which had been given him by the PONTIFF himself, in January 1528, or precisely five years ago. "If the King," he had said, "found the matter clear in his own conscience, (in which no doctor in the whole world could resolve the matter better than the King himself,) he should, without more noise, make judgment be given, and marry another wife, and *then* send for a legate to confirm the matter. And it would be easier to ratify all, when it was *once done*, than to go on in a process from Rome."—Cotton MS., Vitellius, B. x., fol. 35. — *From Sir G. Casalis' Rome, 13th Jan. 1528.*

⁸ Rymer's *Fœd.*, xiv., p. 446.

⁹ The powers of a Lord-Keeper were not defined till the reign of Elizabeth, in the person of Sir N. Bacon. Lord-Keepers, at present, had no authority annexed—did not hear causes, nor preside in the House of Lords—so that Sir Thomas More had merely retired, last May, from putting the seals to such writs or patents as went in course.

account. An immediate *relaxation* took place as to Fryth, in his imprisonment. In the earlier stage of his confinement here was his situation—"I am, in a manner, as a man bound to a post, and cannot so well bestow me in my play, as if I were at liberty; for I may not have such books as are necessary for me; neither yet pen, ink, nor paper, but only secretly, so that I am in *continual fear* both of the Lieutenant and of my keeper, lest they should espy any such thing by me. And, therefore, it is little marvel though the work be imperfect; for whensoever I hear *the keys ring at the doors*, straight all must be conveyed out of the way—and then, if any notable thing had been in my mind, it was clean lost."¹⁰

But now, though Sir Thomas Audley was as much disposed to please Henry as any of the time-servers round his person, he felt and acted very differently from his predecessor, as to the "*new learning*;" and Crumwell, who perhaps had profited by the sound advice of Vaughan, is stated to have been disposed to show favour to the prisoner.¹¹ In short, had there been no deep and too successful intrigue afterwards employed, Fryth might have been permitted to depart from England. But still, in the meanwhile, there was a pause—a suspension of that violence and severity, which had run on during the reign of the last Chancellor. The very keeper of Fryth in the Tower greatly relaxed; and, "upon condition of his own word and promise, let him *go at liberty* during the *night*, to consult with good men." One happy result of all this was, that Fryth was enabled to write his full refutation of the Lord Chancellor, from the very Tower to which he had committed him, besides several other things, afterwards printed in his works.

Under these circumstances, Fryth was not idle, nor did Sir Thomas escape with impunity. "For though More wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did, and Fryth wrote plainly without any art; yet there is so great a difference between their books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple asserter of truth."¹² The palm for "wit and eloquence" has

¹⁰ In his answer to Rastell.

¹¹ See Vaughan's letters, *anno* 1531.

¹² Burnet; though he did not observe the intermission of rigour which we have pointed out. This continued from February to April inclusive, and the *books* quoted by Fryth. prove the fact.

been at once assigned to Sir Thomas, upon all occasions ; but if any one desires to see the “ eloquent orator ” and the “ simple assertor of truth ” in contrast, he has only to consult Fryth, who certainly does him justice, by quoting the eloquence, verbatim, such as it was, before he confutes it—

“ Fryth, the young man, ‘ teacheth in a few leaves shortly, all the poison that Wickliffe, Ecolampadius, Huskyn, Tyndale, and Zuinglius have taught in all their books before, concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar ; not only affirming it to be very bread still, as Luther doth, but also, as *these other beasts* do, saith it is *nothing else*.’—These dregs hath he drunken of Wickliffe, Ecolampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius, and so hath all that he argueth here before ; which four, what manner folk they be, is meetly well perceived and known, and God hath in part, with his *open vengeance*, declared.”

To this Fryth immediately gives the following memorable answer—

“ I do neither affirm nor deny any thing, because *Luther* so saith, but because the Scripture of God doth so conclude and determine. I take not *Luther* for such an author that I think he cannot err ; but I think verily that he both may err, and doth err, in certain points, although *not* in such as concern salvation and damnation ; for in these, blessed be God ! all these, whom ye call heretics, do agree right well. And likewise, I do not allow this thing, because Wickliffe, Ecolampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius, so say, but because I see them in that place more purely expound the Scripture, and that the process of the text doth more favour their sentence.—And where ye say that it is ‘ meetly well known what manner [of] folk they be,’—After vindicating the other three individually, he adds, as to his dearest friend upon earth :—

“ And TYNDALE, I trust, liveth, well content with such a poor Apostle’s life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many *mites* as ye be yearly of *pounds* ; although I am sure that, for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth thus—‘ I call God to record, &c.’¹³ Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin ; howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart.”

Thus, the one in exile, and the other in prison, testify to the blameless integrity of each other ; though no two men were so despised and respected, so hated and beloved, in the age in which they lived. We quote only one other specimen of the Chancellor’s style, since it is in immediate connexion with the Sacred Scriptures.

¹³ See the letter itself, page 349.

“And would God for his mercy,” saith M. More, “that since there can *nothing* refrain their study from devising and compassing of evil and ungracious writing; that they *would and could keep it so secretly* that never man should see it, but such as are so far corrupted as never would be cured of their canker!” To which Fryth rejoins:—

“It is not possible for him that hath his eyes, and seeth his brother which lacketh sight, in jeopardy of perishing at a perilous pit, but that he must come to him, and guide him, till he is past that jeopardy; and at the least wise, if he cannot come to him, yet will he call and cry to him, to cause him choose the better way, except his heart be *cankered* with the contagion of such hatred, that he can rejoice in his brother’s destruction. And even so, is it not possible for us, which have received the knowledge of God’s Word, but that we must cry and call to others, that they leave the perilous paths of their own foolish fantasies; and do that only to the Lord, that He commandeth them,—neither adding anything, or diminishing. And therefore, until we see some means found, by the which a reasonable reformation may be had on the one part, and *sufficient instruction for the poor commoners*, I assure you, *I neither will nor can cease to speak*; for the Word of God boileth in my body like a fervent fire, and will needs have issue, and breaketh out when occasion is given.

“*But this hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God, I mean the text of Scripture, may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues, and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write NO MORE: If you will not grant this condition, then will we be doing, WHILE WE HAVE BREATH, and show in few words that the Scripture doth in many; and so, at the least, save some.*”

In his progress, Fryth not only defended his opinions by express quotations of Scripture, with a clear interpretation of their meaning; but he went on by quoting Tertullian and Augustine, Origen and Ambrose, Jerome and Chrysostom, Fulgentius and Eusebius, &c. These he gives in Latin, with a translation in English; bringing forward “all these *old* doctors, that his opponents might be ashamed” from henceforth to call it “*new learning.*” All the Prelates, therefore, with “Mr. More, which taketh upon him to be their proctor,” were called upon now to speak out and answer, if it was a question to be settled by fair reasoning; and they were specially bound to have done so by the manner in which Fryth summed up his arguments at the close. Besides, the pointed strictures of Tyndale had also arrived in England: but there could be no *answer*, properly so called, though More will not refrain from some reply.¹⁴

But we have still to trace the events that immediately preceded the cruel but glorious martyrdom of this fine young

¹⁴ The foolish remarks printed by one John Gwinnett, upon Fryth’s learning, *after* his death, are totally unworthy of notice.

man: one of which, or the furious opposition to Henry's late marriage, by the base and perfidious use made of it, through Stephen Gardiner, became the remote occasion of his death.

About the day on which Cranmer was informed of the King's marriage, Parliament was opened, or on the 4th of February; so that he must have perfectly understood the purport and design of a bill then introduced, and passed into an Act, "against all appeals to Rome." The preamble bears, that the crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, with full power to give justice in all cases spiritual and temporal,—that all causes, whether relating to the *King*, or any of his subjects were to be determined *within* the kingdom, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or "*inhibitions* or *Bulls from it.*" There was here no disguise; both Houses of Parliament had thus declared for Henry and shielded him, as well as prevented Queen Katherine, so cruelly used, from moving one step. Whatever she had done, or could now do, was thus rendered altogether in vain.

This act too, it should be observed, was discussing and passed during that very season, when the King was in waiting for Bulls from Clement, without which Cranmer's appointment might have been disputed or withstood; or without which, at all events, he could not so triumphantly have taken his seat. But the documents waited for, arrived in March, and they were then employed to answer their intended purpose, in a way sufficiently contemptuous to the beguiled Pontiff, and with what credit to the parties concerned, let the reader judge.

That a perfect understanding already existed between the King and Cranmer as to the entire procedure, will be very evident. Henry could not, as has been supposed by some, be now in any hesitation, as to his own singular supremacy, for in this he boasted, and expressed it roundly with his own hand;¹⁵ and Cranmer, more than a month before this, was resolved to be Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁶ But here the first difficulty presented itself, which must be surmounted. The Bulls were sent, of course, to Cranmer, but he cannot receive them from the Pontiff, and therefore hands them to his Majesty. These Bulls involved a customary oath, nay two, to the Pontiff; the very *same* about which Henry had been so furious with all the Bishops, from Warham downwards; since that, having taken them, "they were," it had been said, "but half his subjects and he half their King!" Cranmer had set out in his career by denying the authority of Rome, merely in a case which he imagined the law of God had decided; but now he denied the authority of the Pontiff altogether, and more particularly in the appointment to any office in the

¹⁵ Harl. MS., No. 263, fol. 97.

¹⁶ Cotton MS., Vespas. F. xlii., fol. 75. This original letter to Crumwell is dated as early as 24th February and subscribed,—*Thomas Elect of Canterbury.*

Church. Nothing of course could be more palatable to his Majesty than such a sentiment ; but how was this oath or these oaths to be disposed of, if the Bulls cannot, or must not be laid aside ? Henry then consulted the *Canonists*, particularly one Dr. Oliver, "how he might bestow the Archbishopric, salving Cranmer's conscience !" They suggested that Cranmer should take a protestation *against* the oath, *before he took it*, by which expedient, he might save his liberty, nay renounce every clause of it, and by this *salvo*, he might afterwards do his duty to God, his King and country ! Strange to say, with this Cranmer was satisfied, and proceeded ! But it is more than strange, that he should have found apologists, to the present day, for such a step. As no sophistry can justify it, so it is allowing partiality for any man to proceed much too far to palliate the proceeding.¹⁷ If upon application to Rome, no such protestation could *then* be sent, the protestation at home being private or public, was a matter of moonshine, except it had been immediately sent to Clement, who *imposed* the oaths, and time allowed to know whether all the documents were to stand good. But no such course would have carried the day, or met the urgency and haste of the impetuous Monarch ; so that the entire proceeding was worthy of the days of Wolsey.

As for Cranmer himself, "if any man may vary the meaning of an oath which he takes, to something different from its verbal terms, of what use is an oath ?"¹⁸ Besides, the step was ominous, and led to others, as we shall see too soon. "This first deviation from integrity, as is almost always the case, drew after it many others ; and began that discreditable course of temporising, and undue compliance, to which this prelate was reduced for the rest of Henry's reign."¹⁹

Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury on the 30th of March, and three days after entered the Convocation then sitting. The points on which the divorce of the King were made to hinge, had been discussed, or rather fixed, two years ago, so that it was only for the sake of some new form, that on the 26th of March, they had tabled the subject once more ; though considering what Henry had actually done, two months be-

¹⁷ "If," says Burnet, "Cranmer did not wholly save his integrity, yet he intended to act *fairly and above board*." But replies Collyer,—"To act *above board* is not always defensible : it is sometimes an aggravation of a fault. Besides, how a man can act *fairly* and yet *not* save his integrity, is farther than I can discover. And therefore, it must be said there was something of human infirmity in this management." But of the amount of human infirmity, let the reader judge for himself. In his protestation, he declared that he *intended not* to bind himself to do *any* thing contrary to the King's prerogative,—the commonwealth and *statutes* ; nor from speaking freely as to the reformation and the government of the Church of England. And then he took the oaths,—promising, "from this hour forward I shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and the Church of Rome. The papacy of Rome and *regalities* of St. Peter I shall help, *retain*, and defend against *all men*,—the rights, honours, privileges and authorities of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be conserved, *augmented*, and promoted. I shall not be in counsel *against* him—heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy Father, I shall resist and persecute. I shall not sell my possessions without the Pope's Council. So God me help and the holy evangelists !" Compare all this, too, with the Acts already passed in Parliament. And yet has it actually been averred, that "the oath and the protest are *quite consistent* with each other !" And that in a modern publication, widely circulated.

¹⁸ Turner.

¹⁹ Hallam.

fore, nothing could be so preposterous. After Cranmer had taken his seat, on the 2d of April, the discussion went on, and the subject again settled, a public instrument was drawn up for the King's satisfaction. To carry on this strange drama, on the 11th of April, Cranmer writes a letter to his Majesty.

"That whereas your Grace's great cause of matrimony is, as it is thought, through all Christianity (Christendom) divulgated, and in the mouths of the rude and ignorant common people of this your Grace's realm so talked of, that few of them do fear to report and say, that thereof is likelihood hereafter to ensue great inconvenience, danger, and peril, to this your Grace's realm, and much uncertainty of succession; by which things the said *ignorant* people be not a little offended."²⁰ He then implores the King that he, as Archbishop, may proceed, officially, to such measures as may put an end to all this murmuring.

The answer to this was immediate, a long and formal letter, in which his Majesty highly applauds Cranmer's "good mind and fervent zeal to do *justice*, according to his office."²¹ "The answer of the King," says Todd, "was in perfect accordance with the primate's suggestion; in which he forgot not to maintain the supremacy,—saying that being your King and Sovereign we do recognise no superior on earth, but only God, not being subject to the laws of any earthly creature; yet because you be under us, by God's calling and our's, the most principal minister of our spiritual jurisdiction within this our realm, we will not therefore refuse your humble request."

The outrageous absurdity of these proceedings must, however, it seems, be preserved in perfect keeping; and, therefore, on the *self-same day* on which Henry received this letter from Cranmer, he allows not the day to close, without taking another step in advance. "Queen Anne that evening went in state to her closet openly as Queen," says Halle; "on Easter Eve (12th of April) she was declared Queen of England," says Burnet; and the coronation was fixed for the 1st of June: so that Cranmer must now proceed to sit in judgment, whether the first marriage was null and void, after the second had been thus openly acknowledged! Meanwhile application had been made to Queen Katherine, to lay aside her title as Queen, since there could not be two Queens in one realm, but Sir T. Vaux informed the Duke of Norfolk on the 18th of April, that to this she would on no account accede.²² On the 23d, Henry was keeping the day of St. George at Greenwich, "fully attended by lords and knights, with all solace and pleasure," and Cranmer had gone down to repose a few days at his "manor of Mortlocke," before

²⁰ Harleian MS., 6144, fol. 2.

²¹ Idem, 243, fol. 97. These letters are printed in the Government State Papers, vol. i., p. 390, 392. Henry's reply is to Cranmer's *second* letter, for it is curious enough that Cranmer, all-compliant, had to write *two* letters on the *same* day. The first had not pleased his Majesty. There must be no reference to the *laws of holy Church*, as in the first letter, but only to Henry's own *supremacy*, as in the second. This last, only, is that which is inserted by Cranmer's Secretary in his book of copies; but both the manuscripts bear the marks of having been *folded, and sealed, and received*, by the King. In short, no previous concert between two parties was ever more glaring.

²² MS. Otho, c. x., fol. 177.

proceeding to hold his court at Dunstable, to which Katherine was to be summoned. But lo! on Sunday the 1st of May, a storm of great violence burst out, in his Majesty's presence, and from the pulpit, at Greenwich.

The Observant Friars of Greenwich, Richmond, and Canterbury, were generally in favour of Queen Katherine, but the contending opinions had been discussed, with as much bitterness on both sides, within the monastery at Greenwich, as any where else, although the inmates dwelt immediately under Henry's own eye. Thus, Robinson, the father of the monastery, of whom we have heard,²³ was eager to have preached openly at Paul's Cross, in favour of Queen Katherine; but the preacher on the 1st of May was her own confessor, Friar Peto. Though in the King's Chapel, the preacher, pretending a divine commission, denounced heavy judgments upon Henry to his face—told him that his second marriage was unlawful, adding, that many lying prophets had deceived him, and that it was the greatest misery of princes to be daily so abused by flatterers. The King it is said, betrayed no signs of commotion, but took care that another man should officiate next Sunday, to justify his proceedings. This was Dr. Curwin, then one of the Royal Chaplains.²⁴ He defended the King, and condemned Peto as a rebel, a slanderer, and a traitor—called out for Peto by name, and challenged him to defend his intemperate discourse. There was no reply; when Curwin denounced him for cowardice. But here, again, another Friar, Elstow, stood up in the gallery, and proceeded to justify all that his brother had said. The fact was, that whether from fear, or designing to follow up his denunciations, Peto had gone to attend a provincial council (of their order) at Canterbury, for there was a confederacy among the Friars to preach in the same strain through the kingdom. Elstow then spoke with such vehemence, that no one could silence him, till the King rose, and commanded him to hold his peace. The next day, both these men were summoned before the Privy Council, and severely reprimanded. The Monastery of Greenwich did not long survive, and these Franciscan Observant Friars, with all the rest of their order, were shortly after banished the kingdom.²⁵

It was, however, about this period, if not on the very same 8th day of May, that Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, succeeded with his cruel and malicious counsel. An excellent scholar, though a bad

²³ See the letter of West, p. 207.

²⁴ He was afterwards made Dean of Hereford; then *Archbishop of Dublin* by Queen Mary, and, ultimately, at his own request, *Bishop of Oxford*, under Elizabeth.

²⁵ Peto, though obliged to fly, afterwards returned, and was Confessor to Katherine's daughter, Queen Mary. He was ultimately made a Cardinal, but never allowed, in that character, to enter England; as one Cardinal was thought quite sufficient for England, viz. Mary's own cousin, Reginald Pole. There seems to have been an inhibition of "seditious preaching concerning the King's marriage" after this, which was repeated next year. Strype alludes to the former in his life of Cranmer, and the latter may be seen in the *Hart. MS.*, 6140, fol. 20.

man, he had actually been one of the tutors of Fryth, when at Cambridge, and now he most craftily plotted his death. No man was better acquainted with Henry's temper than Gardiner. He knew as well how to excite his wrath, as to calm the storm of his fury.²⁶ Fryth had been examined in Winchester's house as early as December last, and yet since January treated with greater lenity. So at a fit season for infusing violent counsel, Gardiner and others "devised," says Foxe, "to seek the destruction of Fryth, by putting the King in remembrance that the said Fryth was in the Tower there stayed." Curwin, therefore, thus instigated, "very sore inveighing against the Sacramentaries," (as they them termed,) he brake out thus far and said,—“It is no marvel though this abominable heresy do much prevail amongst us; for there is *one* now in the Tower of London, so bold as to write in the defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation”—meaning John Fryth. This was all-sufficient. Fryth was long and well known to the King, who, so far from yet approving of his sentiments, was, adds Foxe, “a perverse stout adversary.” After this, Henry ordered Cranmer and Crumwell “forthwith to call Fryth into examination, so that he might either be compelled to recant, or else *by the law to suffer condign punishment.*”²⁷

But there was one cause for delay, paramount to all other orders. The affairs personal to his Majesty must, of course, be first hastened; though it was certainly a singular circumstance, that the sentiments and present painful condition of this eminent young man, should have crossed even the royal path, and at such a moment as this.

On the very same day that Curwin was preaching at Greenwich, Cranmer came to Dunstable, with his assistants, where they remained fifteen days.²⁸ In the Priory there, within four miles of Queen Katherine, they held their court. It opened on the 10th, and closed on the 23d of May. The Queen was summoned, and the proceedings were reported, from time to time, both to Henry and Crumwell. The King was anxious,

²⁶ Gardiner's character has been graphically summed up by an old writer in the Harleian MS. His eminences were three, 1. Reservedness; 2. Boldness; 3. Floquence. *Reservedness*. Whereby he never did what he aimed at—never aimed at what he intended—never intended what he said—and never said what he intended: whereby he carried it so, that *others* should do *his* business, when they opposed it; and he should undermine theirs, when they seemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew. If you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not.

²⁷ *Stowe's Annals*, anno 1533. Foxe, App. at the end of his Acts. Foxe represents Curwin's sermon as being in Lent. But Cranmer was not Archbishop till the fifth Sunday in Lent, and so late as the 11th of April he was applying to Henry, for the *first* time, to act officially; and therefore he could not have been *so* commanded by the King till after this. Besides, Burnet speaks of Fryth being apprehended in *May*, which, though not correct, evidently points to the very time of this sermon: and, as Stowe expressly says—"the next Sunday, being the 8th of May, Dr. Curwin preached in the same place;" we presume that Friars and Sacramentaries were involved in the same tirade. It was a fine opportunity for Gardiner's purpose: and so we shall find Fryth's examination commence, as soon as Cranmer could find a spare day; when, however, notwithstanding what Foxe here states, Crumwell was *not* present.

²⁸ Harl. MS. 6148, fol. 23. The assistants were Longland, Gardiner, six Doctors, including *Oliver*, with Redell and others, as Counsellors for the King.

so was Crumwell, and as for the court, it evidently sat in a state of apprehension from day to day; since the coronation of Queen Anne was fixed for the first of June. Seldom has the Judge trembled lest the party summoned should appear, but whether Cranmer did so, his own words to Crumwell, on the 17th of May, will best explain.

“For divers considerations I do think it right *expedient*, that the matter and the process of the same be kept *secret* for a time; therefore, I pray you to make no relation thereof, as I know well you will not. For if the noble lady Catherine should, by the bruit of this matter in the mouths of the inhabitants of the country, or by her friends or counsel hearing of this bruit, be counselled or persuaded to appear *afore me in the time, or afore the time of sentence*, I should be thereby greatly *stayed and let* in the process, and the King's Grace's counsel here present shall be *much uncertain* what shall be then farther done therein. For a great bruit and voice of the people in this behalf, might perchance move her to do that thing herein, which peradventure she would not do, if she shall hear little of it. And, therefore, I pray you to *speak as little of this matter as ye may, and to move the King's highness likewise so to do*, for the considerations above recited.”²⁹

But the Archbishop might have been perfectly calm and collected, had he only known; for Catherine was determined never to yield, and more especially never to acknowledge *his* authority as an Archbishop.

On the 23d, Cranmer pronounced, not a sentence of divorce, properly so called, but a judicial sentence, that the marriage of Henry to Catherine had been void from the beginning, being, as they said, contrary to the Divine law. On the 28th, at Lambeth, he judicially confirmed the King's recent marriage, and from the 29th, to Sunday the first of June, London and Westminster were filled with all the pageantry of the coronation.

An official conference was held with Catherine after this, on the third of July,³⁰ and another in the following year, but they were alike in vain.³¹

Ten days had not elapsed after Queen Anne's coronation, before Cranmer, in servile obedience to his royal Master, must proceed with a widely different scene. The martyrdom of Fryth has never been sufficiently marked in English history, as there are several points of distinction between it and any *preceding* act of cruelty, in Henry's reign. In 1530, it is true, he had fully authorised a fiery persecution, but to this measure he had been strongly advised by the last Lord Chan-

²⁹ Cotton MS. Otho, c. x. 166.

³⁰ Harl. MS., No. 283, fol. 112, b.

³¹ At this last, on the 20th May 1534, Tunstal and Lec being sent to her again, officially, Catherine intimated with great warmth, that she still accounted herself his Majesty's lawful wife, “in which opinion she would persist till death,” that “she would never leave the name of Queen”—and, as they reported to Henry—“My Lord of Canterbury she called a *shallow*.” Collyer has dated this letter, by mistake, 1533. See Government State Papers, vol. i., p. 419.

cellor ; and the cruelties ensuing had never commenced with him, nor had he yet personally sanctioned the last sentence of the law. Bilney and Bayfield, Tewksbury and Bennet, had been first seized and examined by the Bishops, and then put to death without any writ from his Majesty. The statute of Henry IV., and the warrant of Sir Thomas More, had been regarded as sufficient, and Henry only did not interpose. But Sir Thomas had now retired, and Chancellor Audley was not a persecutor. The examination of Fryth was Henry's own deed, and though the blood of the innocent was already upon him, so far as explained, he now first degraded himself personally to the rank of a Murderer.

The importance attached to this reckless proceeding may be seen, in the eminence of the parties expressly appointed by the King to examine Fryth. These were Cranmer, Gardiner, and Stokesly, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, or Henry's own brother-in-law, and the Earl of Wiltshire. The story altogether, is one of the most affecting, and graphic, in the history of the times.

“ Fryth's long confinement in the Tower, without examination, was so heinously taken of the King, that now my Lord of Canterbury with other Bishops and other learned men, were at once appointed to examine him. And for that there should be *no concourse of citizens* at the said examination : my Lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the Commissioners. Now, before the day of examination appointed, my Lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebean, a Welshman born, to fetch John Fryth from the Tower to Croydon. This gentleman had both my Lord's letters, and *the King's ring*, unto my Lord Fitzwilliams, (first Earl of Southampton) constable of the Tower, (then living in Cannon Row, at Westminster, in extreme anguish and pain from a disorder,) for the delivery of the prisoner. Fitzwilliams, more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my Lord's gentleman was come, damned and cursed Fryth and other heretics, saying—‘ Take this my ring unto the Lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man, your heretic, with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him.’

“ When Fryth was delivered to my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman, they twain with Perlebean, sitting in a wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth : the said gentleman, much lamenting in his mind, the infelicity of the said Fryth, began in this wise to exhort him—‘ To consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in this world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet, though his cause was never so dangerous, he might somewhat, in relenting to authority, and so giving place for a time, both help himself out of trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause, which he then went about to defend : declaring farther, that he had *many* wellwillers and friends, which would stand on his side, so far forth as possible they then were able, and *durst* do : Adding hereunto, that it were great pity, that he, being

of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek ; both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient doctors ; should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his *wife and children*, and others, his kinsfolk and friends.—‘This I am sure of,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘that my Lord Crumwell, and my Lord of Canterbury, much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood to be a most profitable member of this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, *if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel*. On the other side, if you stand stiff to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life. For like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies.’”

Such was the commencement of those “sweet words,” to which Tyndale had alluded, and of which he had given such solemn warning ; but there was no occasion. Fryth felt the solemnity and importance of his position, to a degree such as no man in England had ever yet reached.

“‘I most heartily thank you,’ quoth Master Fryth, ‘both for your good will, and for your counsel, by the which I well perceive that you mean well unto me. Howbeit, my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I may not, nor cannot for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside, and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the Supper of the Lord, or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar : for if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not so unfurnished, either of Scripture or ancient doctors, schoolmen or others, for my defence ; so that if I may be indifferently (impartially) heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me, or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me, St. Augustine and the most part of the old writers ; yea, the very Bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my cause.’

“‘Yea, marry,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘you say well, *if* you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Master, Christ, was not indifferently heard ; nor should be, as I think, if He were now present again in the world, specially in this your opinion ; the same being so odious in the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof.’

“‘Well, well,’ quoth Fryth then unto the gentleman,—‘I know very well that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, which I hold and have opened contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested, both of the clergy and laity thereof. But this I will say to you, (taking the gentleman by the hand,) that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion : namely, the whole estate of the same, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein : and if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue.

“‘Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable unto my friends. I grant, that for a small time it would be so ; but if I should so

mollify, qualify, and temper my cause, in such sort as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small unquietness, both of body and mind. And, therefore, all things well and rightly pondered, my *death* in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what He hath to do with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend, and *not my own*; from the which I assuredly do intend, God willing, *never to start, or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life.*'

"This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Fryth had, coming in the wherry on the Thames, from the Tower to Lambeth.

"Now when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Fryth went forward towards Croydon, (nearly ten miles) on foot. This gentleman still lamenting with himself, the hard and cruel destiny of Fryth, if he once came among the Bishops; and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Fryth, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands; and therefore, considering that there were no more persons there, to convey the prisoner, but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose.

"Said the gentleman to Perlebean, (walking by themselves without the hearing of Fryth),—'You have heard this man I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower?'—'Yea, that I have, right well,' quoth the porter, 'and I never heard so constant a man, nor so eloquent a person.'—'You have heard *nothing*,' quoth the gentleman, 'in respect of both his knowledge and eloquence; if he might liberally (freely) either in university or pulpit declare his learning. You would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age in all kind of learning, and knowledge of tongues, as this realm never yet, in mine opinion, brought forth. And yet those singular gifts in him, are no more considered of *our Bishops*, than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil therefore, and covet utterly to extinguish him as a member of the Devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts.'

"'Marry,' quoth the porter, 'if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage, both comely and amiable, and of natural dispositions, gentle, meek, and humble, it were pity he should be cast away.'³²

"'Cast away,' quoth the gentleman, 'he shall be sure cast away, if we once bring him to Croydon; and surely,' said he, 'before God I speak it, if thou, Perlebean, were of my mind we would *never* bring him thither.'—'Say you so?' quoth the porter: 'I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am, in this matter; and therefore, if you can devise honestly, or find some reasonable excuse, whereby we may let him go, and provide for himself, I will, with all my heart, condescend to your device.'—'As for that,' quoth the gentleman, 'it is already invented how, and which ways, he shall convey himself, without any great danger or displeasure taken towards us, as the matter shall be handled. You see, quoth the gentleman, yonder hill before us, named Bristow (Brixton) Causeway, (three miles from London,) there are great woods on both sides: when we come there, we will permit Fryth to go into the woods on the *left* hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into Kent among his friends, for he

³² The porter only agrees with general report.—that Fryth was a fine looking young man, of good manners, and amiable dispositions; while foes and friends agreed as to his superior attainments in learning.

is a Kentish man ; and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or two about the highway, until that it draw towards the night. Then, in great haste, we will approach to Streatham, which is a mile and a half farther on, and make an outcry in the town, that our prisoner is broken from us into the woods on the *right* hand, towards Wandsworth, so that we shall draw as many as we may, to search the country *that way* for our prisoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods, because we had no more company : And so we will, rather than fail, lie out one night in searching for him, and send word from Streatham, to my Lord of Canterbury at Croydon, in the evening, of the prisoner's escape, and to what coast he has fled. So that by the morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will so provide for himself that the Bishops shall fail of their purpose.'—'I assure you,' quoth Perlebean, 'I like very well the device herein ; and therefore, go ye to Fryth, and declare *that* we have devised for his delivery, for now we are almost at the place.'

"When my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with Fryth, and calling him by his name said—'Now, Master Fryth, let us twain commune together another while. You must consider that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you unto Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, and, as it were, overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little mind what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion's mouth. And yet, yonder good fellow and I have devised a means, whereby you may both *easily* escape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion.'"

One cannot conceive of *any* gentleman going so far as this, without some understanding with those *above* him, or good security that the escape would be winked at. Crumwell and Cranmer might wish that Fryth were *out of the way*, but the man first apprehended by More, was, as a Christian, of a superior grade to any who had yet suffered. He could be no party to falsehood, of which high and low made so little account ; to say nothing of his now regarding himself as *set* for the defence of the truth.

"When Fryth had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, with a smiling countenance—'Is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long, between you twain ? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this. For if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon, declaring to the Bishops, that you had lost Fryth ; I would surely follow as fast after as I might, and bring them news, that I had found and brought Fryth again. Do you think,' said he, 'that I am afraid to declare my opinion to the *Bishops of England* in a manifest truth ?'

"'You are a foolish man,' quoth the gentleman, 'thus to talk ; as though your reasoning with *them* might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to fly the realm, before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself !'

"'There was, and is, a great diversity of escaping, between the one and the other,' said Fryth. 'Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was

not attached, but at liberty—which liberty I would *fain* have enjoyed, (for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue,) according to St. Paul's counsel. Howbeit, *now*, being taken by the higher powers, and, as it were, by Almighty God's permission and providence, delivered into the hands of the Bishops, only for religion and doctrine's sake, such as in conscience, and under pain of damnation I am bound to maintain and defend: If I should now start aside, and run away—I should run from my God, and from the testimony of his holy Word—worthy then of a thousand hells. And, therefore, I most heartily thank you both, for your good will toward me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, for else *I will go thither all alone.*' And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time with pleasant and godly communication, until they came to Croydon, where for that night he was well entertained in the *Porter's lodge*.

“On the morrow he was called before certain Bishops and other learned men, sitting in commission with the Lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he shewed himself passing ready and ripe, in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly, and contrary to all men's expectations. His allegations, both out of Augustine, and other ancient fathers of the Church, were such, that some of them much doubted of Augustine's authority in that behalf: insomuch that it was reported, by them who were nigh and about the Archbishop of Canterbury, that when they had finished their examination, the Archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath, privately between themselves, said—‘This man hath wonderfully laboured in this matter, and yet, in mine opinion, he taketh the doctors amiss.’—‘Well, my Lord,’ said Dr. Heath, ‘there is no man who can do away his authorities from Augustine.’ He then began to repeat them again, inferring and applying them so strongly, that my Lord said—‘I see that you, with a little more study, will easily be brought to Fryth's opinion.’³³

“This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say and do in his cause, there was *no man willing* to prefer him to answer in *open* disputation.”

Here, therefore, a pause, of several days, ensued; which Cranmer himself helps us to explain. What we have already narrated had taken place between the 10th and 15th of June, and before the 17th, Fryth had been sent back to London. After his examinations were over, and before his return to London, Cranmer had called for him repeatedly, and tried to turn him, but in vain, and the Archbishop must now speak for himself. On the 17th he writes a long letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, his successor, as ambassador, at the Emperor's court; in which it must be confessed that he seems far more elated by

³³ Nicholas Heath or Hethe, poor man, though once praised by Melanethon, halted between two opinions all his days. Now a parson in Sussex, he was successively Bishop of Rochester and Worcester, under Henry VIII. He was deprived under Edward VI. but, under Mary, became Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, and as such signed the writ for *Cranmer's* execution! Cranmer, on the other hand, was more open to conviction, though it was not till fourteen years after this, or 1547, when he was signally indebted to the writings of the very man whom he is now fain to consign to Stokesley.

“the gorgeous and sumptuous” display at the Queen’s coronation, than depressed by the tragedy, in which, immediately afterwards, he had also played his part. Of the former he gives a long and minute account; descending to the guns fired—the dresses worn—the order of cavalcade. “Now, then, on Sunday, (1st June,) was the coronation,” when he, with six Bishops and twelve Abbots “all revestred in their pontificalibus, with their crosses and crosiers, walked in procession into the church of Westminster,” where “I did put the crown upon her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*.” It is in this very letter, after finishing his account, that Fryth is introduced, and in the following terms:—

“Other news have we none notable, but that *one* Fryth, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the King’s Grace to be examined before me, my Lord of London, my Lord of Winchester, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord of Wiltshire—whose opinion was so notably erroneous, that we could not despatch him, but was *fain* to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, which is (*Stokesly*) the Bishop of London. His said opinion is of such nature that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of Ecolampadius. And surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that his imagination, but for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel. Notwithstanding now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my Lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the *fire*. And there is also condemned with him, one Andrew (Hewet,) a tailor of London, for the said selfsame opinion.” He then turns to other secular affairs, dating his letter, “from my manor of Croydon the 17th day of June.”

Surely Cranmer could scarcely intend to speak contemptuously; but a new made Archbishop, who had just been crowning a Queen, when writing to an Ambassador and telling the story, might imagine that “*one* Fryth,” was only in good keeping with such high affairs; though in the lips of Cranmer, to say the least, it was an unfortunate slip of the pen; as if *he* had never heard of him before, and his friend as little! “*One* Fryth,”—the Eton scholar of King’s College, Cambridge; the Canon selected for Cardinal College, Oxford, when Cranmer declined; the man known to Wolsey, whom the King himself and Cromwell, and foreign agents, had been so eager to decoy into England; the same man whom the late Lord Chancellor pursued with such eagerness till he caught him; who had just overthrown his lordship in argument, and now silenced the Bishops, including Cranmer himself; in short

the bosom friend and associate of Tyndale, who had agitated the councils of England, before Thomas Cranmer was known ; but enough. Only it had been well for "one Cranmer," had he ever exhibited the same undaunted fortitude, and died a death so glorious and unsullied, as that of "one Fryth."

Notwithstanding what the primate had here said, it was not till three days after, or Friday the 20th of June, that Fryth came to his final appearance before the Bishops of London, (Stokesly,) Lincoln, (Longland,) and Winchester, (Gardiner,) in St. Paul's. His constancy, self-possession and Christian fortitude never forsook him for one moment ; and when the question was finally put, whether he would subscribe his answers, he took up the pen, and with his own hand wrote these words—*"Ego Frithus ita sentio, et quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asservi et affirmavi,"* &c.—*"I, Fryth, thus do think, and as I think, so have I said, written, defended and avowed, and in my books have published."*

Sentence being passed, and read against him, by Stokesly, he was handed over to the Mayor and Sheriffs. By them he was committed to Newgate, and put into a dark dungeon under the gate. There, laden with irons, as many as he could bear, and his neck made fast to a post, with a collar of iron, he could neither stand upright, nor stoop down ! Yet even here, by candle-light, for no other came into the place, was he continually engaged in writing ; the letter to his friends, concerning his troubles, which was afterwards printed in his works, being his first effort.

Such was the power of Fryth's example, that another individual, Andrew Hewet, (also betrayed by Holt, the miscreant already mentioned,) who had been first examined in April, and was now brought up again, resolved to follow his steps. The Bishops used many persuasions to allure him from the truth, but in vain. His heart was one with Fryth's, and he told them firmly, that he would do as he had done. He was therefore condemned.

And now at the last, that Henry might have his full share of the guilt and shame of such a martyrdom, on the 3d of July it was noted to him, officially, by Stokesly, sealed with his own seal, how the matter stood,—but there was *no* reply, and therefore full consent ! Next morning Fryth and his companion were led forth to Smithfield.

Being both bound to the stake "there was present," says Foxe, "one Dr. Cooke, that was parson of the Church called All-hallows, in Honey-lane, situate in the midst of Cheapside.³⁴ The said Cooke made open exclamation, and admonished the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, any more than they would for a *dog*. At these words, Fryth, smiling, prayed the Lord to forgive him! The Doctor's words, however, "did not a little move the people to anger, and not without cause. The wind made his death somewhat longer, as it bore away the flame from him to his fellow; but Fryth's mind was established with such patience, that, as though he had felt no pain, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself!" This painful event was felt and lamented far and near; and in fact it marks an *era*, which will be noticed more particularly, after we have briefly glanced at foreign affairs for the next six months.

The King of England having, as we have seen, so strangely employed the Bulls of Clement sent to *Cranmer*, in such a way as to suit his own immediate purpose, while he had treated that against *himself* with contempt and defiance, the reader may naturally wish to know what was the result abroad.

So early as the 17th of June, Cranmer, immediately after he had informed Hawkins respecting John Fryth, tells him that the Duke of Norfolk, the Prime Minister; Lord Rochford, the brother of Queen Anne; Sir Francis Bryan, Sir A. Brown, with Drs. Goodrich, Aldrich, and Thirlby, had been sent as ambassadors to the King of France—"and, as I suppose, they go from him to the Pope," to Marseilles. In July, Hawkins obtained one conference with the Emperor, but he remained inflexible. "The matter was none of his;"—but "she," Queen Catherine, "was his aunt, and an orphan. He must see for her, and her daughter was his cousin." The envoy, therefore, soon after returned to England.

In June, probably before he knew *all* that had occurred in England, the Pontiff was eager to keep *both* Henry and the Emperor satisfied, if possible, but the latter had the entire control, and became urgent; so that, by the 11th of July, Clement annulling at once the judgment given by Cranmer, a provisional excommunication of Henry was issued, unless he separated from his new Queen before September, or, at the

³⁴ The identical spot to which the enemy first ran to search after heretical books and Tyndale's Testaments! see anno 1526. And here is the successor of Forman and Garret, who once ministered there. It is, however, remarkable that this man, Laurence Cooke, resigned in June 1537, when *Garret* again succeeded, and as Rector, where he remained till *his* martyrdom in 1540. — *Reg. Stokesly et Bonner.*

latest, by the end of October. The King then recalled the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Rochford from France, and, on the 30th of the same month, signed an appeal from the condemnation of the Pope to a *General Council*. It so happened that the Duke of Orleans, a boy of fifteen, the second son of Francis, was about to be married at Marseilles, to Catharine de Medici, the niece of Clement, when the French King and the Pontiff were to meet at the marriage. The resolute Stephen Gardiner was instructed to be present, as his Sovereign's representative, to watch proceedings; Sir F. Bryan, and Sir J. Wallop were also sent; but, as resolute as Gardiner, and more fierce withal, Edmund Bonner was there also as ambassador. In August, Henry had forwarded to the *latter* his appeal to a general Council, which was to be communicated at the proper time. At the commencement of this meeting, in October, the Pontiff, not being with Charles, began to oscillate once more. England he would *fain* have retained, by any means, foul or fair; and so he hinted that he would now annul the first marriage of Henry, if he would only send a proxy thither. Nay, he deliberately confessed to the King of France, that he thought Henry's marriage with Catherine, and the dispensation granted by his predecessor, were both null and void in law; but then he was governed by the imperial power, which, of course, he actually hated.

When November came, however, Bonner thought it was now time for him to present and read his papers, and this he effected, to the no small annoyance of Clement.³⁵ The subject matter was unwelcome, and the *manner* of Bonner so peremptory and offensive, that our former Bishop of Worcester, the Pontiff, once enraged, threatened to throw him into a cauldron of melted lead, or to burn him alive! It was time for Edmund then to make his escape, or withdraw and return to England.

This meeting of Francis and Clement, in its effects, was a most melancholy one for France. The King, it is true, "there completed the nuptials between his own son and the Pontiff's niece;" but there, also, "he made that secret compact with him, which, being adopted and pursued by other princes in his own country, and elsewhere, filled the most enlightened parts of Europe with terror, blood, flames, commotion, and misery, for above a century!" Henry was abandoning the connexion, but, "unhappily for his kingdom, Francis plunged into it more deeply than ever—an event the more extraordinary, that, before this time, he had talked of curtailing the Pontiff's power in his dominions, and even of receding from it, and had for some time permitted his beloved sister, (the Queen of Navarre,) and her religious friends, to enjoy and diffuse their opinions. This miserable and infatuated change of conduct,

³⁵ Cranmer also had appealed from the authority of Rome, to a General Council, requesting Bonner to intimate this; but it seems most probable that the request came too late.—See *Cranmer's Remains by Jenkyns*, vol. i., p. 71.

made his country, for several generations, a region of mourning, battle, and death !”³⁶

With regard to that war of opinion, now effectually kindled in England, which we have seen burst forth so decidedly in February 1526, and continue without intermission, it was more than ever on the advance ; but it has now become more necessary to *discriminate*, if we are to keep pace with the actual state of the country. The positive progress of Divine truth, must on no account be confounded with certain opinions debated, and movements settled, whether in Parliament or the Convocation. In England were two distinct parties, with views and intentions as distinct as heaven and earth, or as Divine truth is, from mere political expediency. The former, was, properly speaking, the cause of God ; the latter party, though overruled by Him, involved chiefly the passions and feelings of but one man, or the Monarch, with his obsequious advisers. The former cause, *apparently* without one powerful friend on earth, was certainly, as yet, without a visible leader in England. Notwithstanding both fire and fury, the rage of Henry, and the vain imaginations of his prelates, that cause had been feeling its way, silently but effectually, in a thousand directions ; and the parties benefited, were scattered among the people, as “ a dew from Jehovah, which tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.” With regard to other men, in all the discussions between the Pontiff and Henry, on the one hand, and between the latter with his Parliaments or Convocations, on the other, though religion was *verbally* connected with them, all hated, and all as yet, had equally persecuted, the Truth. Yet feeble and unprotected as the cause of God might seem, it was essentially the cause of all that happened. All the other movements were but the ground swell ; so that while human passions and worldly interests were in agitation, the Almighty looked down from heaven, and in the things wherein they dealt proudly or cruelly, He was above them. In short, if the names of men are to be mentioned, the cause of Tyndale and Fryth was that of England’s best hope, and the most untoward events were overruled to advance it.

³⁶ Turner’s Queen Elizabeth, chap. xviii.

One illustration must not here be omitted, as it is connected with the martyrdom of Fryth. To the outward eye, this was nothing more than the death of an interesting young man, burnt to ashes in Smithfield, but it proved a decisive event. Burnet has said, indeed, that "this was the last act of the clergy's cruelty against men's lives,"—but from the account already given, this has appeared to be not quite correct. No doubt the Bishops concerned were guilty to a man, and especially Gardiner, who intrigued and hunted for the life of his finest pupil, and who, with Stokesly and Longland, consigned him to the flames. But the King was as deeply implicated as any one man—nay, most of all, as with him lay the power of mercy, which, with his pen, or his ring, he could have extended in a moment. But *he* commanded the final examinations, and when the victim was on the borders of destruction, though distinctly informed of this, *he* made no reply! No, the martyrdom of Fryth stands by itself in history, not only as the first perpetrated directly by the King and the Clergy in union; but as distinguished from those of preceding years, and from all the violent deaths which were inflicted in England, for five years to come. The preceding martyrdoms had certainly been for the truth, and were accomplished by the Bishops and the Lord Chancellor, without any King's writ, or direct orders from the throne, although Henry winked at them all: the deaths that ensued, for years to come, were state murders by Henry himself.³⁷ The preceding cruelties and death, however, it must be observed, were inflicted on men who had *abjured*, and who knew they *must* die; but Fryth had called, at once, both the King and his prelates to the mark, and they slew him. The former, no doubt, had their effects, in gradually inspiriting the cause, and advancing its moral courage; but Fryth's calm and unflinching intrepidity, his clear and pointed replies, his refusing either to flee or yield, astonished even his bitterest enemies. As for the people, they had never excited to any of these deeds of blood: over them all, many had deeply lamented, but with the death of Fryth they were shocked. They had seen him embrace the stake, and suffer with mildness and patience, full of faith, and hope, and joy; and not a few afterwards burned with indignation

³⁷ Until we come to the martyrdom of Lambert in 1538, when the power of these Bishops, contrary even to law, began to revive, to the close of the reign.

against his persecutors. 'This in short, was the climax of these early martyrdoms on English ground, and it was the more deeply lamented as involving the death of the dearest friend and assistant of Tyndale himself. Yet was it fit that *he* should occupy such a place in this noble warfare. The effect was felt in Parliament, and at its first sitting, on the simple petition of a poor prisoner, the subject was taken up; not, indeed, by the Lords or Bishops; not by the King, but by that instrument of national good, corrupt and servile though it was—the House of Commons. It was then, as we shall see, that heretics were taken out of the hands of the Bishops, and then that no man was to be, as many had been, immured in a dungeon, on *suspicion* of heresy. Even now the Scriptures were let alone, at least not burnt; nor was any one confined or burnt, for reading or believing them. It was not a little remarkable, nor should it now be forgotten, that such a season succeeded the martyrdom of Fryth.

In conjunction with this event, however, we do not forget the favourable consequences of the marriage of the King; for whatever may be said of that step, the results being matter of history, of these the reader will be able to judge for himself, as he proceeds. We only remark here, that the enemies of the new learning, or of mental freedom, need not have been so incensed with Henry for the step he had taken, since no English monarch ever gave such proofs of devoted attachment to their cause, as the “Defender of the Faith;” nor was he now weaned from discovering that attachment, nay, nor yet will be, to his dying hour. As for the new Queen, it should also be observed, that of the three ladies which had been laid out for the King, *whichever* he had married, the same consequences would have ensued. The Princess Margaret, the sister of Francis I., and Princess Renée, the sister of his deceased Queen, had been thought of, in succession, and by Wolsey himself. Either of these would have had *his* full concurrence, if it had so pleased the King, and the matter might then, in all probability, have been much earlier settled; but it is remarkable that all the three were of similar sentiments! In any one of these three, the Monarch would have found a *check-mate*, in the bloody game which he had begun to play against the new learning.

Although, however, from June 1533 the storm was begin-

ning to subside, opposition to the truth was by no means at an end. On the contrary, so far as the *pen* and the *press* were concerned, the present year stands most of all conspicuous. We have noticed the slight inaccuracy of supposing that Sir Thomas More retired to a life of study and retirement, when he resigned the Great Seal in May last, as for seven months afterwards he continued active as a persecutor. Even then, he had been writing; but it was during this year especially, that he put forth all his strength, and must have been busy, night and day, with little or nothing else than his great controversy. Had "abundance of words" been only reckoned a mark of greatness, Sir Thomas must have seemed a giant in literature; but now, the amount of his exertions in this warfare, can only be placed among its most melancholy curiosities.

We have already noticed the first part of his "Confutation of Tyndale," so called, consisting of 363 folio pages; and now came the remainder, or five books, of 573 pages more, or 936 in all! Of these ponderous volumes, 150 pages were against Barnes, and 786 in opposition to Tyndale!³⁰

Sir Thomas was partial to bold assumptions, and must have one, even in his title, as the word "Confutation" was nothing else; for now, if any man has the perseverance to wade through his folio, he will find the old Latin proverb fully apply to many a page—*Gratis anhelans, multa agendo nihil agens*. It may be truly said, that the Lord Chancellor, whether in or out of office, was out of breath to no purpose, and very busy about nothing of any value whatever. To reply to Tyndale had certainly cost him prodigious labour; but the Chancellor, however witty, was not the man to answer him, much less overcome; and as for the spirit and tendency of his writings, we must yet have a little patience, for he is far from being done!

An important diversion from Tyndale personally, now, however, ensued: his cause was gathering strength. Of these two huge publications, the last had scarcely come from the

³⁰ Barnes, after having published a book on "the Church," had come over to England last year with the Lubeckers, as an envoy, under a safe conduct from Henry. More would have violated this, and argued for it, saying, that the time was expired. This was not true, as no period was stated; and Fryth, having seen the document itself, severely reprehended More's conduct and language, as degrading to his Sovereign. "Thanks be to God," said he, "which gave you such grace in the sight of our Sovereign, that he shortly *withdrew your power*." All this was now reading in England.

press, when there sprung up another writer, and upon *English* ground, who disturbed the self-complacency of Sir Thomas not a little. He was of the Chancellor's own profession, though, in other respects, a very different man. An Oxford scholar, he had entered the Inner Temple, had long been eminent as a counsellor; and, as a man, highly esteemed. A Christian, too, he was a great admirer of the Sacred Volume, as appeared by his habitual use of it. "Every night, after his business was past, he read a chapter of the Bible to those that belonged to his house, and the substance thereof he expounded to them." It was natural for such a man to take a deep interest in the times. This year, therefore, he published anonymously "The Pacifier, or the Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality," printed by Berthelet.³⁹ It was distinguished for its temperate language, and formed a perfect contrast to the controversial style of Sir Thomas. He was, therefore, the more censured for the violence of his writing, as well as his tedious verbosity. The anonymous writer was held up to him as a pattern. Excited once more, he must commence again; but he ran on to 580 pages duodecimo, entitled, "The Apology of Sir Thomas More, after he had given over the office of Lord Chancellor of England." Here he very candidly gives us the popular feeling against himself, for after all his toil, his Confutation was not read! So far from the high-sounding term "Confutation," the author has now come down to an *Apology*.

"They find first, for a great fault, that my writing is over long, and, therefore, too tedious to read,—farther, that such places as *are* looked on by those that are learned, and can skill, be soon perceived for nought, and my reasons of little force. And over this, they find a great fault that I handled Tyndale and Barnes, with no fairer words, nor in no more courteous manner. And over this I write, they say, in such wise, that I shew myself suspect in the matter, and partial toward the clergy. And then, they say, that my works were worthy much more credence, if I had written more indifferently, (impartially,) and had declared and made open to the people the faults of the clergy. And in this point they lay for a sample, the goodly and godly, the mild and gentle fashion used by him, whosoever he was, that now lately wrote the book of 'the Division between the Temporality and the Spirituality:' which charitable, mild manner, they say, that if I had used, my works would have been read both of many more, and with much better will. And yet, they say, besides all this, that I do but pike out pieces at my pleasure, such as I may most easily seem to soil, and leave out what me list, and such as would plainly prove the

³⁹ There seems to have been a second edition, printed by Redman.

matter against me. But, finally, they say farther yet, that I have not fulfilled my promise. For I promised, they say, in my preface of my *Confutation*, that I would prove the Church, and *that*, they say, *I have not done.*"

But even when vanquished, More could argue still; though certainly a more candid statement of faults found, has never been given by any author, from that day to this. It is valuable, as descriptive of the taste and feeling of many; it is honourable to his opponent, but it proves that the Bishops had better never have employed Sir Thomas More as their English Demosthenes. After all, our author's self esteem was not exhausted; he proceeds to boast that some men had read his book *three* times, and then goes on with his Apology.

The retired Chancellor's tone, however, was now, for a short season, more subdued; though whenever he touched on the Spirituality, so called, his irritability returns. Referring to Tyndale and others, he says—"as for wit and learning, I nowhere say that any of them have *none*"—but now this new writer, by his matter and manner combined, greatly puzzled him. He could not believe so good a man could be an enemy to the Spirituality, and yet "he says nothing good of them." Faults, and these alone, are specified, so that he must be surrounded by some "wily shrews, who have filled his ear with such statements." Still, to the manner of this writer, he must concede the superiority, though he could not imitate it. "The pacifier can yet use his words in fair manner, and speak to each man gently. I cannot say but that is very true. Howbeit, every one hath not like wit, nor like invention in writing; for he findeth many ways of calling evil matter in good words, which I never thought upon, but am a simple plain body, much like the Macedonians."

As soon as this Apology came out, which was chiefly against the Pacifier; he published an octavo pamphlet of 200 pages, entitled, "Salem and Bizance"—a dialogue between two Englishmen, in reply. Sir Thomas, still fond of an assuming title, then printed his "*Debellation* of Salem and Bizance," extending to above 280 pages in *folio*! This was followed by the "Apology against Sir Thomas," who said no more.⁴⁰

This anonymous writer was *Christopher Saintgerman*. More could scarcely fail to know the name; but the times were

⁴⁰ This last publication is sometimes printed *to* instead of *against*.

rapidly changing—Saintgerman was twenty years older than himself, and so highly respected, that when Sir Thomas referred to him, he had thought it prudent to do so under the appellation of the Pacifier, or *Sir John Some*. This gentleman, who lived to the age of 80, and died in 1540, is better known as the author of “Two Dialogues on the Laws of England, and the grounds of those Laws”—or of “The Doctor and Student, Dialogues between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student of Law.” The first had been published in Latin ten years before this, and both together in English in 1528.⁴¹ His observations on Law—on “the law of natural reason—of heavenly revelation—and of man, that is of a Prince or any secondary governor that hath power to bind his subjects,” discover a mind far above his age; while, as a lawyer, he was sapping the foundations of the reigning superstition.

We have noticed him the more particularly on one account. It is by no means improbable that he came forward this year, not only from principle, but from feelings of friendship, if not of kindred. His mother's name originally was *Anne Tyndale*; he being the son of Sir Henry Saintgerman, a knight of Warwickshire, by Anne, the daughter of Thomas Tyndale, Esq. We have not been able to trace the relationship, but his mother may have been, in some remote degree, related to our Translator.

Sir Thomas, we have remarked, said no more to Mr. Saintgerman. The reason may have been that, not knowing when he was beat, he felt as if called away to battle, once more, with his first and able antagonist. By the month of August, at the latest, Tyndale's defence of Fryth against More, and Fryth's letter to him, which he had penned in the Tower, had arrived in print, from abroad. The retired Chancellor then put forth his reply to Fryth, such as it was; which, though in *print* since December last, he had kept back, he says, “more than a year;” and then he fell upon Tyndale, but for the last time. The brief and unexceptionable treatise of Tyndale, entitled, “The Supper of the Lord,” &c., from

⁴¹ This book, which has been mentioned with respect by Blackstone, Sir W. Jones, and other legal authorities, has since passed through above *twenty* editions, the last being in 1810, which is more than can be said of any other publication of that day, on any subject whatever, save and except the translation of Tyndale.

⁴² Again, William Tyndale, the son of Sir Thomas Tyndale of Hoekwold, married the only daughter of Sir Ambrose St. Germain.

which we have already quoted, was an octavo tract of about 60 pages. Sir Thomas, in his usual style, replied, in the same size, to the tune of 282 pages, besides his preface! It was printed, he tells us, "and many of them gone, before Christmas."⁴³

This was a final effort, and every way worthy of the close of such a stormy tempest. It is painful to quote his language; but, without noticing it, no just or adequate idea can be formed of the battle which was fought for the truth of God, and the emancipation of the human mind; nor, consequently, of the obligations of this country to the man who, for England's lasting benefit, triumphed, and then went on with his work.

Through the whole of this interminable controversy, vindictive as it was from the beginning, a climax is observable in the violence of the writer. When only Speaker of the House of Commons, and having *no* judicial authority, an expression would drop from him, very different from those that soon followed, though still it was given in his own wild, not to say profane, manner. "By my soul," said he in his "Dialogue," "I would all the world were all agreed to take *all violence and compulsion away*, upon *all* sides, Christian and heathen; and that no man were constrained to believe, *but* as he could be, by grace, wisdom, and good works, induced; and then he that would go to God, go on, in God's name, and he that will go to the Devil, the Devil go with him! There be many more to be won to Christ on that side, than to be lost from him on this side."⁴⁴ But once he is a little older, and in possession of *power*, what a change for the worse is visible! "There should have been," says he, "more *burned*, by a *great many*, than there have been within this seven year last passed: the lack whereof, I fear me, will make more burned, within this seven year next coming, than else should have needed to have been—in *seven score!*" The next year he is more outrageous; going so far as to assure his readers, that the Saviour will pronounce Tyndale to be accursed, at the last day, because he had derived all his heresies from the

⁴³ See his letter of explanation and apology to Cromwell, on his being suspected of writing something obnoxious, *after* this, against "certain articles late put forth by the King's Council." The printer had dated his book by mistake 1534.—See his *English Works*, p. 1422.

⁴⁴ A sentence which has been quoted in modern times, as a proof of *true toleration* in Sir Thomas More, without observing the general tenor of all that followed.

father of lies; while this is expressed in terms by far too coarse for repetition. And now that he is come to the last tract, which he so defamed, but could not answer, we have the last dregs of his gall of bitterness.

Tyndale, it is granted, both now and before, had laid bare the positive vices of living hypocrites, who held offices called sacred; and, as Sir Thomas could not fasten sin upon his opponent in return, he must at last draw upon bedlam, and the infernal regions.

Tyndale's book, he says, "was blasphemous—it was bedlam-ripe, made by a mad fool,"—nay, "a madman would wax red with shame to write so." All the men who had forsaken the old system, "had an hot fire of hell in their hearts." "All should, both by word and countenance, shew themselves plainly to hate, and detest, and abhor utterly the pestilent contagion of all such smoky communication,"—"no one should bid them good speed, or good morrow." Even before this, in the stories he introduced, he had gone so far as to be obscene; and now his language is profane to the last degree.

For want of active exertion no man could now blame Sir Thomas, although all his biographers seem to have been cautious of pointing to the amount of his herculean labours this year. This, however, being descriptive of character, should not be withheld. Some part he may have composed in the few preceding months, but at all events, in this year alone, there issued from the press, of his composition, more than 850 pages in folio, 580 in duodecimo, and 282 in octavo; or above 1700 pages in all! So gigantic were the last year's exertions of this controversialist. It must seem strange that all he had said was *reprinted* in his English works, but then this was in the days of Queen *Mary*. Though in a smaller type, the folio volume amounts to 1458 pages, of which his controversy occupies above a thousand! It was now nearly five years since More had begun. He had been writing for the King and the priesthood entire; but the crowning vexation must have been, that all this mighty stir had been occasioned by only *one* of those unpatronised exiles, who, he said, "nought had here, and nought carried hence;" and one, too, whom neither Wolsey nor the King, neither More nor Cromwell, or their agents, had been able, as yet, to apprehend.

Such, however, was the great and voluminous advocate for "the old learning;" though it now becomes due to his memory to observe, that it was *only* after he became such, or *while* so

engaged, that he displayed such a temper, and seemed to labour under a sort of black inspiration. For oh, what a change had come over the spirit of this man, within the last ten years ! It was but a little before then that Erasmus drew his character, with graphic minuteness, and so beautifully. If only the half had been true, and there is no reason for questioning the general portrait, one can scarcely believe that it was the same individual who lived on, under the same name. But when writing his *Utopia*, or rather when lecturing, in earlier days, to a crowded audience, on Augustine's work, "*De civitate Dei*," More was one man ; and when, approaching to 50, after that he attacked "the new learning," he was another. The course on which he entered in 1528, is also the more deeply to be lamented from the fact, that there still continued to be redeeming points in his character, standing out in bold contrast. The rights of *persons and property* he well understood ; to the *human mind* only, would he allow none whatever. More's superiority to the love of money, and his sterling integrity as Chancellor, in all *civil* causes, were alike remarkable ; nor was his despatch of business less conspicuous. Coming into Chancery, which was clogged with suits, some of which had been there nearly twenty years, at the end of his second year not one was depending.⁴⁵ Sir Thomas Audley, his successor, was far, very far, from being a man of such despatch. In these causes, too, More would not have known his mother's children ; for, on various occasions, he nobly shook his hand from receiving of bribes, or presents in money or plate, to any amount, or of whatever description. When he retired from the Chancellorship, he did so most honourably poor. Nay, when the Bishops came to offer him a sum of four or five thousand pounds, as their grateful return for these wordy exertions in their favour, he not only declined its acceptance, but, on the hint of their wish to present the money to his family, he replied, "I had rather see it all cast into the Thames, than that I, or any of my family, should have a penny of it."

⁴⁵ If the following lines were written on the occasion, as it has been said, they at least mark the public admiration—

" When More two years had Chancellor been,
No more suits did remain ;
The same shall never more be seen,
Till More be there again."

Had the unsuccessful controversialist only not suffered his vanity to be flattered by Tunstal, when he called on him, with mock solemnity, by his prelatie license, to “play the Demosthenes in English,” as he had done in Latin, and write down Tyndale and his translation;—had he only kept to his Bench, and judged between parties in civil causes, he had retired with such honour, that there had been not one individual among the King’s servants, who would have stood so high in the eye of posterity. But it is a dangerous thing for any man to set himself in opposition to Divine Revelation, or attempt to mingle with it, the chaff of human tradition. Sir Thomas, however, had taken his ground, and the consequence was, that he wrought himself into such a fury, that even the violent death of his antagonist would not have allayed it. Too like one of old, who “thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone, for they showed him the *people* of Mordecai;” so the Chancellor must not only write himself into obloquy, but wash his hands in the blood of those who believed as his opponent did; that is, in the blood of any man, who saw farther than himself, or went not, with him, into the depths of superstition. For him, it was truly an evil hour, when he delivered himself up to the blind rage of an infatuated priesthood; for now, in the end, what did it all avail? Independently of his interference proving an entire failure as to argument, the same want of brevity having distinguished his writings to the very close, the same consequences followed, with those which he has himself detailed, after his Confutation was finished. *He was not read!* Some curious peculiarities of the times, may, indeed, be picked out of these writings, here and there, but it may be safely affirmed that few men have ever read his controversy through. Perhaps not one man ever will.

It is, however, now not unworthy of enquiry, whether Sir Thomas More was not writing throughout the whole of this tedious warfare, under the influence of *apprehension*, as well as professed hot displeasure; and that from his penetrating more deeply than others, into the signs of the times. If we are to depend upon a remarkable conversation with his own son-in-law, Roper, there seems to be some good ground for the supposition. “It fortunèd,” says Roper, “*before* the matter of the said matrimony was brought in question, when I, in talk with Sir Thomas More, commended unto him the happy estate

of this realm, that had so catholic a prince that no heretic durst show his face; so learned a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, and so loving obedient subjects, all in one faith agreeing together!"—"Troth it is indeed, son Roper," quoth he, "and yet I pray God," said he, "that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet like ants, *live not the day that we would gladly wish to be at league and composition with them; to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be contented to let us have ours, quietly to ourselves.*"

In conclusion, the peroration was worthy of the entire controversy. To compensate for his extreme prolixity, Sir Thomas intended to print a *ninth* book to his Confutation, as a *summary* of the whole. He commenced and went on so far, but at last he grew weary, or faltered, and never finished it! The fragment, more than twenty years after his death, was inserted in his Works. And so ended all his efforts against the man whom he had now confessed to be "the *Captain* of our English heretics." Tyndale's advantage lay in his being the advocate of truth; but it was no mean proof of his power as a writer, that, from motives of the purest patriotism, he had so successfully exposed one Lord Chancellor, and from his zeal for the diffusion of the Word of God, now so effectually opposed a second.

Whether there had been another edition of Tyndale's New Testament, since his reprint of 1530, we have not been able to ascertain. Owing to his residence in Antwerp itself, and the promise of his revising the translation, the printers were probably restrained. By this time, however, there were the tokens of increasing demand, perhaps not altogether unconnected with the reigning Queen of England; but, from whatever cause, the prospect of a large and ready sale will prove by far too strong for these Antwerp printers to remain still. Let the market be never so inviting, among all the English printers, of course, not one dared to move; but to these foreign workmen, George Joye represents himself as saying,—“If Tyndale amend it (the translation) with so great diligence as he promiseth, yours will never be sold.”—“Yes,” they replied, “for if he print two thousand, and we as many, what is *so little a number* for all England! And we will sell ours better cheap, and therefore we doubt not of the sale.”

Thus, notwithstanding the martyrdom of Fryth in June, nay, all that the Bishops had yet done to terrify the people at home, or the King and his ministers, to prevent importation of books from abroad; notwithstanding all that Sir Thomas More had written and published; and though there was yet no symptom of any favourable regard, on the part of even one official man in all England; it becomes evident that there was to be no wisdom, nor counsel, nor might, which should be able to resist a tide which had now set in with greater power than ever.

SECTION XI.

TYNDALE ALL ALONE AFTER FRYTH'S DEATH—GENESIS, SECOND EDITION—FRESH ISSUE OF THE PENTATEUCH—SURREPTITIOUS EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT BY JOYE—THE CORRECTED AND IMPROVED EDITION BY TYNDALE—JOYE'S INTERFERENCE EXPLAINED—STATE OF ENGLAND—PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—SEPARATION FROM ROME—CONSTRUCTIVE TREASON—MORE AND FISHER IN TROUBLE—THE PONTIFF'S SUPREMACY AT AN END—THE IMPORT OF THAT EVENT EQUALLY MISUNDERSTOOD IN ENGLAND, BY SOVEREIGN AND SUBJECT—DIVINE TRUTH IN PROGRESS—HARMAN IN LONDON—RESTORED TO FAVOUR BY THE QUEEN—GLANCE AT THE PAST AND PRESENT—THE NEW TESTAMENT IMPORTING IN SEVERAL EDITIONS, IN FORCIBLE CONTRAST WITH THE IDLE DREAMS OF THE CONVOCATION.

IN returning to Tyndale at the commencement of this year, it is impossible to do so without feelings of sympathy. By a cruel death, and in the prime of life, on the 4th of July, he had been bereft of that companion who was dearer to him than any man living. That stroke must have been deeply felt still, and long would the feeling of bereavement return upon him, more especially when he sat down to his beloved employment. He had, indeed, toiled in this hazardous undertaking before Fryth came to him from England, but having for years enjoyed his company and aid, as well as so highly prized them both, it must have demanded no inferior degree of Christian submission and fortitude, now to plough through the deep all alone. Tyndale actually had no man like-minded, and the place of Fryth was never to be supplied. We by no means

forget another valuable agent, John Roger, into whose hands came all that Tyndale had translated; and who proved so admirable a posthumous friend.

But still, in the death of Fryth, there were alleviating circumstances, as there always have been in the afflictions of the faithful. Such a glorious exit was well fitted to prepare Tyndale for his own, and to render it so much the easier, nay, welcome, when it arrived. We have seen how intensely anxious he was for the *character* of his friend, and in this he might now well exult. That young man had fought a good fight, had finished his appointed course; and above all, had preserved his fidelity. He had come home from beyond sea, and shown to all England, how a martyr for the truth of God ought to die, if he must. Nothing remained for him but the Christian's great metropolis, the heavenly Jerusalem, the palace of the Great King; into which he had entered, no doubt, with joy upon every side. In him there had been no mis-giving, not a single word of hesitation, no shift or evasion, no halting between two opinions, no love of life, no fear of death. His crown of martyrdom was, unquestionably, by far the brightest which had yet been won upon English ground, ever since this war of opinion had commenced. As Stephen of old had fallen asleep amidst the shower of stones at Jerusalem; so Fryth, also praying for his enemies, had done the same, in the midst of the flames at London. But, besides all this, there were the noted effects, the impression his Christian heroism had produced, and the season that almost immediately ensued. The sky had begun to clear over England for a little season, and this was quite sufficient to convey fresh vigour to our Translator. It was this year, therefore, that there appeared a second impression of Genesis, and an improved, because a revised edition of the New Testament, both of which now deserve notice.

That it was the fixed and unalterable intention of Tyndale to print an edition of the entire sacred text, there can be no question. He had already commenced with "the first book of Moses called Genesis," newly corrected and amended by W.T. MDCXXXIII. His initials were now, of course, perfectly sufficient to point out the author; and thus, in the very teeth of a tempest of more than eight years' standing, he modestly intimated his firm determination to proceed as he had begun. Of the four other books of the Pentateuch, copies being still

on hand, these five being frequently bound up together, form what has frequently been styled the *second* edition of the Pentateuch.

By other local circumstances in Antwerp itself, however, Tyndale was now imperatively called away to the revision and improvement of his New Testament; and these circumstances, hitherto but very imperfectly understood, deserve as well as demand some explanation. Although Tyndale himself was somewhat annoyed by them, an ardent and growing desire in England for his translation of the Scriptures, formed the sole cause of all that took place. We have already alluded to the printers and George Joye communing on this subject. This they had done very cautiously, unknown to Tyndale, and as Joye was now in Antwerp, it is necessary to glance at his previous history.

George Joye, alias Gee, alias Clarke, a native of Bedfordshire, a Scholar and Fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, had fled from persecution in 1527, and resided at Strasburg, till he came to Barrow, early in 1532. By his then printing two specimen leaves, in folio, he is supposed to have been aiming after an edition of the Bible for the English market.¹ Before this he had been translating from the *Latin*, as he was competent for nothing more, and since 1530 he had put forth three such translations.² Tyndale having been necessarily engrossed elsewhere, with his tract in reply to Sir Thomas More, and on behalf of Fryth in prison, relating to the Lord's Supper, Joye came into closer conference with the printers at Antwerp. He then engaged in correcting, after his own opinion, from the *Vulgate*, an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, now passing through the press. Christopher Endhoven, of whom we heard so much, seven years ago, being now dead, the business was carried on by his widow. This, it will be remembered, was the press at which the first surreptitious edition had been executed; and the progress of the present one had been very

¹ See Tyndale's letter to Fryth, p. 358. A proposal which, of course, came to nothing.

² These were the Psalter, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. 1. "The Psalter translated from the Latin version of Felice, (or Martin Bucer) Argentine (*i.e.* Strasburg) by Francis Foxe," not *Foye*, as written by Waterland to Lewis, and repeated by all who have copied Lewis. The Colophon is "emprinted at Argentine in the yeaere of oure Lorde 1530, the 16th day of January (1531?) by me Francis foxe." 2. "The Prophete Isaye," translated into English by George Joye: printed at "Strazburg, by Balthasser Beakeneth, 1531." 3. "Jeremy the Prophete, with the song of Moses, translated by G. Joye. 1534, in the moneth of May." No place or printer's name. In 1545 he printed, at Geneva, "an *Exposition* of Daniel," taken from Melancthon and others, but *translated* no more. Returning at last to England, he died in 1533.

carefully kept secret from Tyndale, even after his return to Antwerp. This volume, in 16mo, with a title in rubrics, which was finished at press in August 1534, is now exceedingly rare.

Collation. "The New Testament as it was written and caused to be written by them which herde yt, whom also our Saucoure Christ Jesus commaunded that they shulde preach it unto al creatures."—Title, at the back of which is an "almanacke for xviii. yeres." The signatures run a to z. A to H. Then the Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul, on sign Aai, and extend to Ccc. At the end of the Revelation is this Colophon—"Here endeth the Newe Testament, diligently ouersene and corrected, and printed now agayn at Antwerpe by me Widowe of Chrystoffel of Endhouē, in the yere of oure Lorde mcccc. and xxxiiii in August."

A copy of this book, in fine condition, was once in the possession of George Paton, Esq., of the Custom House, Edinburgh.³ When his books were sold, the present writer well remembers seeing it fetch thirty guineas at public sale. The late bookseller, Mr. Constable, gave for it double the money, and at last it found its way into the Grenville collection, where it now is. We are unable to mention another copy.

Meanwhile, Tyndale was very busily occupied in revising and improving the translation of his New Testament, and in three months only after this, it was ready for circulation. Out of England itself, too, ere his first sheet had gone to press, there had come to him a species of encouragement, altogether unprecedented. This arose from his tried friend Mr. Harman having gone to London, and the consequences will meet us, as soon as we return home from Antwerp. But before saying more of the book, or of Joye's interference, we first present a brief collation.

"The Newe Testament dyligently corrected and compared with the Greek by Willyam Tyndale, and fynished in the yere of our Lorde God a MD and xxxiiij. in the moneth of November." This title is within a wood border, at the bottom of which is a *blank* shield. "W. T. to the Christen reader," 17 pages. "A prologe into the iiii Evangelystes," 4 pages. "Willyam Tyndale, yet once more, to the Christen reader," 9 pages. Then a *second* title—"The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, Anno mxxxiiij." Matthew begins on folio ii.; Revelation on ecelv.; and afterwards follow "the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament," running on to folio eccc. A table of the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays, 16 pages—with "some things added to fill up the leffe with all," 5 pages. The signatures run in eights, and a full page has 33 lines. It has wood-cuts in the Revelations, and some small ones at the beginning of the Gospels, and several of the Epistles.

³ Herbert's Ames, in, p. 1331

The *second* address of Tyndale to the Christian Reader forms a *careat* with reference to Joye's interference; and there can be little doubt that the first title with his *name* inserted in full, and as having compared the Sacred Text once more with the *Greek*, was owing to the same cause. The occurrence, which could not fail to be felt at the moment, is to be valued now thus far, that it gave occasion for Tyndale to speak out, and discover whether he had not all along translated from the *original*, and was laudably jealous over the precise terms of his translation. When he alludes to Joye, it is in the language of a scholar, who could not but regard him as rash and incompetent; and, in point of fact, he soon discovered himself to be a man of very inferior caliber, whether in regard to learning or sound judgment. Placed in such critical circumstances as Tyndale had been for years, while every *word* of his translation had been so carefully scanned, and a controversy was actually in dependence at the moment with the Lord Chancellor of England, with regard to certain terms, there was certainly no trivial occasion both for alarm and offence. The important word "*Resurrection*," Joye had very strangely altered to "*the life after this*;" and, in reference to the book generally, "I wot not," says Tyndale, "what *other* changes, for I have not yet read it over." This word, an all-important one, was especially so at that season, and occasioned Tyndale solemnly to profess his faith in the resurrection from the dead; having observed that the word was not so rendered as Joye had done, "neither by him, nor by any other translator in any language." But the alterations were far from being confined to a single word. In one place, indeed, Joye speaks as if he had mended only "*a few* certain doubtful and dark places," but the truth comes out when he adds, "I say I have made *many* changes." This becomes manifest, from his very simple explanation of what had been his procedure.

"For as for me, I had *nothing to do* with the printing thereof, but corrected *their* copy only, (and, most probably, one of the spurious editions,) as where I found a word falsely printed, I mended it; and when I came to some dark sentence, that no reason could be gathered of them, whether it was by the ignorance of the first translator, or of the printer, I had the *Latin* text by me, and made it *plain*!! And gave many words their *pure and natice* signification!"⁴

⁴ If he had become competent even for this, with his *Latin* text only before him, he had

The better way, however, will be, to let Joye speak for himself; though the "Apology made by him to satisfye, if it may be, W. Tyndale," &c., dated the 28th of February, (1535,) in itself a contemptible production, became peculiarly offensive, from its being put forth *after* our Translator had been *actually and at last* apprehended, and in prison!⁵ But still let us hear him. By his own confession he had "made many changes," though there was one of which he was not a little vain, and this will serve sufficiently for illustration. Tyndale's corrected New Testament was now out, and gone to England, but says Joye,—

"Ere he (Tyndale) came to one place of the Testament to be last corrected, I told his scribe, that there was a place in the beginning of the vith chapter of the Aets, somewhat darkly translated at first, and that *I had mended it in my correction*, and bade him shew it Tyndale to *mend it also*. But yet, because *I found the fault, and had corrected it before*, Tyndale had lever to let it stand, as he did *for all my warning*, still darkly in his new correction, whereof the reader might take a wrong sense, than to have mended it. Which place, whether it standeth now clearer and truer, in *my correction* than in *his*, let the *learned judge!*"

That the learned, therefore, may judge, we must, on no account, withhold this *clearer and truer* passage. It was this—

"In those dayes, the nombre of the disciples grewe there arose a grndge amonge the grekes agaynste the ebrues, because theyr pore nedye were neglece in the dayly almose dealinge!"

To say nothing of one word left out, of course Tyndale had not substituted *poor nedye* for "widows," nor *alms-dealing* for "ministration;" but such officious intermeddling with a living author's work, crowned by such an Apology, and put forth at such a time, could not fail to be deeply offensive to many, as the event proved. The fact was, that Joye, in his ignorance, was contributing to the corruption of the Sacred Text; and, in one sense, to a greater degree than the Antwerp printers, who, though they had erred occasionally, as foreigners to the language, still rose quite above the

made vast improvement within these three years. Speaking of his Isaiah, published in 1531, Dr. Cotton has said—"The spelling is generally very incorrect, so that the modern reader will scarcely be disposed to agree with George Joye, that it is, "Isaye, speakinge playne Englysshe." Thus, no doubt, "the simple reader might ofte tymes be taryed and sticke," as Joye, even now, had the modesty to say of the widow's husband, or the press where he had just printed, while labouring to give many words their "pure signification!"

⁵ There appears to have been but one edition of the Apology, though it has been vaguely dated both in 1534 and 1535, by Watt, in his Bibl. Brit. In that from which we copy, the month is decisive of its not appearing till 1535.

specimens which Joye had before furnished from Strasburg. Not a little conceited of his powers, he had been dabbling with the translation, and with the *Vulgate* only before him, as he said, to make it plain! Now, the whole public life of Tyndale has been not unfitly described, as "a series of hostilities against the defenders of the Latin *Vulgate*." But it became much worse when Joye was taking liberties with the *Vulgate* itself, and was quite nettled because our Translator would not imitate him in his rash folly. In frowning, therefore, upon such interference, Tyndale only showed his discernment; though, after all, poor George Joye may now be cordially forgiven, for a petulance even tinged with malignity, owing to a few terms in which he expressed himself. He it is who contributed his mite, to establish the scholarship of our original Translator, and to an extent but little known to some of our moderns. "I am not afraid," said he, in one place, "I am not afraid to answer Master Tyndale in this matter, for all his high learning in HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN, &c." What other tongues he referred to, we cannot say; but after this testimony, though uttered in a miserable spirit, we have no occasion to draw upon the high-flown compliment paid to Tyndale, but by no mean judge, after he had communed with him at Worms. We refer to Herman Buschius, the friend of Spalatinus. He mentions other languages, though *not* German, as Herbert Marsh imagined; but Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with which he begins, are quite sufficient.⁶

In his history of translations, Lewis, not knowing all the circumstances, has misrepresented Tyndale, by saying, that,

⁶ We may, however, quote the passage—"Dixit nobis, Buschius, *Formatiæ sex mille exemplaria Novi Testamenti Anglicæ* excusa. Id operis verum esse ab Anglo, illic cum duobus aliis Britannis divertente, ita septem linguarum perito, *Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latine, Italianæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ*, ut, quæcumque loquatur, in eâ natum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctante et invito Rege, tamen sic suspirare ad Evangelionem, ut afirmem, sese empturos Novum Testamentum, etiamsi centenis millibus æris sit redimendum.—*Schellhornii Amanitates Literariæ*, iv., pp. 431, 432. *Excerpta quedam e Diario Georgii Spalatini MS^o*." This is given under anno 1526, by which time the Testaments of Tyndale had created such commotion in England. Six thousand copies corresponds with the number given by Cochlæus, as first contemplated at *Cologne*, which, he adds, was afterwards reduced to three thousand. But Buschius now speaks of *Worms*. Are we, then, given to understand here, that Tyndale went on with his three thousand quartos, and adding as many in octavo, made the number six thousand? So it should seem. We have no confirmation to present; but such a number may account for Tyndale having so many to dispose of, through Packington, at Antwerp, in 1529.

This, however, was certainly not the only time that Buschius met with Tyndale. They may, if not must, have had many conversations together at Marburg. Buschius was Professor of Poetry and Oratory there, and was in the press, too, at the same moment, with both Tyndale and Fryth. The sensible tract of Buschius—"De singulari auctoritate Veteris et Novi Instrumenti, sacerorum, &c.," is dated, "Marpurgi, 4. Idus Aprilis," or 10th April 1529. But, as already noticed, Tyndale was publishing here in June, and Fryth in July, immediately following.

in his preface, his language expresses a great deal too much passion and resentment against Joye; the best refutation of which is to be found in Tyndale's own words—

“ William Tyndale, yet once more, to the Christian reader. Thou shalt understand, most dear reader, when I had taken in hand to look over the New Testament again, to compare it with the Greek, and to mend whatsoever I could find amiss, and had almost finished my labour: George Joye *secretly* took in hand to correct it also, by what occasion his conscience knoweth, and prevented (went before) me, insomuch, that his correction was printed in great number, (most of the sheets) ere mine began. When it was *spied*, and word brought me, though it seemed to divers others, that G. Joye had not used the office of an honest man, seeing *he knew* that I was in correcting it myself; neither did walk after the rule of love and softness, which Christ and his disciples teach us; how that we should do nothing of strife to move debate, or of vainglory, or of covetousness,” &c. 7

This, it will be allowed, is a very mild commencement; and whatever expressions follow, appear to have been dictated by zeal for the purity of the Word of God, and such as became any man, with whose language such freedoms had been taken. After this, the “Apology” of Joye made matters worse. It involved little else than an unfair, not to say intemperate and unfeeling attack on the original translator. Thus, for example, he talks of Tyndale's *long sleeping* since his last edition. Sleeping! So thought not Henry the Eighth; so felt not Sir Thomas More, whom he had kept thoroughly awake for years; although both the King and the Chancellor would have been most happy, had Tyndale then only drawn the curtains and retired to rest. Of Tyndale's eminently laborious life, Joye could not be altogether ignorant, though it may have been above his comprehension; but there could be no excuse for the absence of gratitude, much less for the presence of any evil feeling; and if this Apology, so called, did not come out till after Tyndale was in prison, as there is reason to apprehend, then no wonder that the writer was very soon made to feel the consequences. The public feeling, at the moment, clearly proves that he

7 Joye, however, fully acquitted himself of the last motive here imputed to him. The printers offered him only *three pence* for correcting every sheet of 32 pages. He compounded for three stivers, or about fourpence halfpenny. “ So that, in all, I had for my labour but fourteen shillings Flemish; which—had not the goodness of the deed compelled me—I would not have done for five times as much.” “ Vain-glorious” seems to have been the correct imputation; for, not a little vain himself, he actually could not conceive of Tyndale's disapprobation as arising from any other source; while Joye could not clear himself, or even apologise for having first made such alterations in the sacred text, and then published them as under Tyndale's name. There was no other translator of the English New Testament.

must have been blameworthy both in temper and conduct; for the fact was, though never known before, that, for some months, Joye lay under the imputation, both in England and Antwerp, of having been concerned in the *apprehension* of Tyndale! This turned out to be a gross aspersion, as we shall hear next year; but still, as “the merchants of Antwerp, and many others that were his *friends*, did greatly blame him,” there must have been something very reprehensible. “At this juncture,” says one author, “he does not appear to have possessed that conscientious integrity which would have added Christian dignity to his character; and it is to be regretted, that whilst he (at other times) defended the Truth, the Truth does not seem to have made him free from guile and deception.”³ It was the sin of the age, when almost every man was taught equivocation from his youth. We have only to add, that Joye could not remain in Antwerp, but removing as far distant as Emden, he there published a small duodecimo—“The subversion of More’s false foundation.” But we shall hear of him again, after Tyndale’s apprehension.

Few things, however, happened to our Translator which did not bring out the character of the man more fully, and to great advantage. But for what had taken place, we should never have had his noble protestation, with regard to his secret motives, as well as the grand object he had kept in view, ever since he began to translate. The words may be regarded in the light of a *peroration*, for they mark the close of his labours, while still at liberty. Not that he is about to die, but they were among the *last* words he had printed before his apprehension, and, as such, become the more memorable—

“Moreover, I take God, which alone seeth the heart, to record to my conscience, beseeching him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote of all that I have written, throughout all my books, ought of an evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the Church of Christ; or to be *author of any sect*; or to draw disciples after me; or that I would be esteemed, or had in price, above the least child that is born; save only of pity and compassion I had, and yet have, on the blindness of my brethren, and to bring them into the knowledge of Christ; and to make every one of them, if it were possible, as perfect as an angel of heaven; and to weed out all that is not planted of our heavenly Father; and to bring down all that lifteth up itself against the knowledge of the salvation that is in the blood of Christ.

³ Townley’s Biblical Literature, vol. ii., p. 384.

“ Also, my part be not in Christ, if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach ; and also, if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin, and other men's—beseeching God to convert us all, and to take his wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to all other men, as to mine own soul—caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in, for the King, and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son.

“ As concerning all I have *translated*, or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it for that purpose I wrote it : even to bring them to the knowledge of the Scripture. And as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it ; and if in any place the Word of God disallow it, then to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and his congregation. And where they find faults, let them shew it me, if they be nigh, or write to me, if they be far off ; or write openly against it and improve it ; and I promise them, if I shall perceive that their reasons conclude, I will confess mine ignorance openly.”

Such, while yet at liberty, was nearly the impressive conclusion of Tyndale's labours. His enemies were now thirsting, more than ever, for his blood ; though still he has yet nearly two years before him. But the base and artful traitors have already embarked from England—they are almost in sight ! With them, and the long eagerly pursued victim, very soon, we must repair to the castle of Vilvorde !

At the close of this year, however, we shall have occasion to revert once more to the various editions of the New Testament, which had issued, in only a few months, from different presses in Antwerp ; but, at present, we first return home to our native land, and observe the leading occurrences by which the period was so distinguished.

In England, the political events of this year were at once important and decisive ; while, as it regarded the Scriptures and their dispersion, a *separate* department of history, and altogether as distinct as ever, the change was not less remarkable. Not that there was any change on the Monarch, except that of going on from bad to worse : but we shall see him in trouble respecting his own personal safety, adopting such measures as fear suggested, and at the same time pursuing his career after power, with an ultimate view to the acquisition of wealth, by whatever means. For what though the clergy were still paying up the price of their pardon ? These monasteries and religious houses, full in view, were rich, and Henry still was poor.

In December last, the English Council had settled their mode of procedure with regard to Clement, after he had so threatened if not frightened Master Bonner. They came to nineteen resolutions, and the Duke of Norfolk, though so decided a friend to the claims of the Pontiff, had, as Minister, to convey the intelligence to France, then in the closest al-

liance with Rome. It was still only the system of intimidation that was pursued, as the English Monarch partook of certain leanings, very much akin to those of Norfolk, his prime Minister. He wished to retain some *undefined* connexion with the Pontiff, perhaps from fear of his subjects; while he was still bent on reigning with unlimited sway, as Head of the Church of England. The Council therefore had decided that Henry's subjects should now be fully informed of his having appealed to a General Council; and it must be preached throughout the land that the authority of a *General Council* was superior to that of the Pontiff, who, in England, had now no more than that of any other foreign Bishop. The King of France thought that this was going too far, as well as too fast. His able courtier, De Bellay, well acquainted with England by his residence of two years as Ambassador, and now a Cardinal, offered, as a final effort, still to negociate at Rome, if any grounds were furnished to him. By way of carrying on the double game, Henry actually desired him to certify, that if the Pontiff would now supersede the sentence he had already given, that is the Bull of last year, and grant to him only impartial judges, to sit at Cambray in France, then the King would still submit his whole conduct to their deliberate decision. De Bellay posted to Rome, amidst the rigour of winter, Henry having also said, that he would send after him, sufficient authority to confirm, on his part, as much as should be granted. Here, however, we must leave Italy till March, that the curious contrast, furnished by the proceedings in England, may be first observed.

On the 15th of January, Parliament sat down, and the Convocation assembled about the same time. In the latter there was now no more discussion respecting the burning of heretics; while in Parliament, the Upper and the Lower Houses were exchanging bills with each other, characteristic of the times. On the 4th of February, the Commons sent up a bill in mitigation of those who might be charged with *heresy*, which will be glanced at presently; the Upper House, on the same day, sending down the clergy's submission bill, to which the Convocation bowed, and the Commons readily agreed. This passed on the 28th of March, when the clergy, entering into *new* bonds, acknowledged that all convocations should be henceforth assembled by the *King's writ*,—that they should make no *new* canons without the royal assent,—that a committee should sit on all present canons prejudicial to the King's *prerogative*, and that all grievances in the Archbishop's court, might be *appealed* to the King.

On the 21st of February, that strange imposture of the Nun of Kent, a young woman of Aldington in that county, named Elizabeth Barton, was brought before Parliament. She had been playing her part for the long period of nine years. Tyndale had alluded to the case as a device of the Priests, so early as 1527, and but for them certainly she had soon

sunk into oblivion. The King himself had once consulted Sir Thomas More on the subject, long since. He then professed to wink at the affair, as unworthy of notice, and then it might be so; but afterwards, from such men as Warham, Fisher, and himself, as well as many others, holding communication with her, there can be no doubt that the matter had grown into some treasonable conspiracy, under the fostering care of those who were friends to "the old learning," and to priestly dominion. It was well for Archbishop Warham, that he was gone, otherwise he had now fallen into disgrace; or at least, been implicated, as Fisher and More were; but on the question being put, whether they should be examined in the Star Chamber, Audley and Crumwell prevailed with the King, and More's name was struck out. John Fisher, once so high in Henry's esteem, for concealment of what he knew, was found guilty; but a heavier storm soon awaited More, as well as him. One man, however, the Parson of Aldermary, once chaplain to Warham, *Henry Golde*, of whom we have heard before, was now deeply involved.⁹ He used to interpret the ravings of the Nun, (who uttered what, of course, she was taught,) and also report progress to Queen Catherine. So far back as the beginning of this year, Cranmer was examining him, and requesting Crumwell to do the same.¹⁰ In the end, the poor woman, with six men, including Golde, being convicted of high treason, against the King's life and crown; the whole with one exception, (Rich, an observant friar,) were executed at Tyburn on the 20th of April.

On the 26th of March, a Bill had passed through both Houses, discharging Henry's subjects from all dependence on the Court of Rome. On the same day, Parliament again confirmed the King's marriage, as well as the succession to the crown, and then, on the 30th, adjourned to the third of November. During the whole session, a Bishop had preached at Paul's Cross, every week, that "the Bishop of Rome had no authority in England;" and yet, notwithstanding all these measures, there was still a pause in giving the *formal* royal assent; a sort of avenue left, however narrow, in case of any conciliatory intelligence arriving from Clement.

His Majesty, however, had not long to wait; for at the moment that his Parliament was thus proceeding on their way, the Cardinals, in conclave, were sitting in judgment upon him. Clement had certainly been as cautious for years, as Henry had been pertinacious and persevering; but at last the former was surprised into an act, of which, on the spot, he at once repented. On the 23d of March, the imperial Cardinals, in the Rota, carried the day by a large majority, and Clement yielding, pronounced a *final* sentence—"That Henry's first marriage

⁹ See the strange letter from Dr. Ridley addressed to him, anno 1527. *Ridley* was yet alive, but dared to write in the same strain no more, as he had done then. See p. 153.

¹⁰ Crumwell's Cor., Chapter-house, Westminster, letter of 6th January

was valid, that he should be compelled to live with Queen Catherine, and be for ever silent on the subject!"¹¹ Clement actually sat up *all night* to consider of a remedy, but there was none—though "he was so annoyed and tormented," says De Bellay, "that it was not possible he should be more so." The King of France, after all, is supposed to have been pleased with this decision; as for the Emperor, he had pressed it sharply, *acriter*, on the Pontiff so long ago as the 8th of January. The Cardinals wished the sentence to be sent off immediately, but Clement delayed it for ten days. The decision must stand, and the Emperor was made the executor of it; thus leaving Henry, after his long delay and many expedients, in a predicament sufficiently foolish. He had sent on Dr. Carne, and Dr. Revet, towards Rome, but they met De Bellay, now returning from Italy, and the game of years was at an end for ever.

Thus was there only one path left open in England. But who devised it? Not the King, certainly; for he had been long brooding over some crooked path of his own, which no writer can well explain, and for the best of all reasons—Henry did not actually know it himself. But at all events, no man can now dream that religion, in any sense, had ever the shadow of an influence, with either party, in these wearisome negotiations. On the contrary, and so far as England was concerned, we shall find her Monarch waxing worse and worse, to the day of his death. But it was the will of God that the connexion should come to an end, and so says Halle, the earliest historian of the times, "God be everlastingly praised therefore."

Parliament being now prorogued, one feature of the time is worthy of notice. It was the exchange of the fear of heresy, for the fear of *treason*. That bill in mitigation of the treatment of any who were suspected of the former, is worthy of remark, as its success has been partly ascribed to feelings excited by the death of *Fryth*.¹² One Thomas Philip, who had been delivered by Sir Thomas More to Stokesly, of London, by indenture, in 1530, had been cruelly detained in prison by him ever since! Of Philip, who had appealed to the King, but could not gain access to him, an account is given by Foxe, with an interesting letter of exhortation to firmness, from "the Congregation," or those followers of Christ who met in Bow Lane, Cheapside; but Foxe concludes by saying, that he knew not what became of him. The truth is, that, at last, he complained to the House of Commons against Stokesly, and as the Bishop would not appear at their

¹¹ *The Rota*. Such was the name of the Court. It has been said, from the marble pavement of the apartment where it assembled, resembling a *wheel*. ¹² By Southey; and see pp. 381-401.

bar, to answer for his conduct, the Commons' House framed their bill, which had now passed.

It repealed the statute of Henry IV., by which *Bishops* might commit to prison on *suspicion* of heresy; heretics were only to be proceeded against, by *two* witnesses, and to answer in *open* court; if guilty, the King's writ must be obtained, before any sentence could be executed; but it was declared that none should be troubled *upon any of the PONTIFF'S canons or laws, or for speaking or acting against him.*

This act was generally regarded by the people as an especial blessing, since it not only delivered them in a great degree from the paw of ecclesiastical tyranny, but immediately brought some of the most worthy characters from their dungeons. Not only did Philips, who had been there for years, escape, but Thomas Patmore, who had been confined as long, obtained a commission from Audley, Crumwell, and Cranmer, to enquire into "the injurious and unjust dealings" of both More and Stokesly. Patmore, who was most probably a relation of that gentleman who had been so shamefully treated for importing and dispersing Tyndale's New Testaments, in 1531, seems to have been restored to his former living. Thus, after a long season of most reckless cruelty, here now was the dawning of a day of *retribution*, and as such, should not pass unobserved.

It will be remembered, that immediately on Sir Thomas More coming into power he began by urging Henry to follow up the persecution of heretics, so called, with rigour, and that, too, as one method of advancing his influence at the court of Rome.¹³ Upon his successor, Sir Thomas Audley, being nominated, *he* certainly advised no violence of any description; and yet this, as well as the following years, became polluted with blood, nay, the very month after Parliament rose, had furnished one palpable instance.¹⁴ But then this was not the blood of reputed heretics,

¹³ "It is hard to say what were More's original sentiments about the divorce. In a letter to Crumwell, he speaks of himself as always doubtful. But, if his disposition had not been rather favourable to the King, would he have been offered, or have accepted the Great Seal? We do not, indeed, find his name in the letter of remonstrance, signed by the nobility and chief commoners in 1530; but in March 1531, he went down to the House of Commons, to declare the King's scruples about his marriage, and to lay before them the opinions of the Universities. In this he perhaps thought himself acting ministerially. But the King did not look upon him as hostile, even so late as 1532, for Dr. Bennet, the envoy at Rome, proposed that the cause should be tried by four commissioners, of whom the King should name one, either Sir Thomas More, or Stokesly, Bishop of London."—*Hallam's Constitutional History.*

¹⁴ In the course of last year we have seen *five* men perish at the stake in London, but on the 20th of April this year, as already stated, *five* were put to death in one day. The former were friends to the *new* learning, the latter the adherents of the *old.*

nor was heresy laid to the charge of any Englishmen who were put to death for four years to come.¹⁵ The charges now are those of *treason*, constructive treason, misprision, or the concealment of known *treason*. But treason was the very charge which Sir Thomas More had laboured, throughout his writings, to fix upon men branded with heresy, and more especially on Tyndale.

What then, if the Monarch, whom the retired Chancellor once so pressed to pursue such a course, shall now turn round, and either from personal apprehension, or from having tasted of blood, which he had urged him to shed, shall become indifferent to his own, as well as that of others? What, if he shall now deal chiefly in charges for *treason*, and cease persecuting his subjects for *heresy*? When writing out his folio pages, early and late, More could not foresee such a change; otherwise he would certainly have spared his ink, and spent his wit on some other subject. But such was the fact. Heresy had been the death-word before; it is now changed for another, and that word is treason. Once on a time, the busy Chancellor would have rejoiced, if heresy and treason had been convertible terms; but now, in England, heresy, so called, is to be let alone for its season, and treason is to be the imputation. Nay, more than this, treason shall now be the denial of Henry's supremacy, as Head of the Church; although, some time before, it would have been fatal for any subject to have asserted this; and before this year comes to an end, it shall be treason in any man to call the King a *heretic*, notwithstanding. For five years his Majesty had been dealing with heresy, so called, and even attempting to convert *it* into treason; and though not put to death himself, for so doing, yet, for as many years after, the charges of treason shall bear upon *himself*, and almost all involve the idea of fear for his own personal safety. Without doubt, Henry was often not a little afraid. He had been setting himself against the truth, nay, against the King of Zion, and the reaction will, by and bye, shake his kingdom to its centre.

It was after Parliament rose, that the oaths of allegiance to the King, to the lawfulness of his marriage, and the succession to the crown, came to be tendered to all parties. Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher, hesitating, they were committed to the Tower, till the meeting of Parliament. Henry was greatly irritated against both: and it being apprehended, if they had books and paper, that they would write against the King's marriage, or his supremacy, these were denied them. Thus it was, emphatically, that More's controversial career came to an end.

The remaining political events of this year may be soon told. In April, an "Inhibition" of all seditious preaching, or, in other words, saying any thing contrary to the acts just passed, was sent out by Cran-

¹⁵ The sufferers for heresy, next year, were the only exception; but they were natives of Holland, called Sacramentaries, or Anabaptists, and as to them some fear was entertained of their *political* influence, and hence all others were ordered to leave the country.

mer.¹⁶ In June there was a public proclamation against the supremacy of the Pontiff. In August, the observant Friars of St. Francis, strongly suspected of opposition to the supremacy of Henry, were unhoused, when many of them took their departure. This was a preliminary feeler, put forth with an ultimate view to the Monasteries, and all other religious houses throughout the kingdom. In September, Clement died at Rome, surviving his sentence against Henry only six months. He was succeeded by Farnese, or Paul III. In October, Secretary Cromwell was made Master of the Rolls, and on the third of November, Parliament again sat to the 18th of December.

All preceding Acts of Parliament bearing upon the great controversy with Rome, were now fully recognised and confirmed. It was made treason for any one not only to deny the King's dignity, but his attendant title, as "Head of the Church of England;" nay, once calling him heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, subjected every man to the same imputation! By this Parliament also, both Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were attainted for misprision of treason, so that, in six months hence, we shall see them come to their unhappy end.

And now that the year has closed, its political events were unquestionably pregnant with meaning; but, above all, there was *one* loaded with significance, and intended as a lesson to the Nation entire. The great body of the people, still sunk in ignorance, could not be expected to understand this lesson. The guilt of not doing so, lay with the better informed. The pen, indeed, was busy, including that of the King himself, that all might be informed concerning "the Pontiff's *usurped* supremacy," for such was the phrase employed; and Richard Sampson, Dean of the Royal Chapel, published for the learned everywhere, his Latin Oration on the subject.¹⁷ He said of the Pontiff's supremacy, what certainly could not be affirmed of Henry's,—“With a certain secret, or still consent of men, the Bishop of Rome crept into this realm,”—adding, however, that which was manifestly *not true*,—“but now is it enacted, with an open and *universal consent*, that ye should no more be subject to this foreign power.”

To this crisis the King of England had driven on, and to this strain of writing, he and his satellites were now shut up; for, with regard to the separation of this country from Rome, it has already been demonstrated, that Henry the Eighth had no credit whatever. At the moment, “he meant not so,” neither did he in his heart so intend. Could he only have moulded the Pontiff to his will, no such event had happened during his administration; and had Clement not been under

¹⁶ Harl. MS., No. 6148, fol. 20.

¹⁷ This was replied to afterwards, in his usual style, by Cochlaeus, who was now as busy as ever, but more especially against *Scotland*, as we shall see in its proper place.

the control of the Emperor, Henry would have been an adherent still ; as, in opinion, if he had any opinions, he remained to the end of his life.

But although the Monarch was unteachable, although he acquired no wisdom, and absolutely learnt nothing ; still this great and significant event, as it was calculated, so was it intended to teach his subjects—Not surely that they should turn away from one presumptuous official human being, the Pontiff at a distance, to any other, and, more especially, to such as the King, at home ; but to *Him* alone, who is “ wise in heart, and mighty in strength, and who, if He will not withdraw his anger, the proud helpers,” sooner or later, must “ stoop under him.” If a man, such as CLEMENT, very well informed, who was possessed of no inferior abilities—“ Naturally grave, diligent, assiduous in business, and averse from pleasures ; orderly and regulated in all things ; in his conduct serious, circumspect and self-conquering ;”—for such is the character given of him by Guicciardini ;—if such a man had been pushed about and trampled on ; had been agitated in his official proceedings, and not unfrequently made to wring his hands with vexation ; if, within the City called Eternal, he had been almost starved to death, in durance vile, and mocked by a brutal soldiery, till he was daily in terror of his life ; if, robbed of his temporal sovereignty, he remained a mere puppet under his conqueror, and was befooled, in turn, by all the great sovereigns of Europe to his dying day ; then, certainly, if ever there was a voice in the providential treatment of any one man, styled Pontiff, upon earth, there had been one here. And what did that voice say to the *King of England* personally, if it did not say—“ Beware especially of treading in *his* footsteps, in matters called religious ; but be wise, and be instructed ?” And what to all his *subjects* if it did not amount to this—“ If *any* man defile or destroy the Temple of God, him shall God destroy ?” But however loud, and however distinct might have been the voice of warning to both King and people, it was disregarded ; emphatically disregarded by both : nor was the Divine Word once appealed to for guidance at such a crisis ; though it was tortured by professed theologians to answer their purpose. Henry and his Council were, indeed, for ever dabbling in something called religion, but “ the natural man discerneth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned ;” and we must not expect to find his Majesty have any discernment, or, consequently, any taste for these things, nor even his leading advisers.

This year, amidst all the policy, and even the wrath of statesmen, still absorpt in their own affairs, concurring events, in which the overruling hand of God had been conspicuous, were favourable to the progress of Divine Truth in Britain. That cause, continued to be one *by itself*, and still certainly

without any visible *Head* in England. There had been frowns, and proclamations, and denunciations; there had been solemn warnings, and martyrdoms; but never one smile from the Throne, no sanction from the Privy Council, not one voice in Parliament. But what did all this signify? We observe edition upon edition of the New Testament, as well as the Law of God, prepared at a distance, for English eyes. The cause was God's; by way of emphasis, *His*. He alone had carried it on, in defiance of all the power and policy of the nation; and He will continue to do so, after the same marked and peculiar manner, until the Sacred Volume He was now giving to this favoured country, shall be completed; but that will not be till three years hence.

Yes, it will bear to be repeated, that this cause had been advanced, in a manner altogether different from every thing else, whether in this, or in any other country, at the moment; and no historical error can be much greater than that of merging it, in what was doing in any other European nation. The greater error would be to represent it, as *merely* an effect or consequence of contemporaneous movements elsewhere. Correctly speaking, it was the Almighty, employing human agency after a peculiar fashion; while, with that unpretendingness, and without that show of authority, which is all his own, He was drawing nearer and nearer to the land which he purposed to favour so highly. After all we have related, and what is yet to come, it was a course of procedure to be observed, with veneration and adoring gratitude, by the posterity of Britain to the latest age.

Little more than ten years ago, William Tyndale was walking towards St. Dunstan's, near Temple Bar, to proclaim the Word of Truth, having indeed one kind-hearted friend, who had, from sympathy, invited him to abide under his roof, but who was afterwards called to a sharp account for having so done. To "withdraw man from his purpose, and to hide pride from man," God sent his chosen instrument abroad, and employing him to prepare the boon, with a very few others, of no note whatever, to convey it; He himself had been the breaker up of the way into England, and, as we shall find, into Scotland too. After this, there was no Boanerges in any quarter of the entire Island: influential or commanding human voice, there was none; nor, for all these years, was

any such demanded. No, but as we have seen, the good seed had been sown by a higher hand.

“ Jehovah here resolved to show,
What his Almighty Word could do.”—

Among all the wonders He hath wrought for this favoured Island, and they are now numerous as the sand upon her sea shore, there is not one to be compared with His conveyance of the Bible to its inhabitants; nor should the *way* in which he did so, be confounded with other passages in English history; much less be “buried in forgetfulness, or in oblivion die.”

Thus much it was incumbent to repeat here, in point of justice to the past, and before we find one ray of approbation coming from any one, in what is styled an *influential* station of life; though even this will pass away, like a transient gleam, before the clouds return; when the hostility of certain men in England, will burst out afresh, till at last it proves fatal to the man whom God had employed from the beginning.

But to proceed. After such efforts made in printing the Scriptures in Antwerp, and to the extent which we have already witnessed, it may naturally be expected, that we shall discover in England itself, at least some of the grounds of encouragement. The intelligence of all that was transacted in Parliament, of course, went to Antwerp immediately, for there was no city on the Continent, where every thing passing in London was better known, or so soon. The bill introduced by the Commons, which would have the effect of taking any who were suspected of heresy, out of the hands of the Bishops, was of itself ominous of better days. Originating in a complaint against the late Lord Chancellor and the present Bishop of London, and this complaint terminating in such a cure, was better still. There must have been various other encouraging circumstances, of which we have no account; but there was one party now in England of whom, till now, we have heard nothing so tangible and distinct.

The reader is fully aware that five years ago, a gentleman of Antwerp, Mr. Harman, was grievously molested by Hackett the English envoy; that he, and his wife, equally zealous with himself, were confined in prison for months, and had been seriously injured through the furious enmity of both Hackett and Wolsey. Such a change had taken place, that he was now arrived in London, and to seek redress! It is worthy of

remark, that he did not apply to Audley, the Lord Chancellor of the day, though certainly a very different man from either of his predecessors; nor to Cranmer; nor to Crumwell; but to the Queen herself.¹⁸ The writings of Tyndale had been for years well known to her; and that she had stolen a march upon his Majesty, with one of his publications, cannot be forgotten.¹⁹ Unhappy man! It apparently interested him for the moment, but it was only as the voice of John did the ear of Herod, or that of Paul the ear of Agrippa; since all such impressions, for Henry was not without them, like the morning cloud or the early dew, passed away. The Queen, however, though she had been in no favourable situation, had been interested, and now, it is quite evident, more than ever. At all events, Mr. Harman or Herman fully succeeded in his application, and fortunately, the very letter written on his behalf, by Anne Boleyn herself, has been preserved. The following is a copy.

By the Queen.

ANNE THE QUEEN.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, RICHARD HERMAN, merchant and citizen of ANTWERP, in Brabant, was, in the time of the late Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship, of and in the English house there, for nothing else (as he affirmeth,) but only for that he, still like a good christian man, did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hinderance in this world, help to the setting forth of the NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH: We therefore desire and instantly pray you, that, with all speed and favour convenient, ye will cause this good and honest merchant, being my Lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship, aforesaid, and the sooner at this our request, and at your good leisure to hear him in such things, as he hath to make further relation unto you in this behalf. Given under our signet, at my Lord's manor of Greenwich, the xiiii day of May. *To our trusty and right well beloved, Thomas Cranwell, Squire, Chief Secretary unto my Lord the King's Highness.*²⁰

Whatever may be said, whether to the praise or disparage-

¹⁸ At this moment, or in the same month, if not the same day, the style of Craumer when enforcing one of his *own* requests, is worthy of quotation—"And albeit I may, if I would, obtain the King's Grace's favourable letters, and the Queen's Grace's also, for the furtherances and accomplishment of this request, yet for as much." &c. Harl. MS. 6148, fol. 1B.—*Craumer's Remains* by Jenkyns, I. 110.

¹⁹ See page 219.

²⁰ Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 330. We observed the pen has been drawn across the words, "still like a good christian man." Strype has omitted the words, and Sir H. Ellis has put them in a note at the bottom, but we restore them, under the impression that "an enemy hath done this." The Queen never could, nor would she have so sent her letter, sealed with her own signet, to the Secretary of State, nor would such terms occur to any copyist. Though only the month be given, that the letter was written this year is evident. The year before, Anne was engrossed by her coronation, and by the 14th of May 1535, the situation of Tyndale and other circumstances entirely forbid the idea of such a letter being sent then.

ment of Anne Boleyn, it should not now pass unnoticed that no *man*, either of influence or office in all England, ever so expressed himself, *while* Tyndale lived. Nor is this merely a letter of authority; the sentiments of the writer appear throughout, and it also conveys some information. From one expression it is evident that Mr. Harman had done much more than coolly import the volumes. "With his *goods* and policy to his great *hinderance* in this world," he had done this. Every one acquainted with the history of the Hanse towns, knows how much had been involved in the forfeiture of his privileges as a merchant adventurer. The "English house," like all these towns, exercised a judicial superintendence over its members, and punished them by a species of commercial excommunication. Mr. Harman had evidently been suffering under this for years. He had been a friend of the cause, and therefore the friend of Tyndale.

As Crumwell had been appointed "chief Secretary of State," only one week before the date of the preceding letter, this must have been one of his earliest acts in that capacity. But the tide is turning for a short season, and so does the "chief Secretary" with it.

On the whole, what singular recollections does such an incident as this suggest? What a striking difference between even the letter of Cranmer, only eleven months ago, and the present? *That* involved the death of "one Fryth going to the fire," Tyndale's friend and assistant; *this* is in vindication of all that Tyndale had done! We glance at the contrast, only in justice to the change which had, for this year, taken place, but there is one other reflection which seems to be forced upon us.

Tunstal, that early opponent, once of great power, was yet alive, and what would he have said, or not have said, in 1526, to such a document, from the Queen of England? He is now *professedly* approving of the Pontiff's entire exclusion from this country, nay, and preaching this to the people; while there is no word now of "the crafty translation of the New Testament in the English tongue, containing that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, dispersed throughout all our diocese of London, in great numbers."²¹ But this is *the* book itself, and

²¹ See his proclamation or injunction, anno 1526.

this is one of the very men, who to his damage and loss, had so heartily imported it. The writer had these days in her eye, when she took up her pen; and yet, says the Queen, Harman was only acting in character, and doing only what he ought to have done, "as a good Christian man." Wolsey and Warham were in their graves. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were in the Tower. Tunstal and Gardiner and Stokesly are muzzled. Norfolk, the Prime Minister, must wink hard. The Secretary of State is requested to proceed forthwith, "the sooner at this our request;" while Henry himself, wilful, wayward, and reckless as he was, is, at the least, occasionally now kept in check by the writer of this letter.

It was fit that the very book which had been so vilified, so trampled on and burnt, by the King, Wolsey, Warham, and Tunstal; which had been fastened in derision, by Sir Thomas More, to the garments of Tyndale's brother, or the men who were then marched to the spot, where they must cast it into the flames;—nay, the book which had been denounced from the Star Chamber by the King himself, should at last meet with some *such* notice as this; and that it should proceed from the pen of one, who, at this moment, could turn the heart of even such a Monarch. The Translator himself should never be forgotten, but *he* never set his foot on English ground again; the change was the work of no human hand, and more than the finger of Providence was here. Is it too much to say, that for the sake of His Blessed Word, first its entrance into this country, and then its effects, God had shown strength with his arm, and scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts?—had put down the mighty from their seats, and honoured a man of low degree? Nor had the word, so singularly introduced, returned to him void. Think of the many whom Fryth had met with in England before his death, and of the high character he gave them. God had filled his own, however poor, with gladness, though of the rich, there was only *one* at this moment to justify the whole proceeding, and thus far espouse the hated though uninjured cause.

This token of regard, on the part of Queen Anne, was not unfelt by Tyndale. He must have known her sentiments as well as most men, and been fully apprised of her influence; an influence which had been at once deprecated and dreaded

by the old school. He had learnt also of this incident in sufficient time for him to lay down at the press, *one* copy of his corrected New Testament, on vellum. Beautifully printed, with illuminations, it was bound in blue morocco, and the Queen's name, in large red letters, equally divided, was placed on the fore-edges of the top, side, and bottom margins: thus, on the top, ANNA; on the right margin fore-edge, REGINA, and on the bottom, ANGLIÆ—Anne Queen of England.

The Translator, when he put forth his first edition, in that spirit which Christianity alone inspires, *sunk* his own name; and would have done so afterwards, but for the character and writings of his amanuensis, Roye; and this year the interference of Joye; but here he does so once more. Even his name is withdrawn, and with great propriety, all *prefatory* matter is omitted. Tyndale was no sycophant. There is no *dedication*,—no compliment paid, as there never ought to be, to any human being, along with God's most holy Word. The history of this beautiful book, since it was handled by Anne Boleyn, above three hundred years ago, would have interested any reader; but all that can here be stated is, that the last private individual into whose possession it had come, was the late Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode. After his death, in April 1799, the volume came into its proper place, when, with his large and valuable library, it was bequeathed to the British Museum.

The Scriptures, as translated by Tyndale, were now coming more freely into England, and were reading in various places with all eagerness. No man was now molested abroad, as Mr. Harman had been, nor was any man to be tormented at home, for selling or buying, possessing or reading them, as had been the fashion too long. For the moment at least, the storm was changed into a comparative calm, and it is curious to contrast all this, with the doings of the Convocation, which sat in November and December. By their own journal, it appears that they addressed the King before rising.²² This was on the 19th of December, and exhibited a striking proof of a house divided against itself. Their resolution passed both Houses of Convocation, in which they all agreed that *Cranmer* should make instance, in their names, to the King, that his Majesty

²² Journal of the Convocation, fol. 60.

would vouchsafe, for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to command that all his subjects in whose possession any books of *suspected doctrine* were, especially in the *vulgar* language, imprinted beyond or on this side the sea, should be warned, within three months to bring them in, under a certain pain, to be limited by him! And that, moreover, his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree, that the *Scriptures* should be translated into the *vulgar* tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the King, and to be delivered to the people *according to their learning!*

The *first* request exhibits the influence of Gardiner and Stokesly in the Convocation, the latter that of Cranmer; and it seems to be evident that the two parties must have come to a compromise, for the sake of each party securing, if possible, its favourite request; or this might be a *feeler*, put forth to ascertain more precisely the existing state of their *master's* mind. At all events, the two requests exhibit glaring inconsistency, since the books of *suspected doctrine* might be made to include all the *Scriptures* ever yet printed. How Cranmer acquitted himself with the King, is not upon record. There was, however, *no* interdict, *no* collecting of books; but the reader must not fail to observe next year, when Cranmer comes to attempt a translation of the New Testament, by actually employing these Bishops, what was the result, and how they wrangled.

Meanwhile, dreaming, as some of these men in this Convocation were, about the *Scriptures* being translated, for it was but a dream; what a singular contrast is presented in the editions of Tyndale printed this year, and the vindication of Harman, by the Queen herself, for importing them eight years ago! And now, if at last, after such long and vigilant pursuit, Tyndale himself was about to be betrayed into the snare so basely laid for him, his seizure will only add renewed vigour to the press. Besides the Testament by Joye, we have already mentioned Tyndale's own corrected edition finished only in November; but their year ran on to the 25th of March, and before that day we have not fewer than three impressions all *dated* in 1534. The books being nearly of one size, rather less than Tyndale's own, may be mistaken for the same edition, but there are various points of distinction.

I. "The Newe Testament, Anno MDCXXXIII." printed within an ornamented compartment; at the top, Jesus preaching on the Mount; on the right side, the brazen Serpent; on the left, Moses with the two tables, and at the bottom G. H. on a shield, perhaps the initials of the printer; the name, if found out, will appear in our list. II. "The Newe Testament, Anno MDCXXXIII." also in black letter, but *not* in a compartment, nor having any such initials affixed. These two books have been compared. The first is in the collection of Earl Pembroke at Wilton house, the second is in that of Lea Wilson, Esq. They are in the same type, but the folios of the first are paged throughout, the second is *not* paged at all; and there are various characteristic differences, both in the orthography and the disposition of the pages. III. "The New Testament, Anno MDCXXXIII." also in a compartment with G. H. &c. This edition, imperfect, is in the Bodleian, and as described by Herbert p. 1543, and Dr. Cotton p. 131, might be mistaken for the first mentioned. But this book, though the numbering of the folios be often incorrect, runs from Matt. fol. i.—ccclx. falsely numbered ccclxii.; whereas the Testament at Wilton-House runs only from Matt. fol. i.—ccclxvii. This *third* book, however, owing to what Dr. Cotton has said, we have ranked under 1535, (see p. 455,) though perhaps the above might have been also placed there.

Besides these, there is in the Bristol Museum a Newe Testament in *quarto*, dated on the back 1534—certainly ancient, but the title-page is gone. Dr. Gifford thought it might have been printed in *Scotland*, as Lewis did, of one in 1536; but an acquaintance with the interesting state of *Scotland*, as about to be given, precludes every such conjecture.²³

In justification of the anxiety felt by Tyndale respecting the reprints of his translation by others, it deserves notice, that in *both* the Testaments first mentioned, there is an omission which unfortunately became *parent* of the same mistake in not a few subsequent editions. It is in 1 Cor. xi. The words—*"This cup is the New Testament in my blood"* are left out! The omission, though significant at such a time, could scarcely be intentional, as it could answer no end; but it occasioned the leaf to be *reprinted* in various instances afterwards.

Thus the contrast between the Convocation held in England and these busy men abroad, furnishes one of the most observable features of the time. It was like a flag of defiance hoisted in Antwerp, to signalize the moment, or the consequences, of Tyndale's apprehension.

²³ With reference to these Testaments dated in 1534, it should here be observed, that in describing Lord Pembroke's copy, Lewis (pp. 73, 81,) has confounded it with the edition by Joye, already mentioned; and Lowndes, apparently thus misled, has attached to it the widow of Endhoven as the printer, thus representing another New Testament as coming from the same press, in the same month of the same year, with that of George Joye! Until another copy be found, that of Joye's in the Grenville Library must be regarded as *unique*. There is no such book at Wilton-House, in the Bristol Museum, or St. Paul's Library.

SECTION XII.

TYNDALE'S APPREHENSION AT ANTWERP—IMPRISONMENT IN THE CASTLE OF VILVORDE—DISTINCT INFORMATION CONVEYED TO CRUMWELL AND CRANMER—THE STRENUOUS EXERTIONS OF THOMAS POYNTZ—RISKING HIS OWN LIFE, BUT IN VAIN—TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN PRISON—STATE OF ENGLAND—KEY TO ITS COMMOTION—HENRY'S SUPREMACY—FISHER AND MORE FALL BEFORE IT—THE ODIUM ENSUING—THE VISITATION OF MONASTERIES—CRANMER AND THE BISHOPS—CRANMER AND GARDINER IN COLLISION—THE LATTER OFFENDING—HIS DEXTERITY OR ADDRESS—HE IS TRANSLATING LUKE AND JOHN!—GARDINER AND POLE—SPAIN—FRANCE—GERMAN STATES, AND BARNES AS ENVOY—THE BISHOPS APPLIED TO FOR A TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—A FRUITLESS ATTEMPT—AND IN CONTRAST ONCE MORE, WITH FRESH EDITIONS OF TYNDALE'S TRANSLATION, PRINTED AND IMPORTING THIS YEAR.

THE last year turned out to be nothing more than a brief respite, or a transient gleam of sunshine. The present was distinguished throughout, by the imprisonment of Tyndale *abroad*; by the agitation and perplexity of public men, as well as by cruelty and bloodshed at *home*. The former was an exhibition of enmity to the truth on the part of its opponents; the latter, gave decided proof of fear for the safety of the throne. But before adverting to the peculiar state of affairs in England, we first proceed, as in previous years, to enquire respecting the Translator of the Scriptures.

After a thorough investigation of this period, there can remain no hesitation in ascribing the apprehension of Tyndale, to the influence and authority of the *old* party in England, in alarm at the steady progress of the "*new* learning." "A *plan* was laid," says Foxe, "for Tyndale being seized in name of the Emperor." By the *name* of the Emperor, as now mentioned, could be meant nothing more than the authority of the persecuting decrees he had sanctioned; but from any share in this plan, Henry, in the *first* instance, must be entirely exonerated; as the chief agents employed will turn out to have been as great enemies to the King of England, and his *royal* progress, as they were to Tyndale and his *providential* one. For years, it is true, Tyndale had been deemed a man of such importance, that he had enjoyed the dis-

tion of having been pursued by the agents of Wolsey the Cardinal, and of the King himself—of Sir Thomas More the Lord Chancellor, and even Crumwell, the future vicegerent; but in the final seizure, his Majesty had no concern whatever; though at *last* he will certainly come in for his full share in the guilt of Tyndale's death. In the concealment of this plot from Henry before it commenced or succeeded, we descry, not improbably, the existing powerful influence of the Queen, Anne Boleyn. Had she been apprised of it, and moved the King, this might have proved fatal to the scheme.

Up to this hour, it has all along been generally supposed, that there was only *one* man hired to apprehend our Translator; but there was a second, of far greater note as to character, joined with him, both in counsel and action; and so, says Halle, "he was betrayed and taken, as *many* said, not without the help and procurement of some Bishops of this realm." The *help*, partly consisting in money, of which we shall find, presently, there was no lack, is to be traced, therefore, to this source. The Bishops, in 1527, had leagued together under Warham, and contributed to the strange and fruitless project of buying up the New Testaments to burn them; and now, though Warham be gone, several survivors of the same temper, were still more eager to consign the Translator himself to the flames. That Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, who had succeeded against Fryth, was in the secret, and deeply concerned in the intrigue, there will be little or no doubt presently; but *if* so, he may have been the *chief*, for such was the well known temper of the man. "Unless," says Bonner, who knew him well, "unless he was the only and chief inventor of any matter, he would have thwarted it." Tutored and bred up under Wolsey, though the King and the Cardinal, Sir Thomas More and Crumwell, had not succeeded, and though abroad neither Hackett or West, Sir Thomas Elyot or any other agent, had been able to apprehend Tyndale; yet intimately acquainted with all circumstances, with persons and places, and of great address, there was no man now alive, who excelled Gardiner in gaining his end, by secret and circuitous methods. As his strength and skill lay in fetching a compass, like the gyrations of a hawk before pouncing on its prey, so was he much more likely to succeed in ensnaring Tyndale than any one who had previously

attempted it. At least, no other individual knew so well how to take advantage of the rising discontent of monks and friars.

The men in England selected on this occasion, were *Henry Phillips*, belonging to Poole in Dorset, on the borders of Gardiner's diocese; and the other individual, in counsel with him, hitherto altogether unknown, was *Gabriel Donne or Dunne*, a monk from Stratford Abbey, who had proceeded to Louvain. The former, a good-looking young man, acted as the *gentleman*, and the latter in disguise, as his counsellor and *servant*.

The apprehension of Tyndale has been sometimes supposed to have happened at the end of last year; but as his confinement before death has been limited even to a year and a half, it seems to have commenced not sooner than the beginning of the present year. Certain parts of the story cannot be better told than in the words of Foxe; but we shall now interweave a variety of other particulars, hitherto unnoticed by any historian, and not a few of them altogether unknown.

“WILLIAM TYNDALE, being in the town of *Antwerp*, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of THOMAS POYNTZ, an Englishman, who kept there a house of English merchants;¹ about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Phillips, his father being a customer (belonging to the custom-house) of Pool, a comely fellow, like as he had been a *gentleman*, having a *servant* with him: but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

“Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by means whereof this Henry Phillips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Poyntz; and had him also, once or twice with him, to dinner and supper; and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Poyntz; to whom he showed, moreover, his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor!

“Poyntz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Tyndale how he became acquainted with this Phillips. Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Poyntz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him, by some friend of his. The said Phillips being in the town three or four days, upon a time, desired Poyntz to walk with him forth of the town, to show him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the King's affairs; by which talk, Poyntz, as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he had intended. In the meantime, this he

¹ This seems to be Foxe's mode of expressing that Mr. Poyntz was an English merchant-venturer, belonging to “the English house” of Antwerp.

well perceived, that he bare no great favour, either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the King of England. But after, when the time was past, Poyntz perceived this to be his mind; to feel, if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was *monied*, and would that Poyntz should think no less; but *by* whom, it was unknown. For he had desired Poyntz before, to help him to divers things, and such things as he named, he required might be of the *best*, 'for,' said he 'I have money enough;' but of this talk came nothing but that men should think he had some things to do. So it was to be suspected, that Phillips was in doubt to move this matter to any of the *rulers* or *officers* of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Tyndale should have had warning.

"So Phillips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four (rather 30) English miles, the King having there no Ambassador;² for at that time the King of England and the Emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the King and Catherine, who was aunt to the Emperor; and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war; so that Phillips, as a traitor both against *God* and the *King*, was there the better retained, as also other traitors besides him; who after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their hands, showed himself likewise against the King's own person, and there set forth things *against the King*.³ To make short, the said Phillips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that Procurer-general, who is the Emperor's Attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was not done with *small* charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

"Within a while after, Poyntz sitting at his door, Phillips's *man* came to him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said his *master* would come to him, and so departed; but whether his master, Phillips, were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Poyntz heard no more, either of the master, or of the man. Within three or four days after, Poyntz went forth to the town of Barrois,⁴ being eighteen (rather 24) English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks;⁵ and in the time of *his absence* Henry Phillips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Poyntz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying—'what good meat shall we have?' She answered, 'such as the market will give.' Then went he forth again, as it was thought, to provide, and set the officers whom he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; 'for,' said he, 'I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage, between this and Mechlin.' So Tyndale took him forty shillings, which was easy to be had

² This was a mistake. *Taughan*, of whom we have already heard, was still there.

³ The reader will come to full proof of this presently.

⁴ This Barrois, Barrow, Barough, Bergen, we repeat, is no other than *Bergen-op-Zoom*, now greatly blocked up by the sands of Beveland, but having still a communication with the Scheldt, by canal. Hence the title, Marquis of Barrough or Bergen.

⁵ In the marts or fairs of Brabant the English, and probably other foreigners, were obliged to sell their cloths, &c. in fourteen days, and make their purchases of mereery, haberdashery, and groceries, in as many more, on pain of forfeiture. These fairs were frequented by the English, French, Germans, and other nations.

of him, if he had it ; for in the wily subtilties of this world, he was simple and inexpert.⁶

“Then said Phillips, ‘Master Tyndale, you shall be my guest here this day.’ No, said Tyndale, ‘I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome.’ So when it was dinner time, Master Tyndale went forth with Phillips, and at the going forth of Poyntz’s house was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Tyndale would have put Phillips before him, but Phillips would in no wise, for that he pretended to show great humanity, (courtesy.) So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Phillips, a tall comely person, followed behind him ; who had *set* officers on either side of the door on two seats, who being there might see who came in the entry ; and coming through the same, Phillips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale’s head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he, whom they should take ; as the officers afterwards told Poyntz ; and said, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity, when they took him. Then they brought him to the Emperor’s attorney where he dined. Then came he, the attorney, to the house of Poyntz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale’s, as, well his books as other things, and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of VILVORDE, eighteen (rather 23½) English miles from Antwerp.” Thus far at present the narrative of Foxe.

Though Mr. Poyntz was from home, his friends, among the merchant-adventurers of the English house, were immediately alive to what had happened, and application was made without delay to the court of Brussels, but without effect. Many of these merchants were much in favour of Tyndale, but they communicated as “the English house” officially, through one of their number, elected periodically, called their GOVERNOR. This was at present one *Walter Marshe*,⁷ and he, if not an enemy to the cause for which Tyndale was seized, was at least indifferent. England, it is true, had no influence with the Emperor, who, at all events, was then engrossed by his famous enterprise against the piratical states in Africa ; and though Stephen Vaughan, of whom we have heard, was still at Brussels, he seems to have been indisposed to say or do any thing, after all he had suffered at Antwerp, through the violence of Sir Thomas More, now himself a prisoner in the Tower. Vaughan, however, had received no instructions from England, and without these, perhaps, would not interfere. The merchant-adventurers were a powerful body of men, and

⁶ The betrayer, in this instance, first took from his kind hearted and unsuspecting victim, more than “thirty pieces of silver.” Two pounds then, was equal in value to *thirty* pounds of the present day.

⁷ Or Marsch, not improbably related to John Marshe, cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham.

had Marshe, as Governor, only taken up the outrage as soon as it was committed, and with the spirit which became him, Tyndale, most probably, would have been extricated. *His* tardiness was prejudicial to the case, and, as we shall see, much regretted at the time. But by no other man was the painful event so deeply felt and lamented, as by the kind and generous host of Tyndale. This gentleman of family, Mr. Poyntz, upon returning home to Antwerp, resolved at least to do *his* duty; and he did so with a noble zeal and fortitude for which he ought, long ago, to have been better known. This will appear presently; but intervening events first demand our special notice. They are ultimately connected with Tyndale's apprehension.

The state of the Continent, at this period, having become exceedingly critical, with regard to Henry's personal security as King of England; it became necessary for that division of his Privy Council who favoured his movements, to have a watchful eye over the secret intrigues of the adverse party, and their correspondents in foreign parts. For *ten* long years, it is now very observable, Tyndale had been working abroad, and *only for good*; to whom the Monarch and his ministers had been ever opposed; but now, another man is becoming active and formidable, who, for more than *twenty* years, and abroad too, shall work *only for evil*; his baneful influence extending not only until the death of the reigning King, but to that of two of his children. This was Reginald Pole, the future Cardinal, whom Henry had cherished, and educated with a princely munificence, and even kindness, such as he had never shown to any other human being.⁸ The cousin of the King, and now abroad; of polished manners, possessed of the best education, having easy access to the highest circles, wherever he travelled; the vivacity of his genius, and his playful affability, endeared him to all. His Majesty, having literally made him the man he was, became eager to have his opinions in writing, as to himself and his movements; expecting, of course, that they would be entirely in his favour.

⁸ "Out of all the English nobility," says Pole himself, addressing the King, "you selected me to have a careful education. You had me instructed in virtues and letters from a child. If I have profited but little, it has been my own fault, but your kindness was certainly very great. It was such that no kingly father could have given more to a prince, his son. No man could have conferred upon another an ampler benefit, nor one more pleasing to the Deity himself."—*De Eccl. Unit.*, p. 120.

Pole assented, and all the time living on Henry's bounty, carried on the delusion. His opinions grew into a volume, which he began in January of this year, and so late as June, he had the profound hypocrisy to give assurances, in writing, that he meant to serve the King in the cause desired.⁹ His book, however, such as it was, had been completed in *March*, but it was retained for more than twelve months after that, and shown to select enemies, just as if intended to produce the more astounding effect on the day of its presentation, next year.¹⁰

Now, comparing the last ten years with all those that followed, it is not difficult to perceive the finger of retributive justice pointing out the contrast. But it is rendered far more striking from a singular coincidence at the present period, and never before observed. It was this. Henry's mind continued in great kindness and respect for Pole, down to the end of April, or the beginning of May, this year. It then became necessary to watch him. But the *same* man who was now engaged to examine and report as to the state of the Continent, and the movements of POLE; in his very *first* despatches, brings the imprisonment of TYNDALE before the eye of both Crumwell and Cranmer. He writes, however, merely as though he would *inrite* their sympathy; for it is evident, from his style, that he had received no instructions to enquire with kindness after him. The writer, Thomas Tebold,¹¹ (Theobald,) was a man of no notoriety; but being well qualified, by shrewdness and address, to answer Crumwell's purpose, he was to travel from city to city, and report. He had left England about the end of June, proceeding first to Antwerp, and by the middle of July commenced his first letters, despatching them at the end of the month. Both are full of information, and having never before been printed, we give them entire. The first is addressed to Crumwell.

“Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that the last day of July I do take my journey from Antwerp straight to Nurenberg, from whence I may always

⁹ Cotton MS., Cleop. E. vi., fol. 334.

¹⁰ See an analysis of Cardinal Pole's character and writings, his virulent and treasonable language, in Turner's *Henry VIII.*, chap. 23.

¹¹ His name is spelt in different places, Tebold, Tybbald, Thebold, and Theobald; we use the last, as that which he himself finally did. This man had been a student at Louvain; he could speak Latin fluently, and Crumwell's wish was, that he should now acquire *German*, as well as other languages. He generally subscribes himself his *god-son*—and Cranmer, in writing to the Continent, calls him *his friend*.

send letters to Antwerp by post; and so I have spoken in Antwerp to an Englishman, called John James, both to convey such letters as I send unto him, to England, and, likewise, such letters as shall come from England, to be conveyed up to me, so soon as I have received my banks in Nuremberg, and there agreed with my merchant and other acquaintance, to convey at all times my letters to Antwerp. Then I will go to an University called Tübingen, or else to some other University nearest to Antwerp, for the intent I may write often, and send with speed, to your Lordship.

“News here, at this time, be none, but that here is most earnest communication that the French Queen, and her sister the Queen of Hungary, shall meet together at Cambray now afore Michaelmas, (29th September.) All these Low Countries here, be most earnest with the Bishop of Rome and his traditions, and therefore he hath now sweetly rewarded them, sending them his deceitful blessing, with remission of all their sins, so that they fast three days together, and this is given *gratis*, without any money. Here is an evil market,—that whereas he was wont to *sell* his pardons, by great suit and money, now he is glad to offer them for nothing! And yet a great many make no haste to receive them, where they be offered. I do hear that the Bishop of Rome is contented, and doth desire to have a General Council, and that this matter is earnestly entreated of divers. I am sure, if this be truth, your Lordship hath heard of it or this time, more at large.

“*He that did take Tyndale, is abiding at Louvain, with whom I did there speak; which doth not only there rejoice of that act, but goeth about to do many more Englishmen like displeasure; and did advance this, I being present, with most railing words against our King, his Highness, calling him—‘ Tyrannum ac expilatorum reip,’—tyrant and robber of the Commonwealth.*

“He is appointed to go shortly from Louvain to Paris in France, and there to tarry, because he feareth that *English merchants* that be in *Antwerp*, will hire some men privily to do him some displeasure unawares.

“Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that I have determined a better way to send my letters by—and that is, by one Thomas Leigh, merchant of the staple in Calais, which is of great acquaintance with my Lord, his Grace of Canterbury, &c. Written in haste, at Antwerp, the last day of July, by your *godson* and daily bedesman, THOMAS TEBOLD.”¹²

The reader may recollect a notable man, John Tibald, examined before Tunstal in 1528, who suffered much. This may have been some relation; but, at all events, from the close of the letter, the writer seems to have been long known to Crumwell, who was now at once promoting his education, and employing him for other purposes. But his second letter, addressed to Crammer, is much more pointed.

“Pleaseth it your Grace, that I have delivered your letters unto Mr. Thomas Leigh, which, according to your writing, hath delivered unto me twenty crowns of the same, which money, God willing, I will deliver where your Grace assigned.¹³ Within these sixteen days, I take my journey from Antwerp, the

¹² Galba. B. x. 31, but marked in the Catalogue, by mistake, as addressed to Crammer.

¹³ This may have been money for his uncle-in-law, Oslander. Theobald was going to Nuremberg, and Crammer, in 1532, having married the niece of Oslander, the pastor of that city, kept up a correspondence with him for many years.

last day of July.¹⁴ And because at my first arrivance at Antwerp I found company ready to go withal to Cologne, I went to see my *old* acquaintance at Louvain. Whereas I found Doctor (Bockenam) Buckingham, sometime Prior in the Blackfriars in Cambridge, and another of his brethren with him. I had no leisure to commune long with them ; but he shewed me, that at his departing from England, he went straight to *Edinburgh* in Scotland, there continuing to Easter last past ; and then came over to Louvain, where he and his companion doth continue in the house of the Blackfriars there ; having little acquaintance or comfort but for their money ; for they pay for their meat and drink a certain sum of money in the year. Alsoever that, I can perceive them to have it *only by him that hath taken Tyndale*, called Harry Phillips, with whom I had long and familiar communication, for I *made him believe* that I was minded to tarry and study at Louvain.”

It will be observed that the writer of this letter shows no scruple at informing *Cranmer* of his dissimulation ! It was one reigning vice of the times : but this information is at once curious and important. Perhaps the reader may recollect, that Buckingham was the man, whom Latimer so successfully exposed, at Cambridge, in 1526. By this letter it appears that he must have lived for some time among his brethren, in the Blackfriars' monastery at Edinburgh, on the high ground opposite the *wynd* of that name, or nearly in the site of the present Royal Infirmary. Having received intelligence from Louvain, Buckingham, in company with some other friar, had left that city about the 28th of March. There was evidently a bond of union between the parties, and Phillips paid all charges, possessing, as we have learned, money at command. This, by the way, is one token of Tyndale's powerful influence in *both* countries, of which there will be ample proof, when we come to treat of North Britain ; so that Scotland, however remotely, must now come in for her share, as well as England, in the guilt and shame of persecuting to the death their common and highest benefactor. But these men were generally friars, and all the friars hated TYNDALE, as they had done WICLIFFE, with a perfect hatred. Theobald, however, went on to inform Cranmer, of all the other circumstances.

“ I could not perceive the contrary by his communication, but that Tyndale shall *die* ; which he doth follow, and procureth with all diligent endeavour, rejoicing much therein ; saying that he had a commission out also for to have taken *Doctor Barnes* and *George Joye*, with other.¹⁵ Then I shewed him that

¹⁴ Hence he had *begun* to write both letters on the 15th of that month.

¹⁵ These two names certainly point us, and directly, to GARDINER and his party ; for he was the inveterate enemy of both men. *Joye* was now at Embden, where he had published his “*Subversion of More's false foundation*,” against the fallen Chancellor. *Barnes*, in November last, had taken a bold step, which must have greatly incensed Gardiner, as well as all the Bishops

it was conceived both in *England* and in *Antwerp* that GEORGE JOYE should be of counsel with him, in taking of Tyndale, and he answered that he never saw George Joye, to his knowledge, much less, he should him. This I do write, because George Joye is greatly blamed and abused among merchants, and many other that were his friends, falsely and wrongfully.

"But this foresaid *Harry Phillips* shewed me, that there was no man of his counsel, but a monk of *Stratford Abbey* besides London, called GABRIEL DONNE, which at that time was student in Louvain, and in house with this foresaid Harry Phillips. But now, within these five or six weeks, he is come to England, and, by the help of Mr. Secretary, hath obtained an Abbey of a thousand marks by the year in the west country.

"This said Phillips is greatly afraid, in so much as I can perceive that 'the English merchants,' that be in Antwerp, will lay watch to do him some displeasure privily. Wherefore of truth he hath sold his books in Louvain, to the value of twenty marks worth sterling; intending to go hence to Paris, and doth tarry here upon nothing but the return of his *servant*, which he has long since sent to England, with letters. And because of his long tarrying, he is marvelously afraid lest he be taken and come into Master Secretary's handling, with his letters.

"Either this Phillips hath great friends in England to maintain him here; or else, as he showed me, he is well beneficed in the bishopric of Exeter.¹⁷ He railteth at Louvain, and in the Queen of Hungary's Court, most shamefully against our King his grace and other.¹⁸ I being present, he called our King his Highness,—*tyrannum, expilatorum reipublice*,—with many other railing words, rejoicing that he trusteth to see the Emperor scourge his Highness, with his council and friends. Also he said, that Mr. Secretary hath privily gone about matters in Flanders and Brabant, which are secretly come to the knowledge of the Queen of Hungary, the governess here, which she reckoneth one day, at her pleasure and time, to declare to his rebuke. What this meaneth I cannot tell, neither could I hear farther; but if I had tarried there any time, I should have heard more.

"— I beseech your Grace to render thanks unto Sir Thomas Leigh for his pains that he took for me in making my bank and otherwise, at the instance of your Grace's letters. I am minded to send all my letters from Nuremberg by post to Antwerp, to a merchant there of Thomas Leigh's acquaintance; which will always send them most surely with speed to him. Written at Antwerp the last day of July, by your bedeman and servant, ever to my small power, THOMAS TEBOLD. 'To &c. my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace.'¹⁹

of the old learning. He then had put forth his "Supplication to Henry VIII;" explaining his original quarrel with these men, when he was examined before them, and sadly abjured; saying that he was now ready to meet them in argument; a measure on which Barnes would not have ventured, had the tide not been turning in favour of some alliance with the Lutherans. The fact is, that Barnes had already arrived on the Continent when Theobald was writing, and not as a private character, but as no less than *Envoy* from Henry to the German States! It was, therefore, a bold step indeed to propose seizing him; but such was the rage of the party and their willing agents, the friars. At this very moment, Barnes was in Hanburgh, on his way to Wittenberg, and we shall hear of him again, before the year is ended.

¹⁶ The information given as to the time of the monk's return, and his resort to the west of England, was perfectly correct, as will appear in due time.

¹⁷ Vesey, Bishop of Exeter, was a decided enemy of the new learning, and Cardinal Pole was Dean of Exeter. We shall find Phillips, ere long, in great distress, earnestly soliciting an audience of the Cardinal, but in vain.

¹⁸ He refers to Mary, sister of the Emperor, once Queen of Hungary, and still occasionally so called, though now she was Princess Regent of the Low Countries.

¹⁹ Galba, B. x., fol. 102. 31st July 1535. Marked by mistake in the Catalogue 153).

Thus then, whatever is to become of our immortal Translator, by the month of August 1535, it plainly appears that both Cranmer and Crumwell were very distinctly informed of the circumstances connected with his apprehension. The former, especially, is warned of Tyndale being in imminent danger of death, as well as of a certain Monk by name, deeply implicated. Was it possible that, in future life, he could ever forget the name of this man? But whether the Archbishop or Mr. Secretary then moved one step; or whether Tyndale, to say the least, was ultimately neglected and forgotten, and this very monk was left at large to be promoted; it must be left for the sequel to explain. At all events, Tyndale has still fourteen months to live. Here was ample time to interpose.

Previously to these letters, however, some application had been made to England, for the report in Antwerp was, that his Majesty *had* interfered, requesting Tyndale to be sent back to that city. It was but a groundless rumour! But August had now come, when Mr. Poyntz, like a sound-hearted Englishman, and impatient of delay, could no longer refrain. At such a crisis, it is refreshing to find that there was one man true to his *crest*, throughout;²⁰ whether Crumwell or Cranmer move or not. His first step was to send an earnest letter to his brother, imploring his immediate and most zealous exertion. It is dated "at Antwerp, 25th August 1535."

"Right well beloved brother,—I recommend me unto you, and to [Ami,] your wife, trusting in God that you be in good health. Brother, the cause of my writing to you at this time is, as seems to me, for a great matter concerning to the King's Grace; for though I am herein abiding, yet of very natural love to the country that I was born in, so also for the oath and obedience the which every true subject is bound by the law of God to have to his Prince, compels me to write that thing [which I] know or perceive might be prejudicial or hurtful to his most noble Grace;—which may come through counsel of them, that seek to bring their own appointments to pass, under colour of pretending the King's honour, and yet be as the *thorns* under a goodly *rose*,—I might say, very traitors, in their hearts, reckoning at length to bring their purpose to pass, as they have always done, through such means. Who they be, I name no man; but it is good to perceive it must be the Papists, which have always been the deceivers of the world, by their craft and juggling.

"For whereas it was said here, the King had granted his gracious letters in the favour of one William Tyndale, for to have been sent hither; the which is in prison, and like to suffer death, *except* it be through *his* gracious help. But it is thought those letters be stopped.

²⁰ A cubit arm, erect, the fist clenched, pp. vested arg.

“This man was lodged with me, three quarters of a year, and was taken out of my house, by a Sergeant-of-arms, otherwise called a dove-wardore, and the Procurer-general of Brabant; the which was done *by procurement out of England*, and, as I suppose, unknown to the King’s Grace, till it was done. For I know well, if it had pleased his Grace to have sent him a commandment to come into England, he would not have disobeyed it, to have put his life in jeopardy. But now these privy (lorcarys) lurkers, perceiving that his Grace, of his entire will would have sent for him, by the means whereof, it is to be thought, they fear that if his Grace, (as no doubt but his abundant goodness is such he would) charitably hear him,—then it might be the froward’s fate for their purpose they went about. Wherefore it is presupposed, that they have solicited this to his Grace or to his Council,—that the putting to death of this man here, in this country, might be to the King’s high honour, making greatly for his purpose in time to come, when a (his) matter shall be disputed, if it come thereto. Wherefore, if it be their persuading, they know themselves it can stand in none effect, to no purpose, but might be greatly against his Grace, in that, and other things. Whether this be their device, or be what other mischiefs mean, I cannot tell; but be, whatsoever it be, if a poor man might and durst boldly reason with them, I think if they had either fear of God, their Prince, or shame of the world, they should (would) beware or ever they did go about to procure such a thing. For they would that the King should highly favour them, because they can prevent such things for his Grace, and be the mean whereof they may come to high promotions, and stand fast in them; and so as they may bring *that* to pass, they care not: And the effect of their [motions] is nothing else, nor is it possible it should be, of them that seek their [all] in worldly pomp, whatsoever their outward pronouncing be. And to play with his Grace, as some men do that be put in trust, and with confederacy with others, deceive them that put them in trust, and handle it so that he shall make the party think he has done more for him than his reward is worth. And so play ‘Schoggyn behynde hys boke.’ When these crafty fellows meet, they jest and put at *him* they have so cleanly deceived, and though afterward it be knowu, yet they care not, for it shall be reckoned among such as they be, for great wisdom. Wherefore they be past shame, and the party past his remedy.

“But a poor man that has no promotion, nor looks for none, having no quality whereby he might obtain honour, but of a very natural zeal, and fear of God, and his Prince, had (lever) rather live a beggar all days of his life, and put himself in jeopardy to die, rather than to live and see those lying counsellors to have their purpose,—for some men perceive more than they can express by words, the which sorrow it inwardly, till they see remedy.

“And by the means that this poor man, WILLIAM TYNDALE, has lain in my house three quarters of a year, I know that the King has never a *truer-hearted subject to his Grace this day living*, and for that he does know that he is bound by the law of God to obey his Prince. I wot it well, he would not do the contrary, to be made Lord of the World, howsoever the King’s Grace be informed; but what care these Papists for that? For *their* pompous and high authority have all things been holden up, by murder and shedding the blood of innocents; causing Princes, by one mean or other, to consent with them, to the same.

“Brother, about eighteen or twenty years ago, they at Rome, to magnify the King’s Grace in his style, gave him the name ‘Defender of the Faith,’ the which may be likened to the prophecy of Caiaphas, when he said—‘It is expedient for us, that one man die for the people, that all do not perish.’ That prophecy was true, but yet contrary to his meaning. So likewise, they thought,

by the mean thereof, he (our Prince) should be a great maintainer of *their* abominations. Howbeit, God, the which sees all things, has entered his Grace into the right battle, according to that style, as never Prince has done so nobly since Christ died, in the which I beseech God give him victory.

“ And that his Grace be not persuaded to let be undone, what might greatly prevail thereto, by the death of this man, which should be a great hindrance to the Gospel ; and, to the enemies of it, one of the highest pleasures : But, and if it would please the King’s Highness to send for this man, so that he might dispute his articles with him at large, which they lay to him, it might, by the mean thereof, be so opened to the Court and the Council of *this* country, that they would be at another point with the Bishop of Rome, within a short space. And I think he (Tyndale) shall be shortly at a point to be condemned ; for there are *two* Englishmen at Louvain, that do and have applied it sore, taking great pains to translate out of English into Latin those things that may make against him—so that the Clergy here may understand it and condemn him, as they have done all others, for keeping opinions contrary to their business,—the which they call, ‘ the order of holy Church.’

“ Brother, the knowledge that I have of this man, causes me to write as my conscience binds me ; for the King’s Grace should have of him, at this day, as high a treasure as of honour ; *one man living [there is not] that has been of greater reputation.* Therefore, I desire you that this matter may be solicited to his Grace for this man, with as good effect as shall be in you, or by your means to be done ; for, on my conscience, there be not many perfecter in this day living, as knows God, who have you in keeping.

“ Your Brother,

THOMAS POYNTZ.

“ Brother, I think if that WALTER MARSCH, now being *Governor*, had done his duty effectually here at this time, there would have been a remedy found for this man. There be many men care not for a matter, so as they may do ought to make their own seem fair, in avoiding themselves that they be not spied.

“ *To his well-beloved brother, John Poyntz, Gentleman, dwelling
in North Okendon, in Essex, this be delivered.*”²¹ }

The presumption, if not the certainty, is, that it was *this* letter which at last took effect ; for we have now the proof that Tyndale’s situation must have been explained to his Majesty. Mr. John Poyntz had been, for twenty years, in familiar intercourse, not only with the Court, but the King ; he had been *long* about the King’s person, and *in* the household, though now at his estate in Essex. Hence the style of his brother’s letter. It was to be a *direct* appeal. At all events, Crumwell was roused at last. He had indeed spoken with great bitterness of Tyndale, when writing to Vaughan ; and we have seen Cranmer, too, in company with Sir T. Elyot, then charged to seize him ; but the times had now materially changed, and they alike wavered with them. Be-

²¹ Cotton MS., Galba, B. v., fol. 60.

fore, there was no such Queen upon the throne; and Crumwell could not have forgotten her letter to himself, last year, respecting Mr. Harman. He, therefore, now acts very differently, at least for a little moment. Since Marshe, the Governor of the Merchant-Adventurers, had been complained of as so remiss, the messenger despatched had been directed to wait upon another person, Mr. Robert Flegge; and he replies, on the 22d of September, in the following terms—

“—Pleaseth it your mastership to understand, that the tenth day of this present month of September, was brought to me, by one George Collins, two letters sent by your mastership, as he reported, the one directed to the Marquis of Barough, (Bergen-op-Zoom,) and the other to the Bishop (Archbishop) of Palermo. And when I understood that the said letters came from your mastership, I did my best diligence to make enquiry whether the said Lords were in the Court or not; then I was informed that the Marquis of Barough was departed two days before, towards Dutchland, (Germany,) as Governor and ruler of the Princess of Denmark, to conduct her to her husband, the Palsgrave. Supposing the said letters were of importance, I sent one of our merchants (Mr. Poyntz) after him, with the said letters, and to bring the answer thereof. Also I had written to the said Lord Marquis, desiring him, right humbly, that he would vouchsafe to write to such of his friends in the Court, which should do for you, as much in his absence, as if he were present, in all such causes as your mastership should have to do before the Queen and the Council. Whereupon I have received a letter from the said Lord Marquis, wherein he writeth, that he is very sorry that it is his chance to be absent from the Court at this time, so that he cannot do the King's Highness and you such service, as his good mind and will is to do. Also he wrote me, that, according to my desire, he had written to his great friend, the Bishop of Palermo, concerning your causes, that, in everything, he should, for his sake in his absence, do therein as if the matter extended to his own person. He is the man that may do most in these matters, of any other resident in the Court at this time.²²

“And so is come from my Lord, the man that I sent the letters by, *the bringer hereof*, and brought with him both your letters, and the Lord Marquis's, and delivered them to the Lord of Palermo. Whereupon the Lord of Palermo spake with the Queen and the Council, and hath made you such answer, by writing, as this bringer hereof shall deliver you, the which, I pray God, may be to the King's pleasure and yours, &c.—At Antwerp, the 22d day of September, an. 1535.”²³

By Foxe's narrative, in his *first* edition, we learn that Flegge had consulted with the chief English merchants—that Mr. Poyntz had to proceed sixty miles to the eastward. However, he overtook the Marquis at Achon, (Alkhen,) fifteen miles from Maestricht. On reading the letter addressed to him, the Marquis, at first, retorted, that “there were of *their* countrymen *burned* in England not long before”—allnd-

²² *Carondelet*. Lord Archbishop of Palermo, and President of the Council.

²³ Cotton MS., Galba, B. x., fol. 62.

ing to the Dutchmen burnt in Smithfield. Poyntz acknowledged the fact; "howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship, or any other nobleman, had written, requiring him to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied."—"Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the Princess is ready to ride." Then said Poyntz, "If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you to the *next* baiting place." The Marquis assented, adding, "if you so do, I will advise myself by the way, what to write." At Maestricht, accordingly, Mr. Poyntz obtained the letters referred to by Mr. Flegge; one to the Brabant Council, one to the Merchant-Adventurers, and a third to Crumwell. Mr. Poyntz proceeded direct for London, but there he had to wait during the greater part of the month of October. "At length," says Foxe, "the letters (in reply) being delivered him, he returned and delivered them to the Council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same." This was on or before the first of November.

"When the said Poyntz had tarried three or four days, it was told him, by one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tyndale would have been delivered to him, according to the tenor of the letters; *but Phillips being there*, followed the suit against Master Tyndale, and hearing that *he* should be delivered to Poyntz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to *accuse* Poyntz; saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a sneeomer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only *his own* labour and suit to have Master Tyndale at liberty, and no man's else.

"Thus, upon his information and accusation, Poyntz was attached by the Procurer-general, the Emperor's Attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two Sergeants-at-arms. The same evening was sent to him one of the Chancery with the Procurer-general, who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be enquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him, *but of his message*. The next day likewise, they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days, one after another, upon not so few as a *hundred* articles, as well of the King's affairs, as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders, and of his religion. Out of these examinations, the Procurer-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Poyntz."

Eight days after, he was ordered to have his answer ready. Meanwhile, he must send no message to Antwerp, or any other place, but by the Brussels post: he must send no letters except in German, and these to be examined first by the Procurer-general: he must speak only in that language, that

his keepers might know every word he said. To this last rule there was but one exception, when an *English* Noviciate of the White Friars was allowed by their Provincial to converse with Mr. Poyntz. It was only a politic step, to ascertain his principles, before receiving his written answer. Among other topics, Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester, and their executions in England this summer were introduced, as one key to their purpose. On the eighth day, when the Commissioners came for the answer in writing, Mr. Poyntz had not his excuse ready, when they gave him another week. He then presented a general reply, but they insisted upon a specific answer to each of the articles, separately. Thus he "trifled them off" from the first of November to the twenty-fourth of December. On the morning of that day, they informed him, that if his reply were not brought in before night, he should be condemned without it: It was eight in the evening before the Procurer-general received the document. This led to a tedious alteration in writing, during which process, Mr. Poyntz demanded bail, on security being offered. They at first assented, but afterwards declined to take any security whatever. He had applied to the English Merchants in Antwerp, for surety, and had they come forward, it would have altered the case from a criminal to a civil one; but, strange to say, if they actually had received the application, it was in vain. In the meantime, the expenses of this process were accumulating to a considerable amount. During the whole time, Poyntz was not in a common prison, but in the keeping of the two Sergeants-at-arms: besides his own expenses, he had to maintain *them*, so that the daily charge was not less than five shillings; an enormous sum in those times. Altogether he had now been detained about thirteen weeks, from the first of November to Candlemas, which, at five shillings daily, had cost about £23, or equal to above £300 of the present time. For part of these charges they now demanded payment or surety, and gave him eight days to settle the matter. Poyntz sent a messenger to the English Merchants who were then at Barrow (Bergen) Market, resolving, however, not to wait his return. If taken, he knew it would be but death, and so during the night he contrived to escape, and at the opening of the city gates, in the morning, got off. As soon as it was perceived that he was gone, men

on horseback were sent out in pursuit; but he knew the country well, and at last arrived safely in England.

Here is a man, hitherto unknown, though certainly he now demands our most grateful remembrance. For his friend he could not possibly do more than he had done. It was the most memorable exploit in his whole life; and what is remarkable, we shall, by and bye, find it to have been engraven on his *tomb-stone*, which, we are gratified to add, is *still distinctly visible*, and not far from London.

With respect to Tyndale himself, now in close confinement at Vilvorde, we are not altogether without information. The fact of his imprisonment was now well known in England, Scotland, and Germany; and the zeal against him was "burning hot," especially at Louvain, a place long celebrated for its ardent attachment to the old learning. This may easily be conjectured from the men now arrayed, and apparently *gathered together* against him. *Dunne*, having fulfilled his commission, and for six months done his best, had left for England; but *Phillips* and *Buckenam*, with others, were still at Louvain, only twelve miles from Vilvorde; and they, in conjunction with the doctors there, had led Tyndale into discussion. He, having been permitted to reply in writing, was not slow to answer. "There was," says Foxe, "much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the University of Louvain; in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he, most pithily, grounded his doctrine."

They had, indeed, now laid Tyndale in prison, but even this could by no means prevent the progress of his work. It must not pass unobserved, that there came out this year another, or the *third* edition, of his "Obedience of a Christian Man," and it may very safely be presumed not without his approbation, if not concurrence; as it was printed at Marburg, where he and Fryth had dwelt.²⁴ Wolsey had been five years in his grave, whose policy it so effectually exposed; but Tyndale had there said, even *after* the Parliament of November 1529, that as they had not *uprooted* the tree, it would grow

²⁴ It is in 12mo. black letter—"Marlborow in the Land of Hesse, 1535:"—*Bibl. Martiana*, vol. 1., no. 2892, p. 136.

again. By the reprint, therefore, he seemed to repeat, that, in his estimation, much still remained to be done in England; and he himself was now suffering under the very system he had there exposed. The republication at this period, however, would certainly not contribute to his enlargement, nor would it now help to raise him in the estimation of Henry VIII. Once on a time, it is true, he is reported to have said—"this is a book for me and all kings to read,"—but then, to such a man, there were "hard sayings" in it, and that emotion had died away.

Another piece also now appeared, and appropriate to the war then waging with the Doctors of Louvain. This was Wicliffe's Wicket, or an exposition of the words "*This is my body*," accompanied by Tyndale's judgment respecting the Testament of William Tracy.²⁵ But the most memorable circumstance was, that in this, though the year of Tyndale's imprisonment, not fewer than *three* editions of his New Testament came from the press. These, however, will come before us, with much more effect, after we have observed what was doing in England, or that country for which they were all intended.

Upon returning into England, the altered or peculiar character of public affairs invites our special notice. For the gratification of his own passions, and for this alone, Henry the Eighth, in his long contest with Clement, had now wrought his kingdom into a distinct and very marked position; not only as it regarded Italy, but the rest of Europe. Before the death of that Pontiff, in September last, the contest was, in many respects, a *personal* one, and there had been not a little of mutual personal provocation; but now that another man, Paul III., has succeeded at Rome, and circumstances are so changed at home, two questions naturally occur—What was the actual state of England? and what were the intentions of the executive government?

In addition to those titles which his ancestors had worn for ages, his Majesty might assume an additional one, involving vast claims; but it by no means followed as a consequence, either that the nation would bow assent, or his own Council see eye to eye. Henry, therefore, though the resolute monarch still, nay, more so than ever, was, after all, within his own kingdom, in fact, only the head of a PARTY, and the mind of

²⁵ "Wycliffe's Wycket, whiche he made in Kyng Rycarde's Days the Second, 1399; with the Testament of Mr. William Tracy, Esquier, expounded by William Tyndale, wherein thou shalt see, with what charitie the Chancellor of Worcester burned, when he took up the dead carcase, and made ashes of it, after it was buried. 1535."—*Bibl. Harl. No. 2889.*

England was divided. Not merely divided between him and the Pontiff, which it certainly was, as long as he lived; but the Volume of Inspiration had been introduced from time to time, for the last nine years, in spite of all opposition, and it was now working, as it had done, with an influence irresistible. Here, although hidden, lay the future stability of England, notwithstanding a divided Cabinet, and a monarch so capricious.

All men in turn, it is true, must bow to the Sovereign's will and pleasure, yet did this never prevent his having two parties, inveterately opposed to each other, and continually standing in his presence. They did so to the hour of his death; and, during the entire period of his future reign, these two parties continued to rise and fall, like the corresponding scales of a balance; while the monarch himself, a "double-minded man," and therefore, "unstable in all his ways," was often "driven as by the wind and tossed." The *old* party were hostile to the liberty of the subject, or the enlargement of his just rights, but, above all, to the liberty of the press, and the progress of the human mind in Divine knowledge: the *new*, although bloated by time-serving, as well as notorious compliance with the passions or vices of the monarch, and occasionally not scrupulous in the means employed to gain their end, were, however, overruled by God, for bringing the kingdom into better times. At the head of the former still stood the Duke of Norfolk, the Prime-Minister,²⁶ and Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, that able, but deceitful man. Crumwell, Audley, and Cranmer, conducted the other party; while under both there were, of course, active subordinate agents. The influence of Anne Boleyn, in her character as Queen, was decidedly in favour of the advancement of truth; but this influence operating at once as a restraint or correction of the old party, and a check on her unbridled husband, her career soon closed, though in a manner which has scarcely even yet been fully explained.

Meanwhile, let it be observed, that, during the whole of this year, there was no meeting of Parliament, nor any Convocation held in England.²⁷ The prospective measures, which had been sanctioned in the close of 1534, afforded quite enough of employment till February 1536, when both Houses sat, after a prorogation of fourteen months.

The transactions of the present period deserve notice, as an exhibition of the King of England still advancing in the exercise of his newly assumed prerogatives. The last Parliament having, for the augmentation of the King's royal estate, assigned to him the *first-fruits* of all

²⁶ The only man, so long near his person, of whom Henry was at once jealous and afraid.

²⁷ There is some confusion in Burnet, and others, in regard to this. In one place he marks the *long* recess, in another he appears to forget it. There was no meeting in the spring, and in the fall of the year the plague prevented any Session. All the measures of 1535 rose out of the Parliament and Convocation of 1531; or from Henry's will and pleasure.

spiritual livings, and the *tenths* throughout the kingdom, Henry resolved not to be deceived. Some step must be taken to ascertain what, and how much, these exactions *ought to be*. We forget not that the Observant Friars of Greenwich and Richmond, of Canterbury, Newark, and Newcastle, had already been put down, and this of itself must have produced not a little excitement; but they were not possessed of wealth, so that a far more important key to the commotions ensuing, may be found in the "Instructions and Commission of Henry," on the 30th of January, for knowing "the *whole and just yearly value* of all possessions, lands, tenements, profits, &c., as well spiritual as temporal, pertaining to any manner of dignity, monastery, church, parsonage, vicarage, or other dignity, throughout England, Wales, Berwick and Calais." The Commissioners, when once appointed, were to survey the same "effectually, with all uprightness and dexterity, as they were to answer to his Majesty at their peril!"²⁸ The precise yearly income of every Bishop, nay, of every parsonage, must now be made apparent to all; the revenue of every minor abbey, priory, or monastery, would no longer be a secret. The sweeping decree came with equal pressure on every priest, and upon all the friars, whether white, black, or grey. Such a step, it may easily be presumed, would not only rouse up the kingdom, but it accounts for many a heart-burning, as well as many a plot and intrigue that now followed.

His Majesty had resolved also to be supported in his assumed Supremacy, by an *oath*, to be taken by all parties; and the reader must not forget, that it was now become *treason* for any man, either to deny the King's dignity, or to call him heretic, schismatic, or tyrant, on account of any thing he had done, nay, or was yet to do! When this act was passed in the last Parliament, "it put many," says Strype, "who were still devoted to Rome, into very terrible concern."

The situation of Henry was critical in the extreme; perhaps never more so than at this moment. Two measures, one relating to the *minds* of his subjects, the other having an immediate eye on their *property*, had been determined. Both were now full in view, having been made known to all, and the oath in favour of the King's supremacy was to be first enforced. Then came the days of the shedding of blood; but the word of terror was changed. For years it had been *heresy*, but as far as Englishmen were concerned, it was now *treason*. On the part of the Government, a certain system is very observable in the order of procedure, while it is not difficult to perceive in this *order*, the tokens of retribution. Thus, the Clergy had been the main, if not the sole persecutors, till now, and from them obedience was now to be *first* exacted. To prepare the way, the earliest cruelties were inflicted on men of an inferior

²⁸ See the original instructions, on vellum, signed by the King, and the Commission, for the same purpose, 30th January, Cotton MS., Cleop. E. iv., fol. 167

grade. On the 4th of May, five individuals were hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason; these were a monk, a vicar, and three priors, all natives of England; ²⁹ but, on the 25th of the same month, as many as nineteen men, and six women, were arraigned. These were Hollanders, and not fewer than fourteen of the number were condemned and burnt for heresy; though the fear felt must have been respecting their *political* influence.³⁰ Again, on the 19th of June, three monks,³¹ of the Charter-house, in London, were hanged for treason, all of whom were executed *in their habits*; but still, these revolting cruelties could not shake the resolute minds of two far more eminent men, firmly opposed to the title on which the King now doated. These were, *Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, and *Sir Thomas More*.

The Bishops, in general, had hitherto bowed to the times, and all escaped with their lives; but here was FISHER, a formidable case for Henry, not merely among his own subjects, but especially at Rome; yet, with Crumwell by his side, there was to be no favour nor exception. This old man, now in the seventy-seventh year of his age, once stood above all in the King's estimation; when he was in the habit of boasting that no Prince in Europe possessed a prelate equal to him, in virtue and learning. He it was, it may be remembered, who had been expressly selected by Henry, to preach the first sermon at the burning of books, and the recantation of Barnes; but not long after this he began to sink in the royal favour. In 1527, he had resolutely refused to sign the paper declaring the King's first marriage to be unlawful, and then he became counsel for Queen Catherine. In 1529, he had loudly exclaimed against the bills introduced into Parliament by the Commons, affirming that they all had but one object and intention, and that was—"Down with the Church." He had been implicated in the strange business of the Maid of Kent, and being judged guilty of misprision of treason, had been left in prison more than a year, and treated with great neglect, nay, shocking severity. And now that the oath of succession, under the Great Seal, was tendered to him, the utmost that he would promise was, that he would swear to the *act* itself, but not to the *preamble*, which included the King's beloved title. The Pontiff at Rome, aware of his situation, (perhaps by a foolish bravado, and to inspirit the English malecontents,) sent to Fisher the red hat of a Cardinal. Crumwell went to sound him as to whether he would accept of it; but it is of little moment what he said in reply, as the event seems only to have hastened

²⁹ These were Richard Raynold, for whom Cranmer, on the 30th of April, interceded in vain; John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth; Prior Houghton, of the Charter-house; Prior Webster, of Bevall; Prior Laurence, of Exham. The rumour was, that they had combined to kill the King.

³⁰ As it appears by certain expressions of Henry, next year, when writing to Germany. These were the men to whom the Marquis of Bergen alluded, see p. 429 last line.

³¹ Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdigate, three young men of good families, the last of whom had been brought up at court.

his destruction. That self-same article, which Wolsey had imported with such mock solemnity and pomp, which used to be borne on high before him by a person of rank, and laid on the altar whenever he came into the Royal Chapel, was now to be treated by Henry, the Defender of the Faith, with truly sovereign contempt.³²

The aged man was arraigned before Sir Thomas Audley, the judges, Crumwell, and three peers; and that, too, as *the late* Bishop of Rochester; for since Cranmer's appointment, the Legislature had made and unmade Bishops, denying all right to any other authority. Fisher had entertained no objections to Henry's strange title of "Defender of the Faith," and most probably had assisted him to attain it;³³ but the present claim to be "Head of the Church," was out of the question with him, and firmly denied. The indictment for what they then called treason, having been found against him on the 11th of June, he was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the morning of the 22d; his head afterwards, with shameful barbarity, having been placed *in terrorem* on London Bridge.³⁴

A more notable person was soon to follow; for this oath must also be tendered to the *laity*. At the very top of the list, in point of reputed talents, eloquence, and character, stood Sir Thomas More, and to him the oath was now administered. Like Fisher, he proposed to swear to the act, and not to the preamble; but this similarity of sentiment only the more excited the King's suspicion and fear, that there was lurking treason, and far more involved, in this second firm refusal, than met the ear.³⁵

To uphold that system, which, in England, was now tottering to its base, More had laboured like another Hercules. Many a tedious sheet had he penned, night and day, and many a thrust had he aimed at our Translator; and yet now he must die before him, and soon follow that Bishop to the grave, who had so early preached in St. Paul's against the books of the new learning. But, perhaps, the most striking point of all was, that in the net, by which he had hoped to ensnare others, was his own foot taken. He had been eager to prove that Tyndale and his followers ought to be held guilty of treason, as well as heresy; and now, for his *own* opinions, he is held to be guilty of that very crime; while

³² One account states, that Fisher replied, "If the Cardinal's hat were laid at my feet, I would not stoop to take it up, I set so little by it."—Another, that he said, "If it should come, I would receive it on my knees." But if the reader wish to have farther information as to this trial and death, he may consult with advantage, an article by John Bruce, Esq., in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pp. 61-69.

³³ See the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 76, *note*.

³⁴ Owing to a mistake in the Catalogue of the Cotton MS., Cleop. E. vi., fol. 204, one may be misled to imagine that another man died, or was tried, along with him. This is described as "a bill found against *Bishop Fisher* and James Whalworth for denying the King's supremacy." It is a true bill found by a grand Jury against *John Rochester* and James Whalworth, two *Carthusian Monks*, though for the same reputed offence. Though "John Rochester" was Fisher's official signature, the manuscript, of course, alludes to some monk of no note, named Rochester.

³⁵ Cranmer had advised that their oaths should be received, with the limitation they had proposed, as this might deprive the Emperor abroad and Catherine at home, of the support derived from their example; but Henry was bent on the intimidation of all others. He might blame Anne Bolyn, but he justified himself, in the most violent language, to the King of France.

the monarch, whose honour and dignity he had been professedly so eager to uphold, now stands in his way, and barbarously exacts his life. Nor do the tokens of return for past offences end here. Sir Thomas, when in power, had been severe in the extreme, towards his Majesty's subjects, putting them to death for what they called heresy, upon *old if not obsolete* statute, without application for the King's writ or sanction; and now that King, although Cranmer and others were alike eager to save him, had made a *new* law, to which every knee must bow, and he will on no account suffer his old Chancellor to escape. The first lay Lord Chancellor for the last 125 years, must therefore be the first layman to suffer death at this crisis. He had been first sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, but this decree was changed into that of decapitation, and he suffered accordingly on the 6th of July in the fifty-sixth year of his age. "In both cases," says Southey, "the work of retribution may be acknowledged; as persecutors both sufferers had sinned, and both died as *unjustly* as they had brought others to death. The consideration is important in a Christian's view, but it affords no excuse, no palliation, for the crime." Certainly not, nor will the odium of the death of both these men ever cease to recoil upon the royal murderer.³⁶

Sir Thomas More having had a fortnight to reflect on the death of Fisher, it would have been well for him, if he had taken example by the last end of his friend. In *his* behaviour at death there was not one iota to provoke remark; but, to say the least, in regard to More's deportment at that moment, the opinion has never been unanimous. He had resolved to die as he had lived, and fond to excess of smartness of expression, he carried his facetiousness with him to the very block on which his life was extinguished. This has been represented by some as magnanimous, and by others the wit, if it deserve the name, has been smoothed down as merely characteristic of the man. But in connexion with this playfulness, displayed on the very borders of another world, is it fair to forget the peculiarity of More's *professed* faith? Or in estimating the character of the man, and more especially of his mind, is there any discrimination shown in passing over this? He had written laboriously in favour of *purgatory*, and consigned his fellow creatures to destruction, without mercy, for denying it. If, then, he believed in it *himself*, was it likely that he would prefer plunging into such a state as he had so graphically described, with a jest upon his lips? Was such a manner of meeting death, at all consistent with that faith for which he had written so much? Or rather, are we not now given to understand, that he had been governed, in speculation, by a theory, which, in practice, he denied?

³⁶ In a very confused passage Foxe ascribes to Fisher the deaths of Hutten and Bayfield, Tewksbury and John Fryth. The first was the work of Warham, the last we have traced to Gardiner. Bayfield and Tewksbury were martyred by Sir Thomas More and Stokesly. Fisher, no doubt, was a persecutor, and presided on other occasions, but not on these.

That he had viewed religion, of some sort, as a convenient instrument for governing the multitude, while he himself had taken the liberty of being a free-thinker all his days ! “ It is true, that good men of a high order, have been known to utter pleasantries in their last hours. But these have been of a fine ætherial quality ; the scintillations of animated hope, the high pulsations of mental health, the involuntary movements of a spirit feeling itself free even in the grasp of death ; the natural springs and boundings of faculties, on the point of obtaining a far greater, nay, a boundless liberty.”³⁷ But the pleasantries of the deceased Chancellor were of a widely different character. They were spent upon Kingston, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and in rallying the executioner, to pluck up his spirits, and beware of a stroke awry,—they descended even to the beard he wore, or the manner in which his death was to ensue. No, death is an event, *by itself*, and certainly ought ever to be so treated. Should any man, whoever he be, mingle merriment with the more solemn events of even the drama of life, he must not count upon general respect ; but if he chooses to do this with the last moments of his own earthly existence, he labours under a prodigious mistake, if he expects to insure the unanimous admiration of posterity.

Such, according to most historians, were the ostensible effects of the King's newly assumed title. Mr. Sharon Turner insists that in all these cases, it is not correct to suppose that death ensued in consequence of *merely* declining to acknowledge Henry's supremacy as Head of the Church of England. The foreign and domestic conspiracies that were afloat, against the King personally, and against his government, he supposes to have been the original charge. But we have no record of the trials ; though still, if the acknowledgement of Henry's *title* was meant or offered, to secure his clemency, as not one of the parties would accede to it, so they died. Sir Thomas had pronounced the oath of supremacy unlawful.

The deaths of Fisher and More especially, produced a deep sensation, not in England only, but throughout Europe. Two pillars of the old faith had fallen, and the indignation of Henry's political enemies rose to its height. On the arrival of the tidings in Spain, the Emperor sent for the English ambassador, and this was no other than Sir Thomas Elyot, of whom we have heard before. “ We understand,” said the Emperor, “ that the King, your master, has put his faithful servant and wise counsellor, Sir Thomas More, to death.” Elyot answered—“ I understand nothing thereof.” “ But,” replied Charles, “ it is true ; and had we been master of such a servant, we would rather have lost the best city in our dominions, than such a counsellor.” As for Paul, the Pontiff, Henry had put a new made Cardinal to death, and the *red hat* had

³⁷ John Foster.

never before been treated with any thing but reverential awe. Fisher's hat had come as far as Calais, and what became of it afterwards, no one knows. But the contempt shown was unprecedented, and the Pontiff gave out his loudest thunder, by a Bull, dated on the 30th of August. It decreed that Henry should be deprived of his dominions,—it put all places under an interdict,—declared his offspring by Queen Anne to be infamous,—absolved his subjects from their allegiance,—forbade all trading with him,—directed all ecclesiastical persons to leave his kingdom,—ordered the nobility to take up arms against him,—made void all his treaties,—urged the Kings of Europe to pursue him,—doomed all his adherents to be slaves, and ordered the prelates to excommunicate him in their churches!! This document was posted up in Flanders, France, and Scotland! But there could not have been a more foolish step: the sack of Rome had dissolved the terror once occasioned by all such raving. The Bull, after all, was suspended in its operations for the present, and still more impotently employed *three* years after this: but its contents were, of course, now known in England, where they were disapproved and opposed by even Queen Catherine herself, though such a devoted adherent of the Court of Rome.

The other measure on which his Majesty had fully resolved, as already noticed, was the *Visitation of the lesser Monasteries*, and the estimated return of the *Clergy's annual income*. The fact was, he anticipated war with the Emperor, if not invasion, and money he must have: but a deputy, firm and resolute, was essential to such a mode of obtaining it. Henry, through the instrumentality of WOLSEY, had, for a short time, once tasted the pleasure of ruling these men called Spiritual, but then *he* was, what they all acknowledged him to be, an eminent *ecclesiastic*. There was one other man, fully qualified, now at the King's right hand; but he was a *layman*, and this might have seemed to others an insuperable objection. He was merely the King's Secretary, Master of the Rolls, and in rank, as yet, no higher than a knight. No matter—he was fitted for his Majesty's purpose, and he must be clothed with power sufficient to rule over the highest Church dignitary in the land, or the entire body of the Clergy, however refractory; and, as Head of their Church, Henry, of course, could do whatever seemed to be best in his own eyes. This man, it is well known, was CRUMWELL, who, before visitors were appointed, or the visitation began, was constituted—“*Vicegerent, Vicar-General, Commissary, special and general.*”³⁰ By virtue of this office, which gave him rank next to the King himself, all the monasteries must now regard him

³⁰ Cotton MS., Cleop. F. ii., fol. 131. The date in this copy is wanting, and, indeed, the conclusion; but it is given by Collier, and dated, An. Dom. 1535. Stowe says it was 18th of July, but places it, by mistake, under 1536. Crumwell, indeed, must have been clothed with the highest official authority before these men could thus go out. We find no such commission for him as “*Visitor-General,*” as it has sometimes been stated. Burnet had not observed the commission to which we have referred, but Collier printed it as far as extant.

as their superior ; and no Convocation could sit, where he, in absence of the King, might not preside. Crumwell, therefore, having once sent out his agents or commissioners, the principal of whom were, Richard Layton, (once a fellow-servant with him in the house of Wolsey ;) Thomas Legh, William Petre, Doctors of Law ; John London, Dean of Wallingford, and others ; we shall hear the result next year. Meanwhile, they were furnished with power to visit Archbishops, and all below them—to confirm or null the election of prelates—to deprive or suspend them ! and as for monasteries, their powers were unlimited.³⁹

If from the Vicegerent, Crumwell, we now turn to Cranmer among his official and troublesome companions, the Bishops, another vivid picture of parties, and of the times, is presented. After the Convocation at the close of last year, in which Cranmer had been thwarted by Gardiner and his party ; he seems to have determined that his hands should be strengthened before another was assembled. He watched every opening ; and circumstances proving favourable to his purpose, supported as he was both by Crumwell and Queen Anne, we shall find him occupy a different position before the close of this year.

There were two Italians, Cardinal Campeggio, (who so figured away with Wolsey in 1529,) and Jerome de Ghinuccii, who occupied the Sees of Salisbury and Worcester ; but now, as no foreigners or non-residents were to be allowed, here were two vacancies to be filled up. Cranmer, at Queen Anne's instance, had begun the year by patronising Latimer and Shaxton, thus paving the way for their advancement. Latimer had been examined once and again before the Bishops in London ; and so lately as the 2d of October 1533, Stokesly had expressly inhibited him from preaching within the diocese of London.⁴⁰ It was, therefore, no slight proof of the change of the times, through the Queen's influence, that while Latimer was yet only resident on his living of West Kingston, in Wilts, Cranmer had licensed him to preach throughout his entire province ; (as Wolsey had once done throughout England,) and not only so, but appointed him *his* Commissioner to license other preachers.⁴¹ But, as early as January this year, he went farther ; and, however galling it must have been to Stokesly and Gardiner, summoned him up to London, to preach before the King and Queen, on all the Wednesdays in Lent, or from the 10th of February to the 24th of March.⁴² The reader must recollect of Latimer preaching before Henry, several years ago ; and, therefore, this was not a new thing to

³⁹ The decided proof of Crumwell having been appointed to these high offices, is to be found in the commissions received by certain Bishops from the King, to act in their several spheres, and execute everything belonging to their office, *in defect of Crumwell, as Vicegerent, not being at leisure*. The commissions to Cranmer and Lee, Longland and Stokesly, are dated in October, and Tunstal's 10th November 1533. Gardiner's was just before his going to France, in the same year, and Bonner received a similar one in 1539.

⁴⁰ Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii., p. 760.

⁴¹ Lansdowne MS., No. 1045, fol. 73, b.

⁴² *Idem*, fol. 74.

him ; but Cranmer's eager solicitude that he should make a favourable impression *now*, was very observable. Through his secretary, he advised him, "in any condition, to stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half, at the most, for by long expense of time, the King and Queen shall, peradventure, wax so weary at the beginning, that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end."—"And for your further instruction in this behalf, I would ye should the sooner come up to London, here to prepare all things in a readiness, according to such expectation as is had in you."⁴³

At the same time, Cranmer ordered Shaxton, already the Queen's almoner, to preach before the Court, on Sunday the 28th of February ;⁴⁴ who, however, on the Monday preceding, had been appointed Bishop of Salisbury, in place of Campeggio, the Italian.⁴⁵ As for Latimer, Queen Anne, it is well known, became very partial to him, as well as to his preaching ; and, on the 4th of September, he was made Bishop of Worcester, instead of Ghinuccii.⁴⁶

Charles Booth, Bishop of Hereford, having died on the 5th of May this year, and Fisher of Rochester having been put to death, two very different men succeeded—Edward Fox, the King's almoner, to Hereford, on the 2d of September ; and John Hilsey, or Hildesley, on the 4th of October, to Rochester. The former, one of the most enlightened men of the day, had been frequently employed abroad ; and after proceeding to the German States, where he spent the winter, he will make a conspicuous appearance at the next Convocation ; the latter, a Dominican friar, was once of very different sentiments, having, in the days of Wolsey, when Prior of his Order at Bristol, objected to the preaching of Latimer ;⁴⁷ but now, and to the day of his death, in 1538, he afforded valuable assistance to Cranmer. Thus it will be observed, that, during the course of this year, not fewer than *four* votes were gained to the party of the Archbishop.

Were this all, passing events might seem to be in Cranmer's favour, but this is only one side of the picture. He was far from reposing on a bed of roses. His elevation was still anything but welcome to all the men with whom he was associated. Crumwell at present, indeed, could, and did, either brave, or brow-beat any one of them ; but Cranmer was a man of different temperament.

⁴³ Harl. MS., No. 6149, fol. 41.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, fol. 41, b. "The third Sunday in Lent," which, in this year, was the 28th February. The correct date of this letter is the 9th of *January*, though it has been copied in the manuscript 9th July. In this letter Cranmer says, that he had already "suffered great obloquy," for having licensed Latimer, and that Latimer had not only so suffered, but hath "lately been endangered." It was to put down the calumny that he had "humbly sued unto the King's Highness" to grant him licence to preach before him : and it was with similar views he had now got Shaxton, the Queen's almoner, to do the same.

⁴⁵ Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage and Bishops.

⁴⁶ *Idem*.

⁴⁷ Cotton MS. Cleop. F. iv., fol. 140.

It may be remembered that Gardiner of Winchester, then the King's Secretary, and Edward Fox, just mentioned, were the persons who first introduced Cranmer to Henry VIII.; but certainly nothing could then be farther from their thoughts, than that Cranmer should so soon rise above them both, and become Primate. Fox was a candid and generous man, and, probably, had no objection; but Gardiner, as ambitious as he was crafty and cruel, invariably owed Cranmer a grudge. Ever and anon was he trying to undermine him, to bring him into discredit, or counter-work him in his progress.⁴⁸

In the Convocation of November last, Cranmer had argued for *a translation of the Scriptures*, and whether it rose out of this discussion or not, it was *then* that alarm was afresh excited, and at that very period that the plan was laid for seizing Tyndale, in which Gardiner, no doubt, was interested; but his movements at home demand notice at present. Perhaps he was never in more critical circumstances, at least during Henry's reign, nor in such fear of his neck. The times demanded all his subtlety, more especially during the months preceding and following the executions of Fisher and More; when his profound obsequiousness to the King, and even to Crumwell, the rising sun, at whose progress he must wink, stands in curious contrast with his behaviour towards Cranmer.

In the course of the spring, Cranmer had resolved officially to visit his entire province, in which, of course, Gardiner's diocese was included; but the latter, by way of bidding *higher* for Henry's supremacy than any other man alive, pretended that Cranmer's title of "*totius Angliæ Primus*," *Primate of all England*, was prejudicial, as detracting from the King's supremacy, a point on which he well knew that Henry was extremely sensitive; and, moreover, he grumbled at the *expense* to which he would be put by this proposed visitation, recollecting, no doubt, that his Majesty at the moment was athirst for money. Stokesly, a kindred spirit, at the same time resisted, and in his Register entered not fewer than three protestations against the proposal;⁴⁹ but Gardiner, coming up to the Court about the 24th of April, complained directly to the King.⁵⁰ Immediately after doing this, on the 2d of May he took care to send a letter to CRUMWELL, as to *his* visitation for the first-fruits and tenths to the *crown*, in conformity with the Act which had been passed in Parliament. But here most artfully, so far from grudging any expense, with consummate hypocrisy, he took care to express himself in the following terms:—

⁴⁸ After their first casual interview with Cranmer in August 1529, already mentioned, "his advice was so satisfactory to Gardiner and Fox, that the former, with his characteristic cunning, proposed to report it to Henry as *their own*, while the latter ingenuously acknowledged to his Sovereign the author of it."—*Todd's Life of Cranmer*, i., p. 16.

⁴⁹ Stokesly's Reg. fol. 44. By these, it appears that Cranmer had styled himself—" *Apostolica sedis Legatus*," and it was against this style that he protested, as well as for other reasons.

⁵⁰ Cotton MS., Cleop. F. i., fol. 260, the original letter of Cranmer, in which this is stated.

“ We have past over all things quietly, without discontentment shewed by any party, and without any other suit, than as shall be thought agreeable to the statute made in that behalf. Ye shall see in the valuation of my bishoprick a good portion ; but whereof I shall not receive now, very little above the one-half to mine own use. I am, in some men’s judgment, too strait in charging myself: but I will have mine own will therein: that I may be called *self-willed* for some things.⁵¹ I am bold to trouble you with my long letters, in which I talk with you as I were present familiarly. My servant shall shew you the book, and farther do as ye shall command us.”⁵²

Cranmer being then made aware by Crumwell of the complaints which Gardiner had conveyed to the King, he replies in a long letter, dated the 12th of May. As for *titles*, he professed his sovereign contempt, saying, “ I pray God never to be merciful unto me, if I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the *paring of an apple*, farther than it shall be to the setting forth of God’s word and will.”⁵³ and as for the complaint of *expense*, he overwhelmed Gardiner, by reference to his past doings in his own diocese ; but still, in the end, the visitation of Cranmer had to be given up. Perhaps the visitation of Crumwell, in quest of money for the King, rendered it inexpedient ; for however much was said respecting the immorality of monasteries, and, in many cases, not without reason, still the sole object was *money* ; and, besides, there must not, at this moment, be one breath of suspicion as to the King’s supremacy. When, therefore, September came, and before Crumwell commenced his operations, Henry gave out his letters of inhibition addressed to Cranmer, charging him and his suffragans *not* to visit the clergy or religious, till the REGAL visitation was completed. Cranmer, accordingly, had to address his mandate to Stokesly himself, as Bishop of London, who was to transmit copies of the inhibition to the rest of the provincial Bishops ; a mandate, which no doubt he obeyed with great good will.⁵⁴

To return, however, to Gardiner, and to the 12th of May ; all this time the eye of Henry had been fixed upon him, for some thing else than these complaints of Cranmer ; and but a few days after this Gardiner found, and was made to feel, that he had sunk under the suspicions of his royal Master. In a curious letter of the King’s still extant, and formally dated from Greenwich the 26th day of the 27th year of our reign, that is, the 18th of May 1535, we find the following expressions, addressed to Crumwell :—

“ Right trusty and entirely beloved, we greet you well, advertising you, that we

⁵¹ “ So,” says Strype, so, it seems, he was usually styled.

⁵² Cleop. E. iv., fol. 307, *original*. ⁵³ Cleop. F. i., fol. 260.

⁵⁴ See Cranmer’s mandate, dated 18th September 1535, in Stokesly’s Register, fol. 47. These facts seem to have been entirely overlooked by Mr. Todd in his Life of Cranmer, when he says —“ About the same time (with Gardiner) Stokesly, Bishop of London, *in vain* resisted the visitation of the Archbishop ; and entered in his Register three *idle* protestations against it.” Vol. i. p. 133.

having heard what the Bishop of Winchester hath done, in the house of Syon ; although he would so set the same forth unto us, as we might have occasion to think he hath done truly, as becometh him, toward us ; yet having this forenoon spoken with Morris the receiver there, we may well perceive him to have "ostentyd," and boasted him to have done more, than indeed he hath, and a *coloured doubleness* either to be in *him*, or in Morris, or in *both*,—Morris not answering directly to divers "introgates," by us to him ministered. We, having therefore showed him that intending to try his truth to us, will not go about to grope him, but will see if, according to his duty, he will of his own mind confess the mere truth ; we already knowing much more than he weeneth. Wherefore we require you, upon his repair to you, studiously to examine him, by whom ye shall perceive doubleness in *the other*, in him, or *both* ; the which being never so craftily handled, I would not were hidden."⁵⁵

Whatever it was that Gardiner had done, nothing could be more awkward for him at this moment, nay even perilous, than that it was in the house of *Syon*,—a house of such evil fame, and notorious for most determined hostility to Henry's supremacy. Richard Raynold, an eminent monk belonging to it, for whom even Cranmer interceded in vain, had been hung in his habit, only a fortnight before this letter, and for months afterward, the inmates were still refractory.⁵⁶ But this was not all ; Gardiner had mightily offended the King in revising or correcting some manuscript in reference to his beloved supremacy. Witness his artful and wailing apology :—

"My duty remembered to your Majesty, with all lowly humility and reverence honour. Forasmuch as, letted by disease of body, I cannot personally repair to your Highness' presence ; having heard of your Grace's almoner (Fox,) to my great discomfort, what opinion your Highness hath conceived of me ;⁵⁷ I am compelled, by these letters, to represent me to the same, *lamenting and wailing* my chance and fortune, to have lost beside my deserts, as much reputation in your Grace's heart, as your Highness, without any merit, hath conferred unto me in the estimation of the world."

He then, by way of defence or apology, most slyly touches on Henry's *authorship*, in his book against Luther, (a notable argument with him on many occasions,) on Sampson's defence of his Grace's cause, and the condemnatory articles against Wieliffe by the Council of Constance, when he adds,—“yet I, *not learned in divinity*, nor knowing any part of your Grace's proofs, am I trust without cause of blame in that behalf. It were pity *we lived* if, so little expressing our love to God in our deeds, we should abuse his name and authority, to your high displeasure, of whom we have received so many benefits ! Your most humble subject, most bounden chaplain, and daily bedeman, STE. WINTON.”⁵⁸

To those who were not acquainted with the character and adroitness of Gardiner, it must have seemed impossible for him to have weathered this storm ; but weather it he did, and that before long, for he was no

⁵⁵ Cotton MS., Vespasian F. xiii., fol. 71. b. ; but dated, by mistake, in the Catalogue, 1536. The letter, though not marked, must have been addressed to Cromwell.

⁵⁶ Nine or ten of them were imprisoned, and died there,—others escaped beyond seas.

⁵⁷ This may have included both the grounds of offence.

⁵⁸ Cotton MS., Cleop. F. vi., fol. 200.

common pilot. He knew better than any man how to deal with the royal indignation, and in only three weeks after this, his wheedling letter to Crumwell, dated from Waltham on the 10th of June, is highly characteristic, not only of the man, but of his manner, when warping into favour.—

“ Master Secretary, after my most hearty commendations. Albeit in my last letters to you, sent with my letters of answer to the King's Highness, I desired of you to have knowledge thence, how my Lord of London proceeded there, in the execution of the King's Highness' commandment, which was, as I think, of one tenor to us both ; yet now doubting lest your great business, might defer the answer thereof, longer than I would it should, I have, of mine own head, made out commandments, throughout all my diocese, of such tenor, as my servant, this bearer, shall shew you ; in which I think I have satisfied the effect of the King's Highness' letters to me, for so much : whereunto if ye think any thing to be added, in that matter, it may soon be supplied.

“ As touching children, I have delivered these verses, herein inclosed, to be learned, to the scholars of Winchester ; to other petty teachers I gave commandment in general. This is done onward, and more shall be, if ye think necessary ; whereof I pray you take the pain to advertise me. And although as I have devised the words to be spoken, I preach the matter upon Sunday next, in every man's mouth, yet will I preach, also omitting all other respect of myself, rather than I should be otherwise taken, than I am ; that is to say, openly to sware one thing, and privily to work—say—or do otherwise ; *whereof I was NEVER guilty !*⁵⁹ Nevertheless, I have as great cause as any man to desire rest and quiet for the health of my body ; whereunto I thought to have ‘entended,’ and to abstain from books and writing ;—*having finished the translation of Saint Luke and Saint John, wherein I have spent a great labour !*

“ And now resteth the levying of the subsidy, and the commissions of sewars in two places, and the commission for Musters ; whercin, upon your advertisement, we have stayed hitherto ; abiding now, whether ye will command us to do any thing in it or no. I seem to be here in *otio*, and yet I was never more busied ; what with the matters, and *what with care, lest I do not well*. Finally, as it shall please the King's Highness to order expressly, I shall gladly do, of which mind *I have ever been—as knoweth God*, who send you health and prosperity. From Waltham, (in Hampshire,) the 10th day of June.—Your assured friend,
STE. WINTON.⁶⁰

This strange production, a mere fetch of the moment, every line of which Crumwell would see through, as he read it, is not without symptoms of anxiety and fear, for the times were critical, and Gardiner was now within twelve days of even a *Bishop's* execution.⁶¹ And therefore, O how gentle as to the *children !*—how zealous towards the *people !*—how devoted to the *King*, and even to his *Secretary*, sweet as summer ! What a simple hearted, upright man, was the Bishop of Winchester, by his own account ! But the idea that Stephen Gardiner—suspected, and

⁵⁹ Gardiner had taken the oath to the King's supremacy on the 10th of February.

⁶⁰ This letter is *holograph*—in Crumwell's correspondence, bundle W., in the Charter-House, and has been printed in the Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 430.

⁶¹ Fisher's,—who suffered on the 22d of this month.

not without reason, of plotting in the Monastery of Syon, and well known to be in opposition to Cranmer—who, six months ago, argued against the Scriptures being given to the people, and was now in the secret of a plan for apprehending, nay, murdering the immortal Tyndale,—that *he* should have been all the time, “spending a great labour” in translating Luke and John!! The reader may be apt to exclaim, “this is beyond every thing!” But this was not all, for Gardiner went farther still. Something more was required before this Bishop could be fully reinstated in the royal favour; and as he stuck at nothing, being ready to attempt the translation of Scripture, or curry favour with Crumwell one day, and justify Henry’s bloody footsteps the next, at last he succeeded. Two men of high name had been sent into the other world,—deeds, the most hazardous which the monarch ever perpetrated, and demanding as much sophistry as the Bishop could muster, by way of apology. So, says Lord Herbert, “Stephen Gardiner, as I find in our records, wrote a justification of the King herein.” “When Fisher and More were put to death,” says Jortin, “Gardiner, who was never wanting in the most servile compliances, wrote a vindication of the King’s proceedings!”

As a matter of course, therefore, we shall soon find Gardiner in a sphere, widely different from that of wriggling away under the immediate eye of Cranmer or Crumwell, both of whom he so cordially hated. He was, in fact, a man whom it was dangerous *not* to employ, and as at home he stood in Crumwell’s way, he will soon be the artful ambassador abroad once more; where, however, he will continue to flatter Henry, and retain his ear;—to thwart the progress of the Archbishop, or the King’s Secretary; and be most conveniently ready to lend his counsel, either to the party now leagued against Tyndale, or to that which was ruminating the downfall of Queen Anne.

Such was the perplexed state of things at home; but the apprehensions of government were by no means confined to subjects within the realm. The OBSERVANT Friars, recently put down, had, for years before, been busy in promoting agitation. We have seen how they burst out before Henry himself, in his own chapel, two years ago. All the friars now arrested, and punished by death or imprisonment, were of this order; and it is a fact, pregnant with meaning, that the agent of Charles V. against Henry at the court of Rome, for some years past, was actually the *General* of the Observantines. Cardinal Pole, too, as already noticed, was this year fully employed, in various ways, against the King his cousin; and there can now be no doubt, that, however wild the idea, he had an eye to the throne. It had been therefore, but was now more than ever, necessary to watch with vigilance, *all* the reigning powers.

If Henry will assume a new character and position in Europe, he must find friends where he can, and also raise supplies in money, to

enable him to cope with his foes ; but the state of things abroad, in connexion with those at home, demanded the full display of whatever talents either Crumwell or Henry possessed. The policy of the Emperor at this period, was to stimulate the enmity of Scotland, disturb Ireland, and preserve alliance with France. That of Henry, was to watch the two former, retain his amity with Francis, and, if practicable, form an alliance with the German States.

As for Scotland, a treaty of peace had been ratified by James V., on the 30th of June last year, at Holyrood House, in presence of about two thousand persons, with great joy.⁶² Since then, Henry had two envoys, Barlow and Holcroft, at that court ; but in February this year, by way of cementing union, he sent the order of the Garter to James his nephew, and by the hands of Lord William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, the Prime Minister.⁶³ Lord William, though not in every point successful, executed his commission well ; and next month Bishop Stewart informs Crumwell that no help or supply shall be given to the disaffected in *Ireland*.⁶⁴ In August, the Scotch King sent Lord Erskine as his proxy, to be installed at Windsor ;⁶⁵ and although an attempt, on Henry's part, to excite the King, his nephew, to throw off the authority of Rome, failed of any effect ;⁶⁶ yet, to the close of the year, there was nothing but great professions ; which, however, in the end, turned out to be those only of hollow friendship.

With regard to France, the game was more difficult. It so happened that both Francis and Henry were bent on alliance with the German States, but with widely different views. A circumstance the more extraordinary on the part of the former, in that he had just been persecuting the Lutherans in his own kingdom, nay, degrading himself to such a level, as to have walked in procession through his own capital, before the burning of heretics ! Meditating, however, fresh war with the Emperor, in order to recover his former possessions in Italy, he had earnestly solicited the aid of those German Princes who were associated by the League of Smalkald. In his eagerness, he at first actually softened down his professed religious views, and so far as to appear but little removed from the terms then employed by these parties, to express their sentiments. He even had invited *Melancthon* to Paris, in order to perfect, for peace sake, their reconciliation. Margaret, the Queen of Navarre, the King's sister, is said to have urged this course, in the hope that her brother might be induced to break with Rome.

Henry and Crumwell viewed this policy with alarm, as they wished, by means of these German Princes, to give the Emperor a powerful diversion, if he should go about to invade England, and follow up the

⁶² Gov. State Papers, vol. iv., p. 673.

⁶⁵ *Idem*. p. 29.

⁶³ *Idem*, vol. v., p. 111.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, p. 24.

⁶⁶ Cotton MS., Cleop. F. vi., fol. 259.

censures of the Pontiff. Sir John Wallop was then resident ambassador at the court of France ; but two men, Hains, the future Dean of Exeter, and Christopher Mount, a German, must be despatched, merely as friends visiting the ambassador, to counterwork these movements and prevent the approach of Melancthon to Paris. The Premier of France, however, at last advised his sovereign to confine the treaty to temporal affairs, when the Germans, being disgusted with the French cruelties, broke off all further negotiation. Soon after this it became evident that a still more able or artful man than the English ambassador was required to be at Paris ; and so now, at last, came the Bishop of Winchester's opportunity. Stephen Gardiner was not only the best French scholar among Henry's counsellors, but there was no other so fully acquainted with the Continent ; so that, before the end of the year, he found employment at the French court, far more congenial with his taste and talents, than that in which he had represented himself as so harassed and perplexed, in his letter to Crunwell. Gardiner's departure was on the 1st of October.

It might have been supposed that Henry the Eighth could never have brought his haughty spirit down so low, as to bow to Lutheranism, after having so written against Luther, nay even to him ; for once on a time, not long ago, he would have disdained the very idea. But the " Defender of the Faith," and now, especially, as " Head of the Church of England," felt constrained to look after his own personal safety. During the last six months of this year, therefore, earnest court was paid to the Lutheran States of Germany ; though, on the part of the King of England, it must be evident that there could not be one religious motive, or any sincere regard to Christianity in all this. It was simply because an alliance with these States might prove the most effectual and vexatious check to Charles V. ; and it so happened, that there was no man in England so likely to open the way into their confidence, as *Robert Barnes* !

Barnes was a violent Lutheran, the personal friend and acquaintance of Luther, as well as Melancthon and others. He had resided for years in Germany, and knew all the leading parties well. And so now, to serve a purpose, he must be the *envoy* of Henry VIII. to these very men ; for though he had to do with the Elector and other civil rulers, great court must be paid to the former, and that, in the first instance, by the instrumentality of Barnes. How remarkable were the changes of these times ! Nine years ago, Wolsey, in great pomp, presided, and Fisher, who is just beheaded, preached at Barnes' degradation in St.

Paul's. Nay, only three years since, when he came first to London, but under a safe conduct, Sir Thomas More would, without scruple, have violated it, and consigned him to the tender mercies of the Bishops ; but now, immediately after the fallen Chancellor's execution, Barnes, as an envoy, is off to those very Lutherans, against whom both Fisher and More had written with such vehemence.⁶⁷

In August, Barnes had left Hamburg for Wittenberg, when he requests Crumwell to forward a commission to Duke George, that he might be permitted to dispute with Cochleus.⁶⁸ But so eager was Henry to succeed in Germany, that it had been resolved to despatch after Barnes, two abler men, viz. Dr. Edward Fox and Nicholas Heath. Having heard of this, in September, Barnes, who was then at Gotha, writes to Cranmer,—

“ Now that he (Heath) is going to Wittenberg to entreat of those matters there, I trust, through his help, and my Lord's wisdom, we shall make a good end.⁶⁹ This thing I do know, that the Elector would gladly that his learned men and we might agree. I have so informed his Grace, that he is not against us ; but he had rather, for fear of the *Emperor*, that his learned men should handle the matter than he, forasmuch as it pertaineth to learning. Farthermore, *Martin* (Luther) is more fiery in the cause than before ; (*Justus*) *Jonas* does not fight ; *Philip* (Melancthon) appears to be with us ; *Pomeranus* alone resists tooth and nail ; but I do not despair of happy success.”⁷⁰

In the month of October, Barnes, being then at Wittenberg, writes on the 6th as follows :—

“ Christophler (Mount) the Dutchman, (*i. e.* the German,) came to Jene (in Saxe Weimar) out of France, on Friday was eight days, and there I left him.” “ I desire your high Mastership that we may have a commission to dispute with COCHLEUS, both to clear the fame of our Prince, and extinguish the virulence and dissension of this most foolish man. For all men here, that be the King's friends, think it greatly for the King's honour, that the fool's mouth should be stopped, even before his *own* Prince. I am not afraid to dispute with him alone, if none other man come. Finally, I would pray your high goodness to send me more money, for, verily, I am, and must be, daily a great charge, and it should be against my Prince's honour, if I should pinch or spare ; and I have nothing of my own to bear out the charges with. Also, I must have money plenty, to pay for *Philip's* (Melancthon) costs, and all their's that he shall bring with him.”⁷¹

⁶⁷ Seckendorf says, that Barnes, better known in Germany by the name of Antonius Amarius, came to Wittenberg in the *spring* of this year, and Strype supposed his departure to have been in May or June. But the letters from Henry to Prince John Frederic, the Elector, are dated from Windsor on the 8th of July, the second day after More's death ; and this is the very time when Henry Phillips has told us that he had a commission from the adverse party in England, to try and catch Barnes. The extracts from Barnes himself, about to be given, afford additional proof of the precise time.

⁶⁸ Cotton MS., Vitell. B. xxi., fol. 116.

⁶⁹ Alluding to Fox, who had been elected Bishop of Hereford, as already noticed, on the 2d of September.

⁷⁰ Vitell. B. xxi., fol. 113.

⁷¹ Vitell. B. xxi., fol. 110.

Whether Barnes ever held any public disputation with Cochläus does not appear, nor was it material. He seems, however, to have gained access to Duke George, of Saxony, and expostulated with him, respecting the tirade of Cochläus, now published, against the King of England. After this, by letters from Luther and Melancthon, Jonas and Cruciger, he was introduced to Prince John Frederick the Elector.⁷²

While Francis and Henry, as politicians, about the same time were thus dreaming, each after his own fashion, that Lutheranism might possibly be of service in turning the scale in their favour, their mutual application to Melancthon, not Luther, is worthy of notice. When the adversaries of truth employed threats, mild and gentle though Melancthon was, no man showed more intrepidity and independence; but when soothed and approached with fair words, or proposals for union, he seemed ready to comply. He would have *gone* into France, and the more readily, that Luther approved of his doing so; but the Elector, who probably saw farther than either of them, would, on no account, give his consent; and to Barnes may be ascribed some share in turning the balance decidedly in favour of England, at least for the moment. Some communication seems to have passed between Melancthon and Henry VIII. as early as March, and by the month of August Melancthon was quite disposed to have come into this country. Even Luther was cherishing hopes of some good effect resulting from the journey. "Who knows," said he to Camerarius, "what God will effect? His wisdom is greater than ours, and his will better." Adding, "that care be taken of Philip, that he might not be afflicted with too much sorrow, for the repulse which, a little before, the Elector gave him, in forbidding his journey into France."⁷³

Before this period, or about the fall of last year, Melancthon had become acquainted with a native of Edinburgh, Alexander Ales (*Alesius*), of whom we shall hear next year, and much more fully when we come to treat of Scotland, and the introduction of the Scriptures into North Britain. Ales himself informs us, that he had been invited into England, by Crumwell and Cranmer.⁷⁴ Melancthon availed himself of this opportunity to make some farther advance to his Majesty, and introducing the exiled stranger by a letter to the King, he, at the same time, sent him a copy of his Commentary on the Romans. Henry was so pleased with the bearer, as to give him the honorary title of *his Scholar*, and he took up his abode at Lambeth. In return for the volume, his

⁷² Dated from Jene, to which the Professors and scholars had removed, on account of the plague raging at Wittenberg.—See *Seckendorf. Strype*.

⁷³ Melancthon, it is well known, was subject to depression of spirit.

⁷⁴ See the preface to his tract, "Of the authority of the Word of God." The precise time when Ales arrived in England is rather uncertain. Todd, in his *Life of Cranmer*, would make it after August; but it will appear, under Scotland, to have been some time before the death of Fisher, who was Chancellor of Cambridge only to the 22d of June.

Majesty sent the author 200 crowns, and a letter from himself, dated 1st October 1535. In September, Melancthon had sent to the King of France, politely declining his invitation, and, on the 1st of December, he replied to Henry; by which time both Fox and Heath had reached Barnes.

From the beginning, as already hinted, Henry's chief, if not *sole* object, in seeking alliance with these parties, was to strengthen himself against the Emperor; but when the negociations began, the question of his divorce, which Barnes, no doubt, had been labouring to solve, stood in the way; and of this the Germans could not approve. In short, as the cruelty of Francis had prevented any alliance, so we shall find a worse display on Henry's part, produce the same effect, in a few months. Neither the one nor the other ever saw Melancthon.

So ended, for the present, all the movements of worldly policy, overruled by Him who has ever been "the Governor among the nations;" but before the year is dismissed, we have the far higher gratification of glancing once more at that peculiar cause, which had existed, not only without Royal encouragement, but gone on in spite of Royal opposition, and on behalf of which, not *one* man of any power or influence in England, had, as yet, lifted up his voice.

It was now precisely five years since "the translation of Scripture," said to be "*corrupted* by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New," had been denounced by the King of England and his Bishops, "as utterly to be *repelled, rejected, and put away* out of the hands of *the people*, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his Majesty's subjects."⁷⁵ But the cause of Tyndale, was that of a higher power, and as evidently *for the people*. Nothing, however, had been done, in the meanwhile, to furnish any other translation; nay, at *that* time, these men had the daring impiety to say to the people at large—"you cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the *English* tongue, otherwise than upon the *discretion* of your superiors; so as whensoever *they* think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you: and whensoever it shall seem otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it!!" They then said also, that this King of theirs "did openly say and protest, that *he* would cause the New Testament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue; to the intent he might have it in

⁷⁵ See page 257.

his hands ready to be given to his people, *as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same!!*" At the same time, they took care to inform the people that the King "thinketh in his conscience," and that by *their* "deliberation and advice, that in not suffering the Scripture to be then divulged in English, he *did well!!*"

By the good providence of God, however, we have seen that seven years before 1530, Tyndale had resolved that his countrymen should actually possess the Divine Word; and thus come to know more of the Scripture than such men as these; and as both husbandmen and artizans had been brought before Tunstal, Bishop of London, so early as 1528, Tyndale, confessedly, had laboured with great effect. For nine years past we have seen one edition after another coming into the country.

But now, at the last, it seemed as if something were actually going to be done, and by Henry's learned men. Even the Bishop of *Winchester* himself has told us, that by the month of June, he "had been spending a great labour in translating Luke and John!" This was an incident by far too remarkable to pass now without farther notice; and the more so, as it admits of an explanation, fully as curious as the fact itself. In the Convocation last December, it will be remembered that the necessity for a translation of the Scriptures had been urged, while all *other* books of suspected heretical doctrine were to be called in within three months; and though nothing was done as to the latter design, the King seems to have been addressed as to the former. This was, in fact, a second implication of all that Tyndale had translated or written. One is curious, therefore, to observe the *first* attempt of these men, standing as it does, in contrast with the hitherto unaided, nay, despised exertions of the persecuted and now imprisoned Translator and patriot.

In proceeding with the plan, Cranmer took an existing translation,—Tyndale's, of course, for as yet there was no other,—and having divided it into eight or ten parts, he got them *transcribed*. These he transmitted to so many Bishops, the best learned, accompanied by a request, that each part should be returned to him, with their corrections, by a certain day. The time appointed having arrived, every portion, including Gardiner's, no doubt, is said to have been returned to

Lambeth, with one exception—the *Acts of the Apostles*, which had been assigned to Stokesly. Cranmer then sent to Fulham, for the corrected manuscript; but Stokesly, far less compliant than Gardiner, not being then in such fear of court favour, or of his neck, only made the following reply. “*I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, and never will. And, therefore, my Lord shall have his book back again; for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple people into error.*” When the Archbishop was informed of this uncourteous speech, he merely observed—“*I marvel that my Lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other men do.*”—“*Why, as for that,*” said Lawney, one of the Duke of Norfolk’s chaplains, who stood by,—“*Your Grace must consider that the Acts of the Apostles are a portion of the New Testament. Peradventure, my Lord of London knows that Christ has left him no legacy, and therefore he prudently resolves to waste no time upon that which will bring him no profit! Or it may be, as the Apostles were a company of poor illiterate men, My Lord of London disdaineth to concern himself about their Acts!*”⁷⁶

That such an attempt as this should have entirely failed, can excite no surprise; and it not only did so, but Cranmer ever afterwards, from this moment, despaired of obtaining a translation of the Scriptures by any such means; and of this he will himself inform us, two years hence. These men of name and pretension must stand aside, for never shall even a single book of the Sacred Volume be conveyed to their country by one of them.

In contrast, therefore, once more, to these prelates, whether in Convocation, as in 1534, or out of it, as in 1535, in the printing press of Antwerp we can discover no pause or hesitation; no sympathy whatever with the scruples of the blind in

⁷⁶ Strype’s Cranmer. This Thomas Lawney, who was so facetious at Stokesly’s expense, had been one of Wolsey’s selected *Canons* in 1525, and one of the earliest readers of Tyndale’s New Testament; having, above nine years before this, suffered for his attachment to the new learning. He was, in truth, the fellow prisoner of *John Fryth*, in the noisome cell under Cardinal College in 1526. With regard to the *portions* actually returned to Cranmer, they must have formed a singular medley, and had they remained in existence, must have forcibly illustrated the character of Cranmer’s associates. But not one fragment survives, and it is well. They have been consigned to oblivion, with the vain efforts, in ancient time, of many who had taken in hand that for which they were not competent, and that of which God did not approve. Luke, i. 1.

England, or any fear of the enemy in Antwerp itself. During last year and the present, not fewer than *seven* if not *eight* editions of Tyndale's New Testament had issued from the press! Nor was any printer ever prosecuted, save the first in 1526, or Christopher of Endhoven. Thus, if the Translator himself throughout the whole of even this year continued to war with the enemies of Divine truth on the Continent; it was as if "the stars in their courses" were fighting with England; nor was there to be any truce in this contest till the enemy was overcome, nay overruled, and constrained to accept of the long-proffered boon.

The editions of the New Testament to be ascribed to 1535 were at least three. Of the first, which has hitherto been ascribed to last year, Dr. Cotton has said,— "This book was doubtless printed at Antwerp, but from the great variations observable in it, I cannot believe the date 1534 to be the true one: especially when it is considered that Tyndale's own (corrected copy,) from which it is *principally* copied, did not appear till November in that year." But still by their computation, as the year continued to the 25th of March, till that day 1534 would be their date. Owing to the circumstances now stated, however, we rank it under 1535.

Collation. Title, within four wood-cuts, "The Newe Testament, Anno M^o D^o XXXIII." On the reverse of the title, "the bokes conteyned in the Newe Testament." The cut of the Apostle Paul prefixed to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, Thessalonians and Hebrews, in Tyndale's edition of 1534, is small; in this it occupies the breadth of the page. Such is a brief notice of the book described by Herbert, p. 1543, and by Dr. Cotton, now in the Bodleian Library. That copy, however, is but very imperfect.

Of the second edition, distinguished by its being in *folio*, one copy is mentioned by Dr. Cotton to be ascribed to this, if not the following year.

The third edition, in small 8vo, or 12mo, may be easily distinguished by its *orthography*, which is very peculiar, having the colophon in large letters,— "fynessed 1535." There is one copy in Exeter College, Oxford, wanting the first title and preface; and in which the prologue to the Romans seems to be transposed, but there is a beautiful one, quite perfect, in the University Library of Cambridge. *Collation.* After the first title and Tyndale's preface, tables for the Evangelists and the Acts, and "The bokes conteyned in the Newe Testament," we find a second title,— "*The newe Testament, dylydently corrected and compared with the Greke by Wyllyam Tyndale: and fynessed in the yere of our Lorde God A. M^o and xxxv.*" There are small wood-cuts at the beginning of each gospel, and larger ones in the Revelations, with heads of Chapters, supposed to be for the first time. A full page contains 38 lines. While we at present, regret our inability to give an explanatory account of this book, it remains a great curiosity of its kind. Witness its orthography, so different from all the other editions.

father, moether, broether, maester, storne, oones, those, sayede, whorse, behaetle.
father, mother, brother, master, stone, once, those, said, worse, behold.

But is it possible that this could have been part of Tyndale's occupation within the walls of the castle at Vilvorde?

While warring with these Doctors of Louvain, on the one hand, was he, on the other, at the same time engaged in earnest pity for *the ploughboy and husbandmen of Gloucestershire*?⁷⁷ This orthography, being regarded as provincial, so it has been supposed. If the conjecture be well founded, and Tyndale himself had to do with this edition, it is but seldom that, in the history of any man, such an instance of the true sublime can be produced. The book has never been assigned to any Antwerp printer; but if Tyndale only furnished a *list* of words, to be employed whenever they occurred in the translation, the volume could have been printed in Holland or any other place in Brabant.

At all events, the book comes before us in the light of a step in advance, or additional triumph. The Translator was "suffering trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds; but the Word of God was not bound," nor to be bound.

To those who have not before been acquainted with the history of the English Bible, and in conclusion of the year 1535, one fact remains to be stated, which must occasion some surprise. For some time past, there had been *another* translation of the Scriptures into English in progress, which was now completed. From the degree of mystery which still hangs over it, the undertaking must have been conducted with great privacy; but it is a curious and not unimportant circumstance, scarcely before observed, if indeed at all known, in connexion with the late Lord Chancellor, so barbarously put to death by Henry, in July; that, though not a party concerned in the cost, while yet alive, nay, long before his death, and at the very time he was writing against Tyndale, with this proceeding he may, if not must, have been acquainted all along, even from its origin! From a single line throughout his many pages, no one could have imagined this; but the evidence will come before us in due time.

Meanwhile, it was on the 11th of October that the last sheet was put to press, under the eye of *Miles Coverdale*. Printed, as it had been, abroad, copies could not have been ready for importation to England, till about the opening of next year, at the soonest; but if any had reached this country, at whatever time, the book, owing to very peculiar circum-

77 See before, page 361.

stances, to be explained, could not have been shown to Henry the Eighth, before the month of June. This, indeed, was the earliest moment ; for, most probably, it was not presented to the King till much later in that year.

But the origin and history of this translation we must reserve for the year following, or 1537. Then, only, can we view with advantage and effect, the whole case at once, and in comparison with that translation, on which our eye has been fixed from the beginning. In other words, Coverdale's will then be compared with that Bible which became the prototype, or basis, of all that have since followed, to the present day.

No such digression is admissible here, as the reader must be impatient to follow the history of that memorable enterprise, which has engrossed his attention throughout all the war, as well as that of the man who had been raised up to carry it on to victory.

SECTION XIII.

LAST YEAR OF TYNDALE—STATE OF ENGLAND—MONASTERIES—THE QUEENS—ANNE BOLEYN—MOCK TRIAL—QUEEN EXECUTED—SCENE SUCCEEDING—THE NEW OR UNPRECEDENTED PARLIAMENT—QUEEN ANNE'S TREATMENT REVIEWED—HER CHARACTER—THE NEW OR UNPRECEDENTED CONVOCATION—LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE IT—STATE OF PARTIES THERE—OLD AND NEW LEARNING—PROCEEDINGS IN CONVOCATION—THE FIRST ARTICLES—CRUMWELL'S FIRST INJUNCTIONS—NO BIBLE MENTIONED—

TYNDALE'S LATTER DAYS—PHILLIPS ONCE MORE—COLD INDIFFERENCE OF ENGLAND—THE COURT OF BRUSSELS—HOME AND ABROAD NOW DEEPLY IMPLICATED—THE MARTYRDOM OF TYNDALE—HIS BENEVOLENT CHARACTER—HIS REWARD—POYNTZ, THE FRIEND OF TYNDALE—FUTURE HISTORY OF THE MISERABLE BETRAYERS—STATE OF THE CONTINENT AT THE TIME OF TYNDALE'S DEATH—STATE OF ENGLAND AND HER KING—THE ONLY PROSPEROUS CAUSE, OR THE YEAR WHICH EXCELLED ALL THE PRECEDING.

WE are now within nine months only of the martyrdom of Tyndale ; but as it is necessary that the reader should have before him all that previously transpired in England, we *reverse* the order hitherto pursued. With the leading events, Tyndale himself may have become partially acquainted, but, whether or not, it is due to his memory that they be first

reviewed ; as they involve a direct bearing, not only on his character, but upon the obligations of his country, for those noble and persevering exertions, which terminated only with his last breath at the stake, and have far too long been permitted to sleep in oblivion.

Parliament, after being prorogued since December 1534, was opened at last on the 4th of February. The long recess was chiefly owing to the plague, which had appeared in different parts of London in August and September, of which Audley, the Lord Chancellor, was not a little afraid.¹ But the Monarch must now be gratified in his thirst for more money ; and to prepare the country for the bold step, already determined, the report of the visitors of *Monasteries* was laid before Parliament. The idleness and depravity of their inmates were depicted, their waste and misapplication of funds, their frauds and follies ; and, unquestionably, there were great abuses ; but it was not on account of *these* that the monastic institutions were broken up. The abuses furnished an excellent handle or pretext ; but the position of the King led him to apprehend war with the Emperor, if not invasion, and he must have supplies. The “ Court of Augmentation of the King’s Revenue ” was established, to receive the surrenders of monasteries, and transfers of property to the crown, and all monasteries whose annual income did not exceed £200, were suppressed. Their number amounted to 376, which brought £100,000 into the royal coffers, and £32,000 of annual revenue ; or a sum equal to a million and a half in our day, and above £400,000 a-year. At the same time, the *larger* monasteries and abbeys were artfully commended, and many of those monks or nuns who were turned adrift, had it in their option to repair to them. This was done in order to soothe or beguile the mitred Abbots, though the formidable extent of the “ court ” established, might have shown that matters were not to stop here. Perhaps it was this that suggested the often quoted remark, ascribed to Stokesly, Bishop of London, that “ these lesser houses were as thorns, soon plucked up, but the great Abbots were like putrified old oaks ; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom, before many years were past.”

Several other acts of inferior moment having been despatched, this Parliament was *dissolved* on the 14th of April, after it had sat for a period of six years, by repeated and unequal prorogations. It had abundantly answered Henry’s varied purposes, but *now* its pliancy must have been somewhat doubtful ; otherwise, why was it dissolved ? This, however, is a question which the reader will resolve for himself, after he has observed the dark features of this most tragical period ; since all

¹ Government State Papers, i., p. 436-449.

public affairs were still interwoven with those which were personal to the Monarch himself. It is to him, therefore, that we must turn, to account for one Parliament being dissolved, and for a new one summoned to attend, in such breathless haste. During the entire session of the Parliament just dissolved, one of the darkest plots which marked the reign of this licentious Monarch, had been proceeding in secrecy so profound, as to be unknown to any of its future victims. Its explosion will for ever distinguish Henry as a man, or, more properly speaking, a monster, happily of but rare occurrence. It is true, that official documents have been very carefully destroyed; but if calm and deliberate attention be paid to the few manuscripts which have survived, of the entire conduct of the Monarch, there can be but one opinion, though words may fail to express it. It borders on the incredible; and, therefore, requires to be the more coolly examined.

At two o'clock on Tuesday the 7th of January, Queen Catherine died at Kimbolton, an event from which, perhaps, Queen Anne might augur a little more security, and yet even this is doubtful, for before this, she had perceived that the affections of Henry had begun to waver.² He had tormented all Europe, it is true, and waited six years that he might gain her hand, and this, in other cases, would have been good security for steadiness of attachment; but the man she had married was not to be judged of by ordinary rules. The Queen was near the period of her second confinement, and on the 29th of this month, she was delivered of a still-born son. Her first child, Elizabeth, could now lisp her father's name, and the present moment would have melted most beings in human form; but as it was then that he chose to utter certain words ominous of some dreadful purpose, we have sufficient proof of evil *already* brooding in his mind. He intimated, and to herself, in this weak and sorrowful condition, that he would have no more boys by her. As far as words could reach, this was an attempt to crush her into the grave; but as it did not succeed, we are left to watch what followed.

Burnet has said that "the Duke of Norfolk at court, and Gardiner beyond sea, (then in France,) thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the King, both with the Emperor and even Paul III., if the Queen were once out of the way; for then he might freely marry any one whom he pleased, and that marriage, with the male issue of it, could not be disputed: whereas, as long as the Queen lived, her marriage, as being judged null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the Court of Rome." This, if it be taken in conjunction with the *sentiments* of the Queen, sufficiently accounts for their brutal zeal, and that of their party; but with these reasons of state, another concurred, without which their desire had never been gratified. The vile

² Anne, however, is reported by several historians to have made no secret of her satisfaction at the death of her predecessor.

passions of the Monarch had already strayed in search of another object ; and though the Queen used every mean to recover his affection, all was in vain. But no wonder ; for before the sorrowful mother was fully recovered from her languor and distress, certain steps had been taken against her, and deliberately pursued, with dexterous secrecy, as the sequel will disclose.

On the 14th of April, Parliament had been dissolved, and presently, there will be no doubt, with an immediate view to a new one being summoned ; though, with what intentions, only a few select individuals could possibly have divined. The first moment that Henry wished it, the Duke of Norfolk, who behaved with savage cruelty throughout, was ready to move ; and it was well for Cranmer's character, that he was not in the secret ; though both Crumwell and Audley were, and seem to have preserved it inviolate. As early as the 22d, however, there were a few words from Cranmer, in a letter to Crumwell, which though curiously ambiguous, certainly refer to what had been going on. After an earnest application to him on behalf of a Mr. Smith, he adds :—

“ I have sent this bearer only to wait upon you, until you have an answer from the King, and to put you in continual remembrance ; for much business causeth you to forget many things ; and yet I wonder that you remember so many things as you do.

“ I was *ever* hitherto *cold*, but now I am in a *heat* with the cause of religion, if it be, as the *fame* goeth ; wherein I would *wonder* *fain* break my mind unto you ; and if you please, I will come to *such place as you shall appoint for the same purpose*. Thus, He that made you, ever keep you. From Kuol, the 22d of April, your own assured ever—T. CANTUARLEN.”³

The fame, or rather fama, perhaps Cranmer was afraid to express in writing, but only one short week will elapse before he shall be called by Crumwell, and that in obedience to the royal mandate ; though certainly not to the *place* he had supposed, and for purposes by far too shocking for him to have anticipated. Some rumour, it seems, had already agitated him, but of the awful results within that day four weeks, he could now form no conception. These results are well known to every reader of history. By that time Queen Anne, her brother Lord Rochford, and four other individuals, Sir Henry Norris, Sir Francis Weston, William Brereton, and Mark Smeton, had all been put to death ; nay, that day four weeks was the King's marriage day to another Queen ! But we are now only tracing the dark footsteps of the royal murderer, and require carefully to observe ascertained facts, in the order in which they transpired.

Three days after this letter from Cranmer, we find that certain parties, secretly sanctioned by Henry, had been engaged, for *some time*, in collecting scandal ; and, by the authority of their names, twisting it into

³ MS. Crumwell's Corresp. Chapter-House, Westminster. *Original holograph.*

shape, or making it as feasible as they could, for his bloody design.⁴ A special commission which had been made out, is tested on the 25th of April in the 28th of Henry, at Westminster, that is on Tuesday the 25th of April 1536.⁵ But then the scandal by this time was all collected, and various consultations on its effect must have been held, before the formal completion of such a commission. "The act of executing the commission was a deliberate and *conclusive* measure. Whatever occurred afterwards, could have no more than a faint influence on the succeeding events. These measures must, therefore, have begun, when the Queen was scarcely recovered from the birth of her still-born son!"⁶ "The contents of this document of the 25th of April," says the same author, "would offend every modest eye, even seen through a Latin medium;" but it may with truth be added, that their very grossness, and the manner in which every case is put, carries its *own refutation* along with it. Even Turner, who, on all occasions, is so sensitively alive to Henry's character, has said—"These circumstances do not resemble those of a *true case*,"—they "are very like the *made-up facts*, of a *fabricated accusation*." "I have more doubt of her criminality, since I met with this specifying record, than I had before." And why not then look a little farther? We are only on the threshold of enquiry, and this is more than sufficient to provoke it, though, like Ezekiel's vision, the farther we proceed, we should see greater abominations.

For who were those men, twenty in number, to whom the King thus committed the life of his Queen? the men to whom *he* had addressed this secret commission? Their names were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the Earls of Oxford and Westmoreland, Wiltshire and Sussex; Lord Sands; Sirs William Fitzjames, William Paulet, John Fitzjames, John Baldwin, Richard Lyster, John Porte, John Spelman, Walter Luke,

⁴ Lest any reader should imagine that we are already bearing too hard upon these men, with *Crumwell* in the midst of them, he has only to understand, that the course now pursued with the Queen, was neither new, nor seldom pursued by Henry with his subjects after this. There was a book of REMEMBRANCES, written by Crumwell himself, and most strangely *left* in existence behind him, into which if one has not looked, he never can form any correct estimate of his conduct and character. This sad book must be opened again before he dies; but suppose we open it, for a moment thus early, since it alludes to what is past, as well as to future years; and the Reader should not be allowed to travel on, without some intimation of its contents; as it is but fair that he should be apprised with whom he is travelling. The reader has already seen two men put to death last year, viz., *Fisher* and *More*; and what says Crumwell, with his own bold pen in his Remembrances? "ITEM. To advise the King of the ordering of Master *Fisher*, and to show him of the Indenture, which *I have delivered* to the Solicitors." "ITEM, when Master *Fisher* shall go to his execution, with also the other." This other was not Sir Thomas, for he adds—"ITEM, to know his pleasure touching Master *More*." "ITEM, what shall be done further touching Master *More*." But the daring progress of this shocking subserviency will be expressed in still viler terms after this. The reader will find many other proofs taken from this manuscript in the original letters published by Sir Henry Ellis, the second series, vol. ii., p. 121. The folds and creases in this manuscript, which we have particularly observed, "show," says Sir Henry, "that they were the memoranda which Crumwell doubled up, and carried in his pocket, when he went to the Court, the Council, or the Parliament; and it is singular that he should have suffered such to remain." They speak a volume as to Crumwell's character, of which we shall yet have too melancholy proof.

⁵ Birch MS., Brit. Mus., No. 4293.

⁶ Sir James Mackintosh.

Anthony Fitzherbert, Thomas Inglefield, and William Shelley, with Audley as Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Crumwell.⁷ Now, of what complexion was this junto ?

Here was *Howard* Duke of Norfolk, who, though her maternal uncle, hated the Queen as cordially as he did "the new learning,"—*Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law and special favourite, so ready to gratify him in all his humours,—*John de Vere*, Earl of Oxford, who supported all the measures of the court—*Robert Radcliff*, who had been restored to honour by Henry, as Lord Fitzwalter, in 1525, and since then created Earl of Sussex—*William Sands*, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's household, who had been made a Baron, and got the Buckingham estates. Here we have eleven Knights, eight of whom were compliant Judges, and as for another, *William Paulet*, the Comptroller of the King's house, he was a man of the most convenient politics ; who, when asked, at the end of a long life, how he preserved himself through so many changes ? answered, " by being a willow and not an oak."⁸ *Audley* was always obsequious to his royal Master, and as to Crumwell, the share he took in this business must speak for itself, in connexion with his future career. But with regard to the Earl of Wiltshire, the *Father* of the Queen and Lord Rochford, *his* name being inserted, was a stroke of hand quite worthy of Henry's barbarity, and must have been done to save appearances. His name never occurs afterwards, and it is certain that he did not preside at the mock trial.⁹

Matters being now arranged for the Lady and her accomplices, who were to be *tried and executed* ; what was done only two days afterwards, or Thursday the 27th ? Writs were issued for a *new* Parliament ! This, then, was the first measure known beyond the circle already named, and the reader must not fail to mark the language of Lord Chancellor Audley afterwards, at its opening on the 8th of June, as an unwitting but decided proof of premeditated murder ! In connexion with this very day, the 27th of April, it has never been sufficiently, if at all, observed, that one of the parties marked out for death, *Brereton*, was arrested ; and by two o'clock he was in the Tower. " Upon Thursday *before* May-day, in the morning," says George Constantync, " I spake with him about nine of the clock, and he told me that there was no way but one with any matter.¹⁰ For I did ask him, and was bold upon him, because we

⁷ Birch MS.

⁸ This man, born in the 15th year of Edward IV., died in the 12th of Elizabeth, had lived under eight sovereigns. It is curious enough that he became *Earl of Wiltshire* under Edward VI., and afterwards Marquis of Winchester, dying at the age of 97, having seen one hundred and three descendants. He, and the Earl of Pembroke, were *ever* of the *King's* religion, and having spent what was left them, came on trust to the Court.—*Collin's Peccage*, ii., p. 372.

⁹ Burnet at first inserted his name, but he had not then seen a record of the trial, now lost. He was convinced by the papers he saw that the Earl was not present, and expunged the name ; which is therefore not to be found in certain subsequent editions of his history.

¹⁰ The conversation here is about the very snare that had been laid, without knowing how many it involved.

were born within four miles together ; and also we went to grammar school together. And the same day, before two of the clock, was he in the Tower, as far as the best. What was laid against him I know not, nor ever heard."¹¹ Only two days more elapsed, when on *Sunday* evening, the last day of April, a second man, Mark Smeton, was apprehended, examined at Stepney, and it was affirmed by the *rack* ; but, at all events, next morning he was also in the Tower.²

But *that* morning was May-day, and Henry had resolved to observe its accustomed festivities. Such was the extraordinary moment in which he first chose to exhibit himself from behind the curtain. The Court was at Greenwich, and a splendid joust, or mock fight, was to form part of the amusements of the day. Two victims were already in prison, but three if not four others, by far the most eminent, were now to be present, and without thought for the morrow, came to enjoy the passing hours amidst splendour and pageantry. "The May-day perturbation," says Turner, "was mere public scenery." It was, indeed, and such as Herod or Nero never furnished. There sat the King, and there, the most conspicuous object of attraction, the Queen, by his side, all unconscious of impending danger ; to witness a spectacle, in which her brother, Lord Rochford, and Sir Henry Norris, were the principal actors, one being the chief challenger, and the other the defendant. Would any one of these have been present, had the slightest apprehension been entertained ? Or, would they all have been here to entertain the Monarch with a spectacle, had they known that their lives were hanging by a thread, nay, their deaths determined ? There is no occasion for repeating the popular story of a handkerchief dropped by the Queen, having been picked up, and returned to her by Norris. This was a trifle light as air, and might, or might not have happened. Henry may have found it difficult to fix on the best moment for rising, but something having occurred, he made it the pretext for putting on his look of wrath, and retiring from the balcony. The Queen, in great uneasiness, did the same, and to enquire the cause : but he took care that she should not, or should ever, see him again ! Leaving orders that she was not to quit her apartments, he had mounted his horse for Westminster, with only six attendants. One of these, however, according to Constantyne, was *his* master, Sir Henry Norris. "The King rode suddenly to Westminster, and all the way, as I heard say, had Mr. Norris in examination, and promised him his freedom in case he should utter the truth. But whatsoever could be said or done, Mr. Norris would confess nothing to

¹¹ See the curious narrative of George Constantyne, (of whom we have frequently heard before,) first printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., p. 64.

¹² "He was at Stepney in examination on *May-even* ; I cannot tell how he was examined, but upon *May-day*, in the morning, he was in the Tower. The truth is, he confessed it ; but yet the saying was, that he was first grievously racked, which I could never know of a truth."—*Constantyne*.

the King, whereupon he was committed to the Tower in the (Tuesday) morning."¹³ The same day Sir F. Weston, and Lord Rochford were there also.

It is, however, to the Royal victim, the Queen herself, that the mind now turns with most anxiety for information. Having passed the night and following morning in great perplexity, she resolved in the afternoon (Tuesday) to make an attempt to see her husband. Once on board of her barge, she desired the rowers to make speed for Westminster; but she had proceeded only a little way, when she was met by one of her unnatural enemies, the Duke of Norfolk. He and other members of Council came on board, and presented an order for her committal to the Tower. Another account states that she was arrested at Greenwich, when, starting with horror, she demanded the reason of their coming. Norfolk answered—"It is his Majesty's pleasure that you should depart to the Tower." Regaining her self-possession, Anne replied—"If it be his Majesty's pleasure, I am ready to obey." But be this as it may, in the barge Norfolk had the brutality to enter on the subject. She protested her innocence, demanding, with vehemence, to be permitted to see the King, and offer her personal vindication. But Norfolk only shook his head contemptuously, all his coadjutors behaving as badly, except Sir Thomas Audley, who acted with becoming delicacy, and endeavoured to soften the anguish of the forsaken and friendless lady. On arriving, it was about five in the afternoon, at the gate of the Tower, once used as her palace, she fell down upon her knees, with this expressive supplication—"O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of this whereof I am accused!" She enquired of Sir William Kingston, the Lieutenant of the Tower—"Mr. Kingston, do I go into a dungeon?" To which he, jailor-like, replied—"No, Madam, you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation." The recollection overpowered her, and she cried out—"It is too good for me: Jesus have mercy upon me!" On various occasions, the first sight of this man seems to have been equivalent to that of a death-warrant. Wolsey, it will be remembered, sunk the moment he beheld him. The Queen then enquired—"Mr. Kingston, do you know *wherefore* I am here?" And he said, "Nay." She then asked him when he last saw the King, and when her brother? At this moment, she had no idea of *his* being implicated, and therefore added—"I hear say that I should be accused with three men, and I can say no more but nay." She referred then to her mother as likely to die for sorrow—and enquired—"Mr. Kingston, shall I die without justice?" To which he, of course, replied—"The poorest subject the King hath, has justice." At this the Queen laughed, being, it is evident, in a state of great nervous agitation.

¹³ Constantine.

The utter lameness of the scandal already so collected, and that the murderer longed for more, become alike apparent, in the female attendants now placed around the Queen ; as “ they reported, with atrocious accuracy, all the incoherent ravings of her hysterical agitation ”—while she declared to Kingston, from the beginning, and repeatedly affirmed in other words—“ I am as clear from the company of man, as for sin, as I am clear from you : I am the King’s true wedded wife.”

But here we must leave, for a few moments, this scene of anguish in the Tower, as the next figure in this unnatural tragedy pressing upon our notice, is Cranmer. Neither Henry nor his accomplices could advance in their career, without his *official* assistance. He had certainly been kept in the dark, but the King had already proved his pliancy ; and though the humiliating style with which he now treated him, was a greater stretch of authority than any which had preceded, it will be manifest that there had not been the shadow of a doubt as to Cranmer being perfectly obsequious, whatever he might say. The King, therefore, had desired Crumwell to order him up from the country to Lambeth. But the question is, *when* did he do this ? For, in obedience to Henry’s command, Cranmer had arrived at Lambeth on *Tuesday*. He does not appear to have been in Surrey, as Turner has supposed ; at least, only a week before, or the 22d of April, he was writing to Crumwell, from Knoles, in Kent, about twenty-four miles south-east of London. This distance, at that time, was a day’s journey, so that the very latest moment, in which Crumwell could obey the King’s order, must have been on May-day. But was this after the wretched exhibition at Greenwich, or before it ? It *may* have been *after* it ; but, in this case, the messenger must have travelled in post-haste in the night, and Cranmer had set off for London instantly on his arrival. The royal mandate, therefore, looks far too like another link in proof of pre-determined murder. It may have been given before the joust ; but, at all events, Cranmer had got to Lambeth about the time that Queen Anne had reached the Tower, if not before ; though there, in duance, he must wait. He will tell us himself, that, though at hand, he *dared not* come into the royal presence, until he received farther orders. Next day, however, impatient of restraint, and, perhaps, imagining, that he possessed, at least, *some* influence, he must write a letter to the King ; and as it has hitherto baffled description, the opinions of historians being so very discordant, we are under the necessity of giving it entire—¹⁴

¹⁴ The discordancy is so singular, that it is not unworthy of brief notice. *Burnet* says—“ he wrote with all the softness that so tender a point required, in which he justified her as far as was consistent with prudence and charity. The letter shows of what a constitution he was that wrote it, and contains many things that tend highly to her honour.” “ Of all her former adherents,” says *Todd*, “ Cranmer now alone retained his grateful regard for the Queen. He, therefore, resolved to inform Henry, by letter, and with equal tenderness and discretion, while under the restriction at his palace, thus he wrote.” *Turner* considers it an *impudicious* letter—

"Pleaseth it your most noble Grace to be advertised, that your Grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary's letters, written in your Grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your Grace's farther pleasure. And forasmuch as without your Grace's commandment, I *dare not*, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come into your Grace's presence; nevertheless of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your Grace by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your Grace's heart, and to take all the adversities of God's hand, both patiently and thankfully.

"I cannot deny but your Grace hath great causes, many ways, of lamentable heaviness; and also that in the wrongful estimation of the world, your Grace's honour of every part is so lightly touched, whether the things that be spoken of be true or not, that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace any like occasion to try your Grace's constancy throughout, whether you can be content to take of God's hand as well things displeasent, as pleasent. And if he find in your most noble heart such an obedience to his will, that your Grace, without murmuration and over much heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him than when all things succeeded after your Grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring, His glory and honour; then, I suppose, did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first government of this realm. And, moreover, your Grace shall give unto Him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, *addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia*.

"And if it be true that is openly reported of the Queen's Grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your Grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity that my mind is clean amazed: for I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, which maketh me think that she should *not* be culpable. And again I think that your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had been surely culpable. Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that, next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace to suffer me in that which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may, with your Grace's favour, wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your Grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your Grace, of your only mere goodness took her, and set the crown upon her head; I repute him not your Grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished to the example of others. And as I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and His Gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her; for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the

ill-timed, and probably did much mischief! "That this was a *prudent* letter, none will deny," says *Tytler*, "but that it merits the high encomium bestowed on it, by *Burnet*, may be questioned." *Mackintosh*, who, however, mis-dates the letter on the 6th, instead of the 3d of May, says,—"*Cranmer*, who had been forbidden to approach the Court, wrote a skilful and persuasive letter, (if any skill could curb furious appetites—if any persuasion could allay raging passions,) imploring the King's mercy towards her, 'his life so late and sole delight.'"

gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. And though she have offended, so that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Grace's favour, yet Almighty God hath manifestly declared his goodness towards your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am sure, acknowledgeth that you have offended him.

"Wherefore I trust that your Grace will bear *no less* entire favour unto the truth of the Gospel, than you did before; forso much as your Grace's favour to the Gospel was *not led* by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose Gospel He hath ordained your Grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your Grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of his Gospel. From Lambeth the 3d day of May."

Certain members of the secret commission, however, must hurry off Cranmer across the Thames to the Star Chamber, just when he had written thus far. It was in order that he might receive the full bias, which might render him an easier agent in *whatsoever* the King would have to be done with "the Lady in the Tower;" and the simple man then subjoined the following postscript—

"After I had written this letter unto your Grace, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord of Sussex, and (Sands) my Lord Chamberlain of your Grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star Chamber; and there declared unto me such things as *your Grace's pleasure was* they should make me privy to; for the which I am most bounden unto your Grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your Grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of *their* relation, (and upon no other evidence!) But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject!"

Thus, after commencing his letter with a circuitous not to say flattering approach to the King, Cranmer certainly at first discovers very eager desire for Queen Anne's deliverance, not without hearing evidence to a life which was presumed to give the lie to all imputation,—but then the *alternative* is introduced, with such long drawn verbosity, and such violence of style, that it could scarcely fail to gratify a heart already bent on vengeance. "The strong reasons which he inserted," says Turner, "for the un pitying punishment that she ought, *if* proved guilty, to receive, must, as coming from the King's great spiritual adviser, have tended to justify in his mind, the fatal severity which he exerted against her. No enemy could have put a point so dangerous at that moment, with an emphasis more likely to be injurious."

No individual, it is true, nor any thing he might say, could have saved the Queen from death; but above all, and before Cranmer could possibly judge of the affair, why seize that opportunity to commence and conclude a letter by so complimenting the *King*? why take occasion in this, or even any other letter, to speak so *of* him, and *to* him? It was one misery of this Monarch to be surrounded by those who either pandered to his vices, or grossly flattered him, for qualities he never possessed. But at such a

moment as this, how *could* Cranmer talk of his "Grace's favour to the Gospel, and zeal unto the truth?" One can scarcely conceive of any man being farther removed from both; so that the association was as preposterous at the moment, as it is now in the extreme nauseous. The reader has already often seen how independently that Sacred cause stood of all such parties. It had commenced evidently in spite of them all; and as for its farther advancement, until the Bible be *completed*, though Cranmer and Crumwell, and even Henry may appear, it will be only as instruments *overruled* by God. The translation and printing of the Sacred Volume was not only accomplished by other hands, but independently of every one of these men; while it was merely *since* the defamed Queen came to the throne, that the King and his advisers had *ceased* to persecute those who received or read any part of it. After all, Cranmer's language betrays just as much anxiety as he durst express, lest the King should *not* continue to act, as he *had* done, in the days of Anne Boleyn.

Three days after this, or on the 6th of May, came the Queen's own memorable letter to Henry, "from her doleful prison in the Tower."¹⁵

"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 a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such, and whom you know to be, mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by *him*,¹⁶ than I rightly conceived 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 Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And, to speak a truth, never a prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, 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, so far forget myself in my exaltation or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration 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 desire. If

¹⁵ "It is universally known," says Sir H. Ellis, "as one of the finest compositions in the English language, and is only mentioned here, to obviate a notion which has gone abroad against it as a forgery. The original, it is believed, is not remaining; but the copy of it (as given above,) preserved among Lord Crumwell's papers, together with Sir W. Kingston's letters, is certainly in a hand-writing of the time of Henry VIII.; and Sir W. Kingston's will show that Anne was too closely guarded to allow of any one concealing such a letter with her. That it rises in style above Anne Boleyn's other compositions cannot be disputed; but her situation was one which was sure to rouse a cultivated mind; and there is a character of nature in the letter, a simplicity of expression, and a unity of feeling, which it may be doubted whether genius itself could have feigned!"—*Ellis' Orig. Letters, first series*, ii. p. 53. "It is not wonderful," says Sir James Mackintosh, when speaking of this touching and beautiful letter, "that the excitement of such a moment, if it left her calmness enough to write, should raise her language to an energy unknown to her other writings." Turner sees no questionable disparity between this and her other compositions.

¹⁶ If this did not refer to the Duke of Norfolk, it was most probably to Sir W. Fitzwilliam, to whom Anne alluded significantly after this. See the next note.

then you found me worthy of such honour, good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever 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 judges; yea, let me receive an *open* trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame. Then shall you see, either mine 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, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so wofully proved, 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 am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

“ But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strait account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear; and in whose just judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine innocency shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your Grace’s displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of these poor gentlemen, whom, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If I ever have found favour in your sight—if ever the name of Anne Boleyn have been pleasing in your ears,—then let me obtain this request; and so I will leave to trouble your Grace further. With mine earnest prayer to the Trinity, to have your Grace, in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions, from my doleful prison in the Tower, the 6th of May.—Your most loyal and faithful wife
ANN BOLEYN.”

This document alone would have ever proved fatal to the reputation of the King; but in connexion with the other proceedings, both before and after, it covers him with infamy. The writer, having little or no hope of escape, had made up her mind to the consequences of her situation, whatever these might be; and a mind so fully conscious of its own wrongs, has but seldom, if ever, expressed itself so nobly, and so well. Her resignation even unto death, under circumstances so cruel, joined to such firm assertion of her integrity, would have made most men pause, if not tremble. Her faithfulness to the King, united with such solemnity of style, and the amount of truth which we now know the letter to have contained, were sufficient to have scared any man, except a determined and unprincipled profligate. And though the relentless husband paid no regard, it was well, not only that the Queen thus wrote, but so early, before the atrocious course to be pursued, was more fully developed.

Two parties were now to be gratified, at any cost—the King, in getting rid of his wife, and the patrons of the old learning, in having not only the Queen, but certain other obnoxious men, removed out of the way.

This will sufficiently account for the shameful rapidity of all the subsequent proceedings.

Four days after this letter, or Wednesday the 10th of May, the grand jury of Westminster, consisting of sixteen men, squires and gentlemen, were assembled before the judges appointed; but who were these? No other than seven already named, as in the *secret* inquisitorial commission! The verdict of the jury was, of course, favourable to the King's wishes, as they found a true bill against the Queen, and all the other parties marked out.

Only two days after, all the formalities of a trial were gone through at Westminster, upon Norris and Weston, Brereton and Smeton. This last alone confessed anything; but this, even at the moment, an enemy being judge, amounted to nothing.¹⁷ It was a confession said to be obtained by means of the *rack*, and by a promise of life, which, after all, was not kept.¹⁸ As for the other three gentlemen, they all felt indignant at the charge, and not only solemnly denied their own criminality, but pronounced the Queen guiltless. Sir Henry Norris, in particular, to whom Henry had promised his life, if he would confess anything, spurned at the proposal, protesting in his conscience that he thought Anne blameless, and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than accuse an innocent person.¹⁹ They were all, of course, condemned; the three gentlemen to be beheaded, and Smeton to be hanged.

Meanwhile, and previously to her trial, it was resolved that the Queen should be carried down again to Greenwich, and examined before the Privy Council; where, says Mackintosh, "all the artifices of veteran pettyfogging were exhibited," Norfolk making himself most conspicuous; though all was in vain as to any evidence of evil. "I was cruelly handled when at Greenwich, with the King's Council," said Anne afterwards—"Me to be a Queen, and cruelly handled as was never seen; but I think the King does it to prove me."

¹⁷ Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Household, had made himself very busy in opposition, and Sir Edward Baynton anxiously informs him, "no man will confess anything against her, but only Mark (Smeton.) Wherefore, in my foolish conceit, it should *much touch the King's honour*, if it should no *further* appear,"—and it never did! The words said to have been uttered by a woman, then *dead*, Lady Wingfield, were talked of, if not received as evidence; but they never dared to confront this *living* man, Smeton, with the Queen. They took care, however, that before the time, he should be *legally* incapable.

¹⁸ Carte says, "he was worked upon by a promise of life to confess; but fearing he could not stand it out if confronted with her, no use was made of his evidence at her trial, and he was convicted and hanged, to procure some credit to his defamation." It was not thought "fit to let him live and tell tales," says Burnet. Of this man it is curious enough, that the Queen should happen to say, when in the Tower—that he never was in her apartment but once, at Winchester, to perform on the Virginal, and that she had not seen him since, till the *Saturday before May-day*. He then looked *sad*, which the Queen observed, and though he evaded enquiry, was there not a cause? Brereton was then already committed, and Smeton was seized, if not "grievously racked," next day, or Sunday *before* the May-day scene. Must he not, then, on Saturday, already have had some fears, of what Queen Anne had then no forboding?

¹⁹ Godwin says, on this being reported to Henry, he brutally exclaimed twice—"Hang him up, then!" Queen Elizabeth, in approbation of his conduct, made his son a baron; and his four, if not six grandchildren, the sons of Lord Norris, ancestors of the present Earl of Abingdon, were eminent as military men under that reign.

And now on the 15th, the Queen and her brother were to be tried, professedly by their Peers. And were they impartially all summoned? The Peers were fifty-three in number, but here we find no more than the *half*, most carefully selected, or twenty-six, with Norfolk at their head, who, despising all sense of shame, sat as Lord High Steward.²⁰ Now these were notoriously, men whom, on various occasions, Henry had employed to answer his own ends, before this most melancholy occasion, and at different times honoured with various titles, to mould them to his will. We might adduce proofs were they at all necessary. Suffice it to say, that twenty of these men had subscribed his letter to the Pope, in 1530, and at least seven of them had been at work in the secret commission. It was before this compliant body that Lord Rochford was summoned, and soon despatched.

On the same day, the Queen appeared before these "Lords triers," as they were styled, who, in some degree, performed the functions of jurors, unanimity not being essential to a decision. But where was this Court held? In a temporary wooden hall, erected for the purpose, *within the Tower!* And who were permitted to be present as spectators? Sir Ralph Warren, as Lord-Mayor, with *divers* aldermen and citizens!

Upon Anne entering the place, with mock solemnity, she was still treated as Queen, and a seat was assigned to her, which she took with a mixture of dignity and composure, curtsying gracefully to the Court. On the indictment being read, she held up her hand, and pleaded "not guilty," as her brother had already done. She had no counsel, nor was there a single man to show any interest in her favour. In her defence, she did not speak much; but this was with such effect, that "it was everywhere muttered abroad, that the Queen had cleared herself in a most noble speech." So said Wyatt; and all contemporary writers confirm this statement. Even the device of having merely *select* spectators, failed of its desired effect, for even "they saw no evidence against her; only it appeared to them that these Lords were resolved to get rid of her." "The description of this scene, by the narrative versifier," says Mackintosh, "bears marks of accurate intelligence, and minute observation. The Queen," says he, "defended her honour calmly against the imputation of unutterable turpitudes. She proved that she was

²⁰ Of these, seven were Norfolk, Suffolk, Oxford, Westmoreland, Sussex, Sands, and Audley. The others were, *Courtney*, Marquis of Exeter, who had been nominated *leur-appeant* in 1532, and who, if it might now be, had no objections, of course, to be heir again. The Earls of Surrey, Arundel, Northumberland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, and Huntingdon; Lords De la War, Montague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Mounteagle, Clinton, Windsor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordaunt. Here, then, we find Surrey, the son, and Arundel, the son-in-law of *Norfolk*, and Maltravers, the son of Arundel. Mounteagle, the son-in-law of *Suffolk*, and Worcester, his favourite. Rutland and Sussex, Windsor and Wentworth, Burgh and Mordaunt, men on whom Henry had heaped honour, and Clinton, a ward of his own, brought up at Court. The entire body consisted of men who were enemies to the *new learning*, and therefore at enmity with the *principles and procedure* of Queen Anne. *Northumberland* was here, but he left the Court before the verdict; and as for *Morley*, he will be noticed presently.

conscious of a righteous cause, more by a serene countenance, than by the power of language. She spoke little ; but no man who looked on her, could see any symptoms of criminality." She listened with an unchanged face to the sentence of death, pronounced by her unnatural uncle, Norfolk—but then she spoke, and in language sufficient to have made every one of her Judges tremble. Raising her hands, and turning her eyes towards heaven, she first exclaimed—"O Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the way, the truth, and the life! Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." Then, turning to these Judges, she said—

"My Lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons and occasions of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me ; *but they must be other than have been produced here in Court:* for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations ; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. *I have always been a faithful and loyal wife to the King.* I have not, perhaps, at all times, shewn him that humility and reverence which his goodness to me, and the high honour bestowed by him upon me, did deserve. I confess that I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage ; *but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him:* and I shall never confess any other at the hour of my death. Do not think that I say this on design to prolong my life : God has taught me to know how to die, and He will fortify my faith. Do not think that I am so carried in my mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart. Of this I should make small account now, in my extremity, if I had not maintained it, my whole life long, as much as ever Queen did. I know that these my last words will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother, and those others who are *unjustly* condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them ; but since I see it so pleases the King, I must bear with their death ; and shall depart with them out of the world, under an assurance of leading with them an endless life in peace."

With these words, the Queen then retired from the presence of men who had degraded themselves before posterity as the most cruel of time-servers ; and now, to crown all, it only remains to be noticed, that a very bad woman, to whom, unhappily, Lord Rochford had been married, proved to have been one leading agent in the foul conspiracy ; even though it involved six lives, and one of these her own husband ! This profligate, whose name should never be forgotten, was Jane Parker, the daughter of Sir Henry Parker, Lord Morley.²¹ The father, who had been restored as a Baron in 1530, was allied, by marriage, to the King himself.²² The daughter was a being capable of mischief to any extent whatever, and she fell, unpitied, on the scaffold, in 1542, in company

²¹ Not Lord Morley and Montague as it is sometimes printed.

²² Alice, Lady Morley, daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletshoc, was a grand daughter of Margaret Beauchamp, whose daughter, the Countess of Richmond, was grandmother of Henry VIII.

with Catharine Howard, the fourth wife of this strange monarch.²³ The father, it will be observed, had actually sat at the mock trial of his son-in-law and Queen Anne! It was but just, that after this, notwithstanding, he entirely lost the favour of the King, whom he had so basely striven to accommodate.²⁴

It was now Tuesday the 16th, or fourteen days since the Queen had been kept miserable in various ways, but more especially so, by the daring falsehoods which Norfolk at least, if not others, had told her—affirming that the parties apprehended had actually accused her! At the same time, it deserves notice, that, up to *this hour*, the Queen was left to indulge at least the hope of life. Such was the ingenuity with which the moral torture had been pursued. The Governor had received no orders for her execution, the idea of her banishment was cherished; so that “this day at dinner,” says Kingston to Crumwell, “the Queen said that she should go to *Antwerp*, and is in hope of life.” Before the day closed, however, Cranmer was sent to her. We have no record of what passed; but it must have been for no other purpose than to prepare her for a second indignity, and before him!

“On the morning of the 17th of May,” says Mackintosh, “she was brought to Lambeth, where she was to go through the forms of trial *once more*, that Cranmer (who must then have been either the most unhappy or the most abject of men,) might act the mockery of pronouncing the *nullity* of her marriage with the King! The object in view by the King was, that he might, if he pleased, be rid of the daughter, (Elizabeth) as well as the mother; and if she could be brought down to the level of an illegitimate child, Henry can tell his subjects, as soon as Parliament opens, what was then his sovereign will and pleasure! That a full understanding had once existed between Anne Boleyn and Lord Percy, now the Earl of Northumberland, previously to her marriage with the King, there could be no question, as it had required the influence or power both of Percy’s father, and Wolsey, to put an end to it; but the wish now was, to prove that this had amounted to a precontract of marriage. They had applied to Northumberland, *before* the trial, but he resolutely denied that there was any contract, and, *legally* speaking, there was none. And now *after* it, they had the baseness to try and extort a confession from Anne. For her confession, whatever was the amount, it is not difficult to account. She could not be supposed to understand the legal nicety between “*verba de futuro*,” and “*verba de presenti*,” but as far as words could go, had understood Percy to be

²³ This Jane Parker, Lady Rochford, was a rigid disciple of Rome, and held the principles of Queen Anne in superstitious abhorrence. This is one key left, as to the part she acted; but, besides, she has been represented as a very profligate character.

²⁴ He had, about this time, claimed to be hereditary Marshal of Ireland, to which he had an indisputable title, but Henry would, on no account, consent.—*Collins’ Perjury*, vol. vi., 387, edit. 1812.

sincere, as he certainly was, whatever use they might now make of the affair. The result, however, was, that Cranmer pronounced the marriage with the King "utterly void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments, *unknown at the time* of her pretended marriage! now confessed by the said Lady Anne, before the most reverend father in God, sitting judicially!" But mark the sequel—No authentic record exists of the particulars, nor even of the general nature of the alleged "impediments" once hinted in the statute: nay more, "I observe," says Collier, "the record of this divorce at Lambeth, though passing through all the forms and thus attested, is not entered on (Cranmer's) *Register*. This is *somewhat* remarkable, especially since that of Anne of Cleves is inserted at length." As soon, however, as Cranmer had decreed Anne's marriage to have been *null* from the beginning, what became of the unjust sentence pronounced on her, only two days before, as Queen of England? But such was law, under Henry the Eighth! And the reader, it is to be hoped, will search in vain throughout the history of his country for a course of more malignant wickedness; even though it be not yet at an end.

It will scarcely be believed that it seems to have been while the Queen was thus tormenting at Lambeth, that all the other parties, including her brother, were put to death! The mother and sister of Sir F. Weston had implored his life, offering a ransom of a hundred thousand crowns, but in vain. Lord Rochford behaved with inflexible propriety. After entreating his fellow sufferers to meet death without apprehension, he turned to the spectators. "I am come here to die, since it is the King's *pleasure* that it should be so; and my untimely end should be a warning to those who hear me, never to build their hopes upon *Courts, States, or Kings*, but upon *God* alone. I do not complain of my violent death. My sins have merited, and more than merited, such a penalty: but I *steadily deny* that, by any fault of mine, the King has *ever been injured*. *Him I never offended*. Nevertheless, he has my best wishes; and I earnestly pray God to grant him a long and virtuous life."

By the evening of this melancholy day, the Queen had been informed that her death was determined, as her Almoner was with her by two next morning. That day, after reviewing her past life, she desired Lady Kingston to sit down, and kneeling before her, with tears, she charged her, as she should answer to God, that she should go, in her name, and do as she had done, before the Lady Mary, daughter of Queen Catherine, asking forgiveness for any wrongs she had done her. "This tenderness of conscience about lesser matters," says Burnet, "is a great presumption, that if she had been guilty of more eminent faults, she had not continued to the end denying them, and making protestations of her innocence. For that same night she sent her last message to the King." He had strangely asked for some confession, but none came. She acknowledged

her past obligations. "From a private gentlewoman," she said, "he had first made her a Marchioness, and then a Queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her, by martyrdom, to be a saint in heaven." She protested her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care.

This day, however, had not passed, it must be observed, without betraying some cowardice on the part of her official murderers; some fear of the people, and of the public voice. It was not enough, that she had been tried in secrecy, by determined enemies; she must, as quietly as possible, be put to death. Crumwell, therefore, had written to Kingston, to clear the Tower from all *strangers*! And he replies with equal pusillanimity—"Sir, this shall be to advertise you, that I have received your letter, wherein ye would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower, and so they be—but the number of strangers passed not thirty, and not many others—the ambassador of the Emperor had a servant there, and honestly put out. Sir, if we have *not an hour certain*, as it *might be known in London*, I think here will be but *few*, and I think a reasonable number were *best*; for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all men but the King, at the hour of death. I have seen many men, and women also, executed, and that they have been in great sorrow, but, to my knowledge, this Lady hath much joy, and pleasure in death. Her Almoner is continually with her, and has been since two of the clock after midnight."²⁵

"Is there any example in history," it has been asked, "of so much satisfaction, and so much calmness, in any dying person, who is ascertained to have been guilty of acts owned by him to be great offences, and perseveringly denied by him, to be perpetrated by himself?"²⁶

The fatal hour arrived before noon next day, and though an uncertain hour to many, it was well known, as we shall see presently, and even watched for, by the King himself! The Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, Audley and Crumwell, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were there officially. On the scaffold, the Queen, the only person present who seemed to have a perfectly composed mind, uttered but few words—"Good Christian people, I am come hither to die according to law; by the law I am judged to die, and, therefore, I will speak nothing *against* it. I am come hither to *accuse no man*, nor to speak *any thing* of that whereof *I am accused*. I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you; for a gentler (nobler?) or more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a good, gentle, and sovereign Lord. If any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the *best*: thus I take leave of the world, and of you, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me."

²⁵ MS. Cotton, Otho. c. x., fol. 221.

²⁶ Mackintosh.

It may be observed, that, throughout the whole proceedings, Anne appears to have traced her death to the intrigues of her bitter enemies, not to the malice of the King; but this very guarded language at the hour of death, may have been employed for the sake of young Elizabeth. The phrasology has been ascribed to Cranmer, who might account it an advantage that the Queen should not *provoke* Henry against their child.

Be this as it may, with the exception of the courtiers, the bystanders melted into tears. She herself would not consent to have her eyes covered with a bandage, saying, that she had no fear of death; but with her own hands removing her hat and collar, and then kneeling, she repeated several times before the blow—"Christ, I pray thee, receive my spirit—Jesus! receive my soul."

The shriek of anguish which burst from the spectators, was quickly drowned in the discharge of *artillery!* a savage and unwonted accompaniment, which remains to be explained. Thus terminated this slavish devotion to kingly power; when the remains were barbarously thrown into a chest, used for holding arrows, and interred without ceremony within the Tower.²⁷

But what could the sound of those guns intend? Was it meant for other ears than those of the people whose voices it drowned? So it turned out; and it is certainly a remarkable circumstance, that, without designing it, Henry VIII. should select the moment of death, for beginning to render that testimony to his own guilt, and Queen Anne's innocence, which he went on so rapidly to confirm by other proofs. The oak is *still standing* in Epping forest, named "Henry's oak," under which the King breakfasted this morning; his hounds and his attendant train waiting around him. He listened, it has been said, from time to time, with intense anxiety. At length the sound of this artillery boomed through the wood. It was a preconcerted signal, and marked the moment of execution. "Ah! ah! it is done," said he, starting up, "the business is done! uncouple the dogs, and let us follow the sport!" Such, at least, is the tradition to this hour; recorded long ago in Tindal's *Rapin*, as well as in our own day, by Nott and Tytler; while the sequel of the day was in perfect keeping with the sport of the morning. "On the day of execution, Henry put on *white* for mourning, as though he would have said, 'I am innocent of this deed.' And—the *next day*—married Jane Seymour, eldest daughter of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf-hall, Wilts."²⁸ We may now be permitted to ask, whether the King himself could have given more powerful testimony to the inno-

²⁷ The Queen is understood not to have been beheaded with block and axe, after the English fashion; but by the French mode of decapitation, with a sword, and by a Frenchman, brought from Calais. The axe shown in the Tower is a popular mistake; though it may be handled, perhaps, as the axe by which Crumwell afterwards suffered.

²⁸ Ellis' Orig. Letters, *first series*, vol. ii., p. 66.

cence of the departed, and to his own guilt? The evidence of both, however, will not close here.

The moment of exultation for the votaries of "the old learning" had now arrived; for, in *their* feeble apprehension, the greatest obstacle to its revival, had been the influence of Queen Anne with the King, and other individuals. She was now removed, and the leanings of her successor, Jane Seymour, could not as yet be divined; though her having consented to nuptials the very *next* day after her predecessor's execution, was certainly well calculated to deceive them, and inspire hope. As for the King, if he could "follow the sport" on the day of his Queen's execution, he must have now been rejoicing in the full accomplishment of his wishes. The annoyance, he might dream, was now at an end.

But see the watchful providence of God! It was on the following Tuesday, or only the fourth day after Anne Boleyn's death, that the book of Cardinal Pole was first presented to Henry.²⁹ "The work," says Pole himself, "is divided into four books. In the first, I refute the Supremacy the King has taken on himself: the second asserts the prerogatives of the See of Rome: in the third, *I sound in the King's ear the voice which the guiltless blood he has shed, and the horror of his other actions, raises up to Heaven against him.* Having thus discharged what I owed to truth and my country's welfare, in the last part I cast myself at the King's feet; I conjure him to take in good part what I have written, as it proceeded from zeal and affection!" The author is as bitter against Queen Anne as he is against Henry; and by "guiltless blood," he referred, of course, to the execution of others; but the book having been reserved till now, and not presented till immediately after such a cruel tragedy as that which we have recorded, might well give a keener edge to the charge of shedding innocent blood. So far as argument is attempted, the work is not distinguished, or even for its sophistry; but in point of acrimony and virulence, of all that was ever addressed to the ear of the unprincipled monarch, it stands unrivalled. The rank of the author, and his relation to the King, gave the work a degree of importance, which made it the more formidable and dangerous; while the recollection, by Henry, that he had actually reared and qualified the writer for thus attacking him, must have rendered the language galling in the extreme.³⁰

His Majesty might now reflect, or not reflect, on all that he had done; but the end being gained, for which so much blood had been shed, there was still time sufficient left, for all the other perpetrators to repose

²⁹ Though finished fourteen months before, or 24th March 1535, it was not presented to the King till *this day*, 23d May 1536, having been read previously by some of his greatest political enemies! See before, anno 1535, p. 422. Also Heribert's Henry VIII., p. 418, edit. 1672; and Turner's Henry VIII., c. 28.

³⁰ The King has been somewhere represented as preserving his self-command; but the evidence of facts shows the reverse.

themselves. This they were permitted to do for a fortnight; as it was not till Whitsunday that Queen Jane was openly shown in her royal habiliments.³¹

And now, on Thursday the 8th of June, the *forty* days having once expired since the writs were issued, Parliament was opened, and Sir Thomas Audley will explain the reasons; for never has it fallen to the lot of any subservient Lord Chancellor to pronounce such an address. It was, of course, his Majesty's own version of the gloomy past. Audley actually informed the House, "that when the former Parliament was dissolved, (14th April,) the King had *no thoughts* of summoning a new one so soon! But that his Majesty's objects in assembling them so early after the dissolution, were these two—"That he, finding himself so subject to many infirmities, and considering that he was mortal, he desired to settle an heir-apparent to the crown, in case he should die without children lawfully begotten! And the other was, to repeal an Act of the former Parliament, as to the succession of the crown, to the issue of the King by Queen Anne Boleyn! That Anne and her conspirators being put to death, as they well deserved, the King, at *the humble request of the nobility*, was pleased to marry a Queen, by whom there were very probable hopes of his having children!" And all this, of course, he, and these "humble requesters," had quietly and coolly in view, on the 27th of April, when the writs were issued, nay, and of necessity, as it has been clearly proved, for some time before then! Perhaps there has seldom been a more striking instance of that "inattention to particulars," which Providence has appointed as the safeguard of innocence, for the vindication of character. Such a story, however, was by far too gross, to be received at once. New Parliament though it was, and packed as far as it might be, fortunately for the memory of the murdered Queen of England, there was some slender virtue to be found in it. A bill could not be agreed upon for three weeks to come, as it was not brought before the Lords till the 30th of June. The Lords were now more generally, if not *all* assembled, and could not exactly agree in a day or an hour, as the "humble requesters" had done, upon the mock trial in the Tower. The other House, too, had to be consulted; but at last the King's party triumphed, and the bill was passed, confirming all that had been done, and, moreover, recommending that the King should provide an heir, at his discretion, in the event of his death without issue. So absolutely did the tyrant reign!

Before leaving this melancholy exhibition of human depravity, it has been but an act of justice due to the character and memory of Queen Anne Boleyn, to expose the wickedness of that conspiracy, which had been formed against her life. The profound secrecy of the proceedings,

³¹ Halle.—This was four days before Parliament sat down; Whitsunday falling this year on the 4th of June.

till the moment when all things were ready for explosion—Crammer carefully kept in the dark, till there could be no retrograde step—and then the movements as rapid as they were terrible—the complexion of the men who had been selected for the first secret commission—the character of the judges appointed—of the Peers so carefully selected, and amounting to only the half of the entire peccage—the trial within the Tower—the exclusion of spectators, first from the trial, and then from the execution—the caution, if not cowardice, both of Cromwell and even Kingston himself,—in short, there is not one solitary step in the entire course, from first to last, which is not pregnant with suspicion or wrong. The evil intent was never more glaring, nor a case of premeditated murder more fully established. At the time, therefore, the transactions were viewed with indignation in other countries. They at once made the Germans pause with horror. Melancthon and Bucer abandoned all idea of setting their foot on English ground. The former regarded Queen Anne as innocent;³² and when the profusion of bloodshed was observed, Erasmus, now within a few weeks of his death, had already described the country as one where the most intimate friends were fearful of conversing with each other.

As yet, however, the death of Anne remains to be accounted for; and the mystery to be dispelled. That the scheme was fully arranged, that it was deeply laid, has, we presume, been made perfectly evident; as well as that “the *May-day* scene,” with which most historians have commenced this tragedy, was merely a link in the chain, and one worthy of any Roman Emperor in the height of his cruelty. But still the question returns,—what was the cause of this cruel outrage? The King himself was, of course, the chief delinquent; but he could not proceed without assistance, and if, before referring to the Queen herself, we turn to the parties concerned in her death, they, together, may assist us to some correct understanding. Henry intended one thing, and the men around him, another; but the purposes of both, involved the removal of the Queen. Her death once accomplished, the former went on his way carousing; the latter party were foiled in their ultimate design. As for the King, Queen Anne’s “greatest guilt,” says Fuller, “consisted in his better fancying another;” and though he and Cromwell will presently outwit the gentlemen of the *old learning*, meanwhile no scruple had been felt at employing them throughout this bloody scene.

The sentiments and feelings of this party need not now be explained, but its position at the moment, demands notice. The fact was that they were then opposed to both King and Queen. The former, in his royal progress was still shaking to its foundations what they regarded as the good old cause. For five years past, the clergy had been paying his

³² See his letter to Camerarius, dated fifth of the ides, or the 9th of June 1536.

Majesty above £20,000 annually, as the price of their pardon, and they were still smarting under their last instalment; when behold, here comes Crumwell in this last Parliament, and having opened, on a large scale, his "Court of Augmentation of the King's revenue," he had already laid low 376 monasteries, or, as they styled them, "religious houses." Between these men and their friends in foreign parts, there was a kindred sympathy as to the importance of this royal progress being stayed. Here however, and full in their way, stood the Queen, whose principles and procedure had been alike obnoxious. These will be explained presently, but she had gone much too far to be viewed by the zealots for "the old learning" without the keenest envy and malice. The moment for working on the wavering passions of the King had at last come, and the two parties conspiring together, Queen Anne's downfall was inevitable.

Whatever may be said when summing up her character, it was certainly no slight testimony to the weight of her influence now, that it was so felt at a distance, as well as at home. She had enjoyed the honour of being hated, from the Pontiff downwards; and if the malice cherished at home, can be shown to have been in *league* with a kindred feeling abroad, it is difficult to say what farther proof the most fastidious can desire, as to the solution of this catastrophe.

Manuscript letters, still happily preserved, here come to our aid, and at once suggest a few pointed questions, in explanation, from this party. Gardiner, Queen Anne's arch-enemy, however eager for the divorce, it is granted, was not at home; but what was more to his purpose, he was in France, or on the way between England and Italy; and thus could not fail to have his share in what had been going on for some time, since Rome itself was so fully informed. While, then, Queen Anne was still only lying pale and languid, in confinement, what was involved in Sir Gregory Cassali conferring with the Pontiff about Henry's *marriage*, and *then* writing to his Majesty himself, so early as the 20th of February?³³ How was it that Richard Pate, the English ambassador with the Emperor, was writing to the King in *cypher*, and so early as the 12th of April about legitimating the *Princess Mary*, and what meant the ambassador, in pressing the subject with vehemence?³⁴ But above all, on the 17th of May, or the day on which they were putting Lord Rochford and others to death, and harassing the Queen at Lambeth, by whose instructions or instigation was it, that Cassali was earnestly reporting progress to the Pontiff? That *very day*, as far distant as Rome, he was narrating to him the acceptable tidings of the Queen, with her brother and others, having been thrown into prison. And what was the reply of Paul the Third, the same man who within the last nine months had

³³ Cotton MS., Vitellus B. xiv., fol. 162, dated Rome, February 20, 1535, *i.e.* 1536.

³⁴ *Idem*, fol. 177.

framed such a Bull against Henry, and which was still hanging over him?³⁵ Let Cassali himself, writing to the King, inform us. The tidings from England once told,—“he (Paul) then said, that he *had been* imploring heaven to enlighten your mind on this affair; that he had *always had something of this sort in his eye*, because he thought the mind of your Majesty was adorned with such virtues, &c. !—That your Majesty *now* might perform an excellent work for Christendom, being now *released* from a marriage that was indeed too unequal for you.” Such was the language uttering in Rome, at the very moment when Cranmer was professedly sitting in judgment at Lambeth! But this was not all; Cassali goes on—“It was most manifest, that if your Majesty had the Roman Pontiff with you, you might command the other princes, (*i. e.* the Emperor and Francis) as you pleased,—he, the Pontiff, promised to obey you in this business,—desired only peace,—was not disposed to faction, nor covetously to increase his fortune in immense sums!” He said, “your Majesty ought not to be in an angry mind towards him, but to be friendly.” The Pontiff went on so far as to apologize for having made FISHER a Cardinal, and confessed he had erred in that step! With many more words in the same strain; after which Cassali again earnestly urges the King to compliance. All this was uttered by the 17th of May, as far distant as Italy, so that the sovereign Pontiff was rejoicing over the plot entire, and without the slightest hesitation as to its complete success, two days before the Queen was put to death!! The whole despatch is curious, and worthy of perusal.³⁶ “No advances,” says Turner, “could be more eager, submissive, flattering and tempting to a King of Henry’s temper, than this ingenious conference;” and certainly instead of “entire favour and zeal unto the truth,” proceeding from his Majesty’s *own* motion, for which Cranmer, at the moment, was so grossly flattering him; nothing was more likely than Henry’s compliance,—*only* it so happened, that Queen Jane turned out to be *not* unfavourable to the new learning. Again, therefore, was the monarch overruled, partly by the very marriage into which he had plunged so barbarously, and partly by the policy of Crumwell, now rising to the height of his transient glory. Union with the Pontiff, or influence in foreign politics, were, at this moment, of no account in his Majesty’s esteem, when compared with the gratification of his own will, and the pleasing prospect of augmented revenue.

That a perfect understanding had existed, however, between certain men, and as far as Rome, there is now no reason to doubt. They intended at once to destroy the Queen, and disgrace her husband, and thus far they succeeded; but as the sole cause of this mighty change of mind

³⁵ The reader cannot have forgotten that furious document noticed last year; but he may contrast it now with the suddenly altered tone of the the Man at Rome. See p. 440.

³⁶ Vitell., B. xiv., fol. 215, dated Rome, 27th May, 1536. Observe his commencement. “*Teu days have elapsed* since I went to the Pope, and narrated to him the tidings that the Queen had been thrown into prison, &c. He *then* said that he *had been*, &c.” as above.

and conduct in Paul III., was the simple announcement of Queen Anne's downfall, the fact itself speaks a volume. The language employed by the cringing Pontiff, lately so furious, and to be so again, becomes the highest testimony in the world; which, if not granted to the nature of her principles, must be acceded to the power and general current of her influence, and that from the day that Cranmer said, so exultingly, "I did put the crown upon her head."

Henry's brutal treatment of Anne Boleyn cannot be said to have terminated with her death. His procedure towards his own father-in-law, the father of the lady, once so caressed, crowned the whole. He is to be removed out of his sight. He was then Lord Privy Seal; but he must now, on the 2d of July, give way to Thomas Cromwell, since, among others, *he* had bowed so servilely to the royal passion. And yet, by the month of October, Henry, in terror for the security of his throne, had the meanness, through Cromwell, to borrow money from the man whose daughter he had murdered.³⁷ Nor was this all. Upon the Earl's death, in February 1538, with matchless rapacity, Henry laid claim to the favourite residence of Hever Castle in Kent, and that in right of a wife, from whom, previously to being beheaded, he had been, by a cruelty all his own, divorced! The manor is said to have been afterwards settled on Lady Anne of Cleves; who, however, had Richmond Palace as her residence. And yet of a scene, in every point of view, so revolting, the reader even still cannot form an adequate conception, except he revert for a few moments, finally, to its victim.

The violence of parties at the moment, combined with the strong language employed ever since, respecting Anne Boleyn, whether adverse or friendly to her character, render it no easy task to present any direct or straight-forward narrative, with regard to her. Nor, so far as the object of *this* history is concerned, is it either essential, or of vital consequence. The reader has already witnessed that the great cause of Divine truth had taken effectual root in our native land, *independently* of the forecast of a single human being, high or low. He has seen it grow and flourish, not only above the power of official influence, but in spite of it, whether in man or woman, and he will see this frequently to the end. At the same time, it may still be enquired—"Why all this mighty stir about the death of only one female?" The discordancy of historians, indeed, proves, at least, this much; that there must have been no want

³⁷ The language of Wriothesley to Cromwell, announcing this, ought not to be omitted. "For my Lord of Wiltshire, he (the King) is very glad you remembered him, and also that you wrote for *so good a sum*; for his Grace being very merry, said—there was a servant of King Edward's, his grandfather, which once made a suit for a thousand oaks, that he might only obtain twenty; and so he trusted your request to my Lord of Wiltshire should purchase £500, or such a matter, by the reason it was so great; which being less, would else perchance have wrought nothing with him. 23 Oct. 1536."—*Gov. State Papers*, i., p. 490. If any man ever had a talent for *asking supplies* it was Cromwell, and as long as he could *get* them, he stood high in Henry's favour, but when these once fail, we shall witness the sequel.

of what is styled "force of character" in Henry's second Queen, even though the period of her ascendancy was so transient; but her influence over *him* alone, can never account for this uproar. For this reason, and with the statements of both foes and friends before us, a few particulars may be hazarded; some of which have hitherto escaped notice.

Anne Boleyn, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn of Blickling, in Norfolk, was born at the family seat, about the year 1501. Of her mother, the daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, she was bereaved by a fever in 1512. In August 1514, when Louis XII. of France was betrothed to Mary the youngest sister of Henry VIII., Lady Anne, then about fourteen years of age, was appointed her fourth maid of honour. There is a letter extant to her father, in French, and in prospect of this appointment, promising to do her utmost in the service of her royal Mistress.³⁸ Proceeding to France in the autumn of 1514, she remained till the death of Louis soon after, on the 1st of January 1515. Instead, however, of returning with her mistress, then married to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, she was retained in the court and service of Claude, the daughter of Louis, and consort of Francis I., an amiable woman, who revived and promoted the moral restraints of the court, following the example of her mother, Anne of Brittany. Her maids of honour were diligently occupied in embroidery, or similar pursuits, and the society of gentlemen was not admitted. Here, however, Anne had the advantage of being associated with a lady far better known—Margaret of Valois, the Duchess of Alençon, afterwards Queen of Navarre. Hence Lord Herbert, generally so correct as an historian, informs us that "Anne had been received into a place of much honour, first with Queen Claude, and then with the Duchess of Alençon, where she staid till some difference grew between our King and Francis," or till the spring of 1522. To any one at all acquainted with what had taken place in Paris by this moment, or from the year 1518 to 1522, it must be evident that Anne could not have existed in such interesting and profitable society, without seeing and hearing far more than she could have done in England, whether she had been influenced by it at that time or not. Paris, especially in 1520, was far a-head of London. In 1521, indeed, the writings of Luther were condemned alike in both cities, but London had no such men to show as Lefevre, Briçonnet, and Farel, nor England any such woman as Margaret of Valois.

³⁸ Turner, who, with other historians, has supposed the birth of Anne to be in 1507, perplexed by the style of this letter, as not that of a child, ascribes it to the year 1527, when Anne was about to enter the household of Queen Catherine of England. But, independently of its being a letter bearing on a *French* court, it is in perfect harmony with a young lady in her teens, going from under her father's eye. Turner agrees in sending Anne to France in 1514; but would a child of six or seven years have been sent as maid of honour, and actually named, as she was, in Mary's retinue?

After being introduced into the royal household of Henry, as maid of honour to Queen Catherine, an attachment which had been formed between Anne and Percy, the future Earl of Northumberland, was imperatively and with great cruelty broken up, at the instigation of the King; at least, it has always been taken for granted that it was at *his* instigation. But be this as it may, Wolsey was the agent, and the natural consequence, on the part of both, was an unbroken jealousy of the Cardinal ever after. Percy was dismissed the court, and Anne also withdrew to Hever Castle, a favourite residence of her father, thirty miles distant in Kent.³⁹ As the daughter of Sir Thomas certainly did not appear in public, or at court, till May 1527, there remain four years to be filled up. Injurious dismissed, she not only discovered a persevering sense of the affront, but, according to the shrewd supposition of Burnet, again returned to France. One of Anne's latest biographers⁴⁰ has no doubt that farther research will verify Burnet's statement, while both agree with Turner in assigning to her a residence with Margaret, till her marriage with Henry D' Albret, King of Navarre. This took place on the 24th of January 1527, when Anne returned with her father to England, early in that year. That her father, who had been created Viscount Rochford in 1525, was abundantly ambitious of his daughter's advancement, as well as his own, has been made very evident; and *he* it was who first led her into such critical circumstances, by promoting her return to court once more, where she attended on Queen Catherine. The question of Henry's divorce from his unimpeachable wife, with whom he had lived so long, being once moved; this young woman was then exposed to all the sophistry of Gardiner and Fox, but above all, to that of Cranmer, who wrote his book in her father's house, and had free access to her day by day. Lending an ear to the doctrine of the day, could not save Anne from personal responsibility, any more than it could those men who laboured to promote it. At the same time all the advances of the King, previously to a certain period, ought to have been regarded as deeply insulting. That he met with a decided and notable repulse on his first approach, has been recorded by Anne's bitterest enemies;⁴¹ but for her yielding to any alliance by marriage, at least before the day that Cranmer took it upon him, not to pronounce a divorce, which he never did, but to declare the union itself null and void, or at an end; for her subsequent carriage towards the Queen Dowager and her daughter Mary, she was personally responsible—and let her be blamed. Nothing of all this, however, and though it had been ten times greater, would ever have been so severely censured, had Anne Boleyn,

³⁹ Percy was married to a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, about 1524, in consequence of a previous contract between that nobleman, and the Earl his father. The father dying in 1527, it was the *same* man whom Wolsey had once so *thwarted*, who, with Sir W. Walshe, was sent by Henry to *apprehend* him in 1530.

⁴⁰ Agnes Strickland.

⁴¹ Sloane MS., no. 2495.

after she came to the throne, only lent her influence in favour of "the old learning." Here it was that, in the estimation of leading men in power, she had erred so grievously. Here lay her sin unpardonable. There were certain palpable steps never to be forgiven, and which, in the eye of the timid and time-serving, had shown more of generous zeal, than worldly prudence. These have been too slightly explained hitherto, though a brief digression might have explained them.

Let any one peruse the account recently given of Margaret of Valois, by Merle D'Aubigné, from manuscripts of the time, and he can scarcely fail to conclude, that the early and intimate acquaintance of Anne Boleyn with such a character, must have had some beneficial effect upon her.⁴² But be this as it might, at all events, we have already seen

⁴² It was creditable to the Earl of Wiltshire, while yet Lord Rochford, as well as his daughter, that society with such a princess was preferred and prized; for many historians agree in allowing to her this privilege, and Anne could not fail to have enjoyed benefit from it, *ultimately*. Margaret of Valois was an ardent reader of the Scriptures, and every day perused a portion of them, or rather twice a day. She has described this habit so beautifully herself, in the preface to her tales, that we must present it in her own words, since they are so very appropriate to these pages.

"You ask me, my children, to do a very difficult thing—to invent a diversion that will drive away your *ennuis*. I have been seeking all my life to effect this, but I have found only *one* remedy, which is, *reading the Holy Scriptures*. In perusing them, my mind experiences its true and perfect joy; and from this pleasure of the mind, proceed the repose and health of the body. If you desire me to tell you what I do, to be so gay and so well, at my advanced age; it is because as soon as I get up, I read these sacred books. There I see and contemplate the will of God, who sent his Son to us on earth, to preach that Holy Word; and to announce the sweet tidings, that he promises to pardon our sins and extinguish our debts, by giving us his Son, who loved us, and who suffered and died for our sakes. This idea so delights me, that I take up the Psalms, and sing them with my heart; and pronounce with my tongue, as humbly as possible, the fine hymns with which the Holy Spirit inspired David, and the sacred authors. The pleasure I receive from this exercise, so transports me, that I consider all the evils that may happen to me in the day, to be real blessings; for I place Him in my heart, by faith, who endured more misery for me. Before I sup, I retire in the same manner, to give my soul a congenial lesson. At night, I review all that I have done in the day; I implore pardon for my faults; I thank my God for his favours; and I lie down in his love, in his fear, and in his peace, my soul being free from every worldly anxiety. Lo! my dear children, what has, for a *long* while, made me so happy. I have sought every where else, but have found nothing but this, so solid and so satisfying—and if you will give an hour every morning to such reading, and say your prayers devoutly during the mass, you will perceive in this solitude those charms which will attend you in every city. Indeed, whoever knows God, will find the most beautiful things in Him; but without Him what is there that will not become offensive and disagreeable? You must believe what I say, if you wish to have a safe and pleasant life."

Between the Courts of France and England there were several points of resemblance at this period, so far as these two females were concerned, and in consequence of which, the Queen of Navarre must have felt deeply the death of one, whom she had known so well. Ever since the infatuated alliance of Francis I., in 1533, with Rome, Queen Margaret had well known what it was to be suspected, opposed, and hated, for her opinions. Montmorency, the Premier, had told the King that if he wished to exterminate heresy, he must begin with his own Court, and, especially, with his sister, the Queen of Navarre. Her table, however, was still the resort of those who loved the Scriptures, and *there*, in 1536, sat Lefevre, their translator into French, at the advanced age of one hundred, who died next year. There, the last end of the murdered Queen of England must have been canvassed, and duly appreciated. Indeed, it is rather a singular coincidence, that for the earliest account, as well as many of the most important particulars, we are indebted not to any English, but to two *French* authorities, who were in London at the moment, and saw or heard what they described. The first of these, "Histoire de Anne Boleyn, par un Contemporain," a *metrical* narrative, too, is dated at London so early as the 2d of June, or only fourteen days after her death, and a week before Latimer preached to the Bishops. The other, by Crispin, Lord of Milherve, was preserved by Meterin, the Dutch Consul-General, in his "Histoire de Pays Bas, 1618." Burnet, and all subsequent historians, have

that, as early as 1529, Anne had possessed at least one publication of Tyndale—"The Obedience of a Christian man." It was a species of writing for which her previous acquaintance with Margaret had fully prepared her; and had she proceeded no farther, the offence would have been passed over. This, however, happened before she was Queen of England. Afterwards she went much farther, and to such extent that all she had said or done before was as nothing.

There were two men especially, who, through her influence, at last became Bishops, and the unprecedented circumstances of their accession, constituted mortal offence. Their appointments were already noticed last year; but, in justice to the Queen, they come before us again. No other than two Italians, nay Roman *Cardinals*, were deprived of both office and revenue, before these men could be so advanced. At such a time, so far as money was concerned, it might have been said, "Let them go, but woe to the men who shall be put in their places."⁴³ This, however, was not all. These two successors had been long peculiarly obnoxious to the gentlemen of "the old learning." The first had been marked as a transgressor from the days of Wolsey; and the second, as early as 1530, had incurred the wrath of Nix, the old Bishop of Norwich, to such a degree, that he said, in slaying Bilney, he was "afraid that he had slain Abel and saved *Cain* alive." But far worse than this, the first of these men had incurred the wrath of no less than Stokesly, the reigning Bishop of London, and lay under his censure. He had not only examined and molested him in 1532, but, by the 3d of October 1533, inhibited him from preaching within the diocese of London. This, however, with all his quaintness, it will be now acknowledged, was the noblest character then living in all England,—the only man who ever boldly, and without evasion, spoke the truth to Henry VIII., and was afterwards no less faithful to Anne Boleyn. We need not name HUGH LATIMER. But who could be expected now to interpose in his favour? It was no other than the Queen; and if her achievement in rescuing him from the fangs of Stokesly and his fellows, was to be followed by any farther mark of her personal regard, she could not fail to incur most virulent hatred. Even thus far, however, she had already made way for the cautious and timid Primate; and this becomes the more observable, as it is about the first time that we hear of Cranmer *doing* any thing in advance. He followed in the wake of Latimer

been indebted to it; and it is from this source that we derive the final address of Anne to Henry's "Lords triers." It is, finally, to a third native of France, and he a disciple of "the old learning" still, we owe the following information. "Many English gentlemen have assured me, that Henry VIII., on his death-bed, greatly repented of the offences he had committed, and, among other things, of the injury and crime committed against Anne de Boleyn, falsely overcome and accused by the charges against her."—*Therein*. Though too credulous as a biographer, "the simplest mind," says Turner, "must have known, whether its ears did or did not hear, what *many* had mentioned to them;" and, certainly, if Henry did repent of any thing at all, such conduct could not fail to meet him on his death-bed.

⁴³ Cardinal Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, and Cardinal Camppeggio, Bishop of Salisbury.

and the Queen. Accordingly, by the autumn of 1534, Cranmer had not only befriended Latimer, but, in the face of Stokesly's ire, he had actually "licensed *divers* to preach within the province of Canterbury, at *his* instance and request," and this, of course, embraced London.⁴⁴ Next year, however, Anne proceeded much farther. By the 10th of February, the same man was preaching before the King and Queen, and upon all the following Wednesdays in Lent; ⁴⁵ till at last, through the same influence, by September, Latimer, as Bishop of Worcester, occupied the place from which Cardinal Ghinucci had been expelled. Thus, the last Italian non-resident Bishop over Tyndale's native soil, from whence so many thousand pounds had been drained for half a century, being gone; it was altogether a deed so notable, that it must have been resented not only in England, but especially at Rome; and much more so, if the second man to whom we have referred, was also to be so advanced. This was Nicholas Shaxton, a most miserable contrast, indeed, to Latimer, though not at present, nor for years after. Nix of Norwich, his sworn enemy, was yet alive; and yet this man, by May 1534, was the Queen's almoner; and in February following, he succeeded in the See of Salisbury to Cardinal Campeggio.⁴⁶

The Queen's decided encouragement of Latimer, was, of itself, sufficient to have sealed her doom, with the opposite party. She had entreated him to point out whatever was amiss in her conduct; and notwithstanding all the calumny which has been heaped upon her, let that conduct now be farther observed; for there were other offences, so called, of not less magnitude. By her letter to Crumwell, in May 1534, she had openly and officially avowed her approbation of the Scriptures having been *imported* into England; which *no* official man had yet dared to do, and against which Wolsey and the Bishops had been fighting all along. In short, her approbation of the Scriptures having been circulated in the vulgar tongue—her recent vindication of Mr. Harman, their zealous importer—her pointed request that he should be restored to all his forfeited privileges, as a merchant in Antwerp—her growing estimation in the eyes of the people; "for her ordinary," says one of the oldest

⁴⁴ Harleian Manuscript. No. 6148, fol. 41.

⁴⁵ Cranmer, quite in character, *cautioned* him, to "be *very* circumspect, to overpass and omit all manner of speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings"—and to "stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half, at the most—lest the King and the Queen wax weary at the beginning," or have "small delight to the end." It is not likely that Latimer could ever adjust himself so nicely before any audience, or that he ever would. These sermons must have been great literary curiosities, at such a time; but though we know nothing of them, we shall see whether Latimer remembered this trimming, when he came to preach before Cranmer himself, and his brethren on the bench, in the memorable Convocation of this year, 1536.

⁴⁶ In the preamble to the bill of deprivation, it is stated, that £3000 annually had gone direct to Rome, from these two Sees. Worcester, however, as it included the whole of Gloucestershire, must have been of most value, though we shall still rate it at only £1500. Since the year 1484, as already explained, the district had been given up to *Italian* absentee Prelates; so that, in the fifty preceding years, here was £75,000, which had gone to Italy. It may be remembered, that this was equal to more than a million sterling of the present day, and yet the calculation, most probably, is far too moderate.

biographers, "amounted to fifteen hundred pounds, at the least, yearly, (equal to £22,500 now,) to be bestowed on the poor—her provisions of stock for them, in sundry needy parishes, were very great. Out of her privy purse went not a little to like purposes; to scholars in exhibition, very much; so as, in three quarters of a year, her alms and bounty were summed to fourteen or fifteen thousands." And now at last, in the Tower, after a review of her past life, we have seen this same person, on her bended knees before Lady Kingston, imploring her, in the *same* manner, to ask forgiveness of Princess Mary, for any wrongs she had done her; for to the King, her husband, it may now be granted, she had done no wrong. Lady Kingston punctually fulfilled the commission.

All these were deeds which cannot be disputed; and, when taken together, they not only show that the Queen had been by far too good a woman for such a being as Henry had discovered himself to be; but they prove, that she had proceeded much too far, in a certain course, ever to escape the bitterest defamation from her enemies; perhaps it was thought too fast; and hence the pusillanimity, if not the base desertion of her professed friends. As for death from her husband, it was nothing more than one awful result, though probably the worst, of his vile and variable passions. It is of him, and after a masterly review of the entire proceedings, that Sir James Mackintosh has said—"Henry, perhaps, approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness, as the infirmities of human nature would allow!"

But we now turn to a widely different scene; and as Latimer had now been Bishop of Worcester for nine months, in despite of the Bishop of London or his party, the reader may be curious to hear what he had got to say to the official leaders of "the old learning," only that day three weeks after Anne Boleyn had been removed from the present life.

Henry having called a new Parliament, had resolved also to have a *new* Convocation, and one differing in its character from all that had preceded it on English ground, or, indeed, *any where else*. Of the Parliament we can already judge. "Henry's two divorces having created an uncertainty as to the line of succession, Parliament had endeavoured to remove this, not by such constitutional provisions in concurrence with the crown, as might define the course of inheritance, but by enabling the King, on failure of issue by Jane Seymour, or any other lawful wife, to make over and bequeath the kingdom to *any* person at his pleasure, not even reserving a preference to the descendants of former sovereigns!"⁴⁷ But we have now to look into the Convocation.

The confusion and misrepresentation which reigns throughout almost all our general histories, respecting this Convocation and its results, more especially with regard to the English Bible, render it imperatively necessary for the reader to observe what actually took place. Having already witnessed the failure of these Prelates in 1534 and 1535, their procedure in 1536 only invites the more careful inspection, if not the deeper interest. A universal mistake has consisted in the supposition that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then ambassador at Paris, was here present; but there are many others, especially in relation to the Scriptures in English.

Thus, for example, Hume, in his History of England, informs us, that "a vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished, and published at Paris!" Burnet represents certain "arguments" as so prevailing with *both houses of Convocation*, that "they petitioned the King, that he would give order to *some* to set about it."—"These arguments, joined with the power that the Queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the King, that *he gave order* for setting about it *immediately!* To *whom* that work was committed, or *how they proceeded in it, I know not.* For the account of these things has *not* been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate: for three years after this, it was printed at Paris, which shews *they made all convenient haste*, in a thing that required so much deliberation!"

Other historians being equally loose, and as far astray, one is the less surprised at egregious mistakes committed by the painter. Only the other day a cartoon was exhibited in Westminster Hall, entitled, "A Convocation held in 1536, for a deliberation on a new translation of the Scriptures." Instead of all the Prelates being seated *before and below* Crumwell, the Vicgerent and Vicar-General,—"Cranmer," according to the description given, "is represented as presiding over the Assembly. On his right hand are *Crumwell!* Tunstal, *Gardiner*, (though in France,) and others; on his left are Latimer, Fox, Goodrich, and others." But we forbear. It will be seen, however, that there actually were two or three *scenes* at this Convocation, inviting the pencil of our highest artists: especially "*Latimer preaching before the Convocation,*" or even "*Stokesly of London, at the height of his wrath;*" but they yet remain to be laid on the canvass.

The friends of the "old learning" round the King, included two distinct parties—the nobility and the clergy. The present prospects of these two, were direct contrasts to each other. The former were looking forward, with eagerness, to the acquisition of property; the latter were trembling in the apprehension of losing it. The nobility were happy to aid the King in his late affair, and had borne him through it; but certainly not without full expectation of his recollecting

their services, for they had laid the King under a debt of gratitude;⁴⁸ the clergy had also rejoiced in the death of the Queen, and will immediately give their official sanction. But then, it was not to follow as a matter of course, that because this latter party had gone along with Henry in his bloody progress, that he was to aid them, or even spare them, as a body, in theirs. By no means. On the contrary, the clergy, at all events, must prepare for farther inroads and fresh humiliation. It will be remembered that Crumwell had, last year, been, very conveniently, made "Vicegerent, Vicar-General, and Commissary Special and Principal," involving vast powers; placing him, in fact, next to the royal family, for specific and prospective purposes; and we have now to see the height to which he thought himself entitled to act.

The Convocation had met on the day after Parliament, or the 9th of June. Cranmer had resolved to try what a sermon could effect at the opening. We have seen how eager he was respecting Latimer preaching before the Court, and he appointed him now to preach before the Convocation. His text was appropriate enough. "*The children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light,*"—and he did not fail to speak as he thought. He delivered two sermons, on the same day, from this text, and in the afternoon, especially, came to the point. Perhaps nothing of the kind ever equalled

LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE THE CONVOCATION.

"They that be secular and laymen, are not by and bye children of the world; nor they children of light, that are called spiritual and of the clergy. No, no; as ye may find among the laity *many children of light*,⁴⁹ so among the clergy, (how much soever we arrogate these holy titles to us, and think them only at-

⁴⁸ "The reproach of servility and patient acquiescence under usurped power, falls not on the English people, but on its leaders. Henry's compliant nobility yielded to every mandate of his imperious will; they bent with every breath of his capricious humour; they are responsible for the illegal trial—for the iniquitous attainder—for the sanguinary statute—for the tyranny which they sanctioned by law—and for that which they permitted to subsist without law. Nor was this selfish and pusillanimous subserviency more characteristic of the minions of Henry's favour, the Crumwells, the Riches, the Pagets, the Russels, and the Powletts, than of the representatives of ancient and honourable houses, the Norfolks, the Arundels, and the Shrewsburies."—*Hallam*. All this is correct, as far as it goes, and some other names might have been specified; but still the "Lords servile" could never have succeeded, without the "Lord Bishops." They were not only in the secret of every intrigue, but, as it has often appeared, were at the bottom of all mischief and cruelty. In the recent tragedy, indeed, the "Lords triers" stand conspicuous; but before the plot exploded, *Gardiner* had been whispering in the ear of his dear friend, the Duke of Norfolk. See before, p. 459.

⁴⁹ A most significant public testimony! And, under Providence, may we not be permitted now to say,—“Thanks to Tyndale, and the perusal of his translations of the Divine Word?” for what else had brought out these children of light? There was no preaching of the truth. In the almost solitary person of Latimer, this had been denounced.

tributed to us—'Ye are the light of the world—the chosen people of Christ—a kingly priesthood—an holy nation,' and such other,) ye shall find many children of the *world*, because in all places the world getteth many children. For I fear, lest in all orders of men, the better, I must say the greater part of them, be out of order, and children of the world."—"But because I cannot speak of all, when I say Prelates, I understand Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, Deans, and other of such sort, as are now called to *this* Convocation, as I see, to entreat here of nothing but of such matters, as both appertain to the glory of Christ, and to the wealth of the people of England. Which thing I pray God they may do, as earnestly as they ought to do. But it is to be feared, lest as light hath many of her children here, so the world hath sent some of his whelps hither; amongst the which I know there can be no concord nor unity, albeit they be in one place, in one congregation."—"But if the children of this world be either more in number, or more prudent, than the children of light, what then availeth this Convocation? Had it not been better we had *not* been called together.

"The end of your Convocation shall shew what ye have done; the fruit that shall come of your consultation, shall shew what generation ye be of. For what have ye done hitherto, I pray you, *these seven years and more*? What have ye ingendered? What have ye brought forth? What fruit is come of your *long and great assembly*?⁵⁰ What *one* thing that the people of England hath been better of, a hair? Are you yourselves either more accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people committed to your care? For that the people is *better learned and taught* now, than they were in time past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it—to your industry, or to the *providence of God* and the foresceing of the King's Grace? Is it unknown, think you, how both ye, and your curates were in a manner by violence enforced, to let (hinder) books to be made, not by you, but by profane and lay persons, to let (hinder) them, I say to be *sold abroad and read*, for the instruction of the people? I am bold with you, but I speak *Latin* and not English, to the clergy, *not to the laity*.⁵¹ I speak to you being present, and not behind your backs. God is my witness, I speak whatsoever is spoken, of the good-will that I bear you. God is my witness, which knoweth my heart, and compelleth me to say what I say.

"Now, I pray you, in God's name, what did you, so great Fathers, so many, so long a season, so oft assembled together? What went you about? What would you have brought to pass, two things taken away? The one, that ye, (which I heard) burned a *dead man*: The other, that ye, (which I felt,) went about to burn one being alive. *Him*, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his testament withstand your *profit*; in other points, as I have heard, a very good man: reported to be of an honest life, while he lived, full of good works, good both to the clergy, and also to the laity.⁵² This *other*, which truly never hurt any of you, ye would have *roasted in the coals*, because he would not subscribe to certain articles that took away the supremacy of the King.⁵³ Take away these two *noble* acts, and there is nothing else left, that ye went about, that I know; saving that I now remember, that something ye attempted against *Eras-*

⁵⁰ With reference to which Latimer had written his noble letter to Henry VIII. of Dec. 1530.

⁵¹ Both these sermons were in Latin; but the above is the faithful translation published next year. "to the intent that things well said to a *few*, may be understood of *many*, and do good to all them that desire to understand the truth."

⁵² Alluding to the body of Sir William Tracy, to which we have before referred. See: nno 1532.

⁵³ Referring to his own appearance before the Convocation, in 1532, for which see page 335.

mus, albeit as yet nothing is come to light.⁵⁴ Ye have oft sat in consultation, but what have ye done? Ye have had many things in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or else Christ's people made more holy? I appeal to your own consciences; how chanced this? How came it thus? Because there was *no* children of light, *no* children of God amongst you, which, setting the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and thereby show themselves children of light? I think not so; certainly I think not so. God forbid, that *all* you, which were gathered together under the pretence of light, should be children of the world? Then why happened this? Why, I pray you? Perchance, either because the children of the world were *more* in number, in this your congregation, as it *oft* happeneth, or at the least of more policy than the children of light in their generation: whereby it might very soon be brought to pass, that those were much more strong in generating the evil, than these in producing the good."

Then, after detailing, at length, the evils to be removed, and urging them all to "do *something* whereby they might be known to be the children of light,"—as "all men know that we be here gathered, and, with most fervent desire, breath and gape for the fruit of our Convocation;" and "as our acts shall be, so shall they name us." After warning them by that wicked professor who "beat his fellow servants, and did eat and drink with the drunken,"—he closes all by saying:—

"Come, go to, my brothers; go to, I say again, and once again go to, leave the love of your *profit*; study for the glory and profit of Christ; seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth, at the last, something that may please Christ.—Preach truly *the Word of God*. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light, while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come, bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to whom be all honour, praise, and glory—Amen."

This stringent and intrepid discourse must have been as gall and worm-wood to many who were present; but it certainly was meet, that some such address should salute their ears, and at such a time as this. It was fit that they should be told, when thus all assembled to hear, that already there were among the PEOPLE "*many* children of light;" while they had not yet done one thing, whereby the inhabitants of England had profited "one hair." It was fit that Tunstal should be reminded, thus publicly, of his miserable injunction in 1526,

⁵⁴ "Henry Standish," says Bale, "a Minorite, and Bishop of St. Asaph, in a daily Convocation, uttered many idle invectives against *Colet* and *Erasmus*; and once fell on his knees before the King and Queen (Catharine); when he exhorted and even conjured them, by every thing sacred, to go on resembling their ancestors, otherwise the religion of Christ would be in deplorable state: Standish had died on the 9th of July last year; but Latimer, most probably, had some other men now present, in his eye."

and his torturing examinations in 1528, and his burning of the Sacred Volume in 1530: nay, that in that very St. Paul's, where, after his return from Spain, he had denounced the New Testament, of which now so many editions had been sold and circulated, he should have to sit still and listen to such harrowing interrogations as these. And although some may question the delicacy of Latimer introducing himself, more especially as he was reverting to the most humiliating scene in his past life, perhaps the solitary speck in his public character; ⁵⁵ still it was fit that the ears of Stokesly and his fellows should be made to tingle, in remembrance of their past cruelties. Stokesly had actually officiated, before the sermons began!

In short, taking the discourse all in all, a more perfect disclaimer of any thing having, as yet, been done, by these men in England, could not have been given; nor a higher attestation to the powerful, though denounced, exertions of Tyndale, as well as to their positive and extensive effects. It was only in perfect keeping with all that has been recorded, that such an eminent and distinct testimony should have been delivered before an assembly of foes and friends, at St. Paul's in *London*, three months before Tyndale received the crown of martyrdom,—and that by Latimer, the man, among all present, best qualified to judge.

It becomes of no little curious importance to observe who were actually assembled to hear all this; and the more so, that the statements frequently given have been both defective and erroneous. Of the twenty-one Bishops, sixteen were present at the Convocation, and two voted by proxy. As for the other three, not present; Gardiner of Winchester was *still in France*, where indeed he remained for above *two* years. Athaqua or Attien, Bishop of Llandaff, if yet alive, being a Spaniard, could not now vote; and Kite of Carlisle, once Archbishop of Armagh, an appointment which he had received from Leo X. in 1513, and resigned for Carlisle in 1521, was now in extreme old age, and died next year. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See, anno 1532, page 335. In his address, however, he gives a turn to the *close* of his examination, which, as he does not explain, so of course it does not appear on the record.

⁵⁶ Fuller, professing to give an account of this Convocation, has, here at least, led Burnet and several other historians astray. Lord Herbert had given only the titles of fourteen of the Secs. and Fuller would supply the names; but for Norwich he inserted *Nr.*, who died in January preceding; and for Chichester he names *Sherburne*, now aged 96, who had resigned. He put

But besides the sixteen Bishops present, there were forty mitred Abbots and Priors, or fifty-six in all. In the lower house fifty members attended, namely, twenty-five Archdeacons, seven Deans, seventeen Proctors, and one Master of a College. Of the eighteen who voted from the Bench, those who were with and against Cranmer, will show how equally they were divided when discussion began. We give them with the dates of their appointment.—

1531. <i>Lee</i> of York.	1533. <i>Cranmer</i> of Canterbury.
1530. <i>Stokesly</i> of London.	1534. <i>Goodrich</i> of Ely.
1530. <i>Tunstal</i> of Durham.	1535. <i>Sharton</i> of Salisbury.
1520. <i>Longland</i> of Lincoln.	1535. <i>Fox</i> of Hereford.
1519. <i>Vesey</i> of Exeter. ⁵⁷	1535. <i>Latimer</i> of Worcester.
1533. <i>Clerk</i> of Bath.	1535. <i>Hilsey</i> of Rochester.
1534. <i>Lee</i> of Litchfield. ⁵⁷	1536. <i>Barlow</i> of St. Davids.
1534. <i>Salcot</i> of Bangor.	1536. <i>Warton</i> of St. Asaph.
1536. <i>Rugge</i> of Norwich.	1536. <i>Sampson</i> of Chichester.

Thus, although the reader will still recognise well known enemies to the progress of Divine Truth, and to Tyndale personally, he will observe that the coast is clear of the aged and literally blind Nix of Norwich—of West of Ely, the crafty foe of Latimer—of Standish, the slanderer of Colet and Erasmus—of Fisher, the ablest opponent of the *new* learning—and of Cardinal Campeggio of Salisbury, as well as Ghinucci of Worcester, two Italians, ever ready to support the *old*—besides five others. If death had not thinned the ranks of these men, it is evident that Cranmer had been left in a small minority; but it now appears, that, since his appointment, only three years ago, as many as *eleven* vacancies had occurred, and of these not fewer than eight voted with him. So late as the 31st of May, the other party had been strengthened by Rugge *alias* Repps, being elected for Norwich; ⁵⁸ but it shows the keenness of Crumwell and Cranmer, that on the very *day before* the Convocation, they got

in Gardiner of Winchester, not observing that he was abroad; and Kite of Carlisle, who was not present. Herbert, too, had added, "*and the rest,*" but Fuller did not supply the deficiency.

⁵⁷ Voted by proxy.

⁵⁸ Nicholas's Synopsis. This may seem strange; but the mystery is solved, by observing that HENRY was a party concerned. Norwich being vacant, he had taken into his own hands all the lands and manors of the See, the old Bishop having at last fallen under a *premunire*; and giving several priories in exchange, the King recommended William Rugge or Repps, Abbot of St. Benedicts, in Hulme, who, of course, *must* be received. The old man, Richard Nix, upon his submission, was pardoned and discharged from prison, but not without a fine; with part of which, it has been said, the glass windows of *King's College, Cambridge*, were purchased.

Warton into St. Asaph, nay, on the day of *opening*, having procured Sherburne's resignation, they put Richard Sampson, the King's great champion, in his place.⁵⁹ Even then, however, they divided, it appears, nine to nine. Fortunately for Cranmer's peace, Gardiner was not there, and two disciples of the old learning voted only by proxy, viz. Exeter and Litchfield, for whom Longland of Lincoln, acted.

Preliminaries being adjusted by Friday the 16th of June, the old party in the lower house, had prevailed in securing one of their number to be Prolocutor in the Convocation. This was Richard Gwent, an Archdeacon of Stokesly's, now presented and confirmed by the upper house. But, by way of keeping the balance even, or rather of discovering how strong was the rod of royal authority over them, there entered, on the same day, not even Crumwell himself, for he was as yet too busy with Parliamentary affairs, but Dr. William Petre, as *his* deputy! He claimed the precedency due to his immediate master, and the commission he brought with him being read, Cranmer assigned him his place, next to himself. Some might well question, and probably did, as Fuller supposes, whether "a deputy's deputy" might properly claim *his* place who was principally represented. It has been said that it was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs at Crumwell's appointment to his office—a man who had never taken orders, nor graduated in any University; but their indignation increased, when they found that the same pre-eminence was claimed by any of his *clerks*, whom he might commission as his deputy at their meetings.⁶⁰

On Wednesday next, however, the 21st, Crumwell entered, and as VICEGERENT AND VICAR-GENERAL seated himself judicially above all.⁶¹ He then presented them an instrument, annulling the King's marriage with the late Queen. They all signed it, and one party most willingly, though, as al-

⁵⁹ Nicholas' Synopsis, where the day of his consecration is stated *the 9th of June*.

⁶⁰ Godwin, Collier, Lingard. As if to make the humiliation more perfect, who was this DR. PETRE? No other than one of the visitors of Monasteries, appointed in October last! The Doctor, however, afterwards Sir William Petre, who had been tutor to Lord Rochford, and Latin Secretary in the Secretary of State's office, finally became Principal Secretary of State. But what was more remarkable, he contrived *so* to remain, not only under Henry VIII., but under Edward VI., Queen *Mary*, and Elizabeth. After his visitations, he had obtained very large grants of Abbey lands, and died, leaving estates in seven counties, to his son, the first Lord Petre.

⁶¹ It must be remembered, that this Vicegerent and *Vicar-General*, was still nothing more than a Knight, or member of the Commons House, and not even Lord Privy Seal till next month.

ready noticed, the measure did not pass the House of Lords till the 30th.

On Friday, the 23d of June, Gwent brought up from the lower house, a long list of what they styled *mala dogmata*, or erroneous doctrines. The number amounted to not fewer than *sixty-seven*; and it now remained for Cranmer, Latimer, and others, to say, what was to be done with them; for this was no other than "The protestation of the Clergy of the lower house, within the province of *Canterbury*." As a picture of the men within these doors, and of the opinions that were now travelling the country, the document is of value. The puerility, it is granted, and the absurdity of most of the items, strikingly evince the degraded state of the human mind, in those who sanctioned the list; while, on the other hand, some of those very items prove, that, in the face of their most furious opposition, Divine Truth had already found its way into a thousand channels. A few only will serve to show whether there were *any* of "the children of this world" in this assembly, as Latimer had more than suspected, and whether there were *many* of "the children of light" *elsewhere*, as he had affirmed.

"We think," say they, "in our consciences and opinions, these errors and abuses following, to have been, and now to be, within this realm, causes of dis-sension, worthy special reformation. It is, to wit,

1. "That it is commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slauder of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, damage of Christian souls, not without *fear* of many other inconveniences and perils—that the sacrament of the altar is not to be esteemed.

5. "Item.—That all ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not *clearly expressed in Scripture*, must be taken away, because they are *men's inventions*.

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

15. "Item.—That images of saints are not in any wise to be revered.

26. "Item.—That confession auricular, absolution, and penance, are neither necessary nor profitable in the Church of God.

27. "Item.—That auricular confession is only invented and ordained to have the secret knowledge of men's hearts, and to *pull money out of their purse*.

44. "Item.—That there is no mean place between Heaven and Hell, wherein souls departed may be afflicted.

56. "Item.—That by preaching, *the people* have been brought in opinion and belief, *that nothing is to be believed, except it can be proved expressly from Scripture*.

65. "Item.—That besides preaching, there are many slanderous and erroneous books that have been made and suffered to go abroad indifferently,

which books were the more gladly bought, because of these words, '*cum pririlegio*;' which the ignorant people took to have been an express approbation of the King, where it was not so indeed.

66. "Item.—That where, *heretofore*, divers books have been examined by persons appointed in the Convocation, and the said books found *full of heresy and erroneous opinions, and so declared*; the said books are not yet by the Bishops expressly condemned, but *suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned people*, which ministereth to them matter of *argument*, and much unquietness within the realm."⁶²

Independently of Latimer's testimony, here was a second, and from many individuals. If it be said that their alarm may have led them to exaggerate the good that had been done, it must be remembered that God had been carrying forward his work with secret energy, and that *they* were not the men to know *all*: but still they come forward in proof that *the Sacred Volume*, so far from having been read in vain, had already produced some of its finest effects, and, it may safely be presumed, to a considerable extent, since they affirmed that these truths were "*commonly taught and spoken*." It is true, that all this had been accomplished in the face of opposition, and certainly without the bold and public sanction of any present; but, though it has been too little observed, the moment was a crisis in the history of England, more important than any one that has since occurred in her eventful history. As far as the vital interests of Christianity itself are concerned, who is there now, understanding these interests, who can forbear to exclaim—"Oh! had they but let 'well' alone! and left those cardinal principles, which the majority of these men now branded as evil, to have found their way into every city and hamlet, till they had leavened the community!" But no; the perfection, the *all-sufficiency* of the Sacred Volume to accomplish all the purposes of the Divine will, was a tenet held by no one there.

And now the war grew warm, the strife interminate, for what else could be expected from an assemblage such as this? Cranmer alone, as yet possessed of no fixed principles, nor any distinct conception of where he was going, though even backed by Latimer, with all his wit and shrewdness, could have done nothing. Even in the *absence of Gardiner*, they would have been crushed or overruled. Queen Anne was

⁶² See the list entire in Collier.

gone, and the old party had determined to try their strength. Oh! exclaims old Fuller, "what tugging was here, betwixt those opposite sides, (for I *dare not* take Bishop Latimer's phrase, as he took it out of his text—betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of *light*,) whilst, with all earnestness, they thought to advance their *several designs*." The truth is, that the House of Lords itself was often interrupted in their business by these men; and in their "Journal," the reason recorded for many adjournments was this, that the Lord Bishops "were busy in the Convocation."

It was while these discussions were proceeding, or rather about their commencement, that a notable scene occurred, in which *Alexander Ales*, the native of Edinburgh, already mentioned, made a conspicuous appearance. One day, as Lord Cromwell was proceeding to the house, he met Ales "by chance on the street," and, as if determined on still farther humiliation of the Bench, "he called him, and took him with him to the Parliament house, to Westminster." Upon entering, all the Bishops "rose and did obeisance to their Vicar-General, and after he had saluted them, he sat him down in the *highest* place." "Right against him sat Cranmer and Lee as Archbishops; and then Stokesly and Longland, Shaxton and Clerk, Goodrich and Fox, Sampson and Rugge, Latimer and certain others," adds Ales, "whose names I have forgotten." "All these did sit at a table covered with a carpet, with certain Priests standing about them."⁶³

The "Vicar-General of the realm" commenced—"The King's Majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to *his* commandment; and ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved, concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the King studieth day and night to set a *quietness* in the Church! And he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and *ended* through the determination of you, and his whole Parliament! For although his special desire is to *set a steu* (fix according to rule) for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe, and he, himself, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough; yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of

⁶³ The Convocation here seated before and below CROMWELL, as far as here named, presents an equal division of opinion, as before stated. There were Cranmer, Shaxton, Goodrich, Fox, and Sampson, on one side; Lee, Stokesly, Longland, Clerk, and Rugge, on the other. The names that Ales had forgotten were six in number, or, in all, nine on one side, and nine on the other, including the two votes by proxy.

you and his whole Parliament. And he desireth now, for Christ's sake, that, all manner of obstinacy and carnal respect set apart, ye will, friendly and lovingly, dispute among yourselves, of the controversies moved in the Church, and that ye will conclude all things by the WORD OF GOD; without all brawling or scolding. Neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested or defaced by any glosses, or by any authority of *doctors* or *Councils*; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture; but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by *unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do*. Ye know well enough, that ye be bound to show this service to Christ and to his Church; and yet, notwithstanding, his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity—whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine ALL things by the SCRIPTURE, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy—which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you."

However strange the former part of this address must appear to every enlightened Christian now, toward the close the trumpet gave a certain sound; and, so far as words could convey meaning, no man present could misunderstand the message. But what followed? "After this," says Ales, "they began to dispute of the *sacraments*." First of all, the Bishop of London, Stokesly, (whom, a little before, Crumwell had rebuked by name, for defending of unwritten verities,) went about to defend that there were *seven* sacraments of our Christian religion, which he would prove by certain glosses and writers; and he had upon his side the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich. The Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, and Worcester, and certain others, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, were against him. After they had made much strife and contention about the sayings of the doctors, Cranmer rose and said—

"It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words, is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the Church; and not of them which should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the Church.

"There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, *not* of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel—of the manner and way how sins be forgiven—of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin—of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification through faith.

“ Item.—Which be the good works, and the true service and honour which pleaseth God ; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no Word of God to confirm them ; whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or no.

“ Item.—Whether vain science and false honouring of God and man’s *traditions*, do bind men’s consciences, or no. Finally, whether the ceremonies of confirmation—of orders—and of anointing, and such other, (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any worth in them to certify us of remission of sins,) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, or no.

“ These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion ; wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but of high and earnest matters. Christ saith—‘ blessed be the peace-makers, for they shall be called the sons of God.’ And Paul commandeth Bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers : and he admonisheth especially that he should resist with the Scriptures when any man disputeth with him of the faith, and he addeth a cause,—‘ doing this, thou shalt preserve both thyself and also them which hear thee.’ Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord, out of the Scripture.”

This assembly, to a man, had already acknowledged Henry to be the Supreme Head of their Church, and now also had made obeisance to his Vicegerent, their Vicar-General ; but such was the catalogue of affairs brought forward, and as explained by Cranmer himself. He did not stop to enquire whether the men whom he urged to engage in discussion *were* peace-makers, *were* the sons of God, *were* Bishops indeed,—but, waving this, here was a field for strife and debate, confessedly wide enough, if not boundless, and as now spread out, it certainly exhibited a strange mixture of truth and error ; where the mere acts of outward conformity were mingled with the inward feelings of mental obedience ; and comparative trifles were enumerated in company with matter of divine authority. But still, should Cranmer *commence* with *faith* and not with *obedience*, or with what he styled “the principal points of our Christian religion,” or “high and earnest matters,” and not with ceremonies, an effectual turn may yet be given to discussion. Two steps were before him, the right and the wrong ; and as *he* had precedence, and was about to state the *order* of debate, and now had this in his own hands, one naturally waits with anxiety to hear his decision,—and here it was.

“ Wherefore, in this disputation we must FIRST AGREE of the number of the

SACRAMENTS, and what a Sacrament doth signify in the holy Scripture ; and when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby !”

How much of mental misery, nay of bloodshed, has sometimes depended upon only a few words, uttered by one man, when in possession of what is called power—official power ! To such a momentous instant, Cranmer had now come. By his ingenuous confession afterwards, he came to the knowledge of divine things “ but by slow degrees, or by little and little ;” but had he only known how much of his own future misery, as well as that of many others, now hung as on a hair, depending on his course of debate, or *his* decision as to the *order* to be pursued, he must have paused, if not shrunk back. That the example which he now first set and sanctioned, both as to “ Articles” and the *order* of discussion, was to form a precedent down to the Act of Uniformity, and farther still, was far beyond his foresight : though had he taken only one leaf out of the masterly writings of the man, so denounced both by his royal Master and his singular Vicar-General, he had never so decided. For twelve long years Tyndale had been warring with the darkness which brooded over his native country ; and although perambulating the very field of battle on the Continent, with a judgment and prudence peculiar to himself, he would on no account first engage in the *Bellum Sacramentarium* ; but Cranmer here plunges into it at once, and that too in discussion with men who discerned not the things of the Spirit of God ; but who, to this hour, had been the notorious persecutors of the truth, as well as of every man who had imbibed the love of it. Cranmer, however, was emphatically now, a man *under* authority.

But to proceed,—Lord Cromwell observing, by his countenance, that Ales was pleased with Cranmer’s address, thought it the proper moment to call upon *him* ; and having introduced him to all present, under the high appellation of “ the King’s Scholar,” he desired him now to say, what he thought of this disputation.⁶⁴ The exiled Scotsman complied, maintaining throughout, and for the *first time* upon English ground, for many centuries, before any such audience, that there were

⁶⁴ Inadvertently, Mr. Todd, in his life of Cranmer, has represented him as rising *after* Ales, to defend the truth which he had spoken. The sentiments of Cranmer respecting the Lord’s Supper have divided historians from his own time to the present ; but, at all events, they were not, at this moment, equal to those of Ales. Cranmer was by no means prepared for his decisive counsel, as the event will show.

only *two* Sacraments,—easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification,—and that these were “Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.” Stokesly sat with impatience, and at last fired,—saying of what Ales had affirmed—“*It is all false.*” To this he answered, “I will prove all that I have said to be *true*, not only by the Scripture, but by the old doctors, and by the School writers also.”

Upon this Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, interposed, and in a noble address, well worthy of being recorded, spoke as follows:—

“Brother Alexander, contend not much with him, about the minds and sayings of the doctors and school writers; for ye know that they, in many places, do differ among themselves, and that they are contrary to themselves, also, almost in every article. And there is *no hope of any concord* to be made, if we must lean to *their* judgments, in these matters of controversy. And we be commanded by the King’s Grace to dispute by the *Holy Scripture.*” Then turning himself to the Bishops, he thus proceeded—

“Think ye not, that we can, by any sophistical subtilties, steal out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the Gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will, shortly, have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. THE LAY PEOPLE DO NOW KNOW THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, BETTER THAN MANY OF US. And the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and the Greck tongue, that now many things may be better understood, *without any glosses at all*, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that hath been hitherto.⁶⁵ Wherefore, ye must consider earnestly, what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked, and laughed to scorn of all the world; and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, *that ye have not one spark of learning nor yet of godliness in you.* And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them which before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the Church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the Pope, hath quenched it—it is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn (change) your opinion, and think this *surely*, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falsehood.

“Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength, or authority. For

⁶⁵ Of course, the *lay people*, to whom Fox *first* referred, could not read German, and but very few of them Hebrew or Greck; but he must touch but gently on the *English* Scriptures; and as for Tyndale’s name, it must not here be whispered. It would have broken up the sitting; though we shall see, presently, that *his* translation, and in a variety of editions, was pouring into the country at this very moment.

the truth is of so great power, strength, and *efficacy*, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength : but after she hath hid- den herself long, at length she putteth up her head, and appeareth."

Encouraged by this oration, and confining himself to the Sacred Volume, Ales proceeded to ply the Bishop of London with this argument—" Sacraments be signs or ceremonies, which make us certain and sure of the will of God—but no man's heart can be certain and sure of the will of God, without the *Word* of God. Wherefore, it followeth, that there be no sacraments without the Word of God. And such as cannot be proved out of the Holy Scripture, ought *not to be called* sacraments."

" And so after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians, that Christ doth sanctify his Church, through the bath of water in the word of life. And for as much as he joineth the Word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with him (it) life ; he doth manifestly teach, that the Word of God is the principal thing, and even, as it were, the very substance and body of the sacrament ; and the outward ceremony nothing else than a token of that lively inflammation which we receive, through faith in the Word and promise.

" St. Paul, also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, doth manifestly add the words of CHRIST. '*He took bread,*' saith he, ' and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body.' Item, ' do ye this in my remembrance.'

" Beside this, he teacheth evidently, that only Christ, and none but He, had power to institute a sacrament : and that neither the Apostles, nor the Church, hath *any* authority, to alter, or to add anything unto his ordinance. Whereas he saith—'*For I received of the Lord,* that which I delivered unto you,' &c.—to what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with his protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have *made* any sacraments, or to have *altered the form and manner* of ministering this sacrament ? As some men, both wickedly and shamelessly do affirm, that the Apostles did alter the form of baptism."

Stokesly, however, here again interrupted him and said—
" Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are ye far deceived, if ye think that there is none other Word of God, *but that which EVERY souter and cobbler BOTH read in this mother tongue!*"⁶⁶ The Vicar-General and others smiled when he had done ; but it was now twelve o'clock, and time to disperse. Crumwell, therefore, desired Ales to be " content for the time," on which he closed, by saying to Stokesly,—

⁶⁶ Another significant testimony, though in wrath, and from the lips of this Bishop of London, to the wide extension of Tyndale's translation.

“Right Reverend Master Bishop—ye deny that our Christian faith and religion doth lean only upon the Word of God which is written in the *Bible*: which thing if I can prove and declare, then ye will grant me, that there be no sacraments but those that have the manifest Word of God to confirm them.” To this he consented, and the assembly for that day was dissolved.

The next day, however, when the Bishops were again met, this dangerous man of Edinburgh must not be admitted. He was punctually present with Lord Crumwell, and ready to accompany him; but poor Cranmer, ever in character, timid and time-serving, became alarmed as to consequences, and must try and prevent the appearance of Ales.

“The next day,” says he, “when the Bishops were assembled again, and I was present with the Lord Crumwell, there came unto me a certain Archdeacon, in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which told me that the other Bishops were grievously offended with me—that I, being a stranger, should be admitted unto their disputation.⁶⁷ Which thing, when I had shewed it to the Lord Crumwell, he thought it best to give place unto the Bishops, specially because he would not procure me their hatred; for he knew well, that if they had once conceived in their hearts any malice against any man, they would never cease till they had gotten him out of the way. They had before brought to death diverse whom the King did highly favour, before the King himself could perceive and spy out their craft and subtily. But he bade me give him the paper wherein I had written my disputation, that he might shew it to the Bishop of London, and to the other Bishops in the Council.”

The obvious purport of this dispute respecting the ordinances of Christ, here styled sacraments, was, whether there were *seven*, or only *two*; and Ales firmly maintained his ground, but his arguments had no effect whatever in swaying such men.

In these circumstances, what was to be done? To one of the parties it seemed at last, that some expedient must be devised, to *enforce* obedience or conformity, silent or quiet submission. But where did the power reside? Only in the breast of a man, who had been washing his hands in blood, and “following the sport” on the day of his Queen’s execution! In the language of sacred writ, that he was also “proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words,”—“vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,” we have already had but too much evidence; only he was now about to proceed one step farther, and should *he* only fix on more sacraments than *two*, all must yield, and at least bow assent.

⁶⁷ This must have been Cranmer’s own brother, *Edmund*, who was present at this Convocation. He had become Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1534, in place of Wm. Warham, a nephew of Cranmer’s predecessor, who, having retired on a pension, was now on the Continent.

Of course, neither Henry, nor any of his advisers, understood that Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, repudiated all constraint of receiving and holding opinions by human authority; or, to use a word often employed since, all "imposition;" that the nature of faith did not admit of this—that God himself had appointed no such means to enforce belief, nor nominated any Vicegerent to attempt this—that dominion over conscience is God's exclusive province, within which, especially, his name is "Jealous"—that any man, therefore, presuming to enter here, must needs be an usurper, demanding blind submission,—so that whatever means be adopted, they must be nefarious. But, apart from all these vital considerations, so far as the present uproar was concerned, both Cromwell and Cranmer well knew, that they had only to repair to the royal presence, and describe this scene of strife,—“the perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, who supposed that *gain* was godliness.” They did so at last, when a message arrived from Henry. He soon stilled the tumult, very much in the manner of Sardanapalus of old—“*Sic volo, sic jubeo, and let my will for reason stand.*” These men had been convoked, in fact, not to discuss, but to “do the King's business.”

The form in which this settler came, was in that of certain “Articles,” which *all* must subscribe. They were strangely enough entitled—“Articles devised by the King's Highness' Majesty, to stablish Christian *quietness* and unity among us, and to avoid *contentious* opinions!”

These, the first articles propounded in England, though not originally composed by Henry, were carefully revised by him; at least, in the preface, he speaks of having, in his own person, many times, bestowed on them “great pain, study, labour and travail!” No doubt, Cranmer and his coadjutors had done their best before then; and if, after passing through such an ordeal, these articles are to be regarded as the amount of their united wisdom, they only discover what darkness and confusion still reigned in the minds of all men in power. It is not only the substance, but the *order* in which they are stated, which, at once, betrays this confusion. At the same time, we now discover that Cranmer must have had his secret reason for passing over every Christian doctrine, or matter of belief, and giving it out as imperative, that they must

begin with the sacraments! So it was with the Articles: for after simply allowing the particulars of the Christian faith to be contained in the Scriptures, but joining with them the Nicene and Athanasian creeds; we have 1. Baptism. 2. Penance. 3. The Sacrament of the Altar, or the Mass. 4. *Justification*. 5. Images. 6. Honouring of Saints. 7. Praying to Saints. 8. Rites and Ceremonies. 9. Purgatory. They, in fact, *allowed* the use of images, *sanctioned* prayers to the Saints, *defended* purgatory, and *recommended* prayers for the dead. Far from following the sentiments of Ales, not only spoken, but more fully delivered in writing to Crumwell, and meant to have been read before them—they assert three sacraments; 1. Penance, 2. Baptism, 3. the Lord's Supper—maintaining that infants, dying before the second, perish everlastingly! and that the real body and blood of Christ are *present* in the third! No wonder than Cranmer trembled for his Articles, or was afraid of the set speech of Ales, next day; for *if* it had been listened to by any, not to say all, it might have at least retarded the attempt to “stablish Christian quietness,” after this fashion.

Nor had these miserable articles any such effect. On the contrary, when once published, they occasioned, says Burnet, “great variety of censures.” Beyond the walls of their assembly, “quietness,” of any kind, was not to be the order of the day; although, at this moment, all the men within must acquiesce in the unbending will of their acknowledged Head. At least one hundred and nine individuals subscribed; including Crumwell and the two Archbishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors.⁶⁹

Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the absurdity of this blind consent to certain propositions, professedly religious, than that this assembly had never yet been able to agree upon any translation of the *Sacred Volume* itself; nor, upon this subject, according to Cranmer's strongly expressed opinion next year, if left to themselves, would they ever have agreed, to the end of their days. But after thus subscribing, it would have been more inconsistent still, had they now departed,

⁶⁹ Among these signatures, those of *W'inchester*, Carlisle and Llandaff, of course, do not appear, for the reasons already specified. The vantage ground, however, thus given to GARDINER, by meddling with *articles*, was immense, and this will appear in due season. Neither Cranmer nor Crumwell foresaw this; but we have only to wait for Gardiner's return.

without any reference to the subject. They had, to a man, professedly recognised the Scriptures as containing the essentials of the Christian faith, but could not agree on a *translation* into their own language; neither could they, as a body, approve of *that* translation, through which many of the people were already so far before them in acquaintance with Divine Truth. They agreed, however, upon the form of a petition, to be presented to the King, that *he* would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, (which so many had already read without his indulgence,) and that *a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose.*⁶⁹ This was a convenient method for postponing the subject; but, providentially, their dissension or agreement was of no earthly moment, since neither the petitioners, nor the King they addressed, were to be *allowed* to furnish that translation of the Bible for England, which was, ultimately, to become her own.

With regard to the other doings of this Convocation, his Majesty had determined to reduce the prodigious number of holidays. All feasts or holidays during harvest time, or from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, were therefore at once *abolished*, as well as those which fell during term time at Westminster; the number throughout the year being greatly curtailed. And as a General Council had been summoned by the Pontiff, to assemble at Mantua, Fox of Hereford submitted to both houses the King's reasons for declining to take any part in its proceedings, he being resolved to hold no intercourse with *that man*; for such was the phrase. To this document all present subscribed. This was on the 20th of July, or the last day of that Convocation, to which Latimer, at the beginning, had preached in vain.⁷⁰

Thus, Parliament having risen, and the Convocation being dissolved, after having shewn nothing save profound subserviency to the wishes and the vices of the Sovereign, both

⁶⁹ Heylin. Lewis. Whether copies of Coverdale's Bible had come to England by this time or not, signified nothing to them; but the bearing of this petition on *that* version will come before us next year.

⁷⁰ Had *Gardiner* been at home, and *Tunstal* not been furnished with other business by the King, this Convocation, even such as it was, had been still more disturbed, and certainly less compliant. But while the former remained in France, the latter had, by his Majesty's command, been reading the vexatious book of Cardinal Pole, and framing an answer. *Tunstal*, who professedly had renounced the Pontiff, but ever hugged the popedom, read the whole with amazement, and his full reply was written while this Convocation was sitting. It is dated on the 13th of July.—See Cotton MS. *Clapp.*, E. vi., fol. 373.

Crumwell and Cranmer will contrive to save themselves the trouble of consulting either of these bodies, for some time to come; for it must be borne in mind that there was neither Parliament nor Convocation held till the year 1539.

Immediately after this, the first act of Crumwell, as Vicegerent, was to issue certain injunctions, and, upon one account at least, they demand notice. Since the days of John Foxe to the present, they have been generally misunderstood, and with respect to the Scriptures especially, have led all subsequent historians wrong. These injunctions of 1536, differ materially from those to be issued in 1538. The latter, in 1538, were addressed to the Bishops, but not the former; the latter embraced the *Scriptures*, which these now issued, did not, and could not.

With regard to these now put forth, they were merely following up the doings of the Convocation just dissolved. The act, abolishing the holidays in *harvest*, though intended to help it forward, rather inflamed than satisfied many; and *Crumwell's* present injunctions, therefore, embraced the holidays, and the articles recently subscribed, but nothing more. The remarks of Burnet and Collier are, on this account, equally inapplicable. The former describes these injunctions as "the first act of pure supremacy done by the King; for in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two Convocations." But in these, the King and Vicegerent *had* such concurrence. The *holidays*, it is expressly stated, were abolished "with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy, in Convocation lawfully assembled:" and as for the *articles*, all present had subscribed them, in conjunction with Crumwell himself. "These injunctions," says Collier, "we may observe, were only directed to the *Deans* and downwards. Thus the Lord Crumwell had something of modesty in his wonderful office, and forbore the brandishing his vicegerency over the Bishops." But the fact was, that the "brandishing," as we have seen already, had taken place before many witnesses, anterior to this, in the Convocation; when the King, through Crumwell, had awed them into silence and unanimous acquiescence. Hence his injunctions were addressed only to the Deans, and all below them.

Among these injunctions, however, by whatever means, there has crept into the pages of several historians, the following:

"Item.—That every parson or proprietary of any Church within this realm, shall, on this side of the feast of *St. Peter ad vincula*, next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will, to look and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English."⁷¹

There is no necessity for estimating whether there were in existence, any where in England, as many Bibles in Latin, much less in English, as is here supposed; nor for reminding the reader that the Convocation had advanced only so far as to *petition* for a translation to be forthwith made; as a little reflection might long ago have led to the suspicion, that there must be some palpable interpolation, or blunder here.

In these injunctions, let it be observed that the harvest holidays were pointedly embraced, as having already, during the Convocation, been abrogated by the King. In *his* injunctions he had branded them as "prejudicial to the common weal," as "the very nurse of thieves and vagabonds, and pernicious to the souls of men as leading to excess and riot." These, as well as the additional injunctions, Crumwell now ordered to be universally observed. They were to be read by all parsons and curates to the people, under the penalties of suspension and sequestration. Now, was it at all likely that the Vicegerent, in the very same document, should fix on one of these *denounced* holidays, by name, and in the middle of *harvest*, for enforcing obedience to any of these items? But, moreover, the thing enjoined was impossible, as the feast referred to, "*St. Peter ad vincula*," was just at hand. The Convocation rose on the 20th of July, the day referred to was the first of August!⁷²

These considerations might suffice for rejecting the clause now quoted; but the fact is, that, though so often taken for correct, by former writers, and moralised over by Lewis, who has led others astray; the paragraph is *not* to be found in the official copy in Craumer's Register, *not* in Wilkins' Concilia, *not* in the folio editions of Burnet, nor, it might be added, in the *text* of any subsequent edition. It is only in the appendix of later editions, that the erroneous statement of Foxe has been substituted for what was before the correct one, though transcribed by Burnet himself from the Register. It is curious enough that such a mistake should never have been distinctly pointed out till the year 1835, by Mr. Jenkyns

⁷¹ This, by the way, had the thing been practicable, would have conveyed a very high eulogium indeed, on the people of England, at this early period; as it took for granted, that if the book were only open to inspection, whether in English or even Latin, there would be no lack of people able to read *either*, and thus compare them, if so disposed. Two years hence we shall find such a privilege actually proposed, (a mere proposal) within the diocese of Hereford, though not by Crumwell as to the kingdom at large. *He* then alludes only to the English Bible.

⁷² These absurd feast-days were absolutely appointed with the view of superseding the *Pagan* revelries. Thus, the feast of *St. Peter ad vincula* was instituted, to supersede a splendid pagan festival, celebrated annually on the 1st of August, to commemorate the victory of Augustus over Antony at Actium!

in his Remains of Cranmer. "It would appear then," says he, "that no order was issued for placing the English Bible in Churches before Crumwell's second set of injunctions, which were issued in September 1538."⁷³ Not one, certainly, in reference to the kingdom at large; though Cranmer, indirectly through the Chancellor in the summer of *that* year, issued such injunctions within the diocese of Hereford. That there were no other such, till then, will become increasingly evident, as we proceed. Meanwhile, *neither the King, Crumwell, nor Cranmer had yet spoken one word officially respecting any Bible, or New Testament separately.*

Turning away, therefore, from the Convocation of 1536, which, with reference to the Sacred Volume, was equally fruitless of any benefit to the kingdom with that of 1534, no sooner do we come to the actual history of the English Bible, than it turns out to have been by far the most remarkable year of all that had preceded it! Nay, to those who have never looked narrowly into the subject, it may seem next to incredible, that there should have been of Tyndale's New Testament, as many editions as in most of the preceding years when put together! Such, however, will turn out to have been the fact, and of this state of things let us hope that our Translator could not have been kept altogether in ignorance, more especially as the jailor and his family will appear to have been won to his principles. So far as he did know, after such a passage through life, this must have cheered him in his entrance to the haven of eternal rest, as a finer sun, which was to shine for ages upon his native land. He had corrected his New Testament in 1534, and these were reprints of that edition; but we must refrain from any farther account at this moment, reserving this for the close, as the appropriate and the only refreshing intelligence throughout the whole year. Besides, the absorbing question, at present, must be—"What has become of those guilty men who had ensnared our Translator? and, above all, of Tyndale himself?"

Upon once more looking abroad, and before we approach the castle of Vilvorde, or the martyr's stake, it is of importance to record whatever can be certainly ascertained, not only respecting the betrayers of Tyndale, after that Mr. Poyntz had so providentially escaped; but the agitation of

⁷³ See vol. i., p. 200, *note*. "Wilkins, it may be observed, has placed Crumwell's second set of injunctions in 1539, under the same year as the first, namely 1536."—*Council*, iii., p. 815.

Henry VIII. himself in connexion with one of them, in his assumed character of *the gentleman*. Since not only Halle and Foxe, but all other historians fail us here, these particulars, now read for the first time, will, it is presumed, prove the more interesting.

It will be remembered that *Theobald*, the man whom Crumwell and Crammer had sent to the Continent last year, felt no scruple whatever in imposing upon Phillips, in order to extract from him the precise circumstances respecting Tyndale's apprehension; and these he had duly communicated both to the Primate, and the Vicegerent. He told Phillips that he had come to *remain*, and had seemed to comply with the entreaty, that he would abide in the same house. The natural consequence of this dissimulation soon followed. Theobald departed, and Phillips then saw that he had been deceived. He soon learnt that he belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and immediately reported him to be, what he really was, a spy; though evidently not commissioned by either of his employers to resort to Louvain, or there interest himself on behalf of the illustrious exile and prisoner at Vilvorde. Theobald himself repeats all this, and more, two years later, in 1538.

"After," says he, "when I was gone into High Almaine, and Phillips learning that I was belonging unto my Lord of Canterbury, he accused me to be a spy, and a messenger sent into Germany about some practices; causing watch to be laid for me, betwixt Antwerp and Cologne, by the space of three or four months, thinking that I would have returned upon some message."⁷⁴

Phillips himself, however, as we have seen, remained about Brussels and Louvain, all the time that Mr. Poyntz was held in prison; but after his escape into England, the abandoned youth fled, leaving Tyndale to the tender mercies of the wicked. The probability is, that Mr. Poyntz, immediately after his arrival in London, had succeeded so far as to excite alarm respecting this man; and this he could easily do, by communicating, through his brother, with the King direct. But probability approaches to certainty, when it is observed, that by the month of *March*, soon after Mr. Poyntz had got to England, the conduct of Phillips had effectually roused the indignation of the English Monarch. This young man had

⁷⁴ Cotton MS., Nero. B. vi., fol. 132, dated Padua, 1st October [1538.] This letter will present itself to our notice once more.

not only been pursuing Mr. Poyntz and Tyndale himself, unto death, but "raging against Henry," as Theobald had stated long ago; though no notice had been taken of the warning. For eight months, from July last year, to March in this, there is no evidence to be found that either Crumwell or Cranmer had moved one step, and even now the apparent apathy of both seems to force itself on our notice. The Vicar-General was busy in chiming in with the King's odious purposes and plan against his Queen: the Primate was looking after the worldly interests of a brother-in-law.⁷⁵ But it will be abundantly more awkward, or rather humiliating, for both, if, after the letters from Theobald, one of the betrayers of Tyndale had actually been permitted to sit down in the CONVOCATION in June, and there listen to Latimer, when he lectured so roundly the whole fraternity! We shall see.

Already we have had sufficient evidence that the mind of Henry, at this juncture, was like "the troubled sea," as it continued to be, throughout the whole of this year. His "secret commission" upon Anne Boleyn was already at work, and it was while they were so engaged, that we find two letters of the incensed monarch, dated from his palace near London. Both manuscripts (in Latin, and bearing the same date) are very imperfect; but there is enough remaining to answer our enquiry. The King, it will be evident, was enraged at least, if not alarmed; but it was only because of the language and conduct of Phillips, with reference to his own beloved self. For Tyndale, or in regard to his seizure and imprisonment, we look in vain for one word of sympathy; though his condition by this time, could not fail to have been fully known to his Majesty.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ He is writing to Crumwell—"And as one that is hold many times to trouble you with suits, both for myself and my friends, which naturally, yea, and by the law of God, I am bound to do—in my right heartiest wise, desire you to be good master unto this bearer, my brother-in-law; (who is clerk of my kitchen, and for whom I spoke to you yesterday at the Court;) as to get him the farm or lease of the Priory of Shelforde, or of 'some other house of religion' in Nottinghamshire, where his native country is; which now are, by the Act of Parliament, suppressed. At Lambeth, the 25th day of March 1536."—*MS. Chapter-House, Westminster*, or Cranmer's Rem. by Jenkyns, I., p. 161. The bearer may have been Harold Roselle of Radcliffe, married to Cranmer's sister.

⁷⁶ This becomes much more observable, from there being close by, in the same vol. of manuscript, a letter written only *four* days before those about to be quoted, and from Henry to the Archbishop and Lords of Bremen, on behalf of "our servant George Wollwever;"—"intercepted by guileful arts, and most unjustly detained a prisoner, and every day more harshly and cruelly treated." This letter is at once peremptory and indignant, though it related merely to commerce. It is dated from our palace near London, 17th March 1535, *i. e.* 1536.—Vitellius, B. xxi., fol. 102. Now, the situation of Tyndale was precisely similar, or rather far worse, but no such remonstrance followed, as to the translator of the Sacred Volume!

The first letter is addressed by the King, as “Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and Supreme Head, immediately under Christ! in the territories of the Church of England, to the Consuls and Senators of the city of Nuremberg.”

“Out of this our kingdom there have escaped two of our subjects; of whom the one is James Gryffeth Apwell, (ap-Howell,) but the other is *Henry Phillips* most perfidious men, and some time since guilty of the most heinous crime of (*læse Majestatis*) treason—polluted also with detestable sacrilege, and every kind of base action, by guile and evil-speaking covering such impious crimes. Seeking a place in your territory, we have heard that they will take their journey..... So, for our authority over them, we pursue them, for the purpose of exacting the punishment long ago due to their wickedness; and we shall not be at rest in our zeal, except they are brought again into our power. Therefore, you, whom we know to be upright and just, we earnestly entreat, that upon our high favour, if at any time, with your knowledge, they take their journey through your territory, or that of your allies, ye will by all means take care that they be apprehended and safely sent over to us, who shall most liberally repay the expenses and trouble for this business. And in a like matter, or more important, if at any time [we can be of service,] we shall always be greatly mindful of your benevolence towards us. So farewell. From our Palace near London, 23d March, 1535, i. e. 1536.”⁷⁷

The second letter is addressed to a man of considerable influence, an old correspondent of Henry's, Laurence Stayber, residing in Nuremberg. Commencing with all his titles, and on the same day, he proceeds—

“As we have now, by long experience, proved your fidelity, diligence, and perseverance, we always confidently employ your assistance. It happened, in a former year, that because [James Gryffith] had committed against us the crime of treason, and to whom, of our clemency, we forgave what deserved any kind of punishment, hoping he would change for the better..... Having abused this our clemency, and turning his mind to the most wicked and impious crimes, restraining no wickedness, but committing such, publicly and privately; at length, terrified by the consciousness of such grievous offences, and fearing what was long ago due to his treasons and guilt, after he had privately traversed different countries, in conclusion conveyed himself to Flanders, some great rebels and traitors being disguised along with him. There, for some time carrying on the most grievous course, they proved the most wretched and unworthy men that any land could endure, and whom, above all things, we desire should come into our will and power, him especially. Whom *now* we hear, have departed to Italy through Germany; (together with one *Henry Phillips*, descended from obscure parents, our most perfidious rebel,) that from change of place in unknown countries, they may escape the justice of the laws. Therefore we earnestly entreat that you will use such care, by spies, both of the public and private roads,” &c.⁷⁸

These letters furnish one proof, among others, of that wide-

⁷⁷ Vitellius, B. xxi. No. 39.

⁷⁸ Idem, fol. 103.

spread discontent which now prevailed against the King. Gryffith and Phillips were not precisely of the same party before this; but there was an evident sympathy between all these malecontents, wherever they dwelt, and whenever they met; and they were all, more or less, acting in concert, either against his Majesty's proceedings, or "the new learning."

As for this man, with whom Phillips is now classed, James Gryffith or James Greffith ap-Howell, as he is sometimes called, he was not a common individual, or, like Phillips, of low parentage, but the son of a gentleman in Wales, and a nephew of Sir Rice ap-Thomas, the well-known military commander, under both Henry VIII. and his father. Gryffith had been imprisoned in London; but, according to this letter, pardoned. This was in 1533, on which he fled, in June of that year, into Scotland; where Lord Daere and T. Wharton, the ambassadors, were ordered to watch him. He went not alone; on the 2d of July, Daere informs Henry direct, that he had come to St. Ninian's, near Stirling, having his wife and eight persons with him,⁷⁹ and that he named himself uncle to (Sir Griffith) Rice of Wales, the son of Sir Rice already mentioned.⁸⁰ From thence he soon proceeded to Edinburgh, with his train, "well favoured and appointed;" where, though not received by the King, he frequently "resorted to the Lords of the Council." So long as Scotland was at war with England, he wished to remain, and was permitted to do so for some time; but by the month of December we find him in Antwerp, where he had been evidently desirous of stirring up war with England, and proffering aid from Wales, if Queen Mary and the Emperor's Council would only send ships across the sea. Carondelet, the Archbishop of Palermo, declined, saying, that the King of England, the Emperor, and that country were friends. In May 1534, Gryffith was at Lubeck, and had gone from place to place, as he was doing still.⁸¹ The truth is, that both of these men, whether separately or in company, were now on their way towards Cardinal

⁷⁹ More correctly, his wife and daughter, with seven servants, one of whom was named Henry Ellington.

⁸⁰ The mother of Sir Rice, was also named Griffith, a lineal descendant from Howell ap-Griffith. By inter-marriage, the two families were interwoven for ages. Sir Rice may be ranked among the progenitors of the present Lord Dynevor.

⁸¹ See Government State Papers, vol. iv., pp. 647, 651, 652, compared with a letter from John Coke, to Crumwell, dated Antwerp December 9.—Cotton MS., *Galba*, B. x., fol. 72.

Pole. He became the nucleus of all the disaffected. Every one that was discontented, in distress, or in debt, gathered round him, or at least applied to him; and although neither Phillips nor Gryffith received encouragement, in two years after this, we shall find the *former*, unwittingly, excite in Pole the utmost fear and apprehension.

It cannot be forgotten, that Phillips had, within the court of Queen Mary, denounced Henry as "a tyrant and a *robber* of the commonwealth." The "first-fruits," no doubt, had already been consigned to the King, and he was, at the moment, in the act of receiving the spoils of the monasteries; but this man had been permitted to remain unreprieved by the court of Brussels; while Gryffith, for a longer period, had been allowed to harbour in Flanders. This, for political reasons, had been hitherto endured; but, as the Emperor and Francis were, though known to few, actually preparing for war, and Henry had resolved to remain neutral, hence we account for the English envoy, Mr. *Vaughan*, being now withdrawn. There is a letter from him, dated in May, or only two months after those just quoted.

"The 27th day of this month," says he, "came a post from the Emperor to the Court, who brought such uneasy news from his army, as hath made them somewhat sad in the Court. These news are kept so secret yet, that they come to the knowledge of few or none. If they had been good, they had been out or their letters had been half read.

"As I was writing that goeth before, came my servant out of England with your letter, by the which *ye* write me, that the *King's* pleasure is, that I shall take my leave of the Queen, and other the King's friends here, and so make my return into England, which I shall gladly do, with mine humble thanks for the same.—From Brussels, the 29th day of May 1536—Your old servant—S. VAUGHAN."⁸²

Here, then, was the same man who, in other days, had spoken so boldly respecting Tyndale; but in favour of his very *life*, to the everlasting disgrace of the King of England, as well as some others, Vaughan is not commissioned, before he leaves, to say one word!

Nine months ago, or in August last year, both Crumwell and Cranmer had been very pointedly informed, by their com-

⁸² Cotton MS., Galba, B. x., fol. 68. This letter must have been in reply to *Crumwell*. Vaughan was sent again, as King's ambassador, to Flanders, in 1538, and he remained abroad, much employed in pecuniary and mercantile negotiations, down to 1546, or the close of Henry's reign, and longer still. He was twice married, and died in London early in 1556.

mon agent, of Tyndale's situation, as well as of the myrmidons who had betrayed him; the first generous visit of Mr. Poyntz, post haste, after this, had confirmed the whole; when at last, in October, Crumwell sent one solitary letter. Since then, here was Mr. Poyntz, escaped to England only with his life, and now comes Stephen Vaughan, who once pled so powerfully against persecution for opinions. But no; nothing was done!

It has now, therefore, become but too apparent, that neither Henry, nor his Ministers, were free from the blood of William Tyndale. Had he, or they, exerted their official power to the last, the guilt might have fallen not so heavy upon them; but instead of this, they had all, as we have seen, only ten days before Vaughan's letter, stepped into blood at home; and what sympathy or generous feeling could be expected from them?⁸³

His own country having thus left him to perish, the only remaining quarter to which we can turn, is to the Government of Flanders itself. Curiosity must be awake to know the character of the parties into whose hands Tyndale had fallen. The reigning Princess, Mary, was merely a vassal of the priests. With the chief man, still in power, *Carondelet*, the Archbishop of Palermo, we have been long familiar, and to him the character of Tyndale must have been well known for nine years past, at least; but he was a mere courtier, without heart; and from the days in which Cornelius Grapheus, the learned Secretary of Antwerp, had, under his eye, suffered so severely, for publishing a book on "the liberty of the Christian Religion," he had been familiar with cruelty. No mercy was therefore to be expected from him.⁸⁴ *Erardus à Marchia*, the Cardinal and Bishop of Liege, the man to whom Reginald Pole fled next year for protection, was, of course, a determined opponent of the Scriptures; and *Montigni* lived under the sovereign power of the monks. Such were the men of influence and authority. It was only three years since Erasmus himself, that eminent reviver of litera-

⁸³ The 17th and 19th of May were indeed days of blood in London. See pages 474-476.

⁸⁴ It was *Hulst*, the Inquisitor, who, as early as 1522, first threw Grapheus, alias *Schryver*, into a dungeon, and then sought out matter of accusation against him; when he appealed to the Archbishop of Palermo, describing the deplorable condition to which he was reduced, but in vain. The book published was by *John Van Gooch*, and Grapheus had written a preface, "blaming those who laid a needless yoke upon Christians." After great and tedious suffering, this learned man at last escaped, and lived till 1558, aged 70. See *Brandt's History*; and his fine countenance in *Foppen's Bibl. Belg.*, i., p. 201.

ture, was invited to this Court. But he was then, and ever afterwards, afraid to venture near it, even though the Emperor himself had invited him, and money had been remitted to defray his travelling charges.⁸⁵ Sometime after this invitation, his picture of the Government was sufficiently graphical, and it serves our present purpose. Having referred to the monks, in a letter to Cholerus, in 1534, he says—"These animals are omnipotent at the Emperor's Court," in the Low Countries. "*Mary* is a mere puppet, maintained by our nation; *Montigni*, a man of authority, is a tool of the Franciscans; the Cardinal of *Liege* is an ambitious friend, and when he takes offence, a violent enemy; the Archbishop of *Palermo* is a giver of good words, and nothing else."⁸⁶

And thus it is at last, that the history of the times, and of the men of the times, whether in England or Brabant, but too well prepare us for anticipating the martyrdom at Vilvorde.

After the escape of Mr. Poyntz, "Tyndale," we are informed by Foxe, "was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, that he would make *answer for himself*; and so he did." But at last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned, by virtue of the Emperor's decree at Augsburg. Such had been "the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment, which endured about one whole year and a-half, (or rather a year and three-quarters,) it is said he converted his keeper, the keeper's daughter, and others of his household. The rest that were in the Castle, and conversant with Tyndale, reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust: and the Procurator-General, the Emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he

⁸⁵ He was now on his death-bed, at Fribourg. He expired on the 12th of July, in the 60th year of his age, and was buried at Basil.

⁸⁶ Jortin's Life, 8vo, vol. ii., pp. 44, 51. JEAN DE CHARON, now in his 68th year, was the son of a Chancellor of Burgundy, who, on account of his diminutive stature, was named *Carondeletus*. Since 1520, he had been Chancellor of Flanders; on the resignation of Cardinal T. Cajetan, he was, in 1523, appointed Archbishop of Palermo, and Primate of Sicily; and since 1531, he had been *President in the Privy Council* of the Low Countries. He died at Mechlin, 8th Feb. 1545, aged 75, and lies interred at Bruges, in the church of St. Donatian. *Moreri. Foppen*, ii., p. 605, where, if the impression be good, there is an excellent likeness of the little man.

was '*Homo doctus, pius, et bonus*'—a learned, pious, and good man."

The decree issued at Augsburg, on the 19th of November 1530, was still in full force, after which, no man was admitted into the judicature of the Imperial Chamber, unless he approved of it; and the Privy Council of Brussels, of which Carondelet was President, enjoyed ample authority in all matters, religious as well as political. The persecutors of Tyndale, therefore, knew full well, since his own King and Council had left him to perish, how they could, at any time, close the controversy, and slay him. That detestable decree had not only enjoined the continuance of all the former ceremonies, rites, and superstitions,—but particularly rejected the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*. The doctors of Louvain must have discussed many subjects with their prisoner: His translation of the Scriptures, of course, he would defend to the last; but here was one point, on which Tyndale would remain firm as a rock. There was no man in Germany, to say nothing of England, who had written with greater distinctness on the subject of justification; no man who had discovered a more profound esteem for this sacred and precious truth. This was one of those "high matters," on which he had so warmly pressed his dearest earthly friend, Fryth, to remain immovable in London; and it is not a little remarkable, that, at this moment, besides his New Testament in *folio*, Tyndale's first publication was either printing or finished, and in London, too, under this very title—"A treatise of justification by faith only."⁸⁷

From the past history frequently showing how early, and with what accuracy, Tyndale was in possession of intelligence from England, we have already supposed it to be quite possible, that, though in prison, he may have heard of many things that had occurred there, during the last nine months; and, more especially, that his New Testament, as corrected in 1534, was so pouring into his native land, by repeated editions, from Antwerp. This is the more probable, from his having been made useful to the keeper of the Castle and his

⁸⁷ Herbert's Amcs, iii. pp. 1546. 1832.—The full title—"A Treatise of Justificacyon by faith only, otherwise called, The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, by William Tindale. Imprinted in Southwark for J. Nycholson." This boldness in printing cannot be accounted for, without referring to the influence of Queen Anne.

family, having thus gained their favour. But, besides this, all that he had translated, was now actually proceeding to the press, in folio, and under the eye of a competent friend and great admirer, John Rogers. This was more than Crumwell, or Cramer, or the King, yet knew; although the volume was to prove absolutely the *first* Bible, the reading of which throughout England, *they* were to enjoin! But now, and after such years of persecution, the end was come!!

It appears to have been at some hour on Friday, the 6th of October 1536, that Tyndale was led forth to be put to death. Before leaving the Castle, he delivered a letter to the keeper, addressed either to Mr. or Mrs. Poyntz of Antwerp; but no copy of it remains.⁸⁸ Having reached the fatal spot, the noble martyr was fastened to the stake—upon which, “crying with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice—“*LORD! OPEN THE EYES OF THE KING OF ENGLAND*”—he was first strangled, and then his body was consumed to ashes! Though, strange to say, even up to this hour, “no marble tells us where!” For, surely, if ever the lines of England’s choicest Christian poet were strictly applicable to any single man, every word, by way of eminence, belongs to the Memory of William Tyndale,—

——“*His blood was shed*

In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
 To walk with God, to be divinely free,
 To soar, and to anticipate the skies.
 Yet few remember him. He lived unknown
 Till persecution dragg’d him into fame,
 And chased him up to Heaven. His ashes flew—
 No marble tells us whither. With his name
 No bard embalms and sanctifies his song;
 And history, so warm on meaner themes,
 Is cold on this.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Shortly after the martyrdom, the keeper himself carried this letter to the house from whence Phillips had betrayed him. Mrs. Poyntz, a German lady, had probably not as yet followed her husband to England, if she did at all now; for Mr. Poyntz afterwards returned to the Continent.

⁸⁹ Cowper. Will the censure here conveyed, be suffered to continue much longer? It would be strange if some British emigrant or American, now carried off the palm, before any Englishman proper; but certainly there are but few histories, in which so many points occur, fitted to kindle the *poet's* fire, or excite the *painter's* genius. Had Milton, or Cowper himself, only been aware of the heart-stirring incidents, probably we should not have had it in our option so to quote these lines. As for *Monuments*, among all that have ever been erected, to evince the gratitude and veneration of posterity, one at least is still wanting—but no common one—to the memory of WILLIAM TYNDALE. Let the proposal commence where it will, it may go ROUND THE KINGDOM, and prove what it ought to be—a National Monument.

Tyndale's dying invocation, most emphatically expressed *his* opinion of Henry VIII. ; and uttered, as it was, with a *loud* voice, though in a foreign land, was meant to be heard, if not also carried to England. The precise meaning of the speaker, in these dying words, it may be difficult to divine ; but if Cranmer could go so far as to grossly flatter his Majesty, even on the third of May ; Tyndale told him the truth with his last breath, from the stake, on the sixth of October. He regarded all that Henry had yet done, as the work of a blind man, and certainly this was the most charitable of all constructions. Though to us now, who view the royal progress entire, and such as it was, that blindness, even by this time, was no longer a mere misfortune, but his crime. The King had already, and but too manifestly, closed his eyes, and hardened his heart, of which his future life will afford the saddest evidence.

As for the Martyr himself, since no good man was ever cut off in the *midst* of his usefulness, so neither was Tyndale. His work was done, and by an invincible providence, he had been singularly preserved to the last. In the councils of heaven, he had accomplished, as a faithful servant, his day, and evening's welcome hour had come. Occupying a place in the history of his country, which no other man could ever occupy after him, he was now called off from his labour, and with a character unspotted. That character has been drawn long ago, and with so much of simple beauty, that we must give it entire. Oh, what a contrast does it exhibit to almost all those men around him, whether at home or abroad, to whom his life and labours have constrained us to allude !

“ First, he was a man very frugal, and spare of body, a great student, and earnest labourer in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his pastime, Monday and Saturday. On Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England, by reason of *persecution*, into Antwerp, and these, once well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve ; and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday, he walked round about the town, seeking every corner and hole, where he suspected any poor person to dwell ; and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet over-burdened with children, or else were aged and weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them. And truly his alms were very large, and so they might well be ; for his exhibition that he had yearly, of the English merchants at Antwerp, when living there, was considerable, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor. The rest of the days of the week, he

gave wholly to his *book*, wherein he most diligently travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber, or other, whither came many other merchants, and unto them would he read some one parcel of Scripture ; the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly and gently from him, much like to the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience, to hear him read the Scriptures : likewise, after dinner, he spent an hour in the same manner. He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any sin or crime ; although his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God ; but only upon the blood of Christ and his faith upon the same. In this faith he died, with constancy, at Vilvorde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs, blessedly in the Lord.—And thus much of the life and story of the true servant and martyr of God, WILLIAM TYNDALE, who for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the Apostle of England, in this our latter age."

Such was the estimate of old John Foxe in his day ; and though, in various instances, he stands chargeable with indiscriminate praise, in the present, he has not exceeded ; nay, living so early, he could not be expected to distinguish the relative greatness, and peculiar distinction of Tyndale's character. Standing above all his contemporaries, with only one man by his side, his companion Fryth, he had *never* temporised, *never* courted human favour, *never* compromised or sacrificed one iota of Divine truth ; but with his face to the foe, and dying on the shield of faith, he was called to quit the well-fought field, for his mansion near the throne ; to refresh himself, after the dust and turmoil and heat of the day, in the paradise of God. Having once exchanged contention with the votaries of darkness and superstition, for the harmony and the light of heaven ; the solitude of his dungeon, for the presence of his Redeemer, in the city of the living God ; his faithful and intrepid spirit, as *Milton* would have said of him, " had entered that region, where they, undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed ; and in super-eminnence of beatific vision shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss in over measure for ever."

But the influence and usefulness of such a man, could not possibly die with him. If he had now rested from all his labour, we shall find his works following him. The light he had kindled, was to prove " the joy of many generations." Hence the force of individual consistent Christian character—the importance of individual exertion.

At the place of honour, or as it were close by the martyr's stake, we must not omit to notice his kind and generous friend, Thomas Poyntz; and the more so, since it has never been before observed who he was. It is well that we have one Englishman, who boldly stood by our illustrious countryman to the last, and only left him at the risk of his own life, when he could do no more. He is entitled to the grateful remembrance of posterity.

The Poyntz family, descended from Drago FitzPons, who accompanied William the Conqueror into England, is well known to have been one of the most ancient in England. One branch settling in Gloucestershire, and another in Essex; it is singular enough, that Tyndale *commenced* his career with the one, and *closed* it with the other. The Lady of Sir John Walsh, where he had been tutor, was the daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz of Iron Aeton, Gloucestershire; and Mr. Poyntz, with whom he last lived at Antwerp, was the second son, and finally the heir of the Essex family.

When Tyndale was seized, it lends additional interest to the zeal of this gentleman at the moment, when it is observed that he had been but recently married, and to a German Lady, Ann, the daughter of John Calva, Esq. To her, after the confusion had subsided, and notwithstanding the state of the Continent, or the risk he had run, he returned; and became the father of three sons, Gabriel, Ferdinand, and Robert, and of one daughter, Susanna.

The Manor-house of North Okendon, in Essex, eighteen miles from London, to which he addressed his letters, and to which, of course, he fled from Brussels, had been in possession of his ancestors from the days of Edward III.; and his elder brother, John, to whom he wrote with such generous warmth and so earnestly, having, by the death of his father, come to the estate in the year 1500, died in the first of King Edward's reign, without issue.⁹⁰ Thomas, who survived him fifteen

⁹⁰ The admirer of ancient English poetry may be pleased to know that this was no other than the friend of Sir Thomas Wyatt, whom he addresses as "*Myne own John Poyntz*," when celebrating the happiness of a country life, recounting the miseries of public service, and lashing the vices of a Court, if not *the Court*. Mr. Poyntz had been in the service of Queen Catherine, and, as mentioned by Halle, had accompanied Henry and his Queen to the Camp of *the cloth of gold* in 1520, but had afterwards retired. His remarkably intelligent and expressive countenance may be seen among his Majesty's collection of Holbein's Heads, by Chamberlain; and it is one of the finest heads in that splendid volume. Mr. C. adds, "John Poyntz probably *first* employed HOLBEIN, and afterwards recommended the artist to his relations, for we shall find

years, but remained some time abroad, of course succeeded ; and dying also at North Okendon, in 1562, lies there interred.⁹¹

His eldest son, born about two years after Tyndale's death, in 1538, Sir Gabriel Poyntz, High Sheriff of Essex, was interred by his father's side in 1607 ; and the only daughter, Susanna, married to the Mayor of London, Sir Richard Saltonstall, lies by a mural monument in the adjoining parish of South Okendon.

Although acquainted with the history of this ancient and retired parish church, the writer could not be satisfied without visiting the burial-place of Mr. Poyntz, and examining for himself the memorials of his family. He was chiefly desirous of ascertaining, not only what vestiges remained, but whether there was any expression still legible, in regard to by far the most memorable event in the life of Tyndale's friend ; and more especially because the interpretation intended to be conveyed by the lines on his tomb, had never been adverted to by any author. Most probably they have never before been understood, except by relatives at the time of his decease.

It was in the month of September 1837, or precisely three hundred years after the English Bible at which Tyndale laboured, the basis of all following editions, had reached this country. He found the little church, with its flint stone embattled tower covered with ivy, in a condition distinguished for its cleanliness ; and the monuments of different families, some of them in elegant marble, in perfect preservation ; but the humbler tablets excited the deepest interest.

In a horizontal line, in the wall of the Chancel, are the monuments of the Poyntz family, in regular succession from about the middle of the fourteenth century ; while that of Tyndale's devoted friend remains, easily to be distinguished

no less than three portraits of gentlemen of this family." Be this as it may, with regard to his recommending Holbein, but the other two seem to be portraits of Sir Nicholas, of Iron Acton, the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, the nephew of Lady Walsh of Little Sodbury, where Tyndale once lived as tutor. From the letter of Thomas Poyntz, already given, it is evident that he addressed his brother as a man who might have influence at Court. He had known it well, and many years before Crumwell himself did.

⁹¹ At his decease he held this Manor, with above 1300 acres of land in North and South Okendon, Alveley, Upminster, South Wield, Brendwood, Warley, Childerdich, Dunton, East Horn-dean, Grays-Thurrock, and Bulvan : with the presentation to the Church of North Okendon, of the Queen, in free soccage, by fealty. *Inquis. 4 Eliz. Pipe-roll in the Tower.* The occasion of this inquisition must have been Mr. Poyntz' absence on the Continent, where he remained till 1556 ; at least that is the date of his first presentation to the Church, the widow of his brother having done this in 1554 ; but the presentations for above three hundred years, by this family, may be seen in Newcourt's Repertorium, the last of which was by Lord Thomas Poyntz Littleton, in 1687, the incumbent living in 1700.—See the following note 93.

from the others, by its still conveying to the reader, what had been his own impressions, in reference to the scene through which he had passed at Brussels.

“This gentleman, for his most faithful service to his Prince, and his most ardent profession of the truth of the gospel, was in bonds, and suffered imprisonment in countries beyond seas, so that he was, at this time, *evidently destined to death*; but forecasting with himself, relying on Divine providence, he wonderfully escaped out of prison. In this little chapel, he now peacefully sleeps in the Lord. Anno 1562, or the 5th of Queen Elizabeth.” The following is the epitaph, as copied from the tablet in the wall.

“Thomas Poyntz Armiger [filius Gulielmi] Pointz, ad quem post mortem fratris, Joannis, Domini [in hujus villæ] et patronatus Ecclesiæ pervenit; qui duxit in matrimonium Annam van Calva, Filiam et unam cohæredam Joannis Calvæ Armigeri nationeq. Germani, ex qua genuit Gabrielem, Ferdinandum ac Robertum filios, filianq. unam Susanau.

“Hic pro fidelissimo Principis svi servitio, ac ardentissimo euangelicæ veritatis professione uincula, et incarcerationes in transmarinis regionibus passus est, adeo ut Cædi jam plane destinatus esset, nisi divina fretus providentia eausione & carcere mirifice sibi prospexisset: in hoc sacello jam placide obdormit in Domino. anno 1562. R. Reg. Eliz. quinto.”⁹²

At that early period, there may have been some prudential reason for the immortal name of Tyndale not being mentioned. But now, after the lapse of three centuries, without this expressive key to the inscription being known to many generations, to the audience assembling there every week, or, perhaps, to any other persons; till this be hinted, the lines themselves convey but feeble meaning. To this name alone, the epitaph owes all its emphasis, and to it, the humble tablet may, perhaps, now owe a more frequent inspection. Passed over hitherto, without marked observation, if we once except the Manor-house of Little Sodbury, it is the solitary relict left upon English ground, pointing to perhaps the greatest benefactor that our native country ever enjoyed.

As for the excellent man himself, this unpretending memorial has, all along, conveyed his *own* testimony to survivors; but a far more conspicuous token of respect for his

⁹² The decease of Mr. Poyntz, has been ascribed to the 5th of May 1562; but this must be a mistake. The *fifth* of Elizabeth began on the 17th of November, which fixes his death to the close of the year 1562.

memory, may now well be erected; and the people should know how much they stand indebted to a man "sleeping peacefully in the Lord," in the vault below.

Long before this late period, the deeply interesting history of our Translator ought to have been familiar to every one, and then a marble tablet might, at least, have told that—

POYNTZ, THE FRIEND—THE LAST AND ARDENT FRIEND OF TYNDALE
LIES HERE—THE REST ALL ENGLAND KNOWS.⁹³

Vilvorde, (Vilvorden, or Villefort,) is situate at the confluence of the Senne and Woluwe, half way between Mechlin and Brussels, or about eight miles from the former, and seven from the latter. The large and strong castle, to which they had conveyed Tyndale from Antwerp, and

⁹³ The genealogy of this family has been often given, we presume, inaccurately. To say nothing of Atkyns, Morant, or Nott, in his *Life of Sir T. Wyatt*; even in *Burke's History of the Commoners*, recently published, v. 3, p. 530, the ancestor is stated to have been *Henry*, second son of Sir Nicholas Poyntz of Iron Acton, who died in 1449; and after the death of Henry, we have then *four* generations in succession before the century expires, in the brief space of fifty years! This is thrown into a note attached to the Gloucestershire family; but there is some good reason to believe that the Essex branch must have been the more ancient of the two. The two families, indeed, appear to have sprung from the same parent stem—Lord Nicholas Poyntz of Cary Mallet, and Tockington, the *second* Baron, who was twice married—Poyntz of Okendon, from a second son of the *first* marriage, and Poyntz of Iron Acton, from a son by the *second*, or Sir John Poyntz of Iron Acton, in right of his mother; he was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1323. But besides *Hugh*, the eldest son of Nicholas, and the *third* Baron, there were other children, at least one son, *Poyntz*, and one daughter, *Alice*; "and Lord Nicholas dying," says Rudder, "seized of Tockington in the 5th of Edward II., or 1311, this estate was carried, by the marriage of Alice, into the Berkeley family. Now, *before* this marriage, it will be evident, that the Essex family had its rise. The Latin inscriptions in North Okendon Church, are distinctly legible, and from the monuments themselves, we now take the pedigree, adding a few other particulars.

I. *Poyntz Fitzpoyntz*, son of Lord Nicholas Poyntz of Tockington, in the county of Gloucester. He became patron of North Okendon, and Lord of this manor, by marriage with Eleanor, heiress of William Bawden; and dying in the time of Edward III., the estate came to his son and successor, II. *John Poyntz*, married to Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Dancote. He died under Henry IV., or before 1413, and was succeeded by his son, III. *John Poyntz*. He married Matilda, daughter of William Perte, Esq., and dying in the reign of Henry VI., or before 1461, left the estate to his son, IV. *William*, who married Elizabeth, sister of Sir John Shaa, Lord Mayor of London, by whom he had three sons, *John*, THOMAS, Henry, and at least one daughter, Juliana. William died under Henry VII., in the year 1500, when the property came to his eldest son, V. *John Poyntz*, who married Anne, daughter and heir of Isaac Sibley, Esq. of Bucks, and died in the first of Edward VI. His death, said to be at the end of Queen Mary's reign, 16th July 1558, is an unaccountable, though frequent mistake. His tombstone restricts his life to Edward's reign; and as if there had been something of eminence about *Wyatt's friend*, there is a second stone on the floor of the chancel—"Here lieth the bodie of John Poyntz, late son and heir of W^m Poyntz, &c., which deceased the 13th day of June, in the year of our Lord God 1547." Dying without issue, VI. THOMAS, his brother, and the *friend of Tyndale*, succeeded; and dying in the 5th of Elizabeth, VII. *Sir Gabriel*, his son, left an only daughter, who by her marriage, conveyed the estate to Sir John Morrice of Chipping Ongar. The name of Poyntz was, however, adopted, and the property remained with their male descendants till the death of Richard Poyntz, alias Morrice, in 1643, when it passed into the Lyttleton family. All these monumental inscriptions are printed literally in Salmon's *History of Essex*, pp. 276, 277, taken from the collections of Thomas Jekyll, Esq. The Essex estate belongs at present to Sir Charles Hulse, Bart. The male representative of the GLOUCESTERSHIRE family was William Stephen Poyntz, Esq. of Cowdray Park and Midgham House, lately deceased, his two sons having died before him. His three daughters, as already stated, are married into the Clinton, Spencer, and Exeter families.

where he remained to the hour of his death, was originally built by Duke Wenceslaus, in the year 1375. It was afterwards employed as a place of safe keeping for the archives and charters of Brabant, as well as of state prisoners. But the castle has now given place to a prison and house of correction upon a very large scale.

And here, if the present writer may be permitted to mention his own approach to Vilvorde, and to the site of its ancient castle—for though at a moment when he had no idea of ever being engaged in tracing the footsteps of our Translator, it was a visit which he can never forget ;—not merely from its being in the year 1826, or exactly three hundred years from the first introduction of the English New Testament into Britain, but because of the long endeared friend whom he accompanied, now gone to his reward. Another Englishman, and born within thirty miles of Tyndale's own birth-place, he was also another Translator of the Sacred Volume, and that into the language of a country which he in like manner was never destined or permitted to enter. The language, too, being that of the largest associated population in the world, I need scarcely add the Chinese, or the name of JOSHUA MARSHMAN. Standing, with such a man, on the spot where Tyndale had fought his final battle with the votaries of "the old learning," defending his translation unto the death—on the very ground of his imprisonment and martyrdom ; this had become more deeply interesting from immediately preceding events : having only returned, by way of Antwerp, from presenting to the late King of Denmark, a copy of that Bible which had been translated and printed on the banks of the Ganges, within the Danish settlement of Serampore ; and our happening, but a few days before, to be the last persons engaged in commending to the Divine protection, before his embarking from Europe, a native of Prussia, so well known since—*Charles Gutzlaff*, now of Fou-tcheou, in the province of Fo-kien, China.⁹⁴

"Tyndale," said the Belgian traveller's guide to us then, "Tyndale, who first translated the New Testament into English, suffered martyrdom here in 1536 ;" but the reader is now better able to estimate what had been the amount of his exertions and example ; and next year, we shall witness how much more of the Sacred Volume was conveyed to England, as the richest legacy she had ever received. Meanwhile, we are obliged to turn to a very different subject, and present a melancholy, though instructive view, in the dark side of this entire picture.

These two unhappy men, the agents of their party, *Henry Phillips*, the reputed gentleman, and *Gabriel Donne*, the scr-

⁹⁴ "If spared in life," said the Doctor, "that young man will be a second Carey ;" though little did he imagine, at the moment, that he would prove the instrument of conveying his own translation so far and so effectually into China itself.

vant in disguise, who had been hired to apprehend our Translator, and who entered so heartily into the design, now present a contrast of the blackest hue. No particulars respecting them have ever before been recorded; but they must not now be so consigned to oblivion. The former will lead us into some curious, if not unknown particulars, respecting Cardinal Pole *abroad*, whose motions it seems as if he had been eager to observe; and the latter, into certain appointments, unaccountable or passing strange, respecting himself, *at home*. Both together will involve a few anticipations of our narrative, but it is better to dismiss these men at once. It is only because of their sad connexion with Tyndale, that they are here noticed at all.

As to PHILLIPS, we still stand mainly indebted to Theobald, in his official correspondence, as a spy, employed alike by Crumwell and Cranmer. In the year 1535, Phillips, as we have seen, had been watching Theobald for months after his departure from Louvain; but the latter had proceeded on his way, stopping only for a short time at Cologne, Frankfort, and Heidelberg. He then visited Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Tubingen. He had been supplied with money on his journey; and now, in the spring of 1536, or before war had broken out between the Emperor and Francis, we quote one of his replies to Crumwell, reporting progress:—

“ This money came to me very happily for two causes. One is, because I fear *war*; the second is, I have been at great cost riding to Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Ulm. From all these places I sent you letters at large, for I had to all these places letters of commendations to the learned men. Also in Tubingen, it is costly unto me; for your Lordship *willed me* to resort and haunt the acquaintance of the *best*, as I do: for I am in familiar acquaintance with the Bishop of the towne, and likewise with the Bishop and reformator of the whole country; with the Governor of the towne, and most part of the professors—being a great deal better esteemed of them, than, peradventure, I am worthy, and of more *credit* than it becometh me to rehearse!

“ Here (in Germany) is a mad foolish fellow, and unlearned, called COCHLEUS, which hath madly and railingly written *against* our King's Highness, for Mr. More's death, and my Lord of Rochester's, and of other matters; which book your Lordship shall receive of Reynard Wolfe. His book doth, and will do, hurt. I marvel that no answer is made to *Erasmus'* epistle (*carmen*) for Mr. More and my Lord of Rochester. I send your Lordship herewith an epistle of Clement Marot, an excellent poet, in the French tongue, who is fled France, and in exilement for the Gospel.”⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 141. The *Carmen* Erasmi was spurious. “No such poem, I dare say, was ever composed by him. He was not in a versifying humour at this time.” *Jortin*, anno 1535. Marot had fled in 1534. See M'Crie's *Italy*, p. 69.

In explanation it is now necessary to state, that on the 22d December 1536, Pole was made a Cardinal, the red hat, contrary to custom, being forced upon him, says Turner, "as the helmet of rebellious battle;" and early in 1537, he was sent into France as a legate, though in reality to fan the flame of rebellion in England. His King proclaimed him a traitor, offering a reward of fifty thousand scudi for his head; having also remonstrated with the Courts of France and Flanders against receiving him. To the Emperor, it has been said, Henry offered for the person of his cousin, an auxiliary force of 4000 men, during his campaign against Francis. On his arrival in Paris, when referring to Francis, the King, he says himself,—“When I came to the door of his hall, before I could knock, I was excluded;” and thus mortified, the legate bent his way towards Cambrai. Influenced by political motives, the Princess or Queen-Regent of Flanders was not less inflexible; but the Cardinal of Liege, of whom we have heard, invited him to his palace, where he remained three months. His host went so far as to advise him to proceed to England in disguise; (*dissimulato vestitu*;) but this was too hazardous a project, for a man so well known in England. While he lay here, persons, in the pay of Henry, were watching his motions; and, in particular, John Hutton was despatched with fresh remonstrances to the Queen-Regent in May 1537.⁹⁶ Hutton there insinuated himself into acquaintance with Michael Throgmorton, a confidential agent of Pole's, and, *as he supposed*, gained him over to Crumwell's side and service. Though, therefore, his master would not venture into England, Throgmorton *actually did*; and used to boast of it, as one of the most dexterous exploits of his life, that he had deceived even Crumwell, and returned to the Continent with his head on his shoulders! This fact Theobald will confirm to us presently; but, in the meanwhile, *he* had returned to London about the month of June. By the next month, being ready to embark again for the Continent, there is a curious letter from Crammer to Lord Crumwell, respecting his journey.

“After hearty commendations unto your Lordship, this is to advertise the same, that the bearer hereof, Mr. Tybald, one that hath exercised his study in Almayne these two or three years past, brought from Capito (Wolfgang Fabricius) and Monsterus, (Sebastian Munster,) both letters and books to the King's Highness; and if his Grace's pleasure be to reward them for their pains, and good hearts, which they bear unto his said Grace; this man that brought the said letters, shall very conveniently do the King good service in that behalf: for he is going thitherward now again, and is a *very honest man*, and both loved and trusted of the learned men in these parts; with whom, if it please your Lordship to commune, he can well inform you of the state of that country. Wherefore, not only in this, but also for his passport, I beseech you to be his good lord, so that he may have your favourable letters unto the ports, for his pas-

⁹⁶ Galba, B. x., fol. 333. Herbert's Henry VIII.

sage and safe conduct. Thus our Lord have your Lordship in his tuition. At Lambeth, the 22d day of July 1537."⁹⁷

Cranmer here assumes to himself all the credit, or the discredit, of employing this man, whereas Crumwell knew Theobald as well as he did. The letter at first sight, must therefore seem strange; but the mystery is solved, as soon as it is observed, that this was simply a *formal* communication, addressed to Crumwell as Lord Privy Seal, and intended for the *royal* eye, to meet more purposes than one. It would bring Theobald to the notice of his Majesty; it might secure some present for the Continent; and it would insure suitable passports.

After this, Theobald took his departure, carrying with him a letter, from Cranmer to Capito, in which he informs him, that he now sends a present of one hundred crowns from the *King* for his book—On Divorce, Matrimony, and the power of the Civil Magistrate in religion. There may have been a similar communication to Sebastian Munster, though we have no evidence; but there was another letter of Cranmer's, addressed to Joachim Vadian. He acknowledges the receipt of his work on the Lord's Supper, but remains in favour of the *old* doctrine, and deprecates the revival of so bloody a controversy.⁹⁸

When this agent, alike of Crumwell and Cranmer, was at home, among other things, he had been fully informed of the chase after both *Phillips and Gryffith*; and, therefore, upon a Sunday, 24th March 1538, he writes to Cranmer from Augsburg, particularly respecting the latter. Had the Lord Privy Seal only given him a commission, he says that he could have apprehended him; and he blames Laurence Stayber of Nuremberg, to whom Henry had written, who might have done so, "if he had would." He informs the Archbishop of his honourable treatment by the chief citizens of Tubingen and Augsburg—that he intended to proceed through Innspruck and Trent to Venice; and then this "very honest man," tells him that he has found out "*a way to go to Rome, and not to be known for an Englishman!*"—"I beseech your Grace to move my friends to send my bank to Venice with all speed. I would God it would please your Grace to receive (some) money of my father, and to cause it to be sent by your hands."⁹⁹

The war which Theobald dreaded in 1536, between Francis and the Emperor, it is well known, burst out; but while he was writing his last letter, there had been a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by a truce in July. By this time, and before it, both these monarchs had shewn great courtesy to Cardinal Pole, who was now at Venice. His steward, Throgmorton, pretending to serve *two* masters, had written a long and artful letter to Crumwell last year.¹⁰⁰ Theobald was not yet

⁹⁷ MS. Chapter-house.—Jenken's Remains of Cranmer, i. p. 191.

⁹⁸ Zurich MS. in Cranmer's Remains, i. pp. 192-193.

⁹⁹ Vitell. B. xxi., fol. 139.

¹⁰⁰ Cleop. E. vi., fol. 372. Dated from Liege, 20th Aug. 1537.—Its design, no doubt, was to

aware of his character; but having reached Caldiero, nine miles from Verona, where he had stopt to drink the mineral waters, he addresses Cranmer from thence on the 16th of August.

He mentions that Throgmorton, within the last week, had been at Padua, procuring certain necessaries for his Master's household, and that he would remain at Venice most of the winter.

"Also he related how greatly and lovingly the French King did entertain his master,"—"And of truth I hear of divers and many, that he alone was more conversant with them, and better entertained, than all the rest," *i. e.* than the Pontiff and his Cardinals. "Also, he was with the French Queen, (when at Nice,) and communed long with her, and after with the Queen of Navarre, whom he (Cardinal Pole) liked not so exceedingly."

A few days before writing this letter, Theobald had passed through Vicenza itself, where a Council had been attempted, as yet in vain, being deferred till Easter, or April 1539,—he had dined with the physician and secretary of Cardinal Brundusium, (Alexander,) on whose character he dilates. He tells Cranmer that Friar Peyto, by the influence of Pole, was living among the Observant Friars at Venice;¹⁰¹ and then begs the Archbishop to obtain, before-hand, half-a-year's rent of Chedingstone farm from the Earl of Wiltshire, that he may be able to perform his journey in disguise "to Rome this winter season."¹⁰²

Next month our spy had reached Padua itself, and from that city he sends two long and curious letters, dated the first and second of October, one addressed to Lord Crumwell, the other to Cranmer.¹⁰³ He repeats the same story to both; but as the letter to Crumwell is most minute, at once exposing the true character of Throgmorton, and the miserable condition of *Phillips, the betrayer of Tynedale*, we prefer it.

"Since the writing of my last letter, pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that I have twice spoken with Michael Throgmorton.

"The first time, he was merrily disposed, and all in rehearsing his policy and wisdom, how he *deceived*, in his opinion, *your Lordship* and Master Morynson, (Sir Richard Moryson,) when he was *in England*, in message from his master; thinking that but for his crafty and subtle conveyance, ye would have *beheaded* him: not considering that he is a person whose life can neither hinder nor farther the King his most gracious Highness, or your Lordship; or that

deceive and intimidate. Most of the letter is given by Strype, who also *supposed* that Throgmorton "being now *gained*, was to be employed by the Lord Privy Seal, to learn as much of Pole's designs and affairs as might be." Turner merely says that he became a correspondent of the Lord Privy Seal; but we shall see what Theobald says, and it will remain for the reader to judge, whether it be not the same Throgmorton who will come before him at the downfall of Crumwell himself in 1540.

¹⁰¹ Friar Peyto or Peto was the preacher at Greenwich. See anno 1533, p. 367.

¹⁰² Nero, B. vi., fol. 143.—The contents of this letter prove it to have been written in 1539. It is marked by mistake in the catalogue 1536. Mr. Turner, therefore, generally so accurate, probably thus misled, has quoted this letter as a proof of "the interest which Henry took in Pole's concerns, though abroad." But long before this epistle, Henry had put a price upon his head, and Theobald, now at *Chaldere*, as it is spelt, was there with no friendly intentions to the Cardinal, or any of his party. The *concourse* at Nice will be specially noticed under 1538.

¹⁰³ Nero, B. vi., fol. 132, to Crumwell, 1st Oct. Idem, to Cranmer, fol. 120, 2d Oct.

his Grace or your Lordship would violate the security of a messenger for anything. But herein, and in passing the limits of modesty, he doth so much, so often, and continually rehearse this, as with his own high commendations always; thinking no act ever to have passed this his fantasy. I find him much simpler, and of less discretion, than he supposeth himself to be; and, as I can perceive, he is in more credence and trust, than in authority about his master.¹⁰⁴

“The second time was the 18th day of August, rather in a morning, clothed in a coat of wolf skins, and a cap of mail, as pale as ashes; blowing and puffing like unto a raging lion. Wherefore, I asked him what the matter was, that he was thus moved and disguised. At last he answered—matters of great importance, for all that night past he had not slept, with many circumstances.

“The matter was, that one *Harry Phillips*, which sometime was student in Louvain, at what time *he betrayed good Tyndale*, came, at this present, out of Flanders unto Master Pole, as I can find by all circumstances and conjectures, for succour; compelled, by poverty or some evil behaviour, to forsake these parts. But by reason that he was arrayed like a Switzer, or a ruffling man of war, having on a pair of Almayn boots; saying that he came on foot, and three weeks afore, he was in Flanders,—and to this they imagined that they did perceive that he had worn *spurs*, and of such other suspicions gathered incontinent, that he came for some *treason*, sent by your LORDSHIP, giving him *pardon* for his trespasses, passed by on condition that he would *destroy Master Pole*; or else to be a spy, to see what he doth, or goeth about.

“Then I reasoned with him, how *that* were likely, that one could or durst adventure alone, on such an act, in a strange country. He answered, when his Master, as he custometh daily, rode abroad of pleasure, with five or six horses, unarmed.—He (*Phillips*) then to have three or four hardy fellows, set in a privy place, with whose help, at opportune time to have destroyed him; and incontinently, within the space of four hours, with post horses provided afore, they might have fled to the mountains, where they were in safeguard,—for this is the Italian practice, or poison, with their enemies. And inasmuch as I could perceive, a certain gentleman of Venice, which at that present was with his master, was chief author of this suspicion, judging after the custom and manner that is in use among them.

“The cause why he should be a Spy, he said was this; whereas they were satisfied that his Master’s younger brother was in the *Tower*, (which I *feigned* not to have known *afore*),¹⁰⁵ the King his Highness should think his master therewith to be so moved, that incontinent he would, with writing and publishing books, revenge himself against his Grace; which his Highness (they reckon) hath and doth *fear*, more than all the world besides: Saying also that his master hath both old and newly written books lying by him, which, if they come forth, they will cause heaven and earth to quake! He shewed me also that *herefore* they avoided this *Phillips* incontinent; and Master Pole himself, in a great fury, defended (forbade) him the whole dominions of the Venetians.

“After he (*Phillips*) was departed, being in desperation of all succour in

¹⁰⁴ Here was the exposure; and sentence soon followed. On the 4th of December 1538, Throgmorton and Peyto, with Hilyard and Goldwell, two friars, were attainted in absence, for writing treasonable letters, and sending them into England, &c.

¹⁰⁵ This shows that Pole had anticipated what was coming on his family; and if Theobald did know any thing by this time, 1st October, it could only be the *intentions* of Crumwell. The Marquis of Exeter, Henry Pole or Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil, were arrested on the 3d of November. But Sir Geoffrey Pole, the elder, not *younger*, brother of the Cardinal, *had been in the Tower before this*. See Ellis’ Letters, ii., 96, 97. Titus, B. i., fol. 140.

these parts, he wrote a letter to Mr. Pole, to require him, to give him somewhat toward his costs to return; and that he would write a letter of commendation for him unto the Bishop of Leuke? requiring also, in a letter to Throgmorton, to make him hereof at least an answer. For this policy, Throgmorton said, they suspected him, to have by craft gone about to have gotten a letter of their hands, whereby he might have had testimony at his return to England, that he had been here.

“At his departure from thence, (Venice) they counselled him to come hither, (Padua) advertising him of an English student to be here, which was his countryman, and it was truth, of whom peradventure he might have some comfort; and so indeed he came hither. Throgmorton however, was I reckon, within little, as soon here as he, riding the most part of the night to dog him; and he had, before his meeting with me, found out where he was lodged, and had beset all the gates in Padua to know which way, or with what company, he did depart; for all their suspicion was, that his adherents would either be here in Padua or in Venice,—desiring me to be a mean, to know of this his countryman here,—whether he (Phillips) came to him or no, and whether he told him where he would go to; thinking verily that if he went thither, (to Venice,) that there he would have, privily, his helpers, and means to accomplish this, their foresaid imaginations and dreams.

“Now, indeed, a little before I met with Throgmorton, this Englishman *had* been with me, and shewed me how this Harry Phillips had been with *him*, and required help and friendship of him. But he rejected him, saying, that although for love of the country and his friends, he would gladly do for him, yet by reason he had misordered himself, that he neither durst, nor would, in any cause, meddle with him, or help him. Then he desired of him to know what other Englishmen were here. Then he named me, which when he heard, he desired him, that, in no wise, he should let *me know that he was here*.

“I reckon he suspected I would have procured him some displeasure, the cause whereof riseth hereof. Above *three years* before, I, passing through Louvain toward high Almayne, did there visit my old friends and acquaintance, and so by occasion did insinuate myself to familiar acquaintance with him, to know what practice he went about with TYNDALF,” &c.

Here reminding CRUMWELL of intelligence to which *he had paid no regard*. Theobald then states that Phillips, after all, went to Venice—wished, but in vain, to speak with Mr. Harvel, the resident there—¹⁰⁶ returned to Padua, and having also applied, without success, to Mr. Bokeler, the student already mentioned, at last he ventured to come to Theobald himself. Hence the two men had met once more, after three years and three months' separation.

“He came to me, pretending great repentance of his behaviour in times past, desiring me to pardon him, if he had offended me heretofore, &c. I shewed him, all private matters I could be content, and were already remitted from my remembrance; but his public offences to God, to his most gracious Prince, and natural country, I could not dissemble shewing myself to be sorry that he had so misordered himself: Counselling him to return, and sue for pardon, and

¹⁰⁶ Edmund Harvel, the correspondent of Starkey in 1536.—*Ellis*, ii., p. 70. And since then with Crumwell.—*Nero*, B. vii, 117, &c.

shew himself, by repentance and amendment, worthy thereof; which he said he he would do, imputing all that is past to *the lightness of his youth, and EVIL COUNSEL*. In conclusion, he said he would return towards Flanders, to make means to your Lordship for remission."

In writing to CRANMER next day, or "the Tuesday after St. Michael's," he reminds *him* also, of what he had written respecting Tyndale in 1535.

"As soon as Mr. Bokeler made mention of my being in Padua, and that he might speak with me, he desired him, for God's sake, that he would not let me know of his being here, for he feareth lest I would do him displeasure: for he had a belief before three years, when I passed through Louvain toward Almayne, that I had then gone about to have taken him, *as I then wrote to your Grace, and of his enterprises for Tyndale at large*; of the which Mr. Bokeler incontinent came and shewed me, afore Mr. Michael Throgmorton came."—"Now, this Harry Phillips, after he came to me, desiring me to be good unto him, pretending great repentance of his faults,"—that is, merely against Henry, "I counsell'd, and to sue for pardon and grace; and so, he shewed me, he would return to Flanders and submit himself; *but*, I reckon, being in this necessity, he is rather *gone to the wars*. Or ever he departed, he had sold his doublet and his cloak."

Thus sunk into oblivion one of the betrayers of our Translator. He might descend into battle and perish, or die in misery before long; but not so the *other* man, the *Monk*, the eldest of the two, and, therefore, not improbably, by far the most guilty. At that time, said Phillips, "there was *no man* of my counsel, but a Monk of Stratford Abbey, besides London, called Gabriel Donne.¹⁰⁷

GABRIEL DONNE OF DUNNE, the Monk of Stratford Abbey,

¹⁰⁷ As for THEOBALD, he was disappointed in accomplishing his journey to Rome in *disguise*. In about two months after these letters, he was recalled; and though he had got sadly entangled by his equivocations, he went on with them to the end. On the 12th of November, he informs Lord Cromwell, from Padua, that he had been dining with "an earnest enemy," Carolus Capellius, a Venetian, who had been ambassador in England, France, and Hungary. A "familiar" of this nobleman, an opponent, *ad insaniam*, had invited him; which, says Theobald, "doth judge me also to be of his error, or else he would not have brought me there, for in this doing he thought to gratify him: as, indeed, he did entertain me with all gentleness, requiring me, in any wise, when I come to Venice, to resort to his palace, familiarly to him. He is greatly, and out of measure, superstitious."

His next, and last letter to Cromwell, is dated also from Padua, on the 12th of December. "Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand that I being at this present advertised by my brother-in-law's letters, that it is your Lordship's pleasure and commandment, that, with all haste, I do repair myself to England; shall herein, as in all other matters, most gladly satisfy your Lordship's mind. If it might have been with your Lordship's favourable license, and security here, I would gladly have tarried a year longer in these parts, at least to have seen more of Italy. And in *hope* that I may, with your leave, return again, so that I may be here in safeguard, I intend so to depart hence, that no man doth or shall know, by me, that I come to England; but do persuade unto all my familiars here, that I ride to Cologne, to commune and agree with Mr. *William Warham*, sometime Archdeacon of Canterbury, for the permutation of a prebend!" and this was chiefly to escape the suspicions of Friar *Peyto*, "which hath shewed me much of his secrets."—*Cotton MS., Nero, B. vi., fol. 54 and 128.*

On the part of the letter writer, all this is sufficiently melancholy; but what can be said for those to whom he *addressed* his letters? The truth of history must not be sacrificed, in deference to any individual; but the crooked policy of this man, reaching down to the end of 1538, bears but too evidently on the characters of those who supported him. To posterity, he has been of service, as to facts reported, when there was clearly no temptation to deceive; but if Cranmer thought him "a very honest man," he can only be left alone in his opinion.

has hitherto remained unobserved or unknown, at least as the crafty assistant of Phillips; and for three hundred years his name has escaped that disgrace, which, it is to be feared, must now ever rest upon it. In extenuation of himself, Phillips not only pled his youth, but complained of his having been the victim of "*evil counsel*;" and a shrewd Cistercian monk, so much older than himself, would not be slow to tender it, on such an occasion; while the *money*, with which Phillips was so plentifully furnished, and of which he boasted, proves that there were other powerful prompters to the heinous deed.

The history of DONNE is far more remarkable than that of his pretended Master at Antwerp, as well as, in every sense, more melancholy: and when it is once known that this very man afterwards, for a season, exercised all manner of *episcopal jurisdiction*, even in the *diocese of London*; or, in other words, that, by Cranmer's appointment, he filled up the space between the deprivation of Bonner, and the appointment of Ridley, and was at last buried honourably in ST. PAUL'S; it must appear passing strange that he should have escaped the searching inquiries not only of Foxe and Strype, but of all later historians; as the most notable person engaged in seizing, though no doubt *hired* to seize, the long-persecuted Translator of the Scriptures. It is only in this degraded character, and as the tool of a well-known party, that he demands any attention; but as such, the following particulars ought not to be withheld.

Presently, the reader will presume that Donne must have been a student of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; but the earliest distinct notice which we have found of him, is in connexion with his Convent. The transaction occurred under Fitzjames, Bishop of London, though it be recorded in the register of *Tunstal*, his successor. The Abbey of Stratford, to which Phillips so distinctly referred, within the parish of Westham, in the vicinity of London, and of which Donne was a conspicuous inmate, had been founded in the year 1135, for Benedictine or Cistercian Monks. The Abbot and Convent being proprietors of the Rectory, and patrons of the Vicarage of Westham, a tedious suit arose, in 1514, between them and William Shragger, then Vicar; which, after discussion in the Archbishop's Court, had been removed by appeal to Rome.¹⁰⁸ At last, on the 7th of February 1517, a "composition real" between the said Abbot and Vicar was executed; and on this occasion "the provident and religious man, *Gabriel Donne*, Monk of the blessed Mary of Stratford, of the order of Cistercians," appeared and stood *proctor* for his brethren in the con-

¹⁰⁸ And to Rome itself, Shragger repaired; for from thence he corresponded with Wulsey. Vitell. B. ii. fol. 112, 113, dated 20 December 1514. In *praise* of the Bishop of Worcester! See before p. 13.

vent.¹⁰⁹ Something must have occurred, which occasioned Tunstal to *revise* this proceeding, just before he retired from the diocese of London to that of Durham, in 1530, and hence its insertion in his register.¹¹⁰

From this period we hear nothing more of the monk till he appears as the companion of Phillips. After their success at Antwerp, Donne resided for six months longer with his pretended master at Louvain, and lent his aid in the persecution of Tyndale; being, no doubt, by far the most able of those *two Englishmen*, to whom Mr. Poyntz referred; as "applying it sore, taking great pains to translate out of English into Latin, those things which might make against him, so that the clergy there might understand and condemn him."¹¹¹ The monk, in short, had fulfilled his commission, when, we have been told by Phillips himself, through Theobald, he returned to England in June 1535, and to an Abbey in the west of England. The information was perfectly correct, both as to place and time. The Abbey to which Donne returned was that of *Buckfaster*, or Buckfastleigh in Devonshire.¹¹² The Abbot, John Rede, was then within a few months of his death; and who should step into his place, but this very monk? That a man who was abroad, should at this time return from Louvain, and almost immediately succeed to such an appointment, certainly carries all the appearance of a reward for service done. His friends at home must have interested themselves on his behalf, and Secretary Crunwell, if he was consulted, may have acceded to the appointment; but, at all events, Donne became the Abbot of Buckfaster, with ten Cistercian monks under him, and at this *very* period; so that when the CONVOCATION came to be summoned to meet in June, 1536, or about four months before Tyndale's martyrdom, there he was *actually present in St. Paul's!* But, what of necessity, must have been the feelings of this man, if he had any feeling, when

¹⁰⁹ See Tunstal's Register, p. 145. The substance of this composition, which was confirmed by Leo X., 12th June 1519, just before Snagger's death, is correctly given in Newcourt's Reperitorium, ii., 303-4.

¹¹⁰ This is an insertion analogous to that of Leo's Bull of 1520, under 1530. See the explanation already given in note 26, page 263. The probable reason for Tunstal examining the transaction was this. The former appointments to the Vicarage of Westham had been generally entered in the *London Register*; but that of Robert Paynter, the Vicar of 1530, had not; as he had been inducted during a vacancy by Warham, five days before Tunstal's own appointment. But be this as it may, by this "composition" the Abbot and Monks had set aside the endowment of the Vicarage, and in lieu of it settled £30, 13s. 8d. on the Vicar and his successors, which, after the surrender of the Abbey, was paid by the Crown till 1638. "Abbots," said old Fuller, "robbed Parish Vicars, by appropriations, by decrying their performances, and magnifying their own merits." "What was the devotion of a silly priest, in comparison of a corporation of prayers from a whole monastery?" But if thus they acted, Henry will before long make a clean sweep of them all. The annual rental of the Abbey of Stratford, when surrendered in March 1538, by William Huddleston the last Abbot, was £652, or £9000 of the present day. Next year the Convent Church and site of the Monastery were given by Henry to Sir Peter Mewtas, who had been Ambassador in France!—*Lyson's Environs of London*, iv., p. 264.

¹¹¹ It is, however, extremely probable that the *other* Englishman, was not Phillips, but *Friar Buckenham from Edinburgh*, Latimer's old acquaintance, whom he had ousted from Cambridge. We know now for certain, that Buckenham was there, and the conviction of Theobald was that Friar Buckenham was maintained at the expense of Phillips. See page 424 and 426.

¹¹² See Dugdale's *Monast.* vol. v., pp. 364-375.

listening to the bold and noble *discourse of Latimer*? For that he sat there, and heard it all, there can now be no doubt; since his name appears subscribed to the articles then issued—GABRIEL, *Abbas de Buckfastria*.¹¹³ He was the last Abbot, and surrendered his monastery to the King on the 25th of February 1539, when he received a pension of £120 annually.¹¹⁴ Upon this sum, as it was equal to £1800 in our day, he might have lived comfortably enough; but farther promotion soon awaited him. A congenial spirit, Edmund Bonner, had come to the diocese of London, and on the 16th of March 1541, Donne became no less than a Prebendary of St. Paul's;¹¹⁵ and, again, in 1544, on the 25th of October, he obtained, very near to his old abode, the Rectory of Stepney "*sine cura*," by the death of Richard Layton, one of the men who had visited the monasteries.¹¹⁶

Five years after this, or in September 1549, Bonner was deprived of his place as Bishop of London, upon which Cranmer officially interposed. "*The Archbishop*," says Strype, "*constituted Gabriel Donne, Residentiary of St. Paul's, to be his officiu, and keeper of the spiritualities, to exercise all manner of Episcopal jurisdiction in the said city and diocese!*"—so that all this he continued to do, till the appointment of Nicholas Ridley in April 1550.¹¹⁷

The Prebendary then remained in his stall, of course; and now, for nearly three years, he came under the influence of one of the finest characters of the age; but there was no change upon him! On the contrary, Donne was one of *those very men*, so pointedly referred to by Ridley, amongst his expressive and touching FAREWELLS, written before his martyrdom in 1555. These were his words,—“Oh! London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the *Prebendaries of Paul's*? Alas! all that loved God's Word, and were the *true* setters forth thereof, are now, as I hear say, some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's Gospel's sake. As for the *rest of them*, I know they could *never brook me well*, nor could I *ever* delight in them.”

¹¹³ A fac-simile of his signature may be seen in the first volume of Dodd's Church History, now republishing. It is the 44th name, and, curiously enough, stands next to that of Huddleston, the last Abbot of *Stratford*, of which Donne had been a conspicuous inmate.

¹¹⁴ Dugdale.—These pensions granted for *life*, were very unequal; and as the revenue of Buckfastier was surrendered at £400, 11s. 2d., (or £7000 of the present day,) the sum granted to Donne was very large. He must have had friends in the Augmentation Court, where *Rich*, the Chancellor, was a notorious enemy of the new learning. The ruins of this abbey, supplied materials for many of the houses in the existing village of *Buckfastleigh*, three miles from Ashburton.

¹¹⁵ Ocenpying Mapesbury, parish of Wilsdon, Middlesex, or the twelfth stall on the right of the choir.—Newcourt's Repert., vol. i., p. 175.

¹¹⁶ Newcourt, p. 730; Wood's Fasti by Bliss, p. 18.—The patron was Richard Williams, *alias* Crumwell, *pro hac vice*.

¹¹⁷ Strype's Annals.—The letter of Theobald to the Archbishop himself in July 1535, p. 425, reads very awkwardly after this appointment. For whatever may be said of Cranmer himself, he certainly was associated with a miserable class of men, whether relating to character or conduct.

Such, then, was the judgment of Ridley, little more than three years before Donne expired, on the 5th of December 1558. His executors laid his body close by the high altar of St. Paul's; and told posterity that his spirit was gone to the regions of happiness and peace, by engraving on his tombstone that posthumous righteousness, so often, and so falsely imputed by the living to the dead.¹¹⁸ Strype has said that he was "buried honourably in St. Paul's, on the 9th of December 1558." It was only the day before Reginald Pole, the last English Cardinal, was carried to Canterbury for interment, and only four days before Queen Mary was laid in her grave at Westminster. They were all three noted opponents, and went to render their several accounts about the same time.

We now suppose that this monk had been partly educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The presumption is founded upon his *will*; for, after the payment of his debts and other legacies, the surplusage of his estate was mainly devoted to that College. The Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall receiving £120, (equal to £1800 now;) with this sum a scholarship was founded, well known ever since, the student being distinguished as "Mr. Gabriel Donue's scholar." If any one, therefore, when visiting the beautiful little chapel of Trinity Hall, will look up to the roof, there among fifteen coats of arms, he will find "the fourth on the north side is B, for the residentiary prebend of St. Paul's, a benefactor;" and on the shield itself he will see an emblem, the significancy of which has never before been known; for it is no other than that of a *Wolf rampant*. "Azure, a wolf rampant, and a chief Argent, for Gabriel Donne!"¹¹⁹

Now, it is not unworthy of notice, that Trinity Hall was quite a pet of STEPHEN GARDINER'S. His appointment as the *Warden* or *Master* of it, he held, excepting only a few years, from the year 1525, throughout his varied life; and so for ten years before Donne's appearance at Antwerp. Is it *now*, therefore, likely, that our Cistercian monk was *unknown* to Tunstal in 1530, or to Gardiner, both before and after? Certainly not. And since Gardiner by his will left £100 to Trinity Hall, and Richard Nix, the old Bishop of Norwich, of whom we have heard so much, founded three fellowships and two scholarships in the same; as we have already fixed on the accomplice, so there can be little doubt, that we have here also two, if not three, of that guilty band or faction, who were deeply implicated in the seizure of Tyndale.

Such, at all events, was the end of the companion of Phillips; and

¹¹⁸ This epitaph, with all others, was destroyed in the great fire of 1666; but such as it was, it may be found in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*. See ed. of 1821, p. 45.

¹¹⁹ Or see Coles' MS. in the British Museum, under Trinity Hall, where the shield is copied. As prebendary, Donne was succeeded by the well known John Harpsfield, on the 10th December. Wood's *Athenæ* by Bliss, i., 441.

since he did return to England, it is perfectly consistent with the whole story, that he should have been advanced into notice and power, by such a monster of cruelty as Edmund Bonner. Permitted by the long-suffering of God, to exist for twenty-three years after his sad exploit at Antwerp, he seems to have died without any remorse. Living as he did, and for some time in such favourable circumstances, under Ridley, nay, till above thirty editions of the entire Scriptures, and about seventy of the New Testament, had issued from the press; all was in vain!

Such were the two men who had been richly hired to ensnare and seize Tyndale. In the one accomplice, there is to be seen nothing but a fugitive and a vagabond to his dying day; in the other, a man who had time given him for reflection, and space for repentance; but we search in vain for either the one or the other. So true it is, in many instances, that though "favour be shown to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness; he will not behold the majesty of the Lord." It is not for us to draw rash conclusions as to the state of the dead, and far from our province, to pronounce judgment; while no man can say, with impunity, that the ways of Jehovah are not equal. The awful consequences of cruelty and sin are certain, though not immediate; and "though a sinner do evil an hundred times," said the wisest of men, "and his days be prolonged; yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God," with them only "who fear before him."

Having thus attended Tyndale to the stake, and followed his devoted friend Poyntz to an honourable tomb; as well as seen the grave close on the hirelings who apprehended our Translator; it is time to enquire into other events at the moment of his martyrdom, and immediately succeeding it, both on the Continent and at home.

To those who have never before been aware of the fact, it must appear extraordinary, that the *Martyrdom* of Tyndale, the first translator of our Bible into English, should stand so emphatically by itself. There was *no other*, with which the Councils of England, and of a Continental kingdom, were both concerned; *no other*, in the guilt of which, both our own country, and a foreign power, were alike involved. The eyes of Henry the Eighth, and those of his Ministers, were wide open, when the martyr fell under a decree of the Emperor Charles V.

Considered as an event, amidst all the wide-spread and long-continued violence of the times, his martyrdom rises up to view, and appears like a conspicuous solitary column. If there be any memento inscribed, it is a *double* one—German on one side, but English on the other. In the history of such a martyrdom, we should be liable to the charge of omission, or injustice, were we to pass on without observing contemporary events, whether relating to the Emperor abroad, or to the King at home.

The time of Tyndale's death, and the months following it, will now reward notice. He had been slain on the 6th of October, and the events in England have, in part, been traced up nearly to that month; but those of the Continent as well as England, afterwards, now require to be glanced at: in other words, the situation of the Emperor, under whose authority he was sacrificed, and that of Henry and his Council, who, to say the least, had so heartlessly left him to perish. In the scale of creation, the death of Tyndale was nothing more than that of any other human being, and, therefore, in itself, an every-day occurrence; though after all that we have read, it will be conceded that he was no common character. He had engaged attention not only abroad, but especially at home, and that of public men, both dead and still alive. But then, besides, he was not merely the only conspicuous Englishman thus slain, with the full cognition of this country and the Continent; but the *only translator of the Sacred Volume* in Europe, so put to death. The moral crime attached itself, at once, to home and foreign authorities.

It is true, that although the hand of God ought to be acknowledged in all human affairs, hasty conclusions respecting cause and effect, or sin and punishment, during the present life, are ever to be avoided: but still, coincidences in point of time, ought never to pass unheeded. If there be a God that judgeth in the earth, let Him be acknowledged as much as may be; and if there be storms in Providence, when they are once fully exhausted, or have drifted to leeward, it is no more than what is due, to mark simultaneous effects. In the natural world, this is never omitted; and why should it ever be in the moral?

To Charles V. it so happened, that this was the season of his greatest personal mortification. Last year, he could express himself, with marked severity, on the death of Sir Thomas More by Henry VIII.—a piece of cruelty for which he has been justly reprobated, from that day to the present; but of Tyndale's martyrdom, we hear not a single word, either from the Emperor, or any of his Council, though it was such a conspicuous consequence of *his own* cruel and blasphemous decree.

Composed, it has been said, and regular in his deportment, strictly attentive to decorum, and therefore conspicuous for concealing his pas-

sions, Charles was at last intoxicated by success ; so in April, at Rome, this year, he let himself down, by proposing to settle all quarrels with Francis in *single combat*, on an island or a bridge, or on board a galley. And though apparently soon sensible of the impropriety of his bravado, in a haughty spirit he immediately prepared for war. He put himself at the head of his forces on the 6th of May, and in July he was reviewing his army on the plain of Coni, in Piedmont. His officers warned him of the dangers connected with thus invading France, and entreated him to pause and consider ; but he adhered obstinately to his plan, and advanced. Before firing a shot, he began to divide his future conquests, promising to his generals, lands, honours, and offices in France. “ Sanguine in extreme belief of great success,” he led his army forward. He had with him, as on other occasions, the active and celebrated Antony de Leyva, who had been his main stay for many years—who had raised himself from the ranks, to be General of the imperial forces in Italy, Austria, and Africa—who had so defended Pavia against the King of France himself, and who had now even urged the present expedition.

The Emperor attempted to surprise Marseilles, and laid siege to Arles, but failed in both. The Imperial army in the Low Countries, also engaged under Henry of Nassau, was attacking the north of France, and had sat down before Peronne, the virgin fortress, only about 120 miles distant from *l’Ilorde*. “ While the Emperor remained in France,” says Turner, “ a great *scandal* fastened upon his name, by the Dauphin dying when coming to act against him. The unjust charge, that he had poisoned the French prince, grievously wounded his feelings, by its defaming imputation.”

But now the month of September came. On the 10th, the troops of Flanders were compelled to raise the siege of Peronne.¹²⁰ Sickness had seized the Imperial army in France, of which about 30,000 died ; but, above all, *de Leyva* himself, and, according to Herbert, on the 15th of September. The Emperor, “ ordering his soldiers to provide themselves with food for several days, suddenly decamped from Aix to Frejus, and so precipitately, that the line of his retreat was strewed with dead, sick, arms, and horses, while he marched painfully to Nice.” Bellay, an eye-witness, compares their miseries to those which the Jews suffered from the victorious and destructive arms of the Romans. Having got to Genoa, as Charles could not bear to expose himself to the scorn of the Italians, he embarked for Spain in November.

“ As this humbled the Emperor’s arrogance, no less than it checked his power, he was mortified more sensibly, on this occasion, than on any other, during the course of the long contests between him and the

¹²⁰ Often styled *Pucelle*, because it had never been taken ; and never was, till a few days after the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, by the British.

French monarch."¹²¹ No man, ever afterwards, required to remind him of the autumn, or of the months of *September* and *October* 1536.

Upon returning into ENGLAND, from Vilvorde ; whether Henry VIII. was ever before in such perturbation as to his own personal safety, or the security of his crown, may be left to the reader's judgment. The King shall, presently, speak for himself, and through the medium of his Secretary, to whom he dictated the expressions.¹²²

The dissolution of the lesser Monasteries had begun to be severely felt long before the present moment, and had been operating powerfully for months, throughout the kingdom, in fomenting discontent ; while the attention of the government and of the metropolis had been suddenly absorpt by the King's inexorable haste to get rid of his Queen, as well as to call a new Parliament, and an unprecedented Convocation, with Crumwell for its presiding Head.

By the first measure, thousands of persons were sent abroad to seek their living as they might, with little more than forty shillings to meet the change in their circumstances. Rents to the amount of thirty-two thousand pounds were coming in to the Crown, besides one hundred thousand pounds in moveables ; and the Commissioners were, of course, not forgetful of themselves, at the moment they were also filling the coffers of his Majesty. By way of a peace-offering, on the 17th of August, Henry, by his letters patent, had given back, *in perpetuam elemosynam*, first five Abbeys, and then ten, besides sixteen Nunneries, or thirty-one houses in all : but this was merely a blind for the moment, as they were swept away, with all others, in two years afterwards.

Still the people were discontented—and then came "the ARTICLES devised to stablish Christian QUIETNESS, and to banish all CONTENTIOUS opinions." But though the friends of "the old learning" and the olden time, might be reduced to silence, nay, by their signatures individually, to apparent acquiescence *within* the Convocation, it by no means followed that they and their coadjutors were to be "quiet" afterwards.

Then came the "injunctions" of the New Vicar-General and Vicegerent. These affected the pockets of many, by bereaving them of profits derived from images, and relics, and pilgrimages. Thus the secular and regular clergy were cemented into one, while the mitred Abbots, the *magnates* of the kingdom, in alarm at coming events, which already cast their shadows before, were secretly cherishing the spirit of resistance.

The time for its display seemed to be suspended for a little season ; but this may be accounted for. There was a harvest on the ground, and

¹²¹ Robertson. Turner.

¹²² By far the most graphical account of Henry's agitation was never published till within these few years, in the Government State Papers ; and as they have yet been seen only by a few persons, we may be excused for introducing the reader so fully to his Majesty.

the people were engaged till they had reaped it ; but no sooner was this accomplished, than they were ready for action.

If we now return to the King ; in the month of July he had met with a severe blow by the death of the Duke of Richmond in his eighteenth year, a natural child of his own, on whom he doated, and on whom it is thought, in the defect of male issue, he had fixed his eye as successor to the throne. After this, consoling himself in the company of his new Queen, he was looking forward to her coronation. But September came, and the prospect was never realised. Queen Anne was the *last* of his Queens ever crowned.

During this month, disease in London had been gathering strength. It was the plague ! And at Westminster seems to have been specially virulent. Sir Ralph Sadler is writing to Crumwell from Windsor, on Thursday the 27th of September. "After supper," says he, "his Grace returned into his chamber, and immediately called me to him, saying, that he had digested and resolved the contents of your letters, and perceiving how the *plague* had reigned in Westminster, and in the Abbey itself, his Grace said that he stood in a suspense, whether it were best to put off the time of the coronation, for a season. Wherefore it were good that all my counsel were assembled here, that we might consult and determine upon every thing touching the same accordingly. And so, quod he, write to my Lord Privy Seal, and send him word that my Lord Admiral (Fitzwilliam) is here, Mr. Controller (Poulet) and the Bishop of Hereford (Fox) be here, and pray him also to come hither undelayedly, and then we shall soon be at a point."¹²³

Crumwell, however, had other business to engross him, and in four days after this, Henry also will have other points to settle ; widely different from any connected with the pomp or paraphernalia of a Queen's coronation. Next Monday morning, the 2d of October, an insurrection broke out at Louth in Lincolnshire. The fury of the populace was directed against the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, about to hold their visitation that day. The King, it must be remembered, had no standing army, so that the consternation at Court was extreme. The exciter of the people, was the Prior of Barlings, one of the suppressed monasteries, Dr. Matthew Makerel ; and their leader, not the Doctor in disguise, as different historians have affirmed, but one Melton, under the appellation of *Captain Cobler*. The insurgents showed some tact in sending up an address, respectful in language, explaining the reasons for their resistance, and their fears, that the system of spoliation now going on, would extend even to the parish Churches. The reply of his Majesty was accompanied with substantial proof, that he was determined to crush the parties ; as the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Rut-

¹²³ Gov. State Papers. vol. i., p. 460.

land, and Huntingdon were at the same moment despatched, with all the force they could collect. The style in which Henry addressed his subjects was sufficiently *plain*, quite characteristic of the man, though not over-wise.

“How presumptuous are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most *brute and beastly* of the whole realm, and of least experience, to find fault with your Prince for the electing of his Counsellors and Prelates!” Nor were any of the demands or complaints treated with less haughtiness; but after ordering instant submission, one hundred victims, including their leaders, were demanded for punishment!¹²⁴

Such language, as might have been anticipated, only produced greater irritation, of which the Duke of Suffolk having informed the Court, on the 12th of October, a very different style was adopted; and having at last succeeded in persuading the people to disperse, they generally returned home the next day.

This good news arrived at Windsor on Sunday the 15th; but that very day, tidings far more formidable than those of the last fortnight, also reached the castle. The more daring of the Lincolnshire men had shaped their course northward towards Yorkshire, and there “the heath was on fire.” This was called “the Pilgrimage of Grace,” under a man of some property in that county, Robert Aske. Lord Shrewsbury, and after him the Duke of Norfolk himself, the Marquis of Exeter, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Kingstone, were sent with a strong military force.¹²⁵

But from this day, and so forward, the agitation of the King became evident to all. That same Sunday, Wriothsley, his secretary, must write *twice* to Crumwell—

“Since the writing of my last letters,” says he, “arrived here a post from my Lord Darcy, declaring a great part of Yorkshire to be up, and the whole country to favour their opinions; being the very same that were reported in Lincolnshire, by the rebels there.”—“The letter containeth no certainty in number, nor any thing else, but such general words, as though all the world went upon wheels! The matter hangeth yet like a fever—one day good, another bad. The King’s Highness will, in all haste possible, send forth the letters to my Lord Steward; for so it is thought necessary, ‘*in omnem eventum.*’”¹²⁶

Crumwell, aware of the state of the country, had been preparing the sinews of war; and this day also Henry had been informed, so that immediately Wriothsley must write once more—

“His Grace,” said he, “took the towardness of your preparation very well, and heartily thanketh you for your pain and diligence; but his Grace said sundry times—‘I would I knew how much he hath done, that I might be satisfied

¹²⁴ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 463.

¹²⁵ *Idem*, p. 462.

¹²⁶ *Idem*, p. 464.

with the speciality.' And when I had taken my leave, called me again, and willed me to require you to *taste the fat priests* thereabouts; naming Doctor Wolman, Doctor Bell, Doctor Knight, and others about Paul's, or elsewhere.¹²⁷ His Grace told me that Doctor Chambre had, of his own motion, without desire, presented unto him 200 merks, and Doctor Lupton one hundred;¹²⁸ which his Highness also requireth you to lay to them for a precedent; and further to declare, that being of such sort, as they cannot help in persons, they must shew their good wills, if they have any, otherwise; and so, of *that sort*, to get *all that you can*."¹²⁹

Next day, particular instructions for the officers of the army going to the north, had to be drawn out; and on Tuesday, we have two other letters to Crumwell, in reply to his of Monday—

"His Highness' pleasure is, that, with all possible diligence, you shall send all the money you have gotten into your hands, by John Freeman, to Master Gostyk, being appointed treasurer, with my Lord Steward; who, as the King's Highness is advertised, doth this day march with all his force against those traitors in Yorkshire. His Grace told me, to be written unto you, that he would *sell all the plate he hath*; but he will subdue these traitors, in such sort, that all others shall beware by their example. And therefore his Highness requireth you to do all that ever your Lordship can, to borrow yet as much more money as you can devise to get into your hands, to the intent that he may be, for this matter, thoroughly furnished."¹³⁰

For *one* day, this might seem sufficient; but no, the secretary must again take up his pen.

"The King's Highness taketh this rebellion of Yorkshire so much to heart, that though it should fortune to be appeased, before my Lord Steward should in manner set forth; yet his Highness hath resolved, that he shall resort to the very places where the said insurrection began, and as well punish the beginners, as those that gave any aid, counsel, or special favour to the rebels, though they never stirred."—"When I had written this letter hitherto, arrived here a new post; upon the knowledge whereof, I went up to the King's chamber to learn the news. And there the King's Highness told me, that the letters arrived by the said post, contained matter much variable from the other. The particularity he declared not, but said, in general words, they wrote, now, of *marvellous numbers* of men; and thereupon willed me, in any wise, to despatch a post unto you, and to desire your Lordship, on his behalf, to be here with his Grace to-morrow, as soon as you could; so that I perceived he would have you here, at the farthest, by 8 or 9 of the clock. His Grace requireth you, also, to bring with you the letters, sent unto your Lordship last, from Maister Gostyk, which I sent unto you this day, writing upon them, 'in haste, haste, post.' I doubt not but they be come to your Lordship's hands.—From Windsor, this Tuesday night at ten of the clock."¹³¹

Next day, Wednesday the 18th, Wriothsley began to think, as well

¹²⁷ *Wolman*, the Dean of Wells; *Bell*, one of the King's Chaplains, and Bishop of Worcester in 1539; and *Knight*, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

¹²⁸ The Dean of St. Stephen's, and Lupton, Provost of Eton and Canon of Windsor.

¹²⁹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 472.

¹³⁰ Idem. p. 478.

¹³¹ Idem. p. 480.

he might, that all this turmoil was bordering upon the ludicrous—but there was to be no smile on Henry's countenance for some time to come, nor any ease for my Lord Privy Seal. This was a holiday—that of Luke the Evangelist—and Crumwell was bent on keeping it in his own way. He therefore sent Gostyk's letters, and one from himself, to be at Windsor by the hour he was expected. The King was not disappointed, but it was because of the way the *holiday* was to be employed; for it certainly was a busy day to his Majesty, as well as his Minister; and Wriothsley must send off *three* different letters into town.

"Having this morning received your letters, immediately I went to the King's chamber, and because his Grace was not ready, sent in the very letters unto him. His Grace giveth unto you most hearty thanks, but also that your considerations, for your 'demore' at home, this holy day, be so necessary, that his Highness is well contented, and thinketh it very necessary you should so do, *specially for the getting in as much money as could be gotten, and the sending forth of the same*—requiring you, nevertheless, to be here with his Grace tomorrow, in the morning. And, I assure you, I see not here any such cause, as should make this great *kobleshof*." So at least he thought at the moment, but after another half page, he changes his tone.—"After the writing hereof, arrived letters from my Lord of Suffolk, &c., declaring this matter of Yorkshire to be marvellous; all the shire in manner up, as they write, and messages from them of Lincolnshire to the other, so that the sequel is much feared. Whereupon his Majesty called me alone to him, and commanded me, with all possible speed, to advertise your Lordship, that he doth most instantly desire you, with all speed possible, to despatch, at the least, to Master Gostyk, 20,000 merks; which for my Lord Steward, &c., will serve but for one month's wages; and his Grace also desireth you to despatch a convenient sum to my Lord of Suffolk.

"His Highness desireth you now, to assay what may be borrowed in his name, and with all men to shift to all your possible power; so that he might, besides these sums, have a convenient furniture, whatsoever shall happen. *And rather than to want, his Grace's pleasure is, you shall go to the jewel-house in the Tower, and there take as much plate, as you shall think his Grace shall not necessarily occupy, and put it straight to coining.* His Majesty appeareth to fear much this matter, specially if he should want money; for in the Lord Darcy, his Grace told me, he had no great trust,—and his Grace would have this matter for money well followed, for *there resteth, with you, all our hope.*"¹³²

To this letter of the morning, Crumwell replies immediately, that he had got together £10,000; and Wriothsley answers that £3000 must be sent to Suffolk, and £7000 to the Lord Steward Shrewsbury; but such was now the emotion of Henry, that he must pen and despatch another letter, ordering the money to be sent off that night. These letters, too, were superscribed by the Secretary—"in haste, haste, post, for thy life!"

Next day, the Lord Privy Seal got out to Windsor, but he could remain with the King only a very short time; for Wriothsley, the Secretary, is writing to him in the same strain, on Sunday and Monday fol-

lowing ; and money still continues to be the burden of the song. Crumwell had written on Monday, and Wriothsley says that same day, in reply—

“ And, first, for your proceedings, his Grace took them in most thankful part, and willed me to signify, that he liketh both the order thereof, and the thing's self exceeding well. Second, his Grace, likewise, thanketh you for your remembrance touching the PRIESTS : (for money) I perceive well he would not have *them* forgotten. Thirdly, for *my Lord of Wiltshire*, he is very glad you remembered him, and also that you wrote for so good a sum !”¹³³

Henry had now, in some degree, recovered from his severe panic, though he continued but ill at ease till the rebellion was crushed. The rising in Lincolnshire had amounted to about twenty thousand ; but this, in the north, extended to more than double that number in the field, besides many others equally disaffected, while the Lord Steward had only about five thousand troops. But by the intrepidity of Shrewsbury, the vigilance of Norfolk, and sagacity of Suffolk, the King's forces stood their ground. They avoided any general engagement, and, by skilful delays, bringing the enemy into distress for supplies, they at last prevailed. The country was quieted by the month of January. Lords Darcy and Hussey, Robert Aske, and a number of others, were executed ; and this commotion will not fail to be improved for the farther demolition of Abbeys. After a year which had commenced and concluded without leaving one subject for pleasing reflection ; if there be another department of English history worthy of recollection, how much more so, when now reviewed.

The confusion and the cruelty which had prevailed throughout the King's own affairs, followed by the dissensions in his kingdom to the end of the year, have now passed before us. And when it is remembered that, as yet, not even one official man had openly pronounced the name of Tyndale, but with disapprobation, if not contempt ; nay, that in the hatred so long cherished and expressed by these officials we discover no abatement ; it must now certainly appear the more striking, that the cause for which he lived, and had now been put to death, had never before exhibited a year so prosperous. Our Translator, whom we have followed from his cradle to the fiery stake, has been taken to a better world ; and it was only in appropriate harmony with all the past, that the year in which

¹³³ We have already alluded to this mean transaction, (see page 482,) in Crumwell, borrowing money from his predecessor, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Henry's repartee, on being informed ; the man who had, only five months before, put his *son* and *daughter* to death. By his reply, Wiltshire might have struck the King dumb, as the Earl of Bedford once did James II.—“ Please your Majesty, I am an old man, and can do but little ; I had *once a son*, that could now have been very serviceable to your Majesty.” But neither the King nor Crumwell would have so excused him. His money now, was but the prelude to his *castle* afterwards!

he sealed his testimony with his blood, should stand distinguished above all that had preceded. Events of but inferior importance to us now, though all-engrossing at the moment, have first been glanced at; but mainly for the sake of placing them in contrast with the only department worthy of special remembrance. While men of name and office, or authority, in England, and throughout the whole twelve months, were only groping their way out of darkness; one division driven to desperation, and the other bound by the miserable doctrine of expediency, or abject submission to their Royal master's will; no sooner do we turn to that separate or providential undertaking, which has been ever on the advance, than it seems as if there had been actually no turmoil, no interruption of tranquillity whatever. The storm has changed into a calm; and we are now left as calmly to survey what had been accomplished.

It was the year of the Translator's martyrdom, but was there to be no demand for the work of his hands? Was truth to be silent or suppressed, because folly frowned? So far from this, though the two last years had been more highly distinguished than ever, for the number of editions, the present year exceeded them both put together. Or, to speak more generally and from the beginning: from the year 1525 to 1530 there had been at least six impressions, which, on an average, was more than one edition annually; since then there had been seven if not eight editions, which was equal to two every year; but in this one year, or the last of the Translator's life, there were nine if not ten editions from the press. One gentleman, deeply conversant with the subject, does not despair of his being able to make out the round dozen.

Once more, therefore, and for the third time, these volumes come before us in contrast to all the mere confabulations of the Convocation men. They had met again, as if resolved to force themselves upon the notice of every future historian, and we have already seen them striving to settle matters of high behest; but to the highest of all, or the Sacred Volume itself, we are here confined; and, now that Tyndale is gone, it seems to be due to his proceedings, to glance at what these men had as yet said; for there had been *nothing done*, as Latimer, with such pungent or galling frequency, had thundered in their ear.

In the close of 1534, or eighteen months ago, these men had petitioned in the following terms,—“That his Majesty would *vouchsafe to decree!* that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by *some* honest and learned men to be nominated by the King;” and now, once more, after having completely failed among themselves, nay fighting with each other over the Sacred Record, here they are, professedly, a second time petitioning the King. And what is the language they now employ? They petition, “That the King would *graciously indulge* unto his subjects of the laity the *reading* of the Bible in the English tongue;” though, as yet, according to their own showing, there was *no* Bible to read; and the Bishop of London has not only returned the portion of Scripture, with contempt, which has been assigned to him for revision, but he has declared that he will be no party in leading the people into *error* by giving them the Scriptures! Still, however, and as a Convocation, they go on, and now petition, “That a *new* translation might be forthwith made for that end and purpose;” that is, that the *laity*, under the *gracious indulgence* of Henry the Eighth, might read the Bible! But a *new* translation of it! Had these terms escaped from them unwittingly? Were they a tacit admission, or confession, that one had been made already? Were they now saying that the New Testament, which was to be England’s and Scotland’s own book, long after they were in their graves, was of no esteem in their eyes? Or that the volume, they had openly denounced and burnt so long, was now to be consigned to oblivion? Was this a frown upon Coverdale’s new-born attempt, of which they may have only just heard? But especially, and certainly, upon Tyndale’s numerous editions, which had now driven them to such perplexity? So it seemed to Lewis, above a century ago. “By this,” said he, “it appears that the clergy did not approve of the translation already made by Tyndale and (or) Coverdale, and that their attempt which they made two years (eighteen months) ago, to have the royal permission to make a new one, did not succeed.” True, and we have read the history of its failure; but certainly if Cranmer had been a tool as deep and dexterous as any one man within the Convocation, he could not have contrived to place himself and his brethren before posterity, in a light or posture so little to be envied.

All this, however, only lends additional interest to the volumes, which, throughout the whole year, had been issuing from the press, and coming into England, “thick and three-fold,” without the “gracious indulgence” of his Majesty being either asked or granted. Of these New Testaments three separate and entirely distinct editions were in *quarto*. Of the duodecimo or small octavo size we know of five editions; and though in these pages we adhere to those books only which

have been verified, we may add that another edition, if not two, may yet be ascertained to exist. All these editions, with the exception of one, had been printed abroad in Antwerp; but that one, in several respects, may be considered as equal in importance to all the others. The size of the book, *in folio*; the season of its publication, *the present year*; but above all, the printer and the place, *his Majesty's own patent printer, in London*; all conspire to render the volume even still a mystery. It comes before us, unaccountably, as the top-stone of this hazardous but successful enterprise; brought into view, also, about the very time when our Translator was breathing his last, or consuming to ashes at Vilvorde. Some account of it, in particular, must not be withheld.

“The Newe testament yet ones agayne corrected by W. Tyndale: And in many places amēded, where it seaped before by neglygence of the printer. Also a Kalender, and a necessary table, wherin easely and lightly may be founde any story cōteyned in y^e foure Euangelystes, and in the Actes of y^e apostels. Also before every pystel of S. Paul, is a prologue, very frutefull to y^e reder. And after y^e newe testament, foloweth the Epistels of y^e olde testament. Newly printed (by Tho. Berthelet) in the yere of our lorde MDXXXVI.—in the compartment of *the boys in triumph*, and with a small medallion of a head laureated, supported by sphynxes; peculiar to this printing press.

Collation. Prefixes, viz. Almanake for 23 years—Kalender—W. T. to the Christen Reder—a prologue into the four Euangelystes—the Offyce of all Estates, and the Bokes conteyned in the Newe Testament: 14 leaves. The Newe Testament contains folio excvii, but the folios run on to ccv.; then the table of the Epistles and the Gospels, in double columns, &c. But at the end we have the following distinguishing mark—“GOD SAUE THE KYNGE, AND ALL HIS WELL-WYLLERS.” Words which may have been actually printing, and in London too, not far from the hour when the Translator himself, the most eminent *well-willer* the King ever had, was praying for him, and passing into heaven.

Of this rare volume, a copy now lies before the writer. Very correctly printed, it is, perhaps, the first to be distinguished throughout for one peculiarity in its orthography, viz. the Anglo-saxon particule of negation, *nat* for not, and *natwithstanding*; which was occasionally adopted after this, as in the Latin and English edition of Redman, 1538, and of Powell, in 1547 and 1549. In all other respects, the book is an exact reprint of Tyndale's corrected edition in 1534, having his name on the title page, and his long prologue to the Romans, which, by itself, had been so often and so long condemned!

The name of Thomas Berthelet as printer, it is true, is not

mentioned, whether out of delicacy to the Bishops and their adherents, we cannot tell; but Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin, agree in ascribing the book to his press. It is known, indeed, by the type, and the ornamental title of the boys in triumph.¹³⁴ In the Harleian Library there were two copies of this edition, one of them bound in red morocco, finely ornamented with gold.¹³⁵ It is probably one of these which is now in the Bodleian at Oxford. But at such a season as this, in this style, and by the King's printer, the book, we repeat, is a mystery still. Must it not have been got up under favour of the late Queen? Such a supposition is only in harmony with her letter to Crunwell, on behalf of Mr. Harman, and with Henry's printer being the man employed. But, at all events, such was *the first Sacred Volume printed on English ground*.¹³⁶

We, of course, cannot be supposed to have attached any

¹³⁴ In Herbert's Ames, this notable book, by Berthelet, stands in strange juxtaposition with two previous articles, printed by the same man. "A proclamation to avoid and abolish such English books as contain pernicious and detestable errors and heresies; made the 8th day of July, 28 of Henry VIII., or 1536. And a Proclamation for calling in diverse books, and especially one, comprising a Sermon made by John Fisher, late Bishop of Rochester, &c. T. Berthelet excudebat.

By some writers this Berthelet has been mentioned as having been Cranmer's Secretary; but this is certainly a mistake. Berthelet was the *first* who sustained the office of King's printer, as appointed by Henry VIII., and the *second* man in England having this title. His predecessor, Richard Pynson, appointed by Henry VII., seems not to have had any patent; but Berthelet's, the first in existence, is dated 22d Feb. 1530, and the Statutes, his first publication with a *date*, being finished before the 25th of March, bears the year 1529. He had been printing before this, and continued to do so till his death in 1555. It was not that he cared for the SCRIPTURES; so that he must have printed the *New Testament* at the instigation of others, who had employed him; and his daring to do so, we can ascribe to no other or *inferior* influence than that of the Queen. In 1530 he had printed, officially, the proclamation *prohibiting* the having of Holy Scripture translated into the vulgar tongues of English, French and Dutch," that is the German. And in 1546, ten years after this, he printed the proclamation which denounced "*the Testament of Tyndale, and all his writings!*" Proclamations, however, which were all in vain; though these circumstances only render this folio New Testament the more remarkable.

Thomas Berthelet, who, from 1533 to 1535, was Secretary to Cranmer, might be a son or relative, but not the printer, as appears from Cranmer's letter to Crunwell, 1st March 1535.—"For the honesty and service of my servant, Thomas Barthelet, I do tender his preferment, and cannot as I would gladly do for him, unless he were disposed to be a *secular*, which, as I perceive, he intendeth not. I therefore commend and present him unto you, with no less good heart and mind than *ye presented him to me*, and for my sake to set him to such beneficial exercise, as ye shall think meet for him."—*Harl. MS.*, 6148, fol. 49. Accordingly, as a public notary, he was employed by Crunwell in 1536, with Layton, Bedel, and others, in visiting monasteries. There was a John Barthelet also so engaged.

¹³⁵ Harl. Cat., vol. i., Nos. 156, 157.

¹³⁶ A *Manner of Devotions* is said to have been presented by Aune Boleyn to her maids of honour. *If so*, then *this folio New Testament* gives the surest ground for the notable expressions contained in it. "Grant us, most merciful Father, this one of the greatest gifts that ever thou gavest to mankind, *the knowledge of thy holy will and glad tidings of our salvation*; this great while oppressed with the tyranny of thy adversary of Rome, and his fautors, and kept close under his *Latin* letters; and now at length promulgate, *published*, and set at liberty, by the grace poured into the heart of thy supreme power, *our Prince*, as all King's hearts be in thy hand." Lewis has quoted this in connexion with Coverdale's Bible; but that book could not have been presented to Henry before the influence of Queen Anne was entirely gone. The Testament, on the other hand, as printed in London, may have commenced at press in the close of 1535, while all the while, in 1536, Berthelet went on!

essential influence to the late Queen. But, in conclusion of this year, it ought to be remembered, that as she was now gone, and her influence at Court, whatever was its amount, had died with her; this will now render the future overruling of the King and his adherents, or of all surviving parties, only the more obvious and distinct.

In Bunyan's immortal story of "the Holy War" when ear-gate was once broken up, and its bolts and bars shivered into a thousand pieces, Emmanuel himself came forward, and set his throne in it; the weapons of war were then carried within the walls, to be employed on the citadel of the heart. So, in this long and arduous contest, Wolsey and Warham, Fisher and More, with many other opponents, were now gone; but if printers within the shores of England, and near to Henry's own person, have begun thus to act, what will signify all his proclamations, or the wrath of all his official men? In truth, the day was nearly won. The printing press abroad was now busy, in a style quite unprecedented; and next year, though quite unforeseen by the King, or Crumwell, or Cranmer, the victory will be complete! They had no idea whatever, of what was awaiting them, only eight months hence.

SECTION XIV.

MEMORABLE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENTIRE SACRED VOLUME—MYLES COVERDALE—HIS CIRCUMSTANCES COMPARED WITH TYNDALE'S—COVERDALE'S TEMPORARY SUCCESS—THE REMARKABLY SUDDEN CHANGE—TYNDALE'S BIBLE—STATE OF ENGLAND BEFORE ITS INTRODUCTION—CRANMER'S PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENTS—TYNDALE'S BIBLE ARRIVED—IMMEDIATELY RECEIVED—MUST BE BOUGHT AND READ—THE KING AGREES—THIS AT FIRST SEEMS TO BE INCREDIBLE—GRAFTON THE PROPRIETOR—ALL PARTIES OVERRULED—DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE BIBLE REJECTED AND THE BIBLE RECEIVED—CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF TRIUMPH.

WITH regard to the highest favour ever bestowed upon this kingdom, there are no years so marked and memorable as those of 1526 and 1537. The former, distinguished by the arrival and introduction of the New Testament Scriptures, printed in the native tongue; the latter, by that of the entire

Sacred Volume. The former, in defiance of all the authorities ; the latter, with the immediate concurrence of the King and his best advisers. The former came as Tyndale's first effort ; the latter arrived as the distinct and appropriate tribute to his memory ; both alike being foreign printed books.

It was now above fourteen years since the design had been first formed. Up to this period, there had been more than *ten* years of hard fighting, in single combat, with the nation entire, from its monarch downwards ; but more than *twenty* editions of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had passed through the press. They had gone into a thousand unknown channels ; deep, nay, indelible was the impression already made upon many minds. Latimer has informed the Convocation of his brethren, that among the *people* there were "many children of light ;" and Fox has told them, that "the lay people knew the Holy Scriptures better than many of themselves ;" but it was time that the King and all around him should be overruled. The day drew near, though they knew not of it. The Translator was gone, it is true, but his translations were safe ; and not only in safe keeping, but in the press. The volume must have been preparing before he was consumed to ashes. But, at all events, the Scriptures entire, from Genesis to Revelation, will now be introduced ; and his Majesty, however incensed before, or armed with power and pride still, must at once bow in assent, and all other men proceed, as it had been appointed they should. The opposition hitherto had been both loud and long ; but when once the day for the arrival of the Scriptures comes, not a man must move his tongue against them.

We have heard already of one translation of the Bible by Coverdale ; but the death of Queen Anne had retarded its appearance in England. Henry had married Jane Seymour, after which the name of her predecessor here inserted, was no passport to royal favour. Some time, however, having once elapsed, although there be no positive proof of this book having ever been laid before the King, what is curious enough, a *reprint* of it had obtained favour in his eye ; so that we are now prepared for a comparison of Coverdale's Bible, with that of Tyndale, edited by his surviving devoted friend John Rogers, under the name of Thomas Matthew, and imported this year.

It is remarkable that such obscurity should have rested on the origin of our two first Translators of the Scriptures; though that which still prevails over the very name and parentage of Coverdale, be by far the greatest. No such surname being certainly known to exist, in the person of any other man, it has been supposed to have been taken or given, as in foreign countries, from the district in Yorkshire where he was born. The parish or township of Coverham, near Middleham, in the North Riding of that county, claims him for a native. Burnet strangely imagined him to be a foreigner, and native of Denmark. Into this mistake he may have been led, from Coverdale having afterwards married abroad, though this was to a lady of Scotch extraction, Elizabeth Macheson; a circumstance which we shall find proved of great value to him, in the reign of Queen Mary. The surname itself being so unknown, if Lewis be correct in saying that one of this name took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge, A.D. 1531, it could scarcely apply to any other than the future Translator; and it seems no unsuitable introduction to his engagements from that very time. According to Godwin, he received a doctor's degree from Tubingen, and, though late in life, was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge, but no dates are mentioned.

The origin and progress of Coverdale's translation have remained in equal obscurity; and hence the extremely different opinions which have been hazarded as to the length of time he occupied in preparing for the press, or in printing it after it was ready.

Upon a marble tablet erected to his memory in 1537, by the parishioners of St. Magnus in London, where, in the close of his long career, he used to preach, they have engraved, that he "spent *many* years of his life in preparing a translation of the Scriptures;" and they add—"On the 4th of October MDCXXXV. the first complete English printed version of the Bible was *published* under his direction." With regard to its appearance in England, however, the reader is already able to judge more correctly; for it does not follow, because the last sheet was committed to the press, in a foreign land, on the day mentioned, that the book was then published.

On the other hand, more recently, in "a historical account of the English versions of the Scriptures," we have been told that instead of "many years," this translation of the entire Bible "could not have commenced before November 1534, and, probably, it was not until the following month! Thus, the longest time that Coverdale could have had for the completion, both of the translation and of the printing, was *eleven months*; and if this work did, in any way, result from the resolutions of the Convocation, 19th December 1534, then the

whole was executed in the short space of *nine months and a half!* The time when he began was certainly not previous to November 1534."¹

If Coverdale had overtaken a translation of the entire Sacred Volume in the space of two years, or even three, and employed nearly another in printing it, when the time in which he lived is considered, it will be allowed by all who are competent to judge, that he must have been very busily occupied. And if it shall turn out that he was not only unmolested, but fostered in his undertaking, this he may have accomplished. Extreme opinions, so wild or wide of the truth, whether on marble or in print, need not be refuted; though they show the necessity for some more feasible and distinct account, if any evidence can be found.

We have heard of Coverdale before, again and again; though to those who have ever paid any attention to the subject, by this time it may have appeared extraordinary, that we should seem to have either forgotten him, or omitted frequent mention of his name. But the truth is, that we have searched for him all along, and yet, upon the broad surface of all these manuscripts, with the exception of one significant letter, we have not found a single intelligible allusion, since after meeting with him in Hamburgh, according to Foxe.² We supposed that he had then returned again into England. This he certainly did, granting our old historian to be correct in thus sending him abroad; for the whole story rests upon his sole authority. But this was above six years ago. Amidst this unbroken silence, however, we have this epistle from Coverdale himself, and but one, which has effectually prevented him from being forgotten. It would scarcely have been intelligible much before the present year, when, wherever he had been, we find him, for the first time, and then certainly upon English ground.

Before giving this letter, however, there is one notable circumstance, connected with Coverdale's name, which has never been pointed out, not the least curious in the history of these stormy times. The reader need not here be told, that a searching controversial war had been going on in England for years, or that the man who enjoyed the melancholy eminence of being the grand opponent to the new learning, was Sir

¹ The italics are not ours.

² In the end of 1529, and beginning of 1530. See page 249.

Thomas More. But it so happened, that in opposing the translation of the Scriptures, and their introduction into his native land, it was a main point with the Lord Chancellor to report *names*; and this he did, not only with accuracy, but emphasis. Hence, not only is *Tyndale* named, times out of number, and *Fryth* very frequently; but we have “*Friar Barnes*, sometime doctor in Cambridge;” “*Friar Hoyer*, the apostate;” “*George Constantyne*;” “*George Joye*, otherwise called *Clarke*;” “*Richard Bayfield*, both a priest and a monk;” “*Thomas Bilney*;” “*John Tewksbury*;” “*Thomas Hytton*;” “*John Byrte*, otherwise calling himself *Adrian*, otherwise *John Bookbinder*, and yet otherwise I cannot tell what.” In short, *names* were, in the Chancellor’s esteem, of first-rate importance in the controversy; and, therefore, not only the Translator himself, by way of eminence, but all the subordinate agents, who, in the humblest manner, aided in the importation of his translation, or even read it, were held up to reprobation, or to the terror of all England. What, then, had become of Coverdale? Why was *he* not treated with derision as well as *Tyndale*? How is it, that in the wide compass of More’s voluminous controversy, the name of Coverdale is not exposed as that of a delinquent, nay, never *once* mentioned? Was he not engaged; must he not have been busily at work somewhere, at the same time that Sir Thomas More was so busy in ferreting out, and naming, every suspected individual? We have seen Coverdale make one narrow escape. His *name*, in 1528, when so many men were punished, had been very distinctly held up before Tunstal, as a noted delinquent. He had been preaching; he, as well as *Barnes*, had approved of *Tyndale’s* New Testament, and of its dispersion; but we then quoted his own letter to *Crumwell*, in August 1527, as accounting fully for his safety, and his being then passed over in silence. But if since that period, and more especially at the very season when Sir Thomas was continuing to write so furiously against *Tyndale’s* version, and all who dared to read it, Coverdale has been engaged in translating; and if by the close of 1535, he has finished at press an impression of the English Bible, he must have been employed upon it for a considerable time. There can be now no doubt that he was, and as little, that Sir Thomas More had been perfectly aware of his occupation; though his sim-

gular silence, maintained throughout, must have always remained a riddle, not to be solved, but for this one solitary letter from Coverdale's own pen, which has never been printed till within these few years. It is addressed to Crumwell—

“Most singular good Master—With due humility, I beseech unto your Mastership all godly comfort, grace, and prosperous health. For so much as your goodness is so great toward me, your poor child,³ only through the plenteousness of your favour and benevolence, I am the bolder of your goodness, in this my rude style, if it like your favour, to revocate to your memory the *godly* communication which your Mastership had with me, your orator, in *Master Moor's* house in Easter Eve, amongst many and divers fruitful exhortations, specially of your singular favour, and by your most comfortable words, I perceive your gracious mind *towards* me.

“Wherefore, most honourable Master, for the tender love of God, and for the fervent zeal that you have to virtue and godly study, *cordis genibus prorolutus*, I humbly desire and beseech your goodness, of your gracious help. Now I begin to taste of Holy Scriptures; now, honour be to God, I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain, without diversity of books, as is *not unknown* to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire, but *books* as concerning my learning. *They* once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me, which He, of his most plentiful favour and grace, hath begun. Moreover, as touching my behaviour, *your Mastership's mind once known*, with all lowliness I offer myself, not only to be ordered in all things, as shall please your wisdom, but also as concerning the education and instruction of others, alonly to ensue your prudent counsel; ‘nam,’ &c.;⁴ for whatever of counsel is in thee, there is nothing which is not *politic*, nothing not divine; verily, whatever you do, you do nothing unadvisedly, never vaunting yourself the first philosopher: but of the dew of heaven, (in the manner of Jacob,) you have stolen away the chief blessing. Out of that mighty stream of yours, I greatly desire to drink, because, in your presence, I wish to speak not after an ordinary manner. Farewell, thou ornament of learning, of councils, and, in fine, of every virtue!—From the Augustine's, this May-day—Your child and beedman in Jesu Christ, FRERE MYLES COV'DALE.

“*Unto the right worshipful, and his most singular good Master, Master Crumwell, this be delivered with due manner.*”⁵

This document is important in several respects; and though the year in which it was written be not marked, the style proves that Crumwell had already much in his power, and

³ The term *child*, as here and again employed, is, of course, not intended to mark any inferiority in point of age—but to denote humble courtesy. Coverdale was born in the year 1488.

⁴ This he must give in Latin—“*Nam quicquid est in te concilii, nihil non politicum, nihil non divinum est; quicquid enim agis, nihil inconsulte agis, nusquam te primum philosophum predes. De rore autem celi summam (more Jacob) surrepuisti benedictionem. De tuo ipso torrente maximo potari exopto, te quia coram alloqui non mediocriter cupio. Vale, decus literarum, conciliorum, omnium denique probitatum.*” He subscribes himself still a *Friar*, and is mindful of Wolsey's *rule*. See the note under Coverdale's letter of August 1527, p. 186.

⁵ MS. Crumwell's Correspondence in the State Paper Office; and see *Gov. State Papers*, I., p. 383.

that, therefore, he must have been engaged officially near the King. His Majesty's Commissioners in our day, who first printed the letter, in 1830, have said—"From the superscription it was clearly before Crumwell became Secretary of State, probably before he was of the Privy Council," and they have dated it 1st May 1532. But the "superscription" is literally the same which Vaughan and others employed, when addressing Crumwell in 1531;⁶ and as time must be allowed for Coverdale to complete his translation, we are inclined to think that the letter may have been written on May-day 1531. In May 1530, the Bishops and Sir Thomas More were mad to fury against Tyndale, but by the next year, his influence being more powerful than ever, Crumwell may have felt that something must be attempted.⁷

As for the gentleman, in whose house Crumwell and Coverdale had conversed, Master *Moor*, there can be little hesitation. The name of Sir Thomas was then often so spelt, and it is well known, that, at that period, in familiar correspondence, titles were frequently dropt. Master *Moor's* name occurs in the letter of 1527, as well as in the present.⁸

The *style* of this epistle, may have amused the reader, since adulation could scarcely farther go. This was the foible of the age; though, at the same time, it forcibly explains to us, the only course which Coverdale imagined *he* could pursue. He felt that he must have a Patron, and posterity has now the advantage of seeing, in the two cases of Tyndale and

⁶ Crumwell was certainly a Privy Counsellor in 1531, if not earlier, see p. 225; though not Secretary of State till 1534.

⁷ Among too many other mistakes, a most unceremonious freedom is used with this date of the Government Commissioners, in a recent anonymous publication, entitled, "Memorials of Myles Coverdale," 8vo, London, 1836. "The date there," says the author, "is wrongly assigned to 1531;" misquoting the Commissioners, who say 1532. But then he tells us, that this letter "it is *most* probable was written before 1514! Because, in that year, Tanner says that Coverdale took orders at Norwich before John Bishop of Chalcedon." What help or hope he could have by applying to Crumwell *then*, it is indeed hard to say; for where was Crumwell to be found before 1514? Four years before, according to the popular story, he had been trying to soothe the sweet tooth of Julius II. at Rome, by some dainty *jellies*, made after the English fashion; and after that, he is understood to have been a soldier-adventurer, when, of course, he had but little to spare. But the first historical notice of Crumwell on English ground, then in a humble capacity as confidential servant to the Marchioness of Dorset, is placed by Sir H. Ellis, in 1523.—*Letters*, i., p. 219. At last he got into Wolsey's good graces; but assuredly he was never there addressed as "the ornament of councils." In 1526, we have already seen Coverdale in the Monastery at Cambridge with Barnes, then coming up to London with him; and two years afterwards, in no small danger of apprehension. See p. 136. But now, the *books* he wanted were evidently for a *specific* design, in which he was eager to engage, after the *godly* communication held with him, in Master Moor's house.

⁸ John Foxe, Tyndale, and others, meant nothing discourteous when referring to him as Maister More.

Coverdale, whether, in translating the Sacred Volume, a man succeeds best, *with* or *without* one. Coverdale was afterwards of great value; but as soon as he appears, when compared with Tyndale, we have no choice, but are obliged to discriminate. They were men evidently cast in two different moulds. The former never could have adopted such a style of address to any man, whether in or out of power. Once in his life, indeed, we have seen Tyndale approach Sir Henry Guilford, with the translation of a Greek Ode, as a specimen of his scholarship, and he advised him to apply to Tunstal; but being civilly enough refused, this at once opened his eyes, so that, from that moment he looked up to God alone, and went on his way. "God," said he, seven years afterwards, "who knoweth what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that *that* counsel was not the next way to my purpose, and, therefore, He gat me no favour in my lord's sight."

After such a letter, and "books once had," it is natural to suppose that Coverdale lost no time. He had been set to "the smell of holy letters" by no common Patron—a man rising into great power; though the spot to which this second translator retired, has never yet been ascertained. But wherever it was, there he sat down, and amidst all the war's tumultuous noise, as well as shielded from the keen arrows of the Lord Chancellor of England, he was left, like Luther on his mountain ground at Wartburg, to pursue the even tenor of his way. How striking is the contrast, when we turn for a moment to the situation of Tyndale, whether in 1531 or 1532? Having had no fixed abode, no certain dwelling place, but under the pelting of a pitiless storm, by May 1531, for more than seven long years, he had already been doing his best for England. As far as reproach, denunciation, and persecution, could go, it might be said, "with many an arrow, deep infix'd, his panting side was charged."—"As I now am," said he to Vaughan, in April of that year, "very death were more pleasant to me than life;" and if the reader will only glance over that stern and strange letter of this same man, Cromwell, he will be better able to judge of the contrast.⁹ Or let the date given in the Government State Papers turn out to

⁹ In May 1531. See page 275.

be the correct one ; then, at that moment, Sir Thomas Elyot had been charged by Henry VIII. to seize Tyndale, if he could ; at home, the Bishops were tormenting Latimer, and burning Mr. Bainham ; and as Coverdale dates his letter from *St. Augustine's*, he could scarcely miss hearing that gentleman, with Tyndale's Testament in his hand, address the Congregation *there*, as he did, with tears ! At all events, if that letter was written on May-day 1532, Bainham had been consumed to ashes in Smithfield, that very morning.¹⁰

If, however, we now assume the latest date, or that of the Government Commissioners, to be the true time, it is evident Coverdale had quite enough to do for fully two years to come, in bringing his manuscript of the entire Scriptures into such a state, as that he could please his employers, with regard to any word or any rendering contained in it.

According to his own expression, he was then ready to *set forth* this special translation. In other words, he was then ready for the press.¹¹ Nor is the time unworthy of notice. It will be remembered that by May in that year, Crumwell had been appointed Secretary of State, and that his influence was rising rapidly to its great height. He had, therefore, much more in his power, while Coverdale, as we have seen for years past, was at his disposal, or entirely subservient to his will. Now, it was the *New Testament*, all along, of which the authorities had been most afraid ; the systematic alteration of certain words in it, might be regarded as likely to allay their apprehensions, and could be very easily done, before the manuscript was committed to the press.¹² At all events, Coverdale was then ready to "set forth" his translation, "according as he was *desired*;" and the letter just quoted, indeed, is chiefly valuable as a key to certain expressions to be found in the preliminary matter affixed to the Bible of

¹⁰ See page 333.

¹¹ To *set forth*, was Coverdale's phrase for *printing*, as in his next letter ; and thus much seems to be implied in what he afterwards said in his Apology to the Reader, before his own second edition of his Bible in 1550. "For the which cause (*accordyng as I was dysyred*,) anno 1534, I toke the more upon me to set forth this special translacyon," &c. The same words he had printed before, in his first edition ; but here he inserts the year in which he was "desired to *set it forth*." To suppose that he *then* only *BEGAN* to translate from Genesis to Revelation, as already noticed, p. 553, would be to impose a task which neither Coverdale, nor any other man, was able to accomplish, not only in his early day, but even in our own.

¹² One of those terms was *Penance* ; a word for which all the leading adherents of the old learning entertained a decided preference. Fuller, the historian, was so unmerciful, or uncharitable, as to insinuate somewhere, that this was owing to one circumstance—that *Penance kept their Kitchen*.

1535. No fault can ever be found with Coverdale's amiable temper as a man, while his expressed humility as a scholar shines pre-eminent. Among his contemporaries he must ever be ranked very high. As a translator he did well; and had he not been encumbered with patronage, he would have done far better. We must, however, take the work as it came from his hands, and can now judge of it only by its merits.

But if the situation of the two men has furnished one contrast, the *origin* of the two translations presents another, not less worthy of remembrance. The *origin* of Tyndale's, must ever be traced to his own bosom and conscience alone. Before leaving England, we have supposed that he might have said,—“The word of the Lord was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay;” nay, and with the prophet of old, he might have added—“All my familiars watched for my halting; saying, peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take revenge upon him.” With Coverdale, it was far otherwise. It was an undertaking, no doubt, congenial with his taste; but, left to himself, if we are to believe his *own* words, he never would have attempted it. In his prologue “to the Christian reader,” he styles his work a “special translation,” because he proceeded *as he was desired* under authority. “But, to say the truth before God, it was neither *my labour, nor my desire to have this work put into my hands*; nevertheless, when I was *instantly required*, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will.”

Then, again, as to the *expense* of this undertaking, Coverdale was patronised. In Tyndale's case, under the influence of the power of Christianity and the noblest patriotism, the whole commenced at his own risk; and purely for his country's benefit, we have seen him, again and again, embarrassed in more ways than one. But Coverdale had no risk whatever to run. He was *employed*, and, whether he was to succeed or not, the work was to involve him in no expense whatever. He spake as he felt at the moment, and it was intended, no doubt, as a *hint* to the King; but certainly it was by far too bold to say, that “he trusted, that God would bring his simple and rude labour to good effect, seeing that others had been *moved by the Holy Ghost* to undertake the *cost* of it.” The

glaring truth was, that the community at large had been even by *that* time happily brought into such a state, by manifold editions of Tyndale's translation, that the patrons of Coverdale were *moved* by no higher feeling than that of imperative expediency; and this feeling forms decidedly one of the strongest testimonies to the effect and power of Tyndale's exertions.

Having proceeded however to the close, Coverdale had now to approach his Majesty, no doubt under *direction*, that nothing might be wanting to secure acceptance; and therefore he came with the *first* of those dedications, which, to say the least, ought never to have been bound up with the word of the living God.

In the course of his dedication, he compares Henry VIII. to Moses, to David, to Jehosaphat, to Hezekiah, "yea a very Josias;" and as if all this had not been too much, he says—"I thought it my duty, and to belong unto my *allegiance*, when I had translated this Bible, not only to dedicate this translation unto your Highness, but wholly to commit it unto the same: to the intent that if any thing therein be translated amiss, it may stand in your Grace's hands, to *correct it, to amend it, to improve, yea, and CLEAN TO REJECT IT, if your godly wisdom shall think it necessary!*"

In the volume which Coverdale thus presented, were these words, of his own translating,—“He that rebuketh a man, shall find more favour *at the last*, than he that flattereth him;” though certainly, at the moment, it might seem, that under such high patronage, and after incense so dense and abundant as had been offered to his Majesty, he must succeed. And not only succeed, but overshadow the man who had been so signally raised up by God, and who, for twelve years, had been God's own sanctioned instrument, for conveying into Britain His blessed Word. Often have we marked *his* labours, as forming a distinct and independent undertaking, with which Divine providence would not permit mere time-serving men, whoever they were, or worldly politicians, to interfere; but how will it be possible to draw this distinction *now*? And, more especially, as this is only the first of several distinct attempts, to bestow on this country, a translation different from that of the first—the unpatronised Tyndale's!

Yet in serving man only, and in seeking to please him, there are many critical moments, while in serving God, there is not *one*: and, therefore, with regard to this attempt, it so

happened that Coverdale had overshot the mark at a most critical period. This might have well warned any future individual, of the danger connected with such dedications. The last sheet of this Bible having been put to press on the 4th of October 1535, Coverdale had closed the heading, or title, of his dedication to Henry, by imploring the Divine blessing on himself, and his "dearest just wife and most virtuous Princess, *Queen Anne*." Any copy of this book, bound, could not have reached this country before the beginning of 1536, at the soonest. But by February, if not earlier, the very name of Queen Anne, so far from being a passport to royal favour, was fatal to anything, to which it was affixed! Crumwell, too, as we have already seen, had fallen in with the King's barbarous intentions, so that till another Queen arose, in the person of Jane Seymour, the book must have remained unrepresented. After that, it is true, the Convocation assembled in June; but, as a body, they appear to have entertained no favour for the translation, no nor even sympathy for those who, as Coverdale has told us, had been "*moved to pay the cost!*" So far from this, "the Convocation agreed upon the form of a petition to be presented to the King," as already noticed, "That he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a *new* translation of it might be *forthwith* made, for that end and purpose." And, therefore, said Lewis, it appears that the *Clergy* did not approve of the translations already made by Tyndale and Coverdale, and their *own* attempt to have the royal permission to make a new one had *not* succeeded.

Here, however, was a Bible, completely finished by Coverdale, dated in 1535, and before any remarks respecting it, we give the Title and Collation.

"BIBLIA. THE BIBLE, that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe, MDCXXXV." The book is in black letter, printed in double columns, in a foreign secretary-gothic type, with wood-cuts; but the dedication, prologue, and contents of Genesis, are in a different letter. *Collation.* Wood-cut title; dedication to K. HENRY VIII. including his "dearest just wife, and most vertuous prycesse, QUEEN ANNE,"—indicating the powerful influence she possessed in that year, 5 pages. "A prologue to the reader," 6 pages. "The Bokes of the hole Byble," 2 pages. "The contentes of the boke of Genesis," 1 page. "The first booke of Moses," fol. i.—xc.; then a map of the Holy Land. "The second parte of the Olde Testament," Josua to Hester, fol. ii.—cxx. "Job to Solomon's

Balettes," fol. i.—lii. "All the Prophetes in Englishe," fol. ii.—cii. "Apo-cripha," fol. ii.—lxxxiii., falsely numbered lxxxi., a blank leaf. "The Newe Testamente," fol. ii.—exiii. and on the reverse of the last is, "Prynted in the ycare of oure Lorde, M^oXXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October."

The death of Queen Anne in May 1536, having proved fatal to the appearance of this book till after the event, various expedients were then tried to ensure success. "The interval," says Professor Walter, "between the date on the title-page and the actual publication, is clearly marked by a curious alteration in the dedicatory letter to Henry VIII. which contains these words,—'your dearest just wife and most vertuous pryncesse Qu. JAne.' This is not as it was printed; for Anne has been altered into JAne by the pen." Thus indeed it stands in the British Museum copy, but there is great variety as to this appellation. Lambeth Library has one copy with Anne, another with Jane. The Bodleian has Anne. Sion College has Jane, and in some copies the *name* of the Queen had been expunged. None of these expedients, it must be obvious, could possibly meet the case. The preceding phrase was now as inauspicious as that of the Queen's name. The epithet *just*, as intended to mark both Coverdale's and Crumwell's approbation of Henry's *second* Queen, had come too late; and it was more than awkward when applied to the third marriage, as it seemed to say that the question of legitimacy would *never* be laid to rest. Only one other device remained to be tried, which was that of a new title, as if it were a different book; changing the year to the next, or 1536, and leaving out the words "translated *out of Douch and Latyn*," as follow, "BIBLIA. THE BYBLE: that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in Englyshe, M^oXXXVI." But all was yet in vain, and that year expired without leaving one shadow of proof that the book had obtained the royal approbation. In June, the Prelates virtually expressed their dissatisfaction, with all that had yet been done; and we have already seen that there were no injunctions on the subject in 1536.

From all this, it becomes evident, that wherever Coverdale had superintended the press, whether at Zurich, Frankfurt, or Cologne, for they have all been mentioned, in 1536 he must have been in London; and in 1537 we have evidence not only of his occupation and place of abode, but of his long-continued confidential communication with Crumwell. We have never seen him but as his obedient servant for ten years past, or since August 1527. His return to England therefore, and his continued residence in it till next year, being thus ascertained, all such assertions as that "COVERDALE, assisted by Rogers who corrected the

press, revised the whole of Tyndale's work before they reprinted it, not only the published but the unpublished part of it," as Mr. Whittaker had imagined, are now at an end. Coverdale was at home in England, all the time that Rogers was so busy abroad; and from the superior manner in which he executed his task, it is evident that he required no such assistant. The alliance of Coverdale with Tyndale, at any time, is a historical fiction, which must now be discarded. No two undertakings could well be more distinct; though Rogers, it will be evident, had sat in judgment on whatever Coverdale had translated.

With reference, however, to the Bible brought into England in 1536, of Coverdale's qualifications as a Translator from the original, there can be little or rather no question, after what Mr. Whittaker has so ably written respecting his acquaintance with Hebrew; though, at the same time, his leaning to the Vulgate and German versions, has been made equally apparent by Professor Walter; who goes so far as to insist that the version cannot be ranked so high as that of a primary one.¹³ The truth seems to be, that between Coverdale and Crumwell, *expediency* had been far too much consulted in the undertaking throughout. Hence even the first title-page, bearing these words "translated out of *Douche and Latyn*." These terms, as Whittaker had not seen them, he could scarcely believe; adding, "if this be the case, the title-page contains a very great misrepresentation." Hence the withdrawal of the words in 1536 by Coverdale, and this year by Nycolson; to say nothing of the awkward substitute, "translated *in* Englyshe." At the same time, Coverdale himself informs us that he had *five* different translations, both Latin and Dutch, that is German, before him, and "to help him herein;" and though he certainly does not appear to have venerated these "interpreters" as *authority*, he regarded their translations with "gladness," and therefore could not upon all occasions be free from some degree of bias.¹⁴

¹³ See "An historical and critical enquiry into the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, by John W. Whittaker, M.A., 1819;" and Letter to Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, by Henry Walter, B.D., 1823.

¹⁴ The INTERPRETERS themselves, cannot now be positively fixed; but considering the time, the following may have been the *five* referred to.—1. The *Vulgate*, of course. 2. The *Biblia Sacra*, of *Rudolphi*, already mentioned, *note*, p. 167, printed at Cologne in 1527, and again in 1529; for, though unknown to our bibliographers, and though Le Long, who had never seen the first edition, and speaks of the second as so scarce that he could not find it in the Libraries at Paris, it

But we are now advancing into the year 1537, and yet, if there has been any application to the King respecting this Bible, there is no reply. Not a single petition from Crumwell in its favour is to be found. A printer however, and in London itself, now appeared in furtherance of Coverdale's design—James Nycolson in St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark. By this time he had reprinted Coverdale's Bible, with his dedication to the King; and it deserves notice that there were other copies with a different title, *without* the dedication. From the spelling, we presume the latter to have been the first expedient for royal favour; but this is immaterial, for the fact is, that they both succeeded. Both titles bear at the foot of the page these words, "*Set forth with the King's most gracious license.*"

But when, or in what month of 1537, could this have been obtained? There was, as already hinted, no Convocation; but were the Bishops not consulted? It should seem not. Their Vicar-General had thought it unnecessary; for *he* it was who had applied to Henry and obtained his license. Coverdale himself was now in London; and though there be not a word yet found in favour of the first Bible printed in 1535, he now applied earnestly to his old patron, for *farther* favour to Nycolson, whom he was employing as a printer of several smaller things.

"After due consideration to your good Lordship, I heartily and in most humble wise beseech the same, that inasmuch as the King's most excellent Majesty, of his singular grace, (by the means of your good Lordship as God's instrument in that behalf,) *hath* granted unto this bearer, James Nicholson, his gracious license and privilege, for the sale of his Bibles and New Testaments already printed; and forasmuch as his Grace is also informed, and *hath seen* a part of our postil, or ordinary sermons, which the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* hath corrected; your Lordship (according to your most loving and favourable *manner of old*.) will help and further the said James Nicholson, to the King's most gracious privilege for *certain years* to print the same; considering the cost and charge he hath had, not only for drawing of the said sermons out of Scripture, but also in preparing now of his letters and prints for the *setting forth* of the same.¹⁵ This I most humbly require of your Lordship, whom

must have been of easy access in the days of Coverdale; and if it should turn out that he printed at Cologne, the book was quite at hand. 3. The version by *Pagninus*, 1528. 4. The German-Swiss or Helvetic version, by *Leo Jude*, 1525-1529, which, if Coverdale printed at Zurich, was sure to be consulted. 5. *Luther's* German version of 1532. Besides these, indeed, there were the *Belgic* or *Dutch Bible*, 1526, and following editions, printed by *Leisveldt* of Antwerp, and the *Lower Saxon*, in 1533, at Lubeck, by *Pomeranus*. The Bible by *Sebastian Munster*, was too late for Coverdale's consultation.

¹⁵ Coverdale's phrase for *printing*, as formerly noticed in the prologue before his Bible.

God preserve now and ever. Amen. Your Lordship's humble and daily orator—MILES COVERDALE."16

To this letter there is no month affixed, but he writes to Crumwell now, evidently more at ease, and as full of hope. Here, therefore, and at last, it will be presumed by all that the business is *finished*. Coverdale is alive, and in high favour. The King's gracious license speaks for itself; and if Crumwell and Cranmer, nay, and his Majesty be gained over, what hope remained of the smallest notice being ever taken of Tyndale's labours? What hope of any just estimate being now formed of his merits as a Translator, however superior? He had not only left the world, but left not one solitary friend at that court, where his name had been branded with infamy, from the days of Wolsey until now; and, therefore, long before Coverdale had even sat down to his work. Besides this, the King and Crumwell, and Cranmer, had, for years, fully committed themselves *against* Tyndale; the two former by the most violent language, and Cranmer, all these years, by at least bowing to the storm, and winking hard at his martyrdom. Nor must it be forgotten, that the Primate, in his official capacity, in company with his brethren, had been striving hard after some translation by their own authority.

Such was the actual state of matters, down to the beginning of August this year; when, as far as it is yet known, not one man in all England, from the King downwards, said, or even imagined, that any change was at hand! But such are the ways of Him, who is the Governor among the nations. That which He most highly favours—that which, by way of eminence, is his own cause, He may allow for a moment to sink into forgetfulness, or in oblivion die, only that his own hand may be the more conspicuous.

Waiving therefore all implication of Coverdale, in any sense whatever, whether as an individual, a translator, or a Christian, the favour *now* bestowed upon him by *man*, becomes a part of English history, by no means the least observable. It was permitted to take its course. It was permitted to do so, till it had reached its utmost height. But what if all this were only to render the interposition of Divine providence more ap-

parent and striking? Capricious the King of England might be, to a proverb; but Henry the Eighth was God's servant, as entirely as Nebuchadnezzar was of old; and though all things, at present, seem to run one way, in a few days only, we shall see them all at once take another direction.

We shall see the translation set aside, which the *King* had licensed, and of which even *Crumwell*, and perhaps some others, had paid the cost! No other man than *Cranmer* shall be the moving cause. *Nicolson* the printer shall, next year, be out of favour with *Coverdale*; nay, *Coverdale* himself be engaged in correcting the press of *another* translation, under the sanction of both Henry and *Crumwell*; while the *Bible*, which we have just reported, shall be not only passed by, but ere long interdicted by authority!

But why, it may be enquired, why make such distinction between the two translations? To this, at present, we only reply, that supposing they had been precisely of equal merit; surely something was due to the memory of him who had ploughed, and sowed, and toiled so long; who had first cast up the high way, and lifted up a standard for the people; without one word of encouragement, or one smile of Court favour, from any of these men. The important distinction, however, between the two translations, will be pointed out, when once we have recorded the historical facts.

We must, therefore, as we have often done before, look abroad, but only for a few moments, as we shall soon have occasion to return to England again.

In England itself, by this time, there were many admirers of Tyndale, who now revered his memory; many who had read and believed the truths of Scripture, which he had been importing into his native land since the year 1526; but they were like the seven thousand in Israel, in the days of Elijah. The printing press at home was fettered in the hands of but a very few individuals, and there was no man of sufficient nerve in this country to take up the cause. Tyndale himself too, has been also withdrawn; but all this will only render that Providence, with whom the work had begun, still more conspicuous, when lending the finishing stroke to all that his chosen servant had translated. This then appears to have been, and not till then, the proper moment for *overruling* the men in England: that is, *after* all the three influential individuals, the King, *Crumwell*, and *Cranmer*, had fully com-

mitted themselves, again and again; and before any "injunctions" were issued, which might have misled the *people*.

As there was one man to whom Tyndale had been useful, John Fryth, who had first stood by him as an assistant, and then preceded him to a better world; so now, there had been a second raised up, to do justice to his memory, as a translator. This was John Rogers, alias Matthew, a native of Warwickshire, born, it is most probable, about the year 1500.¹⁷ He had been educated at Cambridge, and having come to Antwerp while Tyndale resided there, he became a Chaplain to the English merchant-adventurers. By his intimate conversation with our Translator, he was induced to examine the Scriptures for himself, and the result was that he embraced, in a great degree, the same views with this eminent man. We have spoken with some limitation, as, according to Foxe, in future years he had not even then understood, so clearly as Tyndale, the subject of liberty of conscience, which indeed scarcely any man then did.¹⁸

Where Rogers sat down to superintend the press, remains still only a matter of conjecture:¹⁹ but it must have been soon, if not immediately after Tyndale was imprisoned at Vilvorde, that his friend set about his edition of the Bible, in large folio; as the work was finished, and ready for importation to England by the month of July 1537.

That this tribute to Tyndale's memory originated in the individual zeal of his friends, there can be little or rather no doubt; as Rogers had printed more than the half of the entire volume, before we have any evidence of the men coming forward, who then took up the work, as a matter of business or trade. These were Richard Grafton, and Edward Whitchurch, so well known afterwards, as printers in London. The former enjoyed the high honour of embarking almost his *all* in the undertaking; for neither Cranmer nor Cromwell, nor the King, ever contributed one farthing of the expense.²⁰ By the time, therefore, that Rogers had got to the

¹⁷ See a more particular account of him, when he comes to die, as the first martyr under Queen Mary.

¹⁸ This is only to be found in Foxe's Latin Edition, 1559. p. 202.

¹⁹ Foxe and Strype, supposed *Hamburg*. Lewis, *Marburg* in Hesse. Wanly, thought *Paris*. *Antwerp* itself has been mentioned, and more recently *Lubeck*. But were the many wooden blocks and flourishing capitals more carefully examined, the press may yet be fixed.

²⁰ Lewis, in his history of translations, loosely speaks of—"Cranmer favouring this edition." True, but not till he was astonished by the first sight of it. And he afterwards goes on to men-

beginning of *Isaiab*, these two individuals having embraced the design, on *that* page the numbers begin again, with a title, "*The prophetes in Englishe*," in black and red letters, surrounded by sixteen wood-cuts; and on the next page there is printed in flourished text capitals R.G. at the top, and E.W. at the bottom, with a large wood-cut between. The name of Tyndale affixed, would have been fatal to its acceptance with Henry. That of Thomas Matthew, at whose instance *perhaps* the undertaking may have commenced, was therefore printed, in the title-page, and T. M. at the end of the dedication; but to mark Rogers' connexion with the book, we have at the beginning, "An exhortation to the study of the Holy Scripture gathered out of the Bible," which is subscribed J. R.: and what is singular, at the end of the Old Testament, we find W. T. in very large flourished text capitals, evidently intended for William Tyndale. Not that he had finished the whole, the remainder being completed as we shall presently describe. The object that Rogers had in view was to forward the work, and do justice to the labours, of the man he admired. Accordingly, the whole of the New Testament, and of the Old, as far as the end of 2d Chronicles, or exactly *two-thirds* of the entire Scriptures, are Tyndale's verbally, with an occasional variation only in the orthography; and as for the other *third*, while Rogers may have taken advantage of Coverdale's printed sheets, he evidently had sat in judgment on every page, and his method is not implicitly followed.²¹

When referring to this book, Bale has said that "Rogers translated the Bible into English, from Genesis to the end of Revelation, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English (that is Tyndale's) copies." But this is merely a specimen of those loose and inaccurate statements which have been made by him, and Johnson, and various other writers. There is now no question that Tyndale translated his New Testament from the Greek; and the Old, as far as he

tion Cranmer as the *curator* of a reprint! Though pretty accurate for his time, it is years since the whole work of Lewis has been pronounced to be "*grievously* in want of correction."

²¹ The contents of the chapters and prefaces are better disposed. In the 14th Psalm, Coverdale, following the Vulgate, has three verses not in the Hebrew, which Rogers rejected. In the Song of Solomon, the speakers are distinguished, and in red ink. The book of Jonah is the same in both, but then Rogers inserts Tyndale's famous and solemn *prologue*, which had been so denounced. And will *Henry* receive it, and even sanction it *now*? Besides these, there are other variations. It is only to be regretted that Rogers should have inserted the Apocrypha, which, in obedience to his patrons, Coverdale had translated.

had gone, from that Hebrew, which he so admired. What Rogers did therefore, was, that he adopted Tyndale as far as he had proceeded in translating; and as a variety of passages from the Old Testament had been not only translated, but *published* before Coverdale's Bible saw the light; so it must be presumed that there were other chapters in manuscript.²² In short, Rogers had the whole of Tyndale, whether in print or manuscript, as well as Coverdale's sheets, for the remainder, before him: and having now arrived at the close we find these words: "*To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted, and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God, a. m̄xxxvii.*" No month is mentioned, but it must have left the press by the middle of July, if not in the end of June.

Richard Grafton, therefore, was now ready; but before any application is made to England, in favour of that Bible which was providentially to form the prototype of so many millions, it becomes of importance, first to ascertain the precise circumstances under which it came into our native land.

The occupation of Cranmer and his coadjutors—the position of other men—the actual state of the country, and especially of the capital, will explain these. Of the month or day when Coverdale's Bible arrived, we have no account whatever, but it happens to be very different in the present case; and, therefore, every item of intelligence becomes doubly interesting.

From the end of May Cranmer had been at Lambeth; Fox of Hereford was living at Poplar, and Latimer at hand, elsewhere; but they, with "other Bishops, and certain learned men," met frequently, by appointment, at *Stepney*. They were engaged in long and harassing discussion over the terms of a book, which was to follow up their "articles" of last year; well known afterwards as "the institution of a Christian man," frequently styled "the Bishops' Book." For a season, it seemed altogether impossible for them ever to agree; and we need only refer to the months of July and August in illustration; the one *preceding*, and the other *following*, the reception of the Bible. Upon a Friday in the month of July, Fox of Hereford is writing to Lord Cromwell—

"Surely if it might so have stood with the King's pleasure and yours, I would to God *you* had been here with us, for we wanted *much* your presence. Albeit, sir, we have done, in your absence, the best we could, and have subscribed all

²² In whole or in part. Esther viii. Prov. xxxi. Isaiah i. ii. vi. vii. xlv. li. liii. lvii. lviii. Jer. xxviii. Ezek. i. viii. xxxvi. Joel ii. iii. Hosca xi. Amos iv., and Zech. ii. viii.

our books, (their opinions as to the 'Institution,') and shall send them to your Lordship to-morrow. And now, if it shall be the King's pleasure to put the same to printing, I beseech your Lordship to know his pleasure for the *prefaces* which shall be put unto the said book; and *whether his Highness will, that the book shall go forth in his name*, according to such *device* as I once moved unto your Lordship; or in the name of the *Bishops*. And thereupon, if it shall please your Lordship to cause Mr. Wriothsley to devise the said prefaces and send them hither, I shall be glad to employ my diligence to the speedy setting forth thereof to the uttermost of my power."²³

This book, accordingly, was sent to Berthelet's press, and on Monday the 27th of August, it was expected to be finished. In prospect of this, on the Saturday before, Latimer is writing to Crumwell—

"Upon Monday, I think, it will be done altogether. As for myself, I can nothing else but pray God, that, when it is done, it be well and sufficiently done, so that we shall not need to have any more *such* doings; for verily, for my part, I had lever (rather) be poor parson of poor Kingston again, than to continue *thus*, Bishop of Worcester. Not for any thing that I have had to do therein, or can do; but yet, forsooth, it is a troublesome thing to agree upon a doctrine, in things of *such controversy*, with *judgments of such diversity*, every man, I trust, meaning well, and yet not all meaning one way."²⁴

The *device* to which Fox alludes in July, is now worthy of notice, as not unintelligible—

"It may have been," says Mr. Jenkyns, "that the commissioners should send a letter to the King, respecting their proceedings, and praying for his Majesty's sanction; that the King should return a gracious answer, complying with their request; and that *both* these documents should be printed by way of introduction to the book. Such a letter from the commissioners was actually prefixed to the *Institution*, and a minute of an answer from the King is preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, though it does not seem to have been noticed by the historians. In this, he informs the Prelates, that he had not had time to overlook their work; he trusted to them for its being according to Scripture; that he permitted it to be printed, and commanded all who had care of souls to read a portion of it every Sunday and holiday for three years. But it would appear, that, *cautiously* as this reply was worded, Henry VIII. *did not choose to commit himself* by its publication; for the *Institution* came out with no other preface *than* the above-mentioned letter of the Prelates, and with *no farther claim to royal authority* than was implied in its issuing from the press of the King's printer."²⁵

²³ Crumwell's Corr., bundle F. Chap.-House, or Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 556.

²⁴ Idem, holograph, in bundle W., or State Papers, t., p. 563.

²⁵ Remains of Cranmer, vol. i., p. 188. "It rested, therefore, on very different grounds from the 'Articles of Religion' which *preceded*, and the 'Necessary Doctrine,' which *followed* it. For both of those formularies were first approved in Convocation, and were then provided with a preface by the King, and declared in the title-page to be set forth by his authority. Thus it was not a distinction without a difference, that the *Institution* was called the *Bishops'*, and the *Necessary Doctrine* the *King's* book. This statement has been given at some length; because, if correct, it will solve some difficulties in the subsequent, *i. e.* Cranmer's letters, and because there are several conflicting accounts of the matter in our ecclesiastical writers." Thus far the valuable note of Mr. Jenkyns. Let the reader, therefore, only the more carefully mark the *mo-*

Henry was a being, to whom no man, or set of men, must dictate at any moment; nay, they might fail, any day, even when they approached him with the utmost courtesy; and it must be obvious, that at this very period, a company of "Bishops and learned men in union," had failed in gaining all they wished, if not also craved.²⁶ At such a time as this, therefore, beyond all others, if Grafton has arrived with his Bible, is it at all probable that he *can* have succeeded? If a selected body of commissioners, with Cranmer, and even Crumwell at their head, have been treated with *caution*, is it possible that Henry has been overruled with regard to all that *Tyndale* had translated? Will he now sanction the work of that same man, against whom, he and his Council have been fighting for more than ten years? We shall see presently.

But the state of LONDON and WESTMINSTER must not pass unnoticed; more especially as it was so expressly marked by these Bishops, and had already excited general apprehension. Thus, on the 10th of August, we find that Tunstal is down at Laleham on the Thames; and though sent for by Crumwell, he is *afraid* to approach the capital. It was the *plague*, which had again appeared, as it had done last year, and the hand of God lay heavy on the metropolis and its vicinity.²⁷

"On Saturday the 25th of August," says Bishop Fox to Crumwell, "I have lain out of London myself (at Poplar) more than these three weeks; and the most part of all my servants have lain at Ruyslip (north-east of Uxbridge) more than these *ten* weeks. Wherefore, if it shall please your Lordship to send me word of the King's pleasure concerning my return to the Court, I would gladly come thither on Monday or Tuesday next, and then I shall bring with me *the book*, I trust, perfectly printed."—"Sir," says Latimer, on the same day, "we be here not without all peril, for two have died of my keeper's folks, out of my gate house; and even now Mr. Nevell (Cranmer's confidential servant) cometh and telleth me that my under-cook is fallen sick, and like to be of the plague. Set duodecim sunt hore diei, et termini vite sunt ab eo constituti, qui non potest falli; neque verius est tamen, quod nascimur, quam quod sumus morituri."²⁸

But what, then, has become of Cranmer? The fact was, that Fox and Latimer had remained where they were, for no other purpose than to superintend the printing of this foresaid book; otherwise neither of

ment in which the Sacred Volume was so singularly introduced into England, by the overruling hand of Him who first gave it to mankind—and then let him as carefully observe, whether it did not vitally overthrow the "Articles," which had preceded, and under "the necessary doctrine," which followed, altogether *unnecessary*; nay, as the people at large afterwards understood Christianity, superstitious and profane.

²⁶ Even although they had been not less obsequious than Coverdale himself! "We do," said they, "most humbly submit it to the most excellent wisdom and exact judgment of your Majesty to be recognised, overseen, and corrected, if your Grace shall find any *word or sentence* in it meet to be changed, qualified, or further expounded, for the plain setting forth of your Highness' most virtuous desire and purpose in that behalf. Wherefore, we shall, *in that case, conform ourselves!*"—*Preface to the Institution, 1537.*

²⁷ See Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 102. note.

²⁸ *Idem*, vol. i., p. 563.

them would have been there; since Cranmer and the rest had taken alarm more than a month before. Thus he had addressed Crumwell as early as the 21st of July—

“ I, with other Bishops and learned men, here assembled by the King's commandment, have almost made an end of our determinations; for we have already subscribed unto the declarations of the Paternoster, and the *Ave Maria*, the creed, and the ten commandments; and there remaineth no more but certain notes of the creed, unto which we be agreed to subscribe on Monday next; which all, when they shall be subscribed, I pray you that I may know your mind and pleasure, whether I shall send them incontinently to you, or leave them in the Lord of Hereford's (Fox's) hands, to be delivered by him when he cometh next unto the Court: Beseeching you, my Lord, to be intercessor unto the King's Highness for us all, that we may have his Grace's license to depart for this time, until his Grace's farther pleasure be known: for they die almost everywhere, in London and Westminster; and in Lambeth they die at my gate, even at the next house to me. I would fain see the King's Highness at my departing; but I fear me that I shall not, because that I shall come from this smoky air; yet I would gladly know the King's pleasure herein.”²⁹

The next day, 22d July, the last letter which Cranmer wrote from Lambeth before departing for Croydon, was one already quoted, on behalf of that “ very honest man,” as he styled him, Mr. Theobald! On Monday the 28th, and Tuesday the 29th of July, he had been examining ROWLAND PHILLIPS, the Vicar of Croydon, that steady defender of the old learning, and an enemy to all changes. “ I beseech your Lordship,” Cranmer had said to Crumwell on the 21st, and who, as VICAR-GENERAL, it seems, must now be obsequiously consulted on every step, “ to send me word whether I shall examine the Vicar of Croydon in this presence of the Bishops, and other learned men of our Assembly, or otherwise how I shall order him;” and so the examination was held before the Archbishop himself, on these two days. Some years before, this Vicar had preached at Paul's Cross a noted sermon, one saying in which has been often repeated, without knowing precisely from whom it came. But this is the man—that very Vicar of Croydon who had declared, with no inferior sagacity—“ We must root out printing, or printing will root out us.” It is a coincidence, therefore, not a little remarkable, that this examination should happen to have been Cranmer's very last occupation before proceeding into the country.³⁰

²⁹ Cotton MS., Cleop., E. v., fol. 52, *holograph*. In the Gov. State Papers. i., 559, another letter of this date has been assigned to Cranmer; but, with far greater probability, Mr. Jenkyns has placed it in 1539.—*Cranmer's Remains*, i., p. 286, note.

³⁰ Certain readers will be curious to see a little farther into this examination. On some loose papers in the Chapter-house at Westminster, but now, probably, in the State Paper Office, fragments of this still remain; and as part of the business in which Cranmer had been engaged, immediately before GRAFFON's visit to Forde, a few of the items are worth quoting. *Interrogatur*.—“ Whom he knoweth fallen into this error—that they trust to be saved by faith and baptism, and have left all good works—and how long it is since the people fell into that error?” *Respondet*.—“ That he knoweth no special person that is in that error: but it is about eleven years

Immediately after this, Cranmer hastened farther from the plague, into Kent, to his house at Forde; so that if Richard Grafton has arrived in London from the Continent, and intends to apply to the Archbishop, he must go down there with his Bible for inspection; and, for a moment, we leave Cranmer looking over it.

Already we have done full justice to Coverdale. He had stepped in, and occupied the field of favour, from all the higher powers—the King, Crumwell, and Cranmer. But by the end of July this favour had extended a little farther, and, more especially, since Gardiner was not in England. We have seen, by the Archbishop's own letter, as well as those of Latimer and Fox, that he and his fellow commissioners, after a tedious war of words, had agreed about their book, by Monday the 23d of July. Their preface having been also prepared, in it, as a body, the parties thus express themselves, with their accustomed flattery:—

“ We, considering the godly effect and intent of your Highness' most virtuous and gracious commandment, do not only rejoice and give thanks to Almighty God with all our hearts, that it hath pleased him to send *such* a king to reign over us, which so earnestly mindeth to set forth among his subjects the light of Holy Scripture, which alone sheweth the right path to come to God, to see Him, to know Him, to love Him, and so to serve Him, as He most desireth.”

Coverdale, as well as Crumwell his patron, could, at this moment, desire little more. Henry, observe, had treated the Bishops' book with *caution*; he would not commit himself by any formal gracious reply; yet has he permitted these words to *pass*, which could refer to no other than Coverdale's Bible, if to any Bible already printed at all; but they will acquire double emphasis, when the course that Cranmer and Crum-

ago (1526) since the people came into that error.” Now, whatever Phillips meant, he counts from the precise period when the *New Testament* had been introduced. *Item*.—“ What good works the people have left?” *Resp*.—“ That they have left prayer, fasting, and alms.” By these, of course, he meant the *mass*, *penance*, and *payment of money*. *Item*.—“ Whom he knoweth to be of this opinion, that faith which justifieth, of necessity bringeth forth good works; and whether he be of the same opinion, or no?” *Resp*.—“ That Barnes, Crome, Champion, and many other, so have preached, and he is not of that opinion himself.” *Item*.—“ Whom he knoweth that doth exclude all bodily observances as frivol and vain, all ceremonies of religion, and all vocal prayer, calling it lip labour?” *Resp*.—“ The Bishop of Worcester, (Latimer,) and Dr. Crome, have so done; for it followeth of their words—*Adorabunt Patrem in spiritu!*” See Cranmer's Remains by Jenkyns, i., p. 190. Phillips had been warmly patronised by Warham, and signalled himself by his opposition to the subsidy proposed by Wolsey in 1523. His silence, says Lingard, was “ at length purchased by the policy of the Court.” He was not merely Vicar of Croydon, but a *prebendary* of St. Paul's; but certainly not the greater friend of Latimer now, any more than *Gabriel Doune*, after hearing his memorable sermon before the Convocation last year.

well, and even Henry pursued in *a few days hence*, comes to be observed.

There is, in short, another translation of the English Bible coming from abroad; and, it is true, that as far as any connexion with the Continent was concerned, the reader may be still haunted by the recollection, that he has found both Cranmer and Crumwell in busy confidential communication with such an unprincipled spy as Theobald; and not only this year, but throughout the next. This, however, we can neither help nor soften. Gross inconsistencies of character must stand as matter of history; but, in the present instance, they will only render it the more apparent, *who* it was that gave the Bible to Britain. To the people of this Country, it is of infinite moment now, that they should see more fully into the Divine character, with regard to an event never to be forgotten.

The laborious exertions of Tyndale, for twelve long years, which the King and his Councillors, nay, and the generality of these Bishops, had so violently opposed, are already before the reader; as well as the editions of his New Testament and Pentateuch, which had been introduced into England, under so many proofs of their hot displeasure; but the reader may, without reserve, admit the full force of that transient favour which had been now shown towards Coverdale's translation. Henry, without consulting either Convocation or Parliament, had certainly so far sanctioned it, sometime before August, at least in the instance of Nycolson's reprint.

We repeat, however, there is at this hour *another Bible*, in folio, coming over the sea to old England, one page of which neither Cranmer the Primate, Crumwell the Vicar-General, or Henry the King, had ever beheld, and respecting which not one of them had ever been consulted. Such appears to have been the exact state of matters, *immediately before all that Tyndale had accomplished in translating the Sacred Volume was laid before his Majesty.*

Grafton therefore having arrived in England, from what has now been narrated, we can scarcely make any mistake with regard to Cranmer's state of mind. He had, in truth, been made as *sick of discussion*, as he had been *afraid of the plague*, and had only made his escape from both; though had his fellow commissioners but once suspected at the moment, what effect this sickness would have upon him, certainly they

had argued less. Like the Jews at Rome, of old, they must have had "great reasoning among themselves" over this "Bishops' Book;" and, in the next letter from the Primate to Crumwell, we shall see whether he does not hint, that, in his apprehension, there would be no end to it.³¹

It may be regretted that there had not been some solitary expression of sympathy or admiration in the Translator's life time; but such was the preparation of Thomas Cranmer for the sight of Tyndale's labours—such the moment when his translation was brought before him! Grafton had resolved to apply first to the Archbishop, perhaps as not having been the patron of Coverdale; but whatever was the motive, he must have immediately followed him into Kent. We need not describe how he sped, as the following letters from Forde speak more forcibly than any description; but before quoting them, we give the title and collation of the Book which Grafton had brought home with him.

Title.—"THE BYBLE, which is the Holy Scripture : in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament, truly and purely translated into Englysh—by Thomas Matthew.—M^DXXXVII."

Collation.—This title is in red and black letters, within a wood engraving, filling the page; and, at the bottom, in large letters, "SET FORTH WITH THE KINGE'S MOST GRACIOUS LICENCE." A Callender and Almanac for 18 years, beginning 1538, 4 pages. An Exhortation to the study of the Holy Scriptures, 1 page; having, in large flourished capitals at the bottom, the initials of the editor, I. R. The Summe and content of all the Holy Scripture, 2 pages. Dedication to Henry VIII., 3 pages, with flourished capitals at the beginning and end. "To the Christen Readers," and a table of principal matters in the Bible, 26 pages. "The names of all the bokes of the Bible, and a brief rehearsal of the years passed since the begynnyng of the worlde, unto this yere of our Lord, M^DXXXVII," 1 page. "Genesis to Salomon's Ballet," fol. i.—ccxlvii. "The Prophetes in English." On the reverse of this title is a large woodcut, between R. G. and E. W., in flourishing capitals—"Esay to Malachi," fol. i.—xciii.; and, at the end of Malachi, W. T. for WILLIAM TYNDALE, in large flourished text capitals. The Apocripha, put in from Coverdale's Bible. "The Newe Testament, &c., printed in the yere of our Lorde God, M^DXXXVII," in red and black, as in the first title. "Matthew to Revelation," fol. ii.—cix. Tables, &c., fol. cx.—cxi. On the last leaf, is "The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Byble."—"To the honoure and prayse of God, was this Byble prynted and fynsshed, in the yere of our Lorde God, a. M^DXXXVII." A full page contains 60 lines.

³¹ Latimer, too, had been no less annoyed. To go on thus wrangling with such men, he would rather be "the poor parson of poor Kingstone once more, than continue to be Bishop of Worcester," with all its revenue; and as for Fox, he had been longing for the iron hand, or imperative presence, of the Vicar-General, to make them now, as Henry had done in 1536, all agree, or rather *feign* consent once more.

The following letters are all addressed to Crumwell; and they are the very next that Cranmer wrote and sent, after those we have quoted.

“ My especial good Lord, after most hearty commendations unto your Lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that you shall receive by the bringer thereof a Bible, both of a *new* translation, and of a *new print*, dedicated unto the King's Majesty, as farther appeareth by a pistle unto his Grace, in the beginning of the book, which, in mine opinion, is very well done; and therefore I pray your Lordship to read the same. And, as for the *translation*, so far as I have read thereof, I like it *better* than any *other* translation heretofore made; yet not doubting that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may from time to time be amended.

“ And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the King's Grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth of the same, I pray you, my Lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the King's Highness, and obtain of his Grace, *if you can*, a license that the same may be *sold and read* of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we, the Bishops, shall set forth a better translation, *which I think will not be till a day after doomsday!* And if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's Word, as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snubs and many slanders, lies, and reproaches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether. And the same word, as St. John saith, which shall judge every man at the last day, must needs show favour to them that now do favour it. Thus, my Lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 4th day of August, [1537.] Your assured ever—T. CANTUARIEN.”³²

So far then, from Cranmer having the slightest connexion with this undertaking, or “ exerting himself” for this book, as Mr. Todd has imagined, this letter, in its proper connexion, clearly shows that it came upon the writer in the way of *delightful surprise*.³³ No doubt he had wished for a Bible; but, after vainly toiling with his coadjutors as to the New Testament only, he now, very candidly acknowledges that the present production was literally beyond their power, as a body of men.

Here then, and at last, is that one transaction in Cranmer's life, which those who must ever disapprove of many other things in his conduct, should therefore never forget. Considered in itself and in its consequences, every other good thing he ever did shrinks into comparative insignificance. For this, all who have prized the Word of God, or now do

³² Crumwell's Corr., Chapter-House. *Original*. Gov. State Papers. vol. i., p. 561.

³³ Life of Cranmer, vol. i., p. 210. Another author actually represents it as *printed* under his patronage. From inattention to his *own* language, the position of Cranmer has very frequently been mis-stated, by our ablest authors.

so, stand indebted to him as an instrument. It would have been gratifying could we have fallen upon some distinct testimony from his pen, at an earlier season; for it is passing strange, if he had never, till this late period, expressed his admiration of Tyndale's translation; but such, alas! may have been one effect of that timidity which annoyed him all his days. The conjunction of circumstances, already described, seems to have emboldened him, and better late than never. But be this as it may, and after allowing to this first agent at home all the good he did, the reader, as he goes on, will lose sight of man; and, it is presumed, will not be slow to recognise, above all, that unseen hand, so conspicuously displayed throughout the whole affair, of which this is nothing more than the first movement.

Grafton, let it be observed, was not kept long in suspense; the entire request of Cranmer was immediately granted; for, though all who could avoid London were gone, Crumwell had remained at his post—went to the King, and succeeded. Cranmer had heard of this in less than eight days; for thus he writes again, on Monday week after his last—

“ My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your Lordship. And whereas I understand that your Lordship, at my request, hath not only exhibited the Bible which I sent unto you, unto the King's Majesty, but also hath obtained of his Grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be *bought and read within this realm*: My Lord, for this your pain taken in this behalf, I give unto you my most hearty thanks; assuring your Lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have shewed me more pleasure hereiu, than if you had given me a thousand pounds. And I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter, what high and acceptable service you have done unto God and the King; which shall so much redound to your honour, that, besides God's reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me your bondman for the same: And I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my Lord of *Worcester*. Thus, my Lord, right heartily fare ye well. At Forde, the 13th day of August” [1537.]³⁴

The gratitude of Cranmer is expressed in the strongest manner: “ In terms,” says Mr. Jenkyns, most correctly, “ far too warm to admit of the belief that the *general use* of the English Scriptures was *already* allowed.”³⁵ There was, no doubt, something in the translation itself, that at once caught the eye

³⁴ Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 329, *original*; or Cranmer's Remains, i., p. 199.

³⁵ Cranmer's Remains, Pref., p. xxvii.

and the approbation of Cranmer; but it was this step in advance, this "general use," over which he also exulted. His Majesty had, it is true, acceded, and at Crumwell's request, to Coverdale's Bible, of Nycolson's printing, having these words upon it—"Set forth by the King's gracious license;" and Coverdale had requested, that this printer might have the monopoly for "certain years,"—but there was *no reply* to that application. Whereas now, the tide has not only changed, but it has begun to flow in another direction: for this Bible is not only to be stamped—*Set forth, &c.*, but it is *to be sold and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation or Ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary!* All this Cranmer asked, and to all this Henry at once agreed! Cranmer, in short, felt like a man when every hindrance has been removed: and escaped, for the present, out of the paw of his brethren on the Bench, in a way that seemed quite marvellous to himself; so moved was he, that fifteen days after this, in his very next letter to Crumwell, he writes absolutely as if he had not yet written at all. Other subjects, indeed, demanded his attention, but, in the fulness of his heart, with this he must begin.

"My very singular and especial good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me to your Lordship. These shall be to give you most hearty thanks that any heart can think, and that in the name of them all which favoureth God's Word, for your diligence at this time in procuring the King's Highness to set forth the said God's Word, and his Gospel, by his Grace's authority. For the which act, not only the King's Majesty, but also you shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of his Word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the said Gospel, 'that whosoever shrinketh from Him and His Word, and is abashed to profess and set it forth before men in this world, He will refuse him at that day: and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess Him and His Word, and studieth to set that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at the last day, before His Father and all His angels, and take upon Him the defence of those men.' Thus, my Lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the 28th day of August," [1537.]³⁶

Grafton seems to have brought only *one* Bible with him, as a specimen, and had left his servant to follow him with other copies. The first he had presented to Cranmer, who sent him with it to Crumwell, and *he* requested six copies to be brought

to him, on their arrival. The very day on which Crammer was writing his last letter, the servant had arrived; and in the midst of the *plague*, still raging, Grafton sent the volumes to Crumwell, with the following letter,—

“ Most humbly beseeching your Lordship to understand, that, according to your request, I have sent your Lordship six Bibles; which gladly I would have brought myself, but because of the sickness that remaineth in the City; and, therefore, I have sent them by my servant, which *this day* came out of Flanders. Requiring your Lordship, if I may be so bold as to desire you, to accept them as my simple gift, given to you for those most godly pains, for which the Heavenly Father is bound, even of his justice, to reward you with the everlasting kingdom of God. For your Lordship’s moving our most gracious Prince to the allowance and licensing of such a work, hath wrought such an act worthy of praise, as never was mentioned in any chronicle in this realm; and as my Lord of Canterbury said, the tidings thereof did him more good than the gift of £1000.”

In grossness of flattery, the printer exceeds Coverdale, to say nothing of the profanity of his compliment, betraying his ignorance of the truth, and the value of the truth contained in his Bible; but then his language shows, that some great and *unprecedented* thing had taken place; and thus it appeared in general estimation. So much so, indeed, that it seemed incredible. With some it was “too good news to be true.” Others demurred, because they wished not to believe it: and Grafton therefore proceeds:—

“ Yet certain there are which *believe not* that it pleased the King’s Grace to license it to go forth. Wherefore, if your Lordship’s pleasure were such that we might have it licensed under your Privy Seal, it would be a defence at this present, and in time to come, for all enemies and adversaries of the same. And forasmuch as this request is for the maintenance of the Lord’s Word, which is to maintain the Lord himself, I fear not, but that your Lordship will be earnest therein. And I am assured, that my Lords of Canterbury, Worcester, and Salisbury, will give your Lordship such thanks, as in them lieth.³⁷ And sure you may be, that the Heavenly Lord will reward you, for the establishment of his glorious truth. And what your Lordship’s pleasure is in this request, if it may please your Lordship to inform my servant, I, and all that love God heartily, are bound to pray for your preservation all the days of our life. At London, the 28th day of this present month of August, 1537. Your orator while he liveth, RICHARD GRAFTON, *Grocer*.³⁸”

The message in reply was, that Crumwell thought the “Privy Seal” would be unnecessary; but Grafton’s anxiety was perfectly natural; for, let it be observed, that his *all* was

³⁷ By this time, therefore, he had seen Latimer and Shaxton, since he returned from Forde.

³⁸ Cleop. E. v., fol. 330. Grafton was a member of the Grocer’s Company in London.

embarked in the undertaking, amounting to above £500 sterling. This was a sum, equal in value of the present day, to more than as many *thousands*; and some would say, seven thousand five hundred at the least! No wonder, then, that he should very soon write a long letter to Crumwell, under the apprehension of being undersold by an inferior article from the German press, just as Tyndale had so often been, long before him.

“Most humbly beseeching your Lordship to understand, that according as your commission was, by my servant to send you certain Bibles, so have I now done, desiring your Lordship to accept them, as though they were well done. And whereas I writ unto your Lordship for a Privy Seal to be a defence unto the enemies of this Bible, I understand that your Lordship's mind is, that I shall not need it. But now, most gracious Lord, forasmuch as this work hath been brought forth to our most great and costly labours and charges; which charges amount above the sum of five hundred pounds; and I have caused of these same to be printed to the sum of fifteen hundred books complete, which now, by reason that of *many* this work is highly commended, there are that will, and doth, go about the printing of the same work again, in a lesser letter; to the intent that they may sell their *little* books better cheap than I can sell these *great*; and so to make, that I shall sell none at all, or else very few, to the *utter undoing* of me, your orator, and of all those *my* creditors, that hath been my comforters and helpers therein. And now this work, thus set forth with great study and labours, shall such persons, moved with a little covetousness, to the undoing of others for their own private wealth, take as a thing done to their hands. In which behalf the charges shall not come to them, that hath done to your poor orator. And yet will not they do it, as they find it, but falsify the text; that I dare say, look, how many sentences are in the Bible, even so many faults and errors shall be made therein. For their seeking, is not to set it out to God's glory, and to the edifying of Christ's congregation, but for covetousness. And that may appear by the former Bibles, (*i. e.* the New Testaments,) that they have set forth; which hath neither good paper, letters, ink nor correction.³⁹ And even so shall they corrupt this work, and wrap it up after their fashions, and then they may sell it for nought at their pleasures. Yea, and to make it more truer than it is, therefore Dutchmen, dwelling within this realm, go about the printing of it; which can neither speak good English, nor yet write none! And they will be both the printers and correctors thereof; because of a little covetousness, they will not bestow twenty or forty pounds to a learned man to take pains in it, to have it well done.

“It were, therefore, as your Lordship doth evidently perceive, a thing unreasonable to permit, or suffer, them which now hath no such business, to enter into the labours of them that had both sore trouble and unreasonable charges. And *the truth is this*, that if it be printed by any other, before these be sold, which I think shall not be these three years at the least, *then am I*, your poor orator, *utterly undone*.” (Even Grafton had no idea of the prospect now opening.)

“Therefore, by your most godly favour, if I may obtain the King's most

³⁹ Referring to the pirated editions of Tyndale's Testament.

gracious privilege, that none shall print them until these be sold, your Lordship shall not find me unthankful, but that to the uttermost of my power I will consider it: and I dare say, that so will my Lord of Canterbury, with other, my most special friends; and at the last, God will look upon your merciful heart, that considereth *the undoing of a poor young man; for truly my whole lying lieth hereupon.* If I may have sale of them not being hindered by any other men, it shall be my making and wealth; and the contrary is my undoing. Therefore, most humbly I beseech your Lordship to be my helper herein, that I may obtain this my request.

“Or else, if by no means this privilege may be had,—forasmuch as it hath pleased the King’s Highness to license this work to go abroad; and that it is the most pure Word of God which teacheth all true obedience, and reproveth all schisms and contentions.—It may therefore be commanded by your Lordship, in the name of our most gracious prince, that *every curate* have one of them, that they may *learn to know God, and instruct their Parishioners*; yea, and that every Abbey should have *six*, to be laid in six several places, that the whole Convent, and the resorters thereunto, may have occasion to look on the Lord’s Law.—And then I know there would be enough found in my Lord of London’s diocese to spend away a great part of them.—And I know that a small commission will cause my Lord of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Worcester, to cause it to be done through their diocese; yea, and this should cease the whole schism and contention that *is in the realm*; which is, some calling them of the *old learning*, and some of the *new*. Now, should we all follow one God, *one book, and one learning*: and this is hurtful to no man, but profitable to all.

“I will trouble your Lordship no longer, for I am sorry I have troubled you so much: but, to make an end, I desire your most gracious answer by my servant. *For the sickness is brime (furious) about us, or else I would wait upon your Lordship*: and because of coming to your Lordship, *I have not suffered my servant with me since he came over.*—Your orator, RICHARD GRAFTON.”⁴⁰

From this letter it is evident, that as the volume had come upon Cranmer by surprise, so he had no concern whatever with the cost incurred; nay, that *no man in England* shared in the expense. It was a gift from abroad, and the burden lay chiefly on the shoulders of this individual, as a man in business.

We have no written reply to this letter, which, however, does not signify, as it is well known that Grafton succeeded: but as to the present sudden and most memorable interposition in favour of Tyndale’s exertions, it was an occurrence, the effects of which reach down to the present hour. The event itself, is only more extraordinary than the fact, that it should never have been even marked as it ought to have been, and much less dwelt upon, by any previous writer. But though hitherto buried among other casual incidents, it would be unpardonable *now* to pass on without contemplating an occurrence, in which, without either presumption or enthusiasm, the over-

⁴⁰ Cliep. E. v., fol. 325: or Todd’s Cranmer, i. pp. 216, 220.

ruling hand of God may be so distinctly traced. There is here no interference with the *free agency* of man, but one of the most complete specimens of the mode in which an all-wise Providence governs the world. Grafton, indeed, and his co-partner Whitchurch, may be easily disposed of, or regarded throughout the whole affair as resembling only the hewers of wood and drawers of water, in ancient time; but in looking back to the spring of 1526, when Tyndale's first efforts were so very keenly felt, as to awaken the wrath of all in power; and following the track, as we have done, down to the month of August 1537, what a varied scene has passed before us! The hand of the Most High has been visible all along; but it was most of all conspicuous *now*, for the day was won! In the course of the long conflict, not a few of the enemy have perished. Two Lords Chancellor, an Archbishop of Canterbury, besides, at least, four noted Bishops, have fallen; to say nothing of other two, sent adrift into Italy. Wolsey and Warham, West of Ely and Nix of Norwich, Standish of St. Asaph and Fisher of Rochester, as well as Dr. Robert Ridley and Sir Thomas More, are gone.

But what, it may still be said, does all this signify? There are, at least, eight or ten men yet alive; and, except it be the King himself transiently, when in some unwonted mood, not one of them has spoken a word in favour of Tyndale or his exertions, up to this month of August; nay, with two or three exceptions, all the rest have even raged against him. These men too, occupy the Privy Council, the Senate, and the Bench; so that before such an event as the present could possibly have taken place, every one of them must have been overruled. And accordingly now, within the compass of ten days, each day for a year, and whether pacified or not, they *have all been overruled*.

Yes, the King himself, and his Prime Minister the Duke of Norfolk; Crumwell his Vicegerent, and Cranmer his Archbishop; Tunstal of Durham and Stokesly of London; Longland of Lincoln and Gardiner of Winchester; nay, Coverdale and his friend Nycolson, have all alike, or every one of them, been disposed of.

For where is the individual who can now look so low, as to trace this change to Cranmer, and simply say, that *he* was the cause? Already we have given him full credit, as well as

done him ample justice, by giving his own letters entire. He was the superintended agent, and let it only be the more observed, the willing instrument, for certainly he did all, at this moment, not by constraint, but of hearty good will; and yet it must be clear as day, that of all others, *he* was *most* under the influence of predominant power. The step he took was a bold and decided one, and had Crumwell been the man, it would have been in perfect character: but Cranmer, though withal an amiable character, was by constitution timid, and according to his *own* repeated confession, had lost beyond recovery, in his youth, every spice of audacity or daring.⁴¹ Yes, and he was therefore only the more fit to be employed as an instrument, to overrule or take by surprise, *all the rest*. After a long and tedious war, the bitter though fruitless opposition of eleven years, the opportunity for dealing with crafty opponents, with stiff-necked and rebellious enemies to the truth, had arrived; the time for showing "the weakness of God to be stronger than men." It was a select hour for choosing a cautious and a timid man to sway the mighty and the wayward. He himself, indeed, might be doubtful of success; for he said to Crumwell, obtain all I ask—if you can; but what was the result? Take up the men individually, and see.

In so sanctioning this prototype, which contained the translations of Tyndale, the *King* himself was overruled. Witness his violent language for years, employed in public documents—his interdict of Tyndale's version, and all his other writings—his commissioning men to apprehend him, though in vain—and his cold indifference at the end, only last year, respecting his very life. On the same ground stands *Crumwell*; after having vilified our Translator, and warned the English Envoy, Vaughan, if he dared to speak favourably of him; after having long patronised Coverdale, contributed to his support, nay, and there can be no doubt, to the *cost* of his translation, as well as obtained the temporary assent of Henry to the reprint of that book. As for the others, who had been sworn enemies all along: *Tunstal*, notwithstanding his raving in 1526, about the "pestiferous poison" that had

⁴¹ This he himself used to ascribe to the "*cruelty* of his earliest teacher;" as he different times reported to his Secretary, Ralph Morice.—See *Todd's Cranmer*, ii., p. 540.

infected his diocese of London, he is now in alarm as to other *infection*. He is now absolutely terrified to approach the capital, for fear of the plague; and besides, he is under marching orders for Newcastle, as President of the Council of the North. *Stokesly* of London, after all his bloody deeds, must now be quiet, although Grafton be proposing, for *his* diocese, such a plentiful supply of that very translation, for the reading of which, he was wont to doom the party to the flames. Old *Longland* of Lincoln, who so exulted over *Wolsey's* "secret search, and at one time" in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, for books to be burnt, must, for the present, also ponder over the change, but remain neutral! *Gardiner*, when at home, of all other men, wonderfully contrived to retain the King's ear; but that shrewd and far-seeing man, the ablest foe of all, had been removed to a distance. As *Tunstal* was out of the way, in *Spain*, when the New Testament first came, so was *Gardiner*, in *France*, when the Bible arrived. After displeasing the King in 1535, it had been convenient to send him into honourable exile, as Ambassador to Paris, out of *Crunwell's* way, and he was not to be recalled for a year to come. The Duke of *Norfolk* too, *Gardiner's* dear friend, is down in the North; and though panting to return, and pestering *Crunwell* with letters for this end, he cannot wend his way to London till relieved by *Tunstal*, who, however, is slow to move. But, above all the rest, no one was more signally overruled than *Cranmer*, the agent first employed. No individual in England had striven so hard for some certain translation, to be sanctioned by his fellows. He had got them to petition his Majesty, in 1534, for such a one. In 1535, he had attempted the New Testament only, but failed; and last year, in Convocation again, he had not only petitioned once more for the same thing, but acquiesced, with all the rest, in the King's sacrament of *penance*; which the Bible of this year, over which he now so rejoiced, will not sanction! And, finally, as for *Myles Coverdale* himself, he is shortly to be employed in correcting the press of a second edition of this very Bible, which Grafton had thus brought into England.

In short, as this year no Parliament was assembled—no Convocation held, so neither the one, nor the other was, or could be, consulted on the subject! The Bishops, as a body, were now scattered by the plague, "every one to his own;"

while Cranmer, who has just fled from it, and in total despair of all deliverance arising from that quarter, boldly affirms, that a better translation of the Sacred Scriptures, they either could not, or would not, “set forth, till a day after doomsday!” To this, no doubt, the best men in all England then fully responded; and, in concert, they might all have said or sung, in the language of their own Bible—

O! sing unto the Lord a new song,
 For he hath done marvellous things!
 With *his own* right hand, and with his holy arm,
 Hath He gotten the victory!
 The Lord is King, be the people never so impatient:
 He sitteth upon the Cherubims, be the earth never so unquiet.

At such a crisis, when the country was in danger of being deluged with corrupt versions of His own blessed Word, it was thus shown, in the most striking manner, to every devout and careful observer, that *the God of Providence is the God of the Sacred Scriptures*; and as He intended the version now given, to remain in this highly-favoured land for generations then unborn, it was fit that this interference should take place at the *beginning*. In the wide compass of English history, a more signal interposition of Divine providence on behalf of His own Word never occurred since, and that simply for this reason, it was never demanded; the present sufficed for all time to come. This same Monarch, indeed, and some of his wilfully blind Prelates, may yet rage and strive, but the version shall *never* be banished from the land. It may be corrected and improved, nay, and be burnt again; and seventy years after this, upwards of fifty learned men may be engaged for three years, in order to make it, as they said, “more smooth and easy, and agreeable to the text;” but the translation now received, shall be the basis of all future editions. And well it might; for after all this labour, and after all due praise to our present version, to say nothing of particular words, there are still happy turns of expression, which had better have been retained. “In point of perspicuity, and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style,” it has been said, “no English version has yet surpassed it;”⁴³ and if any one suspect that this is saying too

⁴³ These words are applied by Geddes, by way of distinction, to Tyndale; and not to Coverdale, as sometimes quoted.

much, let him first peruse Tyndale for himself, and then observe the innumerable passages, which, after so many revisions, are verbally the same as in our present version.

In the detail thus presented to the reader, he cannot fail to have observed more reasons than one for the distinction drawn between the translation of Tyndale and that of Coverdale. He has seen that the powerful *effects* of the former had roused Crumwell, and led him to employ Coverdale “instantly,” or in all haste, to sit down to his task; and the task performed, before it could have made any impression on England, he has heard Fox of Hereford, in Convocation last year, allow or rather describe the glorious result of Tyndale’s primary version—“The lay people,” said he, “do now know the Holy Scripture, better than many of us.” In one word, *the times themselves, were the effect of Tyndale’s translation; Coverdale’s translation was only one effect of the times.*

But, independently of these material circumstances, or of Tyndale’s version being preferable, for his choice of terms, and greatly superior in point of euphony, there is a far more important distinction between these two Bibles, than that of style or idiom; and it is one which renders it still more extraordinary, that the unpatronised, nay, obnoxious translator, and his hitherto obnoxious translation, should have gained the ascendancy. Instead of describing this, the better way will be to exhibit it.

TYNDALE.

Printed in 1525, imported 1526.

Repent, the Kyngdome of heven is at hande.

Brynge forth therefore the frutes belonging to repentance.

And they went forth and preached that they should repent.

Repent and beleve the gospell.

But except ye repent, ye shall all in likewyse perish.

I say unto you that likewyse joy shall be heven over one synner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine juste persons, which nede no repentaunce.

Lykewise I say unto you, joy shall be in the presence of the angels of God, over one synner that repenteth.

COVERDALE.

Printed 1535, imported 1536.

Amende your selves, the Kyngdome of heven is at hande.

Beuarre, bringe forth due frutes of *pennaunce*.

And they went forth and preached that men should *amende them selves*.

Amende your selves, and beleve the goppell.

But excepte ye *amende your selves*, ye shall perish likewise.

I saye unto you: Even so shall there be *joy in heven over one synner that doth pennaunce*, more than over nyne and nyentye righteous, which nede not repentaunce.

Even so (I tell you) shall there be *joye before the Angels of God, over one synner that doth pennaunce*.

Rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive him.

Peter sayde unto them; Repent and be ye baptyzed every one of you.

Repent ye, therefore, and turne, that your synnes may be done away.

One passage may be quoted in full, Acts xxvi., 19-24, not only involving the same distinction, but as a specimen of their different styles.

Wherefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: but shewed fyrst unto them of Damasco, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coastes of Jewry, and to the gentyls, that they should repent, and turne to God, and do the ryght workes of repentance. For this cause the Jewes caught me in the temple, and went about to kyll me. Nevertheless I obtained help of God, and continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and to greate, saying none other thinges, than those which the prophetes and Moses dyd say shuld come, that Christ shuld suffre, and that he shuld be the fyrst that shuld ryse from death, and shuld shewe lyght unto the people, and the gentyls.

We need not therefore now affirm, that the two productions were very distinct. No man was more conscious of this than Coverdale himself; and the modesty with which he speaks of his own performancc, would be more than sufficient to have dissuaded from any comparison, if the interests and purity of Divine Truth were not concerned: but Lewis, in his "History of Translations," has so heedlessly confounded the one with the other, and, in our own day, others have been so misled, that no choice is left to any impartial writer. After comparing Tyndale's translation of one passage in the Pentateuch with that of Coverdale, in which the former is best, Lewis then adds,—“So Matt. iii. is, ‘sayinge, Amende your selves,’ as it is in Tyndale’s first editions.” But where is there any such expression to be found in Tyndale? Had Lewis not examined the first editions? Was he not aware that they were the first editions that Sir Thomas More attacked, and that upon *this* very point, among others? Or had he not read Tyndale’s able and animated reply in 1530, when he answered, *why* he had translated love and *not* charity—congregation and *not* church—repentance and *not* penance?

Rebuke hym, and if he amende, forgive him.

Peter said unto them; *Amende your selves*, and let every one of you be baptyzed.

Do penance now, therefore, and turn you, that your synnes may be done awai.

Wherefore (O Kynge Agrippa) I was not faithlesse unto the heavenly vysion, but shewed *it* fyrste unto them at Damascoun, and at Jerusalem, and in all the coastes of Jewrye, and to the Heithen, that they *should do pen- aunce*, and turn to God, and to do *right workes of penance*. For this the Jewes toke me in the temple and went about to kyll me. But thorough the help of God lente unto me, I stonde unto this daye, and testifye both unto small and greate, and say none other thyng, then that the prophetes have sayde, (that it shoulde come to passe) and Moses: that Chryste should suffre, and be the fyrst of the resurrection from the dead, and shew lyght unto the people and to the Heythen.

Yes, all this he had done, and of all this he seems to have been aware, and yet, strange to say, forgot *his own* previous history! No, there existed in Tyndale's mind a very different feeling from that which would have led him to have regarded penance and repentance as *synonymous* terms; and, more especially, since the *sense* of the previous term was so fully known and felt throughout Europe, when "the scourge inexorable, and the torturing hour, called them to penance." Coverdale, on the other hand, in obedience to the dominant power of the day, falling under the influence of expediency, mixed up those terms with others of far inferior moment, and here is his explanation.

"Sure I am," he says in his epistle to the reader, "that there cometh more understanding and knowledge of the Scripture, by these sundry translations, than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors. Be not thou offended, therefore, good reader, though one call a scribe, that another calleth lawyer; or elders, that another calleth father and mother; or *repentance*, that another calleth *penance* or *amendment*. For if we were not *deceived by men's traditions*, we should find no more diversity between these terms, than between *four-pence* and a *groat*! And this manner have I used in my translation, calling in some places penance, that in another I call repentance;⁴⁴ and that not only because the interpreters have done so before me,⁴⁵ but that the adversaries of the truth might see that we abhor not this word penance, no more than the interpreters of Latin abhor *penitere*, when they read *resipiscere*."

Now, above five years before his translation was printed, Coverdale must have been perfectly familiar with Tyndale's strong impression, as to the vital importance of this word *Metanoia* being correctly rendered—he had heard him saying to his opponent, the Lord Chancellor—

"He cannot prove that I gave not the right English unto the Greek word;" and after explaining his views, had heard him add—"these things to be even so, Mr. More knoweth well enough, for he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them long ere I. So now the cause why our prelates thus rage, and what moveth them to call Mr. More to help, is, not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost their feigned terms, wherewith Peter prophesied they should make merchandise of the people."

If, therefore, Coverdale had been for once with Tyndale, at Hamburgh, in 1529, we need not suppose that the former dissembled ever after, or kept in secret from Tyndale the course he was pursuing. No, the conclusion to be drawn is this, that there could have been *no familiar intercourse between the parties ever since that period*; while there can be no doubt, that had Tyndale known of this proceeding, or read Coverdale's lame apology for it, the voice of remonstrance, nay, and of strong reprobation, would have been heard from the castle of Vilvorde.

At the same time, a distinction so systematic, in opposition to all the editions of Tyndale's New Testament, which had been imported into

⁴⁴ But penance most frequently, as already shown.

⁴⁵ The only English interpreter before him had never done so—they must have been his Latin or Dutch (German) interpreters to whom he referred.

England for above ten years past, could not now have been adopted, *but* under the sanction of *Crumwell*, though he must by no means be allowed to bear all the blame. Long after his death, this particular word was one to which Coverdale, when acting for himself, pertinaciously adhered.⁴⁶ Indeed, of all the men now so signally overruled, it is natural to suppose that he must have felt the greatest mortification; but there was no help for him. He had been so profoundly obsequious to his Majesty as to give him his choice of putting his version *aside altogether*, and so it has come to pass. He must of course therefore now submit, and very soon, or almost immediately, he will be engaged to superintend the press of a second edition of the successful translation.

On reading thus far, however, it is by no means improbable that, owing to recent circumstances, a few questions will naturally occur to many. Was there not held in the year 1835 a commemoration of the 4th of October 1535, styled "*the third Centenary of the English Bible.*" There was. And was it with reference to Coverdale's Bible just described? Of course it was. But were the parties aware that his version was thus laid aside? Were they aware that it was not only superseded, but *never* enjoined to be *read* in England, or that it stood at the top of the list of interdicted books in 1546? Above all, were they aware that this was the book, which contained these passages, *thus* rendered? Surely they were not; for if they had, the centenary must have been postponed; except they had been resolved to celebrate the wrong book, and rejoice before the proper time. But, again, did the year 1825 and 1826 pass by, without any notice of Tyndale, three hundred years be-

⁴⁶ In the days of Edward VI., Coverdale felt himself more at liberty, when we find him, however strange it may seem, repeatedly attempting to push the same translation into notice, by dedicating it afresh to that Prince. It was reprinted abroad, and even not so correctly as at first, in 1550, and again re-issued in 1553. In both instances he printed his dedications in London, and repeats the same language which he had employed in 1535, but, happily, with as little effect. These impressions of his Bible, in quarto, embrace the solitary *two* years, out of *eighty-one*, in which he was Bishop of Exeter; and what is curious enough, as if the Church, of which he was then a Bishop, had been all along of his sentiments, in reference to penance and repentance, in one of the sentences already quoted, he changes "the adversaries of the *truth*," into, "the adversaries of the *CHURCH*,"—"that the adversaries of the *Church* might see, that we abhor not this word penance."

Variety of translations was a favourite subject of Coverdale's, and in his prologue he had expressed himself in terms which have puzzled more authors than one; even so late as 1836, the anonymous Memorialist of Coverdale confesses himself to be quite in the dark. "Among the Greeks," says Coverdale, "had not *Origen* a special translation? Had not *VULGARIUS* one peculiar, and likewise *Chrysostom*?" But who was *VULGARIUS*? For it is singular enough, that fifteen and eighteen years after, or in 1550 and 1553, he repeats the *same* word. "Miles Coverdale," says Jortin, "published an English translation of the Bible in 1550, and dedicated it to Edward VI. In his preface he reckons *Vulgaris* among the fathers of the Church. Maittaire (iii., 505,) makes mention of this edition, and declares himself quite at a loss, and unable to guess *who* this *Vulgaris* should be. He knew nothing, it seems, of the history of this blunder. Erasmus, by a strange mistake, gave the name of *Vulgaris* to *Theophylact*. Being censured for this, he made a shuffling excuse; but was sensible of his error, and afterwards called him by his true name *Theophylact*, in the *second* and the following editions of the New Testament. Coverdale then was misled by Erasmus, which is somewhat strange, since Erasmus had corrected the mistake in his notes."—*Jortin's Erasmus*, ii., 376. Had Coverdale then only consulted the *first* edition of 1516? So it should seem. Tyndale had kept his eye on them *all*, up to the fourth, in 1527.

fore? They did. And was not the month of August 1537, far more worthy of joyful commemoration than that of October 1535, when, in fact, nothing whatever immediately followed? Of this, we presume, there can be no question now; but it also passed away without the slightest reference to Tyndale. The first introducer of *penance*, as printed in the English tongue, and forty-seven years before the *Rhemish* version, was held up to view by many, though even then, not by all; on the other hand, his predecessor by ten years, and the first able advocate of "Repentance towards God," has been allowed to sleep in oblivion.

These, however, it is acknowledged, are matters of but small account, compared with the fact, that up to this hour the hand of the Almighty has *never* been distinctly, and therefore duly recognised. The very marked, and ever-to-be-remembered, period, when God, by his overruling providence and grace, was introducing that inestimable boon, which, as an instrument in his hand, has made our Country *what it is*, has never been clearly distinguished; never held up to public view as the fit season for grateful and adoring commemoration! It is one proof, among too many others, that *due* regard has not yet been paid to the history of our Sacred Record.

It was only two months after the arrival of this Bible, when Henry met, most unexpectedly, with what was calculated to produce some permanent impression upon him. It was not yet seventeen months since he had so barbarously put his Queen to death, and married a third wife the next day! On the 12th of October Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to a son, but in twelve days afterwards sunk and died. Whether his Majesty was long or deeply afflicted by his loss, as historians have but too often represented, will appear very soon. But the birth of this amiable child, following so immediately after the introduction of the Scriptures, it may now be said,—"*about which time EDWARD was born.*" Throughout his brief reign, the Word of the Lord, and in this translation of it, will be treated as it ought ever to have been, whether by the prince or the peasant.

But in conclusion of this present year, all other events sink into insignificance when compared with that extraordinary occurrence in the month of August. Such was the introduction of Tyndale's Bible to his countrymen; so peacefully, easily, and effectually accomplished, after all the blood and turmoil of the past. The *plague* was raging furiously all the time; yet the prototype, the first edition of our English Bible must be then and so introduced. Come it did, at a season so rousing, and fraught with solemn warning. Not to increase alarm, even Grafton who brought it, was cautious of approach. Official men had fled for safety from the Metropolis. Not so Crumwell. He

stood firm in the midst of the dying and the dead. It was chiefly to do, what he did in this matter ; while all other men of power and pretension have appeared before us, only as “ clay in the hand of the potter.” To exempt any individual, would be historically incorrect : they have been overruled to a man.

If, therefore, there be any importance in setting an example ; in exhibiting a pattern after which others may work, or in laying the foundation-stone of a great enterprise ; if it be easy to follow, where one has broken up the way, and smoothed it ; and if the first individual who strikes out a new and untried path, in which his country, after having shewed great resistance, at last follows, be allowed to discover a mind above the common order ; then, so far as human agency was concerned, all this must be traced to one man ; and one whom now we need not name.

But above all, the *mode* of the Divine procedure, in this instance, deserves special regard. In studying this, whether towards the Christian individually, or towards a people as such, it has been said that, in certain cases, something may be discovered, bearing no slight analogy to the principal sound,—the *key-note* in music ; to which the whole piece is accommodated, with which it usually begins, but always *ends*. Now if the Sovereign disposer of all events had begun to discourse with the higher powers in this country after this fashion ; had begun by an instance of his overruling providence, so signal as the present ; it remains to be cautiously observed, whether He does not *so* interpose, again and again, in favour of his own blessed word. Nay, whether He has not once done so, even in our own times, and may yet do so, once more. At all events, ancient though this triumph be, hitherto almost unobserved, and therefore generally disregarded, it may yet be seen to carry a firm and determined aspect, quite beyond our own eventful day. The series of events to be recorded in our Second Volume should resolve this point. But they will at least prove that we have far more to do, and to do now, with the history of the English Bible, than the great body of those who at present profess Christianity throughout this kingdom have imagined.

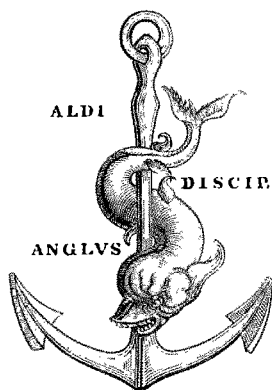


BS 455 .A54 v.1
Anderson, Christopher, 1782-
1852.
The annals of the English
Bible

THE ANNALS OF
The English Bible

BY
CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

VOL. II.



London
WILLIAM PICKERING
1845.

THE
Annals of the English Bible

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

MDXXXVIII—MDCCCXLIV.

“ THOU hast magnified thy word above all thy name.”

THE PSALMIST.

“ OH how unlike the complex works of man,
Heaven's easy, artless, unincumber'd plan !
No meretricious graces to beguile,
No clustering ornaments to clog the pile ;
From ostentation as from weakness free,
It stands like the cærulean arch we see,
Majestic in its own simplicity.” COWPER.

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Reign of Henry the Eighth.

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THROUGHOUT the preceding volume, the reader found himself obliged to travel for years, contentedly, by the margin of what might be compared only to a rivulet, patiently fighting its way with the rocks and obstructions of every description which lay right before it, and seeming to forbid, by a sort of authority, all passage or progress. Still no returning season passed away, without bringing fresh tokens that all opposition was not only vain, but actually helpful; and the event of last year must have rewarded the expectation of all who had waited for it. Nor ever let the long and well-sustained conflict be forgotten. It must be measured by its consequences; for though but too

true a description of the past, it was the positive forerunner of all that is to come. In the following pages, if we continue to abide by the self-same stream, not omitting to observe as we pass on, whatever scenes may open to view on either side of the current; it will bring us ere long to a river, broad and deep, which no man can pass over. At last should it rise, and overflowing its banks, baffle every attempt at any adequate description, it will then at least be evident, that, in point of magnitude, the mind of England in our own day can be directed to no greater object; while with reference to the stability and vital interests of this kingdom, it will bow to no other.

In resuming this history, notwithstanding what occurred last year, it would be a great mistake to imagine, because Henry the Eighth and all around him had been overruled, that any visible change of character had taken place, either in him, or in them. On the contrary, they will go on in such a manner, and to such an extent, as to render the interposition already described, only the more striking. It must ever stand out in bold *relief*, among the current events of the time. Men overruled, in any rank, occupy very humble ground; but the higher their station, or the greater their influence, the ground is lower still; and the King himself will immediately satisfy us that there was no change upon him. Nor will this be less apparent in the servants of the crown.¹

The Sacred Scriptures, however, in the English tongue, had now been introduced, and in a manner so remarkable as to excite curiosity with regard to the sequel. The victory already recorded, great as it was, would not yet suffice. If there was any spot on the Continent, where opposition to Divine Truth had been most of all virulent, that will be the proper place in which to complete the triumph of the English

¹ Trivial incidents often strongly mark the character. The very next month after the arrival of the Bible, though the *plague* was raging still, his Majesty presents us with one incident characteristic of his own ideas respecting that body of which he was now the determined Head. Sir William Fitzwilliam, on the point of being created Earl of Southampton, is writing to Crumwell, and among other passages, there is the following—"My Lord, one thing there is, that the King's Highness, at my last resort unto your Lordship, willed me to speak to your Lordship in; and at my return to his Grace, his Highness asked, whether I had remembered the same or not: which is—His Grace hath a *Priest*, that yearly maketh his *hairs*, and this year hath made him *two*, which fly, and kill their game very well, to his Highness' *singlier pleasure and contentation*. And for the pain which the said *Priest* taketh abouts the same, his Majesty would that he should have one of Mr. Bedell's *benefices*, if there be any ungiven, besides that which his Grace hath already given. And if there be none of the said *benefices* ungiven, that then your Lordship should have him *in remembrance*, that he may have *some other*, when it shall fall void"—At Hampton Court, this Wednesday, the 12th day of September—Your own, WILLEM FITZWILLIAM."

Bible. Before the printing of the Sacred Oracles is to become by far the most conspicuous or distinguishing feature of our own country, another conquest had been determined. Tyndale had toiled and died on the Continent, and that must be the seat of this second achievement. It comes like a double testimony to the work of his hands; but the story will appear in its proper colours, after we have glanced over other national, though to us now, subordinate affairs.

In the various transactions of the present year, there is such an intricacy, that without taking a three-fold view of them, it seems to be impossible for any one to arrive at the truth: one connected with the *King* personally, another associated with *Crumwell and Cranmer*, and the third having reference only to the *Scriptures*. In a history such as the present, the year derives all its importance from its being that which immediately followed the public sanction of the Sacred Volume in England. In order, therefore, to ascertain the relative position of the reigning authorities, it becomes necessary to observe first, the general procedure of the King himself on the one hand, and then that of Crumwell and Cranmer on the other. After such a memorable event as that of last August, should the reader be anticipating any decided change of character, he will thus be able to judge for himself.

With regard to the leading sovereigns of Europe, Henry, Charles, and Francis, they come before us precisely the same men they have ever been. The two latter, whether as rulers or as men, had been chastised and humbled in succession, by their endless conflicts; and Henry, too, since the rebellions of Lincoln and Yorkshires, had by no means sat so easy on his throne. As for his being now a widower, we shall find that this, in no sense, lay heavy on his spirits. The Emperor and the King of France were still at war; and being as nearly balanced in point of power as ever, the King of England, by throwing his influence into either scale, might still change the current of European affairs; but the steps he had already taken, rendered him an awkward or ticklish ally for either party. This, of course, was owing to a fourth power, once the most formidable in the world, that of the Pontiff, to whose temporal sovereignty at least, Henry was as much opposed as ever; but whom neither Charles nor Francis would disregard, whenever it seemed likely to *serve* their respective political purposes.

The same outrageously crooked policy was, therefore, still keenly pursued by all these men, every one of them being engaged more or less, in playing a double game; while, situated as Henry was, he ran

great hazard of being befooled. Turner, who is sufficiently measured in his terms of censure, has said, in reference to the days of Wolsey—“The only extraordinary fact is, that great and able men should then have habitually acted like scoundrels, without suspecting that they were so; and with their sword ready for any man's throat, that should link the term for a moment to their names.” Whether the same remark be equally applicable to the councils and policy of England, France, and Spain, at the present period, will become apparent as we proceed.

About ten years ago, we have seen that the overthrow of Cardinal Wolsey was owing, in no small degree, to his interference with Henry's passion for a second Queen. So now, the third having died suddenly, the critical period of Crumwell's life was come. It will be remembered, that he had acquiesced in Henry's determination to get rid of Anne Boleyn, though by that base step he incurred no risk whatever, as the passion of his imperious master was then already fixed; but now, the King was in a new and unwonted situation. The policy of Crumwell, therefore, when dealing with his Sovereign throughout the whole year, will serve to illustrate his character as a man. Cautious of any suggestion, he will leave the Monarch to the full freedom of his own caprice, and for some time to come go in, or seem to do so, most cordially, with all his whimsical proposals for a fourth Queen. Never will he venture even to whisper a choice, till his Majesty has literally wearied himself out, in search of a wife; and they will only be pressing, or, in his apprehension, desperate circumstances, which shall urge him into a different course; but not till next year.

By the death of Jane Seymour, the King had been stunned for the moment. Turner represents him as shutting himself up in his palace, lamenting the unexpected blow. Unexpected it certainly was; for only the day before, Henry was entertaining thoughts of leaving the spot where the Queen lay, and not till the morning of the 24th of October, was death certainly anticipated.² In the evening of that day she expired. The Court was ordered into mourning till Candlemas this year—the Christmas holidays were dispensed with; but his Majesty had already been busy enough. The truth is, that the mournings were worn but a few *days*, when Henry's spirits were recovering; and before they were put off, he had been in pursuit of more than *one* successor to the mother of his only son. Jane, it is true, has been represented as the most beloved of all his Queens, chiefly from the circumstance of its being above two years before the King was married again; but certainly this was not his intention; and whether there was affection shewn, or even common respect, for her memory, can only be gathered from the procedure of his Majesty.

² Gov. State Papers, i., p. 572.

Last year, while the Emperor and Francis were meditating a truce, as Katherine and Anne Boleyn no more stood in the way, Charles seemed much disposed to court friendship with England. Sir Thomas Wyatt had, therefore, been sent to Spain, to succeed Richard Pate as ambassador, and certain communications had passed between the two Courts.³ The truce referred to, was concluded in July; but the month before that, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, had arrived in England, with proposals for the marriage of Henry's eldest daughter Mary, with Prince Louis of Portugal; and in July Crumwell informs Wyatt that "there are hopes of good success as to the marriage."⁴ By the beginning of October, however, the French Government had insinuated charges against the Emperor's sincerity;⁵ so that by the 10th of that month, while Henry offers his mediation for peace between these two powers, Wyatt is instructed by the King himself, as well as Crumwell, to "fish out the truth, whether the Emperor do indeed love him (Henry) so well as he pretends to do."⁶

Meanwhile, Henry lost his Queen on the 24th of that month, and his first offer for another was made to Francis. "Queen Jane," says Carte, "had scarce been buried, (8th November,) when the King entertained thoughts of another marriage; and being more inclined to cultivate a friendship with the King of France than with the Emperor, proposed to take a French lady." According to Le Grand, the King's first proposal was made in *November* to Francis, for Marie, the Dowager Duchess of Longueville, or Mary of Guise; but she had been pre-engaged to James V. of Scotland, who had lost his Queen in July. Not at all fond of such an alliance as might another day be turned against himself, Henry was also piqued at the idea of James being preferred to him, after he had made the proposal; but there was no remedy. Mary of Guise, indeed, had two sisters, and Henry might have had either; but Francis would not bow to the humiliation of sending them to Calais for Henry's inspection. He behoved now to turn to the Emperor, or rival of the King of France, and in order to secure him in his favour, so early as the 23d of December, Henry was writing to Spain.

Thus matters stood at the close of last year. The truce between the two rival powers had been renewed in November, but the Emperor and Francis were still but too equal, and therefore mutually afraid. The latter had counted falsely upon Henry and the German States being with him, and found himself left to wage war alone. Charles was in apprehension of Francis uniting with the Turk, and so invading Germany; while the Pontiff, in like fear, imagined the coasts of Italy might thus be invaded by the Turkish unbelievers. In his letter of December, therefore, Henry had offered to assist Charles in his war with the Turk,

³ Harleian Ms., No. 292, fol. 7. ⁴ *Idem*, fol. 293-295. ⁵ *Idem*, fol. 296. ⁶ *Idem*, fol. 34.

on condition that he would accept of his aid in mediating peace with France, and "so join him as a principal contrahent in the treaty."⁷ The Emperor certainly sighed for peace with France, though it was chiefly in order that he might have leisure to chastise the refractory States of Germany; but, to understand this urgency of the King of England, it is only necessary to observe, that the Pontiff and Henry had started in the *same* race; each of them, in order to serve his own ends, alike eager to be the mediator. In writing to Charles, therefore, Henry objects to the Pontiff's Council summoned to meet at Vicenza, and uses many arguments with him to oppose it.

Proceeding in the same course, by the commencement of this year, so far from weeping over his lost Queen, matrimonial alliances had become, with Henry, the order of the day. Thus, on the 22d of January, and before the mournings for Queen Jane were laid aside, he commands his ambassador, Wyatt, in conference with the Spanish ministers, "to let fall some speech, *as from himself*, touching his wishes that he (the King) would marry, so that the Imperial Court may be thereby induced to *offer* him the Duchess of Milan, whom percase, he, the King, may honour by marriage, her virtue, qualities, and behaviour, being reported to be such as is worthy to be much advanced."⁸

This suggestion served for himself, but his Majesty had a child by each of his deceased Queens; and, in the frenzy of the moment, they are now to be treated as so many chattels, for political purposes; a degradation from which the children of the humblest peasant are happily exempt. In this part of the strange procedure, however, the King's *Council* must now go along with him; though not one of them dared even to whisper about a *Queen*. We have spoken of Crumwell, as chiming in with his Master's movements; and as one of the first proofs of this we have a very curious document, in his own hand-writing, applicable to the present moment. It is entitled "*Things to be treated of in Council.*"

"Item, Specially to note in what state the King's affairs stand in, and to provide so that his Grace may at the least have *one* friend, and now the case standing as it doth, to accelerate that matter, so that it may be done in time.

"Which be the ways and means for the King to acquire this friendship, and upon what grounds. First, his Highness hath two daughters, *though not lawful*, yet *King's* daughters, and forasmuch as princes commonly conclude amities, and things of great importance, by alliances, it is thought necessary that these two daughters shall be made of *some* estimation, without the which no man will have any great respect unto them.

"And forasmuch as the one of them is of more age than the other, and more apt to make a present alliance than the other for want of age is, if it might please the King's Highness to declare her according to his laws, which to her estima-

⁷ Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. 37

⁸ Idem, fol. 15

tion is thought will be a great thing, or else otherwise to advance her to some certain living, decent for such an estate, whereby she may be the better had in reputation; it is thought the more acceleration would be made for her: and then a like direction to be taken for my Lady Elizabeth, whereby as his Grace by the *one*, may provide him with a present friend, so he may have the other in store hereafter, at his pleasure, to get also *another* friend, as the commodity of his affairs shall require; for as we think the only sheet-anchor the French King hath, is to compass the marriage between the Duke of Orleans and the Duchess of Milan, which in estate were not to be compared with any of the King's daughters, if she wanted that endowment of Milan, which the French King thinketh by that means to get into his hands,—and if that should happen, then shall not only the French King and the bishop of Rome *ryre* together, by all likelihood against us, so that the King's Highness shall be destitute of friendship on all sides; but also his daughters shall as well remain unprovided for, as be left in such case as no prince of honour shall be left to desire the King's amity, by mean of either of the same.⁹

Royal blood has been often mentioned as a subject worthy of great veneration, but it certainly was treated here, with no enviable distinction; nor does there appear to have been any hesitation, for a single day, before the wild counsel was, at least, attempted to be put in practice. By the 22d of February, Henry himself is writing, in cypher, to his ambassador Wyatt, and the old amity was supposed to be renewed, and confirmed. The Spanish ambassadors seemed to accept of the overture for his Majesty's *three* children, including the infant Edward of four months old! Mary to be given in marriage to Don Louis of Portugal, Elizabeth to one of King Ferdinand's sons, and the infant Prince to one of the Emperor's daughters, born or to be born!¹⁰

It was but a few days after this, when Francis advanced once more, and professed to agree that Henry should *be* the mediator between himself and Charles; sending at the same time his ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, with his commission to the English monarch. He farther promised that he would make *no peace* otherwise, and that as to the Pontiff's Council now called, he would show all friendship to Henry. The ambassador and his attendants made no scruple in affirming boldly, that "all the Emperor's promises had no good faith or meaning in them, but were full of fraud and deceit." To all this, Henry informs Wyatt, he had replied greatly to the Emperor's honour, though at the same moment he charges his ambassador to "use all his dexterity that the crafty dealing of which the Frenchmen spake, might be discovered in themselves."¹¹

Before the 10th of March, however, and as if the Frenchmen had spoken truth, Wriothsley, the English ambassador at Brussels, intimated a sudden change in the Lady Regent's deportment, immediately after the arrival of two couriers from Spain;¹² and by the 4th of April, Crum-

⁹ Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., fol. 481.

¹⁰ Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. i., and fol. 17. *Original*

¹¹ Harleian MS., No. 282, fol. 175, 182.

¹² *Idem.* fol. 187.

well, in writing to Spain, informs Sir T. Wyatt, that in treating with the Spanish ambassadors, "they found many fair words, but attended with very small effects." He then blames Wyatt for *sending his letters open to the Bishop of Winchester*, (GARDINER, in *Paria*), and intimates that Dr. T. Heynes and Dr. Edmund Bonner are coming to Barcelona from the King.¹³ Next day, or the 5th of April, the King himself writes also to Wyatt, that the Spanish ambassadors in England had no power to treat with him as to the "chiefest point of all,"—*his marriage with the Duchess of Milan*.¹⁴ Bonner and Heynes, on the 7th, were the bearers of these letters, and also fresh instructions, to co-operate with Wyatt, "in searching out the bottom of their hearts in Spain," as Wriothsley had advised;¹⁵ but anxiety being still on the increase, by the 16th Crumwell orders Sir Thomas home, since "he had matters to declare by word of mouth, which he could not do by writing," and Mr. Pate the bearer is to be his successor.¹⁶ On the 4th of May, however, Henry himself writes, informing these ambassadors in Spain that Francis, through *Gardiner* at Paris, had now offered the Duke of Orleans to the Lady Mary of England, in hopes that the Emperor would give the Duchy of Milan with her! But that as the French King had now referred all matters of controversy between him and the Emperor to the Pontiff, Henry could not allow *him* to be a meddler, a mediator, or a principal contrahent, where he himself should be a party.¹⁷

What then must have been the mortification of the English monarch, when he found that he had been deceived both by France and Spain? For after all this tortuous procedure, the Emperor and Francis actually negociated through the Pontiff, and that by *his* request also, at NICE. There, Charles appeared as though he would not bow to a personal interview with his rival, which was only a secret understanding between the parties; while the Pontiff managed all matters between them so dexterously, that by the 18th of June, a truce of ten years was agreed upon; both powers engaging to send ambassadors to Rome, and there discuss their pretensions at leisure! Upon this Paul recalled his Legates gone to Vicenza, and deferred the Council called, till April next year: boasting, no doubt, in the meanwhile, that he had restored peace to Europe.

In July, the Emperor returning home, had set sail for Barcelona, and drew near to the island of St. Margaret on the coast of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far distant, heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility to invite him ashore, and proposed a personal interview at Aigues-Mortes. The Emperor seemed to hesitate for a moment, but then repaired thither. "As soon as he had cast anchor in

¹³ Idem, fol. 103. Gardiner had his nephew, *Germain* Gardiner, with him in France, and he was ever busy in showing the King's letters to strangers. This man, who printed a miserable and false tract against Fryth, dated from Esher 1st August 1534, was afterwards charged with denying Henry's Supremacy, and executed at Tyburn so late as the 7th of March 1544.

¹⁴ Idem, fol. 26.

¹⁵ Idem, fol. 32, b.

¹⁶ Idem, fol. 197.

¹⁷ Idem, fol. 54.

the road, Francis, relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his security, visited him on board his galley, and was entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem. Next day, the Emperor repaying the confidence which the King had placed in him, landed, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on shore during the night. After twenty years of open hostilities, or of secret enmity—after so many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured—after having formally given the lie, and challenged one another to single combat—after the Emperor had inveighed so publicly (at Rome) against Francis, as a prince void of honour or integrity—and after Francis had accused him of being accessory to the murder of his eldest son—such an interview appears altogether singular and even unnatural. But the history of these monarchs abounds with such surprising transitions. From implacable hatred, they appeared to pass in a moment to the most cordial reconciliation; and after practising all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could assume, of a sudden, the liberal and open manners of two gentlemen.¹⁸ At present, however, it is evident that, as sovereigns, they were both reduced to a state of comparative exhaustion; or alike wearied “in the multitude of their counsels, and the greatness of their way.” These were the first moments of a breathing time, which, after all, so far from extending to ten, was disturbed in two years, and ended in four.

The Emperor has been represented as driven, by stress of weather, to St. Margaret's, but Lord Herbert affirms that this meeting was by private concert between the two sovereigns; as from the number of their *attendants*, and their mutual jealousy of Paul, their seeing each other, whether at their respective Courts, or in the Pontiff's at Nice, was not *safe*. This is most probably correct; for the truth is, that the ambassadors of *England* also, were with both Charles and Francis. Bonner's amusing account of Wyatt, Heynes, and himself, being at Villa Franca, is given by Foxe; while Gardiner also was with the French King. But, besides, Cardinal *Pole* was actually with the Pontiff, only *two* miles distant, at Nice; where he had been most courteously treated and caressed by all parties.¹⁹

But we are not yet done with the Emperor and his *attendants* during this meeting. It will be remembered that on the 16th of May, Sir T. Wyatt had been recalled, and in returning he proceeded “from Villa Franca, in post, into England.” In order, therefore, to prolong the delusion, it will scarcely be believed that Charles had made proposals from *this very spot*, to induce the King of England to join him in a friendly league, which might be made effective against Francis!! It was probably this step which led Crumwell to suspect, if not declare,

¹⁸ Robertson's Charles V. ¹⁹ See the letter of Theobald, already quoted, page 539, vol. i.

that "the friendship at *Aigues-Mortes* would not last;" but his royal Master, though affecting to be gratified by this overture, did not then pay any attention to it.²⁰ The fact was, that other parties, from Germany, of whom we shall hear presently, were now in England; and, under the pressure of circumstances just described, Henry, from political motives, was now disposed to turn aside from his matrimonial excursions, and see whether, by some friendly co-operation with the German Princes, he might not improve the security of his kingdom, and be ready to cope with both the Emperor and Francis, set on by the Pontiff, should any attempt be made upon England.

On the 19th of July, the Emperor had re-embarked for Barcelona; and, still steadily carrying on the farce with England, upon reaching home, he immediately despatched a commission, dated the 26th of the same month, to his sister the Princess Regent of Flanders, "to treat with the plenipotentiaries of Henry VIII. about the *renewal* of treaties and marriages."²¹ While Francis, who did not arrive in Paris till the beginning of September, found upon the road, that a change must take place in the British embassy at his Court.

All this was, of course, no welcome news, more especially to the King of England, for certainly he had now been out-witted by both Sovereigns; while such an assembly as had now been held at Nice, might well cause Henry to forbode a storm. Marriage with any foreign party must be laid aside for a few months, and another course of policy pursued. Meanwhile, of the two Sovereigns, Henry was most incensed with the King of France, and he had most reason; while Gardiner's procedure as ambassador, had contributed to embarrass the counsels of his own Sovereign. Though living in Paris, he leaned towards the side of the Emperor. He, as well as Thirlby his coadjutor, who had no objections, must be recalled, and the Court of France be furnished with another man. As Bonner, therefore, with Heynes, had returned from Villa Franca to Barcelona, the King's letters were immediately transmitted to the former; ordering him to proceed to France, and succeed Gardiner. The latter, says Lord Herbert, "had soured all things; since being one who both disliked his own King's late proceedings, and secretly favoured

²⁰ In four months after this, however, he will. Meanwhile, let it only be observed that Wyatt had arrived in London with the overture on the 17th of June, as it appears by the account of his expenses.—*Vespas.* c. xiv., fol. 19.

²¹ Cotton MS., Vespas. c. vii., fol. 184. It certainly would baffle the researches of the most careful observer, to ascertain which of these Sovereigns, or their advisers, exceeded in duplicity. But the reader may remark that while Charles was in the very act of negotiating with the King of France, he had sent by Wyatt, in June, proposals to the King of England for a league against him. The proposals reached London by the 17th, but the very *next day* Charles had agreed to a truce with Francis, for ten years; had exchanged civilities with him after this at *Aigues-Mortes*; and yet here is a mock commission for the renewal of treaties with England! On the other hand, Henry was busy with the German Confederates, and we shall see in October, how he acted towards Charles in return.

the Emperor, he did his master little service in that Court."²² Bonner set off immediately, and meeting with Gardiner not far from Lyon, on the 7th of August, when slowly following the French King, a tremendous explosion took place between the parties. The Bishop of Winchester, who had evidently, by his own showing, lived in great style at Paris, as ambassador, felt like a man that was caught in an evil course, and he was also indignant at the idea of *Archdeacon* Bonner succeeding him. "His disdainful nature," says Foxe, "did stomach him exceedingly," and the quarrel continued so hot between them, as actually to last all the way, like a running fight, from near Lyon, through Tarare, Varennes, Moulins, and Bourges, to Blois.²³ Francis, however, being at the village of Chambord, ten miles eastward, Gardiner behaved then to introduce his successor, and the King having left on the 1st of September, Bonner followed him on the third, in all haste to Paris. But a few days elapsed after his arrival, when, to his overflowing joy, he found by a letter from Crumwell, that he was nominated Bishop of Hereford. His predecessor, Edward Fox, a very different man, of whom we have heard, had died on the 8th of May; and Crumwell as well as Cranmer being now completely deceived by Bonner, they at once elevated this monster in human shape.²⁴ Gardiner, before leaving Paris, had the mortification to hear of this appointment, and in the end of September, left that city for England, after an absence of exactly three years. He came home, it will be evident, with a heart full of mischievous device, and as full of secret revenge against Crumwell; first for his being sent abroad at the time he was, in 1535, and now for his being recalled.²⁵

²² Herbert, generally very correct, has however by mistake placed Bonner's removal from Spain into France, in 1537; and this may have led Lingard and other historians to limit the absence of Gardiner to two years. Gardiner was abroad three years to a day, as will be shown presently.

²³ That is, if we can trust Bonner's own words. The scene is drawn with graphic minuteness, and forms a lively picture of both the men. Foxe gives it entire, as sent home to Crumwell. They were dear friends before, when, in January 1536, Bonner published a highly eulogistic preface to Gardiner's book "*De vera obedientia*;" and they will be cordial friends again, when both of them come to unite in shedding the blood of their countrymen, a few years hence. Bonner was now starting in that deeply hypocritical career, in which he so completely deceived even Crumwell.

²⁴ For some reason, the royal assent was not given till the 27th of November; but so early as the 12th of September, when Gardiner was still in Paris, we shall presently find Coverdale and Grafton referring to Bonner as Bishop elect. This appointment Crumwell regarded as a valuable stroke of policy at the moment, but it turned out to be one of the first steps to his own ruin. Yet what could he possibly do? Gardiner had been counter-working him on the Continent, though his recall was most probably by Henry's desire. He might wish to avail himself of this Bishop's counsel, as he had begun to desire that of another—Tunstal.

²⁵ None of the historians furnish any precise date for Gardiner's departure to France, or his return to England; some rating his absence at two, and others at three years. But the uncertainty is happily removed by a curious original document—"the account of his expenses." For his diet alone, he charges "from the 1st October in the 27th, to the 26th September in the 30th year of his Grace's reign," or from 1535 to 1538, viz. 1094 days at £2, 13s. 4d. per day! Then there was posting, &c., and £500 given, out of £2000 lent to him by the King. Altogether, his embassy cost England £4274, 6s. 8d. This, according to our present value of money, was equal to about £64,000! No wonder then he was delighted with his appointment, reluctant to give it up, and had boasted of his *style*. For, besides all this, there was the See of Winchester, valued

Such were those negotiations of this year, up to the present moment, in which HENRY himself had taken so warm an interest, as to write with his own hand to Sir T. Wyatt, as frequently as Crumwell, or rather more so; but there were others, of a different character, in which CRANMER and CRUMWELL were as deeply interested, and these now demand notice.

To both Crumwell and Cranmer the present year could not fail to be one of great anxiety. Their impetuous and wayward royal Master, relieved from wedlock, was like a vessel that had been loosed from her mooring. We have seen how eagerly he was bent on alliance with a foreign Queen; but such a step could not be anticipated without trembling apprehension. It had been during the brief existence of two *English* Queens in succession, that Crumwell and Cranmer had arrived at their present standing, and though the former had been particularly cautious of any interference with the royal fancy, yet until the King was fixed in his choice, it was impossible to foresee what would happen.

The only path left open to them, however, they did not fail to pursue. While Henry therefore was busy in one direction, with Crumwell obsequiously in attendance; both he and Cranmer were equally active in another. So early as the month of January, we find that the King had been correcting, with his own pen, "the Bishops' Book," of which we heard last year; but not until *after the change* in continental affairs in June, does Henry appear to have regarded with any deep interest, the course of policy and discussion with those German States, in which *Cranmer* especially had been so engaged—States which the Emperor, at the moment, was regarding with an evil eye.

On the first of March, however, or just when Francis had feigned to agree that Henry should be the mediator between himself and the Emperor, and charging the latter with deceit; Christopher Mount, a German frequently employed, and Thomas Paynel, were despatched into Germany, to ascertain precisely who the German Confederates were, then assembled at Brunswick, and whether their league was for "general defence," or for matters of religion only. These States, aware of the Emperor's feeling respecting them, had desired that Henry should unite with them, and own the Augsburg Confession of Faith; Christian III. King of Denmark having just united with them. They now, therefore, despatched three individuals on an Embassy into England, namely, Francis Burg-hart, Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, George a-Boyneburg, and

at £240, or equal to more than £30,000 annually, running on all the time! Wyatt, who was then also abroad, received only forty-one shillings per day, for about the half of his time, though afterwards it was raised to Gardiner's charge; but then Sir Thomas had no see behind him.—Compare Cotton MS. Yeapas. c. xiv., fol. 11 and 12. These three years of Gardiner's absence from England become remarkably significant, the more they are observed, with reference to *Tyndale* and *THE SMITHS*, as well as the *cessation from persecution*, and its *vigorous commencement upon his RETURN*.

Frederick Myconius. These men arrived in England, on the 12th of May, the first of them bearing a letter from Melancthon to the King. His Majesty having appointed certain bishops and doctors to converse with them, the conferences and debates had continued for three months.²⁶ So early as the month of June, however, the King grew impatient for the presence of Tunstal, who was still at a distance, as President of the Council of the North. This was a bad omen, and the *first* token of some approaching change. Crumwell, however, must order him up, and Tunstal, far from reluctant, gladly replies from Newcastle on the 27th of June, that he is coming with all "convenient diligence."²⁷ The King therefore employed *him* to answer the German Divines; but by the 15th of August their patience being exhausted, they had resolved on returning home. From all that had transpired on the Continent, Henry, by this moment, was suspicious not only of treachery at home, but invasion from abroad. He was himself gone to some distance, "taking special care of the sea coasts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of those who might stir in favour of Cardinal Pole."²⁸ Cranmer, therefore, implored the Germans to remain at least till the King's return, and they agreed to abide for another month, in the faith of his Majesty writing in excuse of their long delay.²⁹ The Primate then most earnestly turned to his brethren, the Bishops, but they were not to be moved *now*, by any of *his* solicitations. They had been treated as men of no account, ever since the memorable Convocation in 1536; so that after ten days he must inform Crumwell, that he now saw "they only sought an occasion to break the concord." They affirmed besides, that "they knew that the King's Grace had *taken upon himself* to answer the said orators." In this they were not far from the exact truth; and here was the second omen, to both Cranmer and Crumwell, of declining influence. To the German objections against the half-communion, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, Henry would, on no account, bow; and having employed Tunstal to give them a formal reply in Latin, after commending the Envoys for their learning, and the trouble they had taken, to the great disappointment of Cranmer, his Majesty then dismissed them.³⁰

Here the historian requires to pause for a moment and look back.

²⁶ There was no Convocation either in 1537 or 1538. But Strype, in his annals, has misled his readers by speaking of a Convocation as held on the 2d May 1538: and he repeats this, in his life of Cranmer, under 1539; though there he furnishes us with the rectification of his mistake. "The King," says he, "had sent his letters written the 12th of March in the 30th year of his reign, viz. 1538, for summoning a Convocation to meet at St. Paul's the 2d May,"—but this was next year, and the 12th of March in the 30th of Henry, *was* 1530.

²⁷ Gov. State Papers, v., p. 128.

²⁸ Herbert. He was gone as far as Dover, and had not returned on the 8th of September. Gov. State Papers, i., 308.

²⁹ Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 579.

³⁰ For the argumentative paper of the German ambassadors, dated 5th August, see Cleop. E. v., fol. 173; and for Henry's reply by Tunstal, *idem*, fol. 215. Both are given by Burnet, and partly translated by Collier. The Germans had left in September, and most opportunely for GARDINER'S purposes, who had arrived on the 29th of that month.

Many things, it will now be observed had been accomplished during the absence of these men, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Durham and the Duke of Norfolk, although all this time they were not idle. But now, the first of these has arrived from France, and the others were in waiting for him. All the three were impatient for a change; but for *three* years they had not, in concert, been near the ear of his Majesty. They were so now, and Gardiner especially after acting his part on the Continent, had been all the while nursing his wrath, to keep it warm. It had just burst forth with rude violence upon Bonner in France, but now resuming his wonted dexterity and self-command, we shall soon find how cordially the King of England, notwithstanding his wayward temper, fell under the influence of this old faction. Even in Gardiner's absence, Crumwell and Cranmer had been threading their way in perilous seas, but they were now come within the power and influence of the breakers. Not that Crumwell could, by any means, be yet dispensed with. Far from it. The times were portentous, and more *money* will be required presently; and in procuring this, neither the Duke nor the Bishops could be of any service to his Majesty. During the whole of this year, Crumwell's visitors were abroad throughout the country, in prospect of the dissolution of the larger Monasteries; and even at this very moment he was gratifying the cupidity of his royal Master, by supplies of money.³¹ But in other matters, the influence of Crumwell was now upon the decline, and so, like Wolsey, long before he was attainted. This he must have felt deeply, and this *change* forms the *key* to many of his future actions, and even his language.

The reader must have observed, that from January to May at least, the King of England leaned rather towards the Emperor, who was all the while deceiving him; Gardiner, though ambassador to Francis, had long done the same, and now he may help his royal Master, however meanly, to *resume* his strange negotiations with Charles.³²

At all events, so early as the 16th of October, instructions were drawn out for Sir T. Wyatt once more, accompanied by Mr. Philip Hoby, to be declared unto the Emperor; who might well smile at their return.³³

31. Images and Crosses were breaking to pieces, or given to the flames, and he was drying up those sources of wealth which had been superstitiously accumulated at the Shrines. The most celebrated was that of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, where the gold, silver, and jewels, which were conveyed into Henry's coffers, filled two ponderous chests, each of which required eight strong men to carry. The *Royal* of France, a jewel of great value, which had lain there for above three centuries and a-half, the King ever afterwards wore in a ring on his finger. It had been presented with a massy cup of gold, by Lewis VII. of France in 1179; then performing pilgrimage, the year before his own death, to recover from illness his son and successor, Philip II.

32. Lingard, from Le Grand, has represented, not merely the Duke of Norfolk, but *Gardiner* as returning a year before; and after an honourable exile of *two* years, as repairing to Winchester, without even seeing the King; from whence he recalls him to Court in Lent 1529. But all this has been, and will be disproved. Gardiner will appear presently, in high favour, at Westminster Hall; but he did not preach his sermon till 1540.

33. Harleian MS., No. 202, fol. 70. But the original, in twelve pages, is preserved in the British Museum; Vespas., c. vii., 71-82; with the interlineations of Henry, in his *own* hand-

On the 25th, both Bonner and Carnes warned Crunwell that the Lady Mary of Brussels and the King of France had met by appointment³⁴—certainly a suspicious circumstance. And yet, by the 28th of next month, though the King himself writes to Sir Thomas Wyatt, complaining of the Emperor's proceedings, proposed by himself, for the marriage of his daughter Mary with the "infant" of Portugal, Don Louis—still "he is willing to enter into an alliance with him, by marrying the Duchess of Milan on honourable terms, and conclude a league offensive and defensive." At the same time, Henry now proposes marrying his daughter Mary to the young Duke of *Cleves*, or the Duke of Urbino; craving the Emperor's opinion.³⁵ But the year closed without the slightest progress, or any satisfaction to the King of England; and therefore here we must leave the subject till next year.

Before the Bishop of Winchester's return, there was one man, who, above all others, had excited Henry's warmest indignation. This, it may be anticipated, was Cardinal POLE. By the month of August, this year, Theobald, as well as others, had afforded information of his very courteous entertainment at Nice;³⁶ but Gardiner, who cared for no man's life, if he could only rise in royal favour, and undermine all other advisers, could now plentifully furnish farther particulars. He had joined with the King of France, last year, in banishing the Cardinal from Paris; and as he ever considered Pole to be a weak man, so he would not be slow now to assist the King in regarding him as the original author of the present combination on the Continent. Such, at least, was Henry's persuasion; and it must have been greatly strengthened, by the Cardinal being sent in November as Legate into Spain, to stimulate the Emperor to invade England. His relations in England, as suspected of treason, were now to be dealt with. His brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, being first committed, is said to have made certain disclosures to the Council, when Lord Montacute, another brother, the

writing. Thus he is personally identified with the contents; and as we have noticed the duplicity of the Emperor, it would be unfair to pass over the King he had been trying to cajole. Henry, it is evident, had been negotiating with the German States, but with a more immediate eye to politics than religion, and, their ambassadors once dismissed, he turns to the Emperor once more, and what does he say?—"His Majesty remembering the gentle overtures unto his Highness, by the said Emperor, *made from Villa Franca*, the which overtures, tho' his Grace took very thankfully and embraced them, yet nevertheless, at that time, lest he should be noted to be an *interrupter* of the common quiet of Christendom—his Grace stayed to send his commission to conclude the same, until that assuredly should be passed!"—*though there was nothing he deprecated more, than the union of Francis and Charles*—"intending nevertheless, after the same, to join the Emperor in all reasonable things and conditions"—*although he had been negotiating with the German States, mainly with the view of keeping him in check!* But why delay for four months to send proposals, or why, for three, pay no regard to the Emperor's commission in July? Of course Henry would not tell that he had been courting alliance elsewhere. But—"these things well considered, I report me both to the Emperor and his Council, whether I have not had cause both to be *stuck*, and occasion to think that he and his agents did dissemble with us for winning of time, which ways being far from a *sincere* friend's demeanour, we heartily require him to no more put in use with us."—Just as if Charles had not known, by this time, how Henry had been occupied, instead of being *stuck*.

³⁴ Calig., E. iv., fol. 3. Galba, B. x., 89. ³⁵ Harl. MS., fol. 50. ³⁶ See vol. i., page 530.

Countess of Salisbury, their aged mother, the Marquis and Marchioness of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville, were arrested. On the 31st of December last, the Peers were arraigned, and on the 3d of January, the two Knights. Sir Geoffrey was pardoned, but the other three had suffered at Towerhill on the 9th of that month.³⁷

The present year, as connected with CRUMWELL and CRAMMER, now demands notice. The influence of Gardiner and Tunstal, they being at last united, and near the King, was far from being confined to foreign politics. It was still more apparent in their taking advantage of what had been done in Gardiner's absence, and now artfully turning it to the disgrace of those they either hated or persecuted.

At that Convocation in 1536, or the *first* of an unprecedented character, where Crumwell had presided as Vicegerent, and with a high hand over the Bishops, Crammer had introduced certain articles, informing all present that the *Sacraments* must be *first* settled; and as the creed, whether framed by himself or the King, or by both in union, was guarded by sanguinary penalties, it formed a most convenient instrument for any persecutor. After this, it is true, by his zeal for the Bible of 1537, Crammer would seem as though he had either questioned or undervalued the articles passed and subscribed: but be this as it may, he had been evidently eager to receive the Germans to a conference, and as much so to have retained them in discussion. Probably he thought, that as *they* could defend their own faith, under safe-conduct, and so boldly question or oppose some of the royal dogmas, thus some impression might be made on his obstinate and self-willed master. In this, however, he had now been deeply disappointed, when lo! Stephen Gardiner arrived in London.

Gardiner had been uniformly opposed to all this courting of the German Confederated States. Even when abroad, and two years ago, he had strongly advised the King against it; but he had now an opportunity of renewing his former arguments, and the crisis was particularly favourable to his adding "many like words." He had been living for three years on the Continent; and as his royal Master, in all his movements, was governed solely by political motives, no man was

³⁷ See vol. i., page 531, note 105.

more able than Gardiner to turn his intimate acquaintance with foreign affairs to some positive account, in favour of his own views. These, of course, were diametrically opposed to the policy of Crumwell and Cranmer. Henry, he had insinuated formerly, was a Sovereign, but these Germans, very inferior princes, the mere subjects of the Emperor; and it was below the King's *dignity* to form any league with them, except as lord of them all. He was "Head of the Church" in his own kingdom; and in all matters of faith, they, of course, ought to bow to him. Besides, he was an author of high renown; and having, by his book against Luther, gained the title of "Defender of the Faith," it was now of more importance than ever, that he should appear the lord and master of all sentiments and opinions within his own dominions, and give distinct intimation to all what his own opinions were. Pole had charged his Majesty with the crime of *changing* his religion; whereas now, through Tunstal, not only private masses, involving auricular confession, had been maintained, but all the wonders of the mass. One of the points in discussion with the Envoys from Germany, had related to the Lord's Supper, and the denial of the cup to the people at large; but in the final reply by Tunstal and Henry, the corporal presence and concomitance had been affirmed to the last degree of incomprehensibility. Should any man in England, therefore, at this moment, presume to question *that* point, a fine opportunity was presented to Gardiner and Tunstal for using all their address and sophistry. The King, it has been said, "valued Gardiner's abilities for business, saw his meanness, and was not aware that he himself was sometimes influenced by the fawning subtilty which he despised." In one word, no moment could be more favourable for bloody purposes. Henry was chafed by the policy of the European Sovereigns, enraged at Pole as well as at his pointed charges, if not also irritated by the obstinate adherence of the Germans to their Augsburg Confession.

The creed of 1536, therefore, (forming the first articles imposed upon England,) as if framed for the occasion, was now to be put in operation. The King had entitled it—"Articles devised to establish Christian *quietness* among us;" and Cranmer, in bringing it before the Convocation, had insisted that the sacraments must be *first* settled; but in doing this, he

probably little dreamt that two of those very articles would prove the first occasion of his embroiling his own hands in blood. The first article was baptism, and with it the King began. Henry had decreed that all *his* people "ought, *and must of necessity*, believe certainly, that baptism was instituted as a thing necessary *for the attaining of everlasting life*"—"that by *this* they shall have *remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God*"—"that this promise of grace and life, which is adjoined unto baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, who, by this sacrament, be made *thereby* the very sons and children of God—that infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin *cannot be* remitted, but *by* the sacrament of baptism."

It has been affirmed that there were many in England who denied the gross errors here propounded; and the list of "dogmata" presented to the Convocation in 1536, as prevailing throughout the country, might be referred to as proving this; but the parties seized, at this moment, were *not* Henry's people—*not* his own subjects. They were foreigners, Germans, who had fled from their own country to avoid persecution there. They might therefore have at least been first warned to *leave* the kingdom. But no—the King must speak out, in no unequivocal terms, as to his orthodoxy; and both Cranmer and Crumwell, as well as others, now fall in with the stream of blood.

On the first of October, a commission, in the King's name, was given out to *Cranmer*, Stokesly, and Samson, as Bishops, including Heath, Skip, Thirlby, Gwent, *Robert Barnes*, and Edward Crome, to try these people "lately come into this realm, where they lurk secretly in divers corners and places." There is no evidence of any crime whatever, save the denial of this article, or the doctrine contained in it; and we have no record of their trial. Nor is this surprising; it was not to be expected; as by the commission itself, the commissioners had authority *to execute the premises, notwithstanding part of them might be contrary to the customary course and forms of law!* This most humiliating document for Cranmer, was subscribed by Crumwell.³⁰ The result was, that three men

³⁰ These poor people they were to try—"summarie et de plano;" to examine them either

and one woman bore faggots at Paul's cross, and two others, a man and a woman, were consigned to the flames in Smithfield.

But another article of the creed imposed, furnished ground for a far more conspicuous triumph to the Bishop of Winchester; when a more miserable spectacle of a royal tyrant taunting and worrying his victim, Westminster Hall probably never witnessed, before nor since. *John Lambert*, a convert of *Bilney's*, who is said to have associated with *Tyndale* and *Fryth* when abroad, had, in the reign of *Sir Thomas More*, been brought to England; and before *Warham*, in 1532, had answered to not fewer than forty-five articles laid against him. *Warham*, however, died that year, and *Lambert* was discharged. To avoid the fury of persecution, he then changed his name to *Nicholson*; and being a man of learning, he had, since that period, earned an honourable subsistence, by teaching Latin and Greek. This year, *Dr. John Tailour*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, had been preaching at *St. Peter's*, *Cornhill*, on "transubstantiation." *Lambert* or *Nicholson*, after hearing him, had offered civilly to argue the point, but *Tailour* required him to commit his thoughts to writing; a very dangerous thing in those times, and that which had proved fatal to the immortal *Fryth*. On showing the paper to *Robert Barnes*, of whom we have just heard, as a member in commission with *Cranmer*, he advised *Tailour* to lay it before the Archbishop, now so rigidly observed by all his brethren of "the old learning." *Lambert* once brought into Court, appealed from the Bishops to the King; when *Gardiner* suggested that a fine opportunity was now presented to his Majesty, for putting an end to all insinuations, foreign or domestic, and of vindicating himself before the world, from the charge of favouring *heretics*. The King, in perfect character, taking up the appeal with a high hand, convoked his Nobles and Prelates immediately to repair to London, and assist at the triumph.³⁹ Upon the day fixed *Henry* arrived, with a numerous guard, all clothed in *white*, and a cushion of

judicially, or *extra*judicially, as they thought proper; and the words at the close of the commission are these—"Eo non obstante quod Denuntiatio, Detectio sive Indictatio contra eundem, aut eorum aliquem, in hac parte non præcesserit, aliquibus Statutis vel Statuto in Parliamentis nostris in contrarium editis seu provis, cæterisque contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque!"—"In cujus rei testimonium, &c. primo die Octobris 1538. Regni nostri tricesimo.—*THOM. CRANWELL.*"

³⁹ "*Gardiner*," says *Burnet*, "laid hold on the appeal, and persuaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it."

white cloth of tissue was laid before his Majesty. On his right sat the Bishops, and behind them the lawyers, in purple. On his left the Peers, in their order, with the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber behind. The King, once seated on his throne, Samson, Bishop of Chichester, by command, declared to the people, the cause of this assembly.—

“The King,” he said, “had thrown off the usurpations of the See of *Rome*, discharged and disincorporated some idle *Monks*, who lived only like drones in a bee-hive; he had removed the idolatrous regard for *images*; published the *Bible in English* for the instruction of *all* his subjects, and made some lesser alterations in the Church, which nobody could deny were for the public interest. But as for other things, *he* his Majesty was resolved to keep constant to the Catholic faith and customs. That he was very desirous the prisoner would retract his errors, and return to the Catholic communion: That for this purpose, and to prevent the extremities which would otherwise follow, he had ordered the appearance of these grave and learned men, the Bishops; hoping that by the advantage of their character, and force of their reasoning, they would recover him to the Church, and wrest his unfortunate opinion from him. But in case he was not to be removed from his obstinacy, he (the King) was resolved to make him an example; and by a precedent, *of his own setting*, acquaint his judges and the Magistracy, how *they* ought to manage heresy, and behave themselves upon such occasions!”

Henry then commenced, and with “brows bent unto severity;” but Lambert at once denying the corporal presence, he commanded Crammer to answer him. With his characteristic mildness the Archbishop began; but very soon it appeared as if Lambert would triumph in argument. “The King,” says Foxe, “seemed greatly moved—the Bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the people amazed;” when Gardiner, whose cause it truly was, before Crammer had finished, and who, according to previous arrangement, ought not to have spoken one word, till four others had finished, kneeled down for permission to break silence. Henry assenting, he began—Tunstal, Stokesly, and two others, followed, occupying the solitary prisoner for five hours, or from twelve to five o’clock, when torches were lighted. Lambert maintained his opinions in answer to them all; but observing that there was no hope of being fairly heard, towards the close had become silent. At last, Henry enquired, whether he would *live* or *die*? Lambert threw himself upon the King’s mercy—that King who, in his anger, never spared any man. He replied, that he would be no patron of heretics; and then commanded *Crumwell*, as Vicar-General, to read the sentence

of death! Such was the pitiful display on Friday the 16th of November; and on Tuesday following, the 20th, Lambert was burnt to ashes, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. His last words were—"None but Christ—none but Christ."⁴⁰

On Saturday following, the foreigners suffered; and by Wednesday the 28th we have the following melancholy proof of the basest sycophaney on the part of Crumwell, now striving in vain to retain his influence and power, in the face of Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, and others. He is writing to Sir Thomas Wyatt, then ambassador in Spain.

"On the 16th of this present, the King's Majesty, for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, John Nicholson, alias Lambert, who was burnt the 20th of this same month. It was a *wonder* to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Highness exorcised there the *very office* of a supreme head of his Church of England! How benignly his Grace assayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his Highness alleged against him! I wish that the Princes and Potentates of Christendom had had a meet place for them there, to have seen it! Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his Majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him none otherwise, after the same, than, in manner, the *mirror and light* of all other kings and princes in Christendom!"

Thus, if any man by a single epistle, ever "wrote himself down" in the eye of posterity, which any man may, it was Crumwell upon this occasion. He had not only read the burning sentence, but now justified the execution, and culogised the royal murderer; so that his having been said to have asked forgiveness of Lambert before death, if not a mere gratuitous assumption, or embellishment of Foxe, was adding

⁴⁰ The day before Lambert was burnt, we have a curious letter from Cranmer to Crumwell:—"This shall be to signify unto you, that this day the King's Highness sent in a commandment to be with him *to-morrow* at *ten o'clock*, which I cannot do if I be *with you* at Stepney before *nine* of the clock. But for so much as his Grace hath appointed me to be at two sundry places about one time, which I cannot accomplish, and I dare not disappoint neither of his commandments without his Grace countermand the same; therefore I will send to his Grace to know his determinate pleasure herein, and I will not fail to wait on you at Stepney, at your hour assigned, unless the King's pleasure be the contrary. From Lamethithe, the 19th day of November."—See *Crumwell's Cor., original holograph*. What could the Vicar-General want with Cranmer *this morning*? Was he at all uneasy as to what he had done at the trial, as well he might? Whatever was involved, it does seem strange that Lambert actually breakfasted in *his house*, before being carried to Smithfield. Foxe states that *this morning* "Lambert was brought out of prison at *eight o'clock*, to the house of Lord Crumwell, and so carried to his inner chamber, where, it is reported of many, that Crumwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There, at last, Lambert being informed that the hour of his death was at hand, was greatly cheered. Being brought out of the chamber into the *hall*, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution." For some unknown reason, Crumwell had wished Cranmer to be there at the same moment; but the sequel will show whether there was any such feeling as compunction.

insult to injury. And as for Cromwell's *notice* in so writing to the Continent, at this juncture, if it was the pitiful time-serving idea, that he might thus raise his cruel master in the estimation of the Spanish Court, and so, in some degree, retain his own popularity or power, he entirely failed. With regard to the mock-trial itself; such an array, to brow-beat and overawe a poor solitary schoolmaster, was sufficiently contemptible. The thing was evidently got up to serve some purpose at the moment, while, like many other bloody steps, it proved an entire failure; though, after all, in the page of history, the event is not without its value. Henry had assembled all his authorities round him, and thus fully displayed what was actually *their* existing spirit or character, as well as his *own*. The firm faith and fortitude of Lambert, cleared the moral atmosphere, and served to show the entire assembly in its true colours. The right of private judgment, and the unfettered freedom of religious worship, were not understood, of course, by a single individual there present; but, on the other hand, if the Sacred Scriptures be actually now printing, and at the instance of Cromwell, one of these very courtiers, then their introduction into England, or diffusion there, is a cause just as distinct from these men, except as mere instruments, as it had ever been. And should another edition of the Sacred Volume, and that a larger impression, be thus advancing at press, it becomes doubly interesting to inquire, how such a thing could be accomplished. The Most High is ever ruling, not in the armies of heaven alone, but "in the midst of his enemies;" only at such a time as this, his overruling power becomes evident to demonstration, and demands special praise. We turn therefore to the third, and to us, in one sense, the only important view of the present year.

The two cities in the west of Europe, or indeed any where else, which, *as* cities, had discovered the fiercest opposition to Divine Truth, were London and Paris. The former, after a siege of eleven years' duration, had now been taken. A succession of sappers and miners, by means of the New Testament, had fully prepared the way. The same gracious Providence, which had been so conspicuous from the beginning, at last, and most unexpectedly, brought the Bible entire, when, through the straitness of the siege, and the force of overruling

local circumstances, all at once, Henry, and the men around him, without one breath of hostility, struck their flag of defiance, and received the vilified and long-rejected version. The latter city, Paris, though assailed as long as London had been, was alas! never so to yield. Francis, though the attached brother of a pious sister, would never bow, as Henry had been obliged to do. Of the two cities it might be said—"one was taken, the other left."

By the favour of God, Britain was to become the land of Bibles; and yet the next edition, after the imported one, was not to be commenced in her metropolis. A tribute higher still, must be paid to the disinterested patriotism and Christian pity, of our first Translator. London did not then afford such excellent materials for printing as Paris. It would therefore be a higher display of Almighty power, amidst the burning hatred of the Parisians, of the King himself, and even in the face of that Inquisition, which had obtained no footing in England, if the next English folio Bible should be printed by Frenchmen, and in Paris itself! It will not only be so, but under the eye of the same man who had embarked his all in printing the first edition!⁴¹

Such, in truth, turns out to be the peculiar feature of the year 1538. There the work must now proceed; and not only so, but this shall lead to consequences, very memorable, down to the close of 1541. The Bible commenced at Paris in 1538 and finished in London by April 1539, is a curiosity equally remarkable in its way with that of 1537, if not more so. It was like going forth "from conquering, to conquer."

Such an event indeed might seem impossible, look where we may, at home or abroad. Henry himself, in eager cor-

⁴¹ Since the spring of 1533, the rage of Francis against all new opinions, and his inflicted cruelties, had been alike superlative. By December of that year he had "resolved with all his power and might to suppress," what he styled "the cursed Lutheran heretic sect," then springing up in Paris; and, said he, "we expressly enjoin you, that *all other things set aside*, you direct some among you to enquire *curiously and diligently* into all those who hold this sect and are suspected of it. We wish you to proceed to this by a strong and armed force, if that be necessary." By 1535, the King himself had walked in procession, part of which consisted of literally the *butchers* of Paris, carrying the image of St. Genevieve, when the moment of his Majesty's arrival at the Louvre was distinguished by six men at once being committed to the flames! For some years past all those who remained obstinate were put to death, and the tongues of their noblest victims were actually *cut out*, lest in dying they should give the people an impression of their doctrines! So says even Castelnau, a disciple of the old school.—*Memoirs*, v. i., p. 4. In other instances the same horrid cruelty was inflicted, when the faithful martyr was even on the road to the stake, if he refused to worship any image that *came in the way!* See more particularly Le Grand, or Turner's History of Elizabeth, b. ii., c. 10, *notes*.

respondence with both Spain and France, is observed to have been engrossed with Continental politics, and not only in keen pursuit after a fourth Queen, but busy in proposing matrimonial alliances for his children, or, as after this, in sanctioning bitter persecution. Crammer, in communication with Germany is employed in discussion for months with Envoys from that country; while Crumwell, between them both, though he might seem to have had enough to do, is also pursuing vigorously his own course, in the visitation of Monasteries and Abbeys, Images, Crosses and Shrines, with a view to their common overthrow. The harvest months are marked by cruel preparations, and those of winter, by the shedding of blood, both foreign and domestic.

Where then was any room left? Where any time for attention to subjects so widely different, or far apart, as that of the printing of the Scriptures, and their diffusion throughout England? Still, both time and attention *must* be given to both. Last year Crumwell had been overruled, Gardiner's return was well fitted to quicken his pace, and this year he has become a determined and energetic agent. His eye had been directed to Paris, where for the last five years especially, the greatest hostility to the Scriptures had been most cruelly displayed; but this will only lend greater singularity to the next edition of the English Bible. The hand of Britain's God will once again be pressed upon our notice, as if to show, that all places, as well as persons, or that Francis I. and Henry VIII., the highest regal opponents, were alike before Him.

Grafton's edition, so singularly introduced last year, was soon found to be but a poor supply, and a second, of 2500 copies, was now intended. Grafton may have suggested Paris as the best place for printing it, as well as for superior paper; and here now stood Coverdale, at Crumwell's command, ready to accompany him, as corrector of the press; but how was it possible for the work to be executed there? In the commencement of the year, owing to the feeling then existing between Henry and Francis, such a proposal was out of the question. The latter had given great offence, by refusing Mary of Guise to the English monarch, and by not bowing to his request as to her sisters. Both the Emperor and Francis, however, in order to gain time, were alike deceiving the King of England; and by the end of February, one of

the French King's strokes of policy was, to *assent* to Henry becoming the mediator between the Emperor and himself; nay, before the end of April, he had offered his son, the Duke of Orleans, to Mary of England. Crumwell's policy, it has been affirmed, was to cultivate friendship with France, and, through that power, link Henry with the German States: but be that as it may, here was now an opening with *Paris*. At this moment, therefore, Crumwell must have succeeded in getting his royal Master to communicate with Francis; as it was expressly in consequence of this that a license was then actually granted by the King of France to Richard Grafton and George Whitechurch, to print the Scriptures.⁴² Now, as Francis *left* his capital about the first of June, and considerable progress had been made by the 23d of that month, it may be safely presumed that both Grafton and Coverdale had arrived in Paris sometime in May. It is worthy of remark, that the first step taken, was by a direct communication between these two monarchs, Henry and Francis; for Crumwell would not stoop to any intercourse through *Gardiner*, though the English ambassador there, who was a noted opponent. Granting the request, too, might, and probably did, serve the purpose of Francis in prolonging delusion, who was just then setting off for Nice, where, at last, the mask of friendship was to be thrown off. The French King, therefore, after issuing the license, *leaves* Paris, and Gardiner officially *follows* him; but it was three months before either the one or the other *returned*; and thus the printing of this Bible for England rapidly proceeded during their absence! When the English Scriptures were to be introduced into our native land, the Bishop of Winchester was taken out of the way; and so it happened when they were to be printed in Paris. He may return for a few days in September, but *not* as ambassador: his influence was gone; it was merely to make certain arrangements before taking his departure for England.⁴³

⁴² "*Franciscus, &c.* Dilectis nobis Richardo Grafton, et Edwardo Whitechurch, Anglis et civibus Londini, Salutem. *Quia* fide digna testimonia accepimus, quod carissimus Frater noster Anglorum Rex, Vobis cujus Subditi estis Sacram Bibliam tam Latinè quam Britannicè sive Anglicè imprimendi, et imprimi curandi, et in suum regnum apportandi et transferendi, libertatem sufficientem, et legitimam concesserit: Et vos," &c.—See Cotton MS., Cleop. F. v., fol. 326 b; or the Appendix to Burnet's Life of Cranmer.

⁴³ He had only to dispose of his "mulets," and pack up his "napery and mulet cloths, with his arms embroidered on them," of all which he had made such high boast to Bannier, without giving him anything; not, however, without being paid back plentifully in his own coin. Du

Less than two years ago, when the Doctors of Louvain were wrangling with Tyndale, and thirsting for his blood, certainly there was nothing within the range of possibility so improbable, as that *his* translation of the Scriptures should be re-printing at a *Parisian* press, by the request of his *own* Sovereign, and with the sanction of the persecuting French King himself; but so it was! For while the common enemies of such a measure were *all* assembled at Nice, only to make bad worse; Grafton and Coverdale were busily at work! Their letters, without exception, are addressed to Crumwell, and the first is dated the 23d of June—

“After most humble and hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we be entered into *your* work of the Bible; whereof, according to our most bounden duty, we have here sent unto your Lordship two ensamples; one in parchment, wherein we intend to print one for the King's Grace, and another for your Lordship; and the second, in paper, whereof all the rest shall be made; trusting, that it shall be not only to the glory of God, but a singular pleasure also to your good Lordship, the *cause* thereof, and a general edifying of the King's subjects, according to your Lordship's most godly request. For we follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek; but we set also in a private (separate) table, the diversity of readings of all texts, with such annotations in another table, as shall doubtless delucidate and clear the same; as well without any singularity of opinions, as all checkings and reproofs. The *print*, no doubt, shall please your good Lordship: the *paper* is of the best sort in France. The charge certainly is great; wherein, as we most humbly require your favourable help at this present, with whatsoever it shall please your Lordship to let us have; so trust we, if need require, in our just business, to be defended from the Papists by your Lordship's favourable letters—which we most humbly desire to have by this bearer, William Grey, either to the Bishop of Winchester, or to *some other*, whom your Lordship shall think most expedient.⁴⁴ We be daily threatened, and look ever to be spoken withal, as this bearer can farther inform your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we know not. Nevertheless, for our farther assurance, wherethrough we may be the abler to perform this your Lordship's work, we are so much the bolder of your good Lordship; for other refuge have we none, under God and our King, whom, with noble Prince Edward, and all of you their most honourable Council, God Almighty preserve, both now and ever, Amen.—Written at Paris, the 23d day of June, by your Lordship's assured and daily orators—MYLES COVERDALE—RYCHARD GRAFTON, Grocer.”⁴⁵

They must have already been a month or more in Paris;

ing Gardiner's brief stay at Paris. Bonner is careful to inform Crumwell that they were not living together—“in very deed we had *several* lodgings.” In the judgment of Bonner, hospitality to the Bishop of Winchester was at present the road to preferment by the Vicar-General.

⁴⁴ Their hint as to *some other*, is significant of their acquaintance with the feeling existing between Crumwell and this Bishop.

⁴⁵ MS. in the Chapter-house, now in the State Paper Office. Gov. State Papers, i., p. 575.

but notwithstanding those fears expressed they were *not* impeded, nor will they be for nearly six months to come. Meanwhile, Grey went into England, but soon returned. After him a servant of Crumwell's, named Sebastian, (elsewhere styled his *cook*,) who had been sent over, most probably with money and letters, upon his return brought farther sheets, in proof of their progress; and their next epistle is one chiefly of explanation.

"After most humble and due salutation to your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand that your work *going forward*, we thought it our most bounden duty to send unto your Lordship certain leaves thereof, specially seeing we had so good occasion, by the returning of your beloved servant Sebastian; and as they are done, so will we send your Lordship the residue, from *time to time*.

"As touching the manner and order that we keep in the same work, pleaseth it your good Lordship to be advertised, that the mark ¶ in the text, that upon the same, in the *latter end of the book*, there is some notable annotation; which we have written without any private opinion, only after the best interpreters of the Hebrews, for the more clearness of the text. This mark † betokeneth that upon the same text there is diversity of reading, among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks and Latinists, as in a table at the *end of the book* shall be declared. This mark x sheweth that the sentence, written in small letters, is not in the Hebrew or Chaldee, but in the Latin and seldom in the Greek, and that we nevertheless, would not have it extinct, but highly accept it, for the more explanation of the text. This token † in the Old Testament giveth to understand that the same text that followeth it, is also alleged of Christ, or of some Apostle in the New Testament. This, among other necessary labours, is the way that we take in this work; trusting verily that as Almighty God moved your Lordship to set us unto it, so shall it be to his glory, and right welcome to all them that love to serve Him, and their Prince, in true faithful obedience,—at Paris the 9th day of August 1538. By your faithful orators—MILES COV^dDALE. RICHARD GRAFTON. WILLM GREY.—Superscribed to the Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell."⁴⁶

It is curious enough, that Francis Regnault, the Paris printer, in whose house both Coverdale and Grafton were now lodging, had for many years printed English primers and missals for the use of the English Churches. But the times were changing; he was overstocked; having had no such sale as in former years, and more especially as the London booksellers had now interdicted him. To get rid of those on hand, he implored the kind offices of his guests and present

⁴⁶ Gov State Papers, i., p. 378. Grey, as appears by the proceedings of the Privy Council, was a layman attached to Crumwell's household, and his name being affixed, is a farther proof of the *personal* interest which his Master was taking in the work. Should any thing happen, therefore, the Lord Privy Seal will be able to notice it as a *personal* affront, and considering his Sovereign's *direct* application to the French King, something more.

employers ; and on the 12th of September they address Crumwell, concluding in the following terms—

“ He is also contented, and hath promised before my Lord *elect* of Hereford,⁴⁷ that if there be found any notable fault in his books, he will put the same out, and print the leaf again. Thus are we bold to write to your Lordship, in his cause, as doth also my Lord *elect* of Hereford, beseeching your Lordship to pardon our boldness, and to be good lord to this honest man, whose servant shall give attendance upon your Lordship’s most favourable answer. If your Lordship show him this benefit, we shall not fare the worse, in the readiness of this your Lordship’s work of the *Bible*, which goeth *well forward*, and within few months, will *draw to an end* by the grace of Almighty God.”⁴⁸

Whether this suit was successful does not appear ; but most providentially, three months more were allowed to pass away, before any serious apprehension was felt as to the safety of the Scriptures already printed. By this period, too, the impression was so far advanced, that Coverdale was applying earnestly to Crumwell respecting the printing of the annotations. Now these, it will be remembered, were to be put at the *end* of the book ; so that the Bible itself must have been very nearly *finished*. Thus, the hand of the enemy had been restrained from touching the work, for more than six months ; but what was better still, though not observed by any historian before, anticipating what soon happened, Coverdale, and through *Bonner* also, conveyed “this much of the Bible” beyond the reach of danger. The letter to Crumwell, with this intelligence, is “written somewhat hastily, at Paris the 13th day of December.”

“ Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after all due salutations, I humbly beseech your Lordship, that by my Lord *elect* of Hereford, I may know your pleasure concerning the annotations of this Bible, whether I shall proceed therein or no. Pity it were that the dark places of the text, upon which I have always set a hand ~~and~~, should so pass undeclared. As for any private opinion or contentious words, as I will utterly avoid all such, so will I offer the annotations first to my said Lord of Hereford ! to the intent that he shall so examine the same, afore they be put in print, if it be your Lordship’s good pleasure that I shall so do.

“ As concerning the New Testaments in English and Latin, whereof your good Lordship received lately a book by your servant, Sebastian the cook, I beseech your Lordship to consider the greenness thereof, which for lack of time, cannot as yet be so apt to be bound as it should be.

“ And whereas my said Lord of Hereford is so good unto us *as to convey this much of the Bible to your good Lordship*, I humbly beseech the same, to be

⁴⁷ Bonner, now playing the hypocrite towards Crumwell and the cause itself.

⁴⁸ State Papers, i., 509.

the defender and keeper thereof: to the intent, that if these men proceed in their cruelty against us, and confiscate the *rest*, yet this at the least may be *safe* by the means of your Lordship, whom God, the Almighty, evermore preserve to his good pleasure."⁴⁹

The Bible itself, however, was to be *its own* interpreter; and of *annotations* there were to be *none*; a circumstance far too remarkable to pass unnoticed, for they were never added. But there stand the pointing hands, both in the text and in the margin, by which the edition may be easily distinguished.⁵⁰

It was only four days after this letter, that the press was arrested in its progress. An order from the Inquisition, dated the 17th of December 1538, and subscribed "Le Feller," was the instrument; citing "Regnault, and all other that it might concern," to appear and answer—inhibiting at once the printing of the Bible, and concealment of the sheets already finished.⁵¹ As this body acted under *royal* authority, as well as that of the Pontiff, some change must have taken place in the mind of Francis, before such a proceeding could have been winked at; and for this change it is not difficult to account. Bonner's appointment was far from an acceptable one to the French King. Coming as he did, it was impossible to regard him in any other light than that of a spy, and *as* a spy he had been acting most vigilantly. In October he was at St. Quentin, near Cambray, watching and reporting a suspicious interview of Francis with the reigning Princess of the Netherlands, the sister of Charles; and at Paris, so recently as the last day of November, he writes to Crumwell—"I shall, by God's grace, give vigilant eye to their doings here, and advertise you. Hitherto I have been strangely and very unkindly used in my lodging, having no kind of friendship shewed me in manner that was worthy—how it will be hereafter I cannot tell."⁵² Among other points which Bonner had in charge, there was an annual pension by Francis to Henry, in terms of a treaty between them, which was now in arrear for four years; and the zealous Envoy had begun to press payment in a style which finally occasioned his recall, next year.

⁴⁹ Harleian MS., No. 694, p. 90; dated 1539 in the Catalogue, instead of 1538.

⁵⁰ Having himself pointed out this mark of distinction, it must have been from inadvertency that Dr. Cotton has said in his introduction—"I am yet to learn whether we now possess *any* copy of the edition of the Great Bible which Grafton and Whitchurch began to print at Paris about 1538." But more than this. By observing a Paris initial letter to the Epistles, and where it ceases to be used, perhaps we are informed how much was indicated as being *safe*.

⁵¹ Cleop., E. v., fol. 326.

⁵² Cotton MS., Calig. F. iv., fol. 4, 10.

But happily, after all, the Inquisitor seems to have been more than a day too late. The entire impression of the Bible, amounting to 2500 copies, could not have fallen into his hands. We have read Coverdale's information of the 13th of December, and as the present citation was the *second*, and is dated the 17th, there can be no doubt, that, impelled by the *first*, he was then conveying away "so much of the Bible," as had been ready for removal.⁵³ Even with regard to the sheets seized, there was considerable recovery; for having been condemned to be burnt in Maubert Place,⁵⁴ "four great dry-fats of them" were regained by purchase. This was owing to the cupidity of the Lieutenant Criminal of the Inquisition, who, instead of obeying orders, had sold them to a haberdasher.

Old John Foxe, therefore, though others have followed him, was mistaken in supposing that these books were lost, and so was Lewis. The evidence now presented looks quite the other way, and the copies even still remaining in existence, confirms it. "I am inclined to think," says Todd, "that the proprietors lost *few* copies of the impression." And who were these proprietors? For the affair was by no means to end here. Henry VIII. himself, by Crumwell's request, and Crumwell much more deeply, were parties concerned. Whether, therefore, the alarm soon subsided or not, or any means were taken to appease the Inquisitors, it must have been dangerous and impolitic at the moment to thwart even the Vicegerent, still in possession of great power, to say nothing of his imperious master. Crumwell had been assisting the undertaking by pecuniary supplies; the King himself had written to Francis, and *he* had fully committed himself before leaving Paris for Nice. Since then the Inquisitors had chosen to interfere in his absence—the King of France, nay, and the Inquisition to boot, must now be overruled to *help*, instead of hindering the work. Persons commissioned by Crumwell, soon returned to Paris, and they brought away with them the printing *presses*, the *types*, and even the *workmen*. In short, scarcely six weeks could have been lost, and

⁵³ The copy of the citation now quoted, and which is in the British Museum, (Cleop. E. v., 326.) is thus entitled by Bonner, *in his own hand*—"The copie of the *second* citation and inhibition, agaynst the Prynter of the Englyshe Bible."

⁵⁴ Place de Maubert, immediately adjoining to Rue des *Capucins*.

scarcely a sheet could have been missing, as in two months more, the Bible entire was completed in *London*. On the last leaf they printed, “The ende of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, fynished in Apryll anno 1539. A Dño factū est istud”—emphatically acknowledging Him, whose cause it was; they did well to add, *A Domino factum est istud*.

It will certainly be very observable, if this interruption actually promoted the design, and to a *far greater extent* than if there had been none whatever. Had there been none, Coverdale and Grafton had finished their task in Paris, leaving the types and workmen on the spot. Meanwhile, a hint had thus been given that they had better let all *annotations* alone, for they were *never* printed; leaving the Sacred text to speak for itself. But above all, it will appear that the Parisian *types* had come in far larger quantity, and even the French *workmen* in greater number, than has ever been before observed. In the editions of the Bible from this time to the close of 1541, we wait to discover the proof of this. At this crisis, certainly no gift, or *God-send*, to old England, could have been of more value than these types and printers. Very different employment must have awaited both, had they remained in Paris. Tunstal had been jocularly advised to buy the press and types out of Tyndale’s way, to *prevent* the New Testament from coming into England! Now, the authorities are importing both men and types, to *print* the version; and by and bye, Henry himself will command Tunstal, to sanction the translation he had so denounced. This too will be after Crumwell is dead, and the influence of Crammer was on the decline.

Grafton, as we have seen, had laid down at the press two copies of this Bible in *vellum*, one for the King and another for Crumwell. The sheets of both, had been saved, as both are understood to be in preservation. The copy once belonging to Crumwell is in St. John’s College, Cambridge, and has been described long ago.

“We have such a Bible printed on *vellum*, and embellished with cuts, illuminated, the leaves gilt, and the cover embossed with brass, ‘fynished in Apryll anno 1539.’ The frontispiece is the same with that of 1540, only Crumwell’s arms are left *there a blank*; left out I presume upon his fall, which in our copy has his bearing like the rest, in colours. It might probably be the same book that was presented to Crumwell, there being only one other that we

can bear of, that is the King's. But how it came to us does not appear, unless from the late Earl of Southampton, who gave us most of those manuscripts we now enjoy."⁵⁵

The only mistake here is that of supposing the *Royal* vellum copy to be of this edition. It is 1540, but the second vellum copy of 1539 is still understood to be in existence, though not in Peter College, as Lowndes has supposed, yet in the possession of a private individual. Of the copies printed on paper, there are not fewer than twelve to be found in different collections.

Such is the edition, which, on the authority of Coverdale's and Grafton's own words, ought to have been all along associated with the name of CRUMWELL, and *never* with that of *Cranmer*, as it has too frequently been. It was Crumwell's undertaking from beginning to end, and without his *importation of types and men*, Cranmer afterwards had never been able to have proceeded as he did. Throughout 1538, Cranmer was otherwise engrossed with the German commissioners, besides other business; in the whole of his correspondence with Crumwell, throughout 1538, there is not one allusion to the Bible; and although Cranmer's future prologue or preface has been bound up with some copies of this Bible, it does *not* belong to the book. The first Bible in which Cranmer took an interest personally, was the next which will come before us; but still, the materials and men now imported, and the *impetus* now given by Crumwell, will be found to prevail throughout the Bibles of 1540, and extend to those of 1541, after his death. To the Vicegerent must be conceded his own place in history, whatever afterwards may become of his general character. But for Crumwell's exertions at this period, it is next to certain that no *such* Bibles could have appeared in 1540 and 1541.

We have now returned to England, and ever after this decisive triumph, shall have much less occasion to look abroad. Ever since Tyndale left London the undertaking has been a foreign one; but after a noble and uninterrupted struggle of fifteen years' duration, the English Bible may be considered as having now taken up its settled abode in our native land. The cause in-

⁵⁵ Letter from Thomas Baker to Thomas Hearne. The Earl of Southampton of the day succeeded Crumwell, as Lord Privy Seal.

deed will be thwarted still, even at home, and by Henry himself as well as his eldest daughter; though ultimately, even she will be found to have advanced it. At subsequent periods too, thousands of Bibles will be printed on the Continent for English use, but all this will only serve to keep us in remembrance, that, as from the beginning, so ever afterwards, this undertaking had been conducted, not by human authority but by the gracious hand of the Almighty.

Meanwhile, we have had one Bible, wholly imported in 1537, and a second, redeemed from destruction, finished in London; and notwithstanding the political frenzy, as well as all the cruelties perpetrating at home, the cause of Truth throughout the year had been steadily advancing. Grafton, on proceeding to Paris, had left his first impression of 1537 to be disposed of, without any risk of loss or delay; and Crumwell in September put forth his first injunctions, in immediate reference to that Bible. This he did, as "Vicergerent unto the King's Highness,"—"for the discharge of the King's Majesty," and most providentially, he had issued his orders *before* the arrival of Gardiner from France. What a mighty advance had been made, since he left for Paris in October 1535! Or, more properly speaking, since he had been *sent out of the way*, as Tunstal had been before, and Bonner will be, after him. Gardiner might depart, rejoicing that Tyndale was at last in prison, and then, as perhaps he anticipated, to be put to death. But now, Gardiner had been removed once more out of the way, even from *Paris*; the Bible had been there printed before Bonner's own eye, and it was no other than Tyndale's long-translated version of the Sacred Volume, which was held up to public view, by injunctions, to be "observed and kept, upon pain of deprivation."

"*Item*—That ye shall provide, on this side of the feast of N. (Natalis, Nativity of our Lord, 25th December,) 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 cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.⁵⁶

"*Item*—That ye shall discourage *no man*, privily or apertly, from the read-

⁵⁶ There is now before the writer an exact copy of the *original broad sheet*, entitled,—"*Injunctions for the Clerge—Anno dni. mcccxxxviii.* In the name of God, Amen,"—with the blanks unfilled up. The feast of N. Natalis is marked in others.

ing, or the 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 person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and alteration therein, but to use an honest sobriety in their inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture."⁵⁷

These pointed injunctions to the country at large, bore solely upon the Bible of *the largest volume*, the very first time this phrase was employed, and as yet there was but *one* such edition, so that there could be no mistake.⁵⁸ They may have been rendered more imperative from the rumour of which Grafton had forewarned Crumwell, viz. that they would reprint Matthew's Bible of 1537 in the Low Countries, so early as 1538. But this was only a rumour; they never did; as the Bible marked 1538 in our lists, from Lewis down to Cotton and Lowndes, is a mistake.⁵⁹

At home however now, Tyndale was not forgotten. There were two editions of his New Testament in quarto; one printed in Southwark by Peter Treveres; the other, which seems to have been finished by the beginning of summer, was printed by Robert Redman, next-door to St. Dunstan's, where Tyndale used to preach, "set forth under the King's most gracious license,—cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." It is in parallel columns of Latin and English; the former, be it observed, *not* the Vulgate, but the Latin of *Erasmus*, and the

⁵⁷ Wilkin's Conc., Mag. Brit., p. 815.

⁵⁸ It may here be remarked, once for all, that "the great Bible" or "the largest volume," and "Cranmer's Bible," are phrases which have been long and frequently misunderstood, or used indiscriminately; but the two former were distinctive epithets employed before the *first* of Cranmer's, or that of May 1540 was published. Here, "*the largest volume*" was first employed by authority, and for what reason could it be but to distinguish the Bible of Matthew or Tyndale from that of Coverdale, which was two inches less in height; as well as from the quarto editions of Coverdale, reprinted by Nycolson, even though they had the words,—"Set forth with the King's license," printed on the title? These injunctions were, in fact, another step in favour of the predominant translation.

⁵⁹ However pointed Lewis was in describing it, there never was any such book. "The Bible of 1537," says he, "had been reprinted this year in the Low Countries. It is a small thick folio, in which Tyndale's prefaces to the Pentateuch, Jonas and the Romans are included," &c. But more strangely he goes on, till he adds—"among the curators therefore of this edition, I reckon Archbishop Cranmer!" As if Cranmer, though so fully engrossed with the German visitants, and his official business, had been patronising a *surreptitious* edition in the Netherlands, as Grafton had deprecated, and to rival that of Crumwell his Vicar-General, now printing in Paris! The truth is, Lewis's book must have had no title-page, and he may have been misled by the Colophon,—"To the honour and praise of God was this Bible printed in the year of our Lord 1537, and now again reprinted." The very copy, we believe, from which Lewis took his description is now in the Museum at Bristol, and we have particularly examined it. All the while Lewis was describing a Bible printed in the time of Edward VI. or the reprint of Matthew's Bible, by Raynolds and Hyll in 1549.

latter that of Tyndale or of the English Bible, now enforced. These books appear to be a set off in contrast to the Testaments of Coverdale, about to be mentioned, and they explain the injunctions of Cranmer, preceding those of Cromwell, already mentioned.⁶⁰

All compliant as Coverdale certainly had been under the unexpected change which had taken place at home, it is curious enough that this year an attempt was made at Antwerp to follow up his former exertions, by reprinting his translation of the New Testament, but with Tyndale's prologues. It is neatly executed, in small black letter by Matthew Cromer, with numerous and well-executed wood-cuts, marginal references, and glosses. Cromer even repeated this in a larger type, with different cuts in 1539, leaving out the prologue to the Romans; but it abounds also with typographical errors. In 1537, the printer might not be aware of the change which had taken place in England, but we are quite unable to account for his mistaken zeal in 1539. Yet whatever was the occasion of this foreign attempt; at home Coverdale was still more unfortunate than he had been, even with his Bible. In the early part of this year, his friend Nycolson had proposed to print *his* translation and the *vulgate* in parallel columns. And previously to Coverdale setting off for Paris, he had drawn out another of his characteristic dedications to Henry VIII., trusting to Nycolson's care for the correcting of the press. When the book came out it was so incorrectly executed, that a copy having come to Coverdale's hand in July, at Paris, he saw that he stood even in a more awkward position than before. Grafton, therefore, on the first of December, wrote on his behalf, and in the following terms—

“ Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that it chanced, since our coming into these parts, that James Nycolson, dwelling in Southwark, put in print the New Testament both in Latin and English. Which book was delivered unto us by a stranger; and when Master Coverdale had advised and considered the same, he found his name added thereto as the translator, with the which he *never had to do*? Neither saw he it, before it was full printed and ended; and also found the book so foolishly done, yea, and so corrupt, that it did not only

⁶⁰ The injunctions of Cranmer, through his commission to Dr. Curwen, the Dean, with reference to the diocese of Hereford only, in the summer of 1538, are inexplicable, except we observe this book. “ That ye, and every one of you shall have by the first day of August next coming, as well a whole Bible, in Latin and English, or at the least a *New Testament of both the same languages*, as the copies of the King's Highness' *injunctions*.—“ That ye shall every day study one Chapter of the said Bible or New Testament, conferring the Latin and English together, and to begin at the first part of the book and so continue to the end of the same.” All this too was in perfect character for *Hereford*, soon after the death of such a man as Fox, the late Bishop. It was like a tribute to his memory, as the reader may recollect his noble address in the Convocation of 1536. *Bonner*, the arch-hypocrite and his successor, now in Paris, was then expected by Cranmer as well as Cromwell, to be equally zealous for the Scriptures. So he appeared to be, till the *day* of Cromwell's apprehension.

grieve him, that the printer had so defamed him and his learning, by adding his name to so fond a thing, but also that the common people was deprived of the true and sincere sense of God's true Word, and also that such an occasion was ministered to the enemies of God's Word, that rather seek occasions to rail and slander, than to be edified.

"And, therefore, at his most honest and lawful request, (although I had enough to do beside,) I have printed the same again, translated and corrected by Master Coverdale himself. Of the which books, now being finished, I have here sent your Lordship the first, (and so have I sent my Lord of Canterbury another, and almost to every Christian Bishop that is in the realm; my Lord of Hereford, also, hath sent to Mr. Richard Crumwell one of the same,) the which I most humbly desire your Lordship to accept, having respect rather to my heart, than to the gift, for it is not so well done as my heart would wish it to be. I have also added, as your Lordship may perceive, these words, "*Cum gratia et privilegio Regis.*"⁶¹

This letter, to say the least, was certainly a very awkward one; since, wherever the blame lay, it was saying a great deal *too much*. It by no means corresponds with Coverdale's own language, in the dedication of his Paris Testament, not now to Henry, but to *Crumwell* himself, and actually forwarded *with* this letter!

"*Truth it is,*" says Coverdale, "that this last Lent, I did, with all humbleness, direct an epistle unto the *King's* most noble Grace, *trusting* that the book whereunto it was prefixed, should afterwards have been as well correct as other books be. And because I could not be present myself, by the reason of sundry notable *impediments*, therefore inasmuch as the New Testament, which I had set forth in English before, doth so agree with the Latin, I was heartily well content that the Latin and it should be together: Provided alway that the corrector should follow the true copy of the Latin in any wise, and to keep the true and right English of the same. And so doing, I was content to *set my name* to it: and even so I *did*; trusting that though I were absent and out of the land, yet all should be well. And, as God is my record, I knew none other, till this last July, that it was my chance here in these parts, at a stranger's hand, to come by a copy of the said print; which when I had perused, I found that as it was disagreeable to my former translation in English, so was not the true copy of the Latin observed, neither the English so correspondent to the same as it ought to be: but in many places both base, insensible, and clean contrary, not only to the phrase of our language, but also from the understanding of the text in Latin."

In explanation of this apology as to Coverdale's engagements in *Lent*, and his "not being present because of sundry notable impediments," Crumwell would recollect, and perfectly understand him. In Lent he was not in London, but down at Reading in Berkshire, in Crumwell's service. He was there examining the *Matin* books in the county, to see whether they had, in obedience to the Act of Parliament, yet expunged the authority of the *Pontiff* from their pages, or were still using

⁶¹ Gov. State Papers, vol. i. p. 301

books subversive of Henry's assumed authority.⁶² After this he had been called up to town by the Lord Privy Seal, and sent with Grafton to France.

But again, and as to the *Latin* text which had been used, and that even in the Testament which had been printed at Paris, *under his own eye*, in his preface to the reader, Coverdale expresses himself thus :—

“ As touching this text in Latin, and the style thereof, which is read in the Church, and is commonly called St. Jerome's translation, though there be in it many and sundry sentences, whereof some be *more* than the Greek, some *less* than the Greek, some in manner *repugnant* to the Greek, some contrary to the rules of the Latin tongue, and to the right order thereof, as thou mayest easily perceive, if thou compare the diversity of the interpreters together, *yet forasmuch as I am but a private man, and owe obedience unto the higher powers*, I refer the amendment and reformation hereof unto the same, and to such as excel in authority and knowledge.”

And thus once more are we constrained to observe the important distinction which must ever be drawn between Tyndale and Coverdale, whether as men, or as translators. They travelled in two paths, altogether distinct. The latter chose to express himself, in his dedications to Henry and Crumwell, as having a mind entirely at *their* disposal ; while no sentiments could be more definite, and held with a firmer grasp, than those of the first noble and independent translator. As for the Greek original, he had kept a vigilant eye on the successive editions of Erasmus, which Coverdale had not ; and with regard to the Hebrew, after quoting his expressions respecting the Hebraisms to be found in Matthew, it has been well said—“ That a person who could thus write of St. Matthew's Hebraisms, should be compelled by ignorance to translate from the Septuagint, or the Latin Vulgate, is perfectly incredible ; and that he would use the latter from *choice*, is inconceivable. We ought to remember that this translator's troubles chiefly arose from his determination to resist the imposition of an authorised version, and that his whole life was a series of hostilities against the defenders of the Latin Vulgate.”⁶³

As for the *blind* submission of his translation, therefore, to any man living, but, above all, to those before whom Coverdale bowed so profoundly, against this he had boldly published his dissent, above seven

⁶² They were still using the old books to such extent, that Coverdale supposes there had been great and culpable neglect in LONGLAND, *Bishop of Lincoln*, that steady disciple of “ the old learning ;” and Coverdale desires to know from Crumwell, whether he ought not to *burn* the books caught, and coming in to him, at the Market Cross. See three MS. letters to Crumwell as Lord Privy Seal, found in the Chapter-house, Westminster, but now in the State Paper Office, dated Newbury, the 7th and 8th of Feb., and 8th of March, [1536.] From the contents of the letters, in one of which young Prince *Edward* is mentioned, it is evident that a mark in the indorsation, viz. Ao xxx., cannot refer to the year or date. If so, it is a mistake ; though it may indicate the bundle, once in the Chapter-house.

⁶³ “ Historical and Critical Enquiry,” by J. W. Whitaker, A.M., p. 46. He is repelling the insinuations of those who knew no better, from old Fuller down to Bellamy.

years ago, or five before his death, and it had circulated throughout his native land.

"Under what manner," said he, "should I now submit this book to be corrected and amended of them, which can suffer nothing to be well? Or what protestation should I make in such a matter to our Prelates, which so mightily fight against God, and resist his Holy Spirit, enforcing, with all craft and subtlety, to quench the light of the everlasting Testament, promises, and appointment between God and us."

Yet is this the very translation which has now prevailed; so manifest was the interposition of Providence, in every point of view.

But to proceed. Coverdale, good easy man, even tried to screen his former friend, the printer, if not the corrector;—"As for my part, though it hath been damage to my poor name, I heartily remit it." This distinct reprobation of Nycolson's Testament, did not however prevent Nycolson from putting forth another impression, to which he affixed the name of Johan Hollybushe.⁶⁴ After this it may naturally be supposed Coverdale's countenance of the man must have come to an end. He is said to have called in the copies with his name, and hence they are so very rare.

The tide having so providentially and happily turned last year, this was a state of things for which some remedy must be sought. And, therefore, *before* Crunwell knew of the honour intended for him, by the dedication of the *Paris* production; aiming after a *fixed* standard, and *that* the translation sanctioned last year, an Inhibition had been issued. It is curious that it should have reached Paris, the day before that on which Grafton wrote his letter, and it was felt as if applying to what *they* had done, though it could only have reference to Nycolson's books, and to prevent more mischief.

"The day before this present," says Grafton, "came there a post named Nycolas, which brought your Lordship's letters to my Lord of Hereford, with the which was bound a certain inhibition for printing of books, and for adding of these words, 'cum privilegio.' Then, as soon as my Lord of Hereford had received it, he sent immediately for Mr. Coverdale and me, reading the same thing to us; in the which is expressed that we should add these words, '*ad imprimendum solum*,'—which words we never heard of before. Neither do we take it that these words should be added in the Scripture, if it be truly translated; for then should it be a great occasion to the enemies to say, that it is not the King's act or mind to set it forth, but only to license the printers to sell such as is put forth.⁶⁵ Wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take no displeasure for that we have done, for rather than any such thing should happen, we would do it again, but I trust the thing itself is so well done, that it

⁶⁴ Not a fictitious name, but a man employed by Nycolson, and who seems to have gone to Cologne.—Herbert's Ames, pp. 1450-1675.

⁶⁵ But Nycolson had taken upon him to print expressly even on this Testament—"Set forth with the King's most gracious license!"

shall not only please your Lordship, but also the King's Highness, and all the godly in the realm.⁶⁶

" And whereas your Lordship has added in the said Inhibition, that your Lordship, and all the King's most Honourable Councel, willetth no book henceforth to be put in print, but that first it be allowed, at the least, by one Bishop, we most humbly beseech your Lordship to appoint certain thereto, that they may be as ready to read them, as other good men be to put them forth. For it is now seven years since the Bishops promised to translate and set forth the Bible, and as yet they have no leisure."

Having thus paid our last visit to the Continent for a number of years to come, that is, so far as the *printing* of the Scriptures in our native tongue is immediately concerned ; we gladly return to old England, and enquire after its actual moral condition, and especially what effect the Word of Life seems, by this time, to have produced.

In conclusion of this year, as a striking illustration of the times, and as one proof that we have not been magnifying the importance of the labours of our first translator of the Sacred Volume, the miserably destitute state of England, with regard to *oral* instruction by preaching, so far as men nominally called to it were concerned, now deserves to be specially observed.

The " ministry of the Word of God," so clearly enjoined in Scripture, was a subject not comprehended by men in official power ; and though it had, the men who were in charge of what were termed benefices, or cures, glaringly did not understand it ; nay, they were the determined adherents of a system, diametrically at variance with that imperative commission which the Saviour at his ascension left to be obeyed. Instead of taking up Christianity, therefore, as a system of belief, to be drawn fresh from the Oracles of God alone, and received into the heart of man—instead of recognising the absolute necessity of heartfelt repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first instance, and in all cases, but above all, in men denominated Ministers of Christ : to enforce the reading of what was not *beloved*, and the preaching (if they could preach) what was not *believed*, the Vicegerent of Henry had conceived to be the only expedient. It was not the public sanction of the Scriptures last year, that would ever have induced these official underlings throughout the Counties of England, even

⁶⁶ They had printed " Cum gratia et privilegio Regis."

to have looked into the Sacred Volume. To pray with the spirit and with the understanding also, was beyond their power, and to preach that Gospel which they did not themselves believe or comprehend, might have seemed a hopeless task to enjoin.⁶⁷ Such, however, was the actual condition of the country, with regard to the governors and the governed, generally speaking; and had there not been now, as we have traced all along, a sacred cause independent altogether of both parties, nay, in spite of them, there would have been no reason whatever, in the year 1538, for any exultation over the progress of events.

Meanwhile, the injunctions of Crunwell, already quoted, as to the Bible itself, (p. 33,) had been thought necessary, on account of the indifference of these official men to the sanction of the Sacred Volume, and therefore the entire injunctions were thus enforced at the close—

“ All which and singular injunctions, I minister to you and your successors, by the King's Highness authority to me 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 Vicegerent for the time being, shall seem convenient.*”

When these injunctions, however, did come abroad, still it is impossible to condescend upon any number, however small, who were qualified to obey. Few they must have been, and far between. But supposing, for one moment, that the orders given had been literally fulfilled, and that all who were enjoined to preach, had actually done so; how *far* did the injunction itself reach?

“ *Item*—That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every 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 and 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 and relics, saying over a number of beads,” &c.

Such was the deplorable state of the people at large, and such the miserable provision proposed for their instruction,

⁶⁷ This melancholy state of things, it is well known, led, before long, to two expedients; viz. the actual selection of *prayers*, for them to *repeat*; nay, and to homilies or *discourses*, which these men were to *preach*!

when addressing those Bishops; among whom we have seen the deadliest enemies of a cause, which they could not destroy, nor even retard in its progress.

Happily, however, there had long been certain other men in the country, and *readers* not a few, besides these slumberers whom Cromwell was now striving to rouse; nay, and other *listeners* too, who, far from looking to official men, who could not teach, and would not learn, had tarried not for Henry the Eighth, nor waited for his Vicegerent. No sooner do we turn to *them*, though long despised, than a very different prospect rises to view; the vivid contrast to *four* sermons in the course of a year! The free permission of the Scriptures now rendered this scene more visible and striking. It is from a contemporary document that Strype has drawn it.

“It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received not only among the learned sort, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God’s Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was! Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves. Divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose; and even little boys flocked, among the rest, to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read.”

The modern reader may now once more very naturally exclaim—“Oh, could these men in power then have only been persuaded to have let such people alone! Could they have only understood the doctrine of non-interference!” Yes, and instead of encumbering a willing people with help, or tormenting them by interposition, have stood aloof in silence, and permitted these groups or gatherings to have heard the unambiguous voice of their God, and to have gazed upon the majesty and the meaning of Divine Truth!

The Sacred Scriptures, however, were now to be printed in England; nor was there to be another *foreign* edition of the volume entire for more than twenty years, or till the year 1560. We have come, therefore, to a memorable epoch or point of time. The time when the line of distinction is to be drawn between foreign books and those printed at home; between the Scriptures printed beyond seas for importation, and those to be prepared within our own shores; and in that metropolis, which, fifteen years ago, Tyndale had left in a

state of general and burning hostility to any thing of the kind.

But in glancing over all that we have witnessed, and before entering upon a new era, with regard to the Bible itself, who can forbear looking back, for a moment, to the dining-hall in the mansion-house of Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire? To the eager conversation or discussions there held, below a roof still standing? And to the deep-seated feeling of one man at the table, when the mitred Abbots of Winchcombe and Tewksbury were near at hand? And the Chancellor of Worcester "reviled him, as though he had been a dog?" And the hierarchy reigned triumphant, and Wolsey was in all his glory? And not one such printed page of inspiration was to be found in all England over? The unbending resolution, however, had been formed, and the memorable words in which, on one occasion, it was expressed, will bear to be repeated at such a time as this—" *If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do.*"

Thus, before ever this Sacred Volume entire came to be printed upon *English* ground, Tyndale's energetic efforts had been signally crowned with success. His "labour in the Lord" had not been in vain. That labour, indeed, once involved nothing more than the solitary purpose of a single Christian; and viewed only in its bud, or budding, it has had little else than a bitter taste; but whether the flower has been sweet, millions can testify.

It becomes, therefore, not unworthy of remark, that without straining, this cause actually admits of a survey on the widest scale. The three great monarchs of the day, were Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V.; never forgetting the Pontiff at Rome; but certainly they have not played their several parts, beyond the verge of God's providence, in his determined purpose towards this favoured Island. The licentious and indomitable monarch, for whom Tyndale prayed with his dying breath, though still wilfully blind, has been overruled. His Vicegerent or Vicar-General, guided only by expediency, and clothed with more power than Wolsey ever possessed, must lend all his *constitutional* energy, and go along with the stream of the Divine purpose. Cranmer, however timid and cautious, though too long silent, must

speak out at last. On the other hand, we have Cuthbert Tunstal, after denouncing the translation at Paul's cross, and tormenting all who possessed it, as far as he could reach them, who being constitutionally silent, must be silent now. As for Stokesly, the Bishop of London, the lion was bearded in his own den; for they have finished one Bible, and are preparing to print many more in London itself, nay, in London *alone*. And last, though not least, we have Stephen Gardiner, perhaps the ablest politician of the age, completely outwitted, but now come home, and just in time to see the final triumph; though, as Foxe says, he "mightily did *stomach and malign* the printing of this Bible." But then Scotland, as well as England, had been invaded, and from the beginning; nor was the triumph confined to the shores of Britain. Even Charles V., by the way, had met with his greatest personal humiliation; and as for the King of France, that inveterate enemy, and ally of Rome, he has been overruled in his own capital, and the Inquisition itself is thwarted; for now, when the Bible is about to be printed in the English metropolis, we have printing presses from Paris, beside types in store from the same city, nay, and Frenchmen, who "became printers in London, which before," says John Foxe truly, "*they never intended.*"

In England, indeed, they may tamper injuriously, to a limited degree, with the first translation imported; and there are battles still, which remain to be fought upon English ground; though after Henry VIII. has left the stage, the version will be reprinted again and again, many times, and precisely as Tyndale gave it to his country.

But at present, that is to say, in 1538, if the Emperor Charles, and the French King, and the Pontiff himself, with Cardinal Pole in his train, were all grouped together at Nice, intending, among other business, to alarm or overreach the King of England; then it was fit, that all the while, certain men from London should be busy in printing the English Bible in the capital of France; and after bringing over the materials and Parisian workmen to England, proceed on their way, and in far better style, than they could otherwise have done.⁶⁸ Such was the crowning achievement, in a series of

⁶⁸ At Nice, in June, the Pontiff embraced the favourable opportunity to sound the disposi-

conquests, in favour of all that Tyndale had accomplished! A man, in regard to whose character and exertions, the British Christian especially may now well exclaim—

Thine is a fragrance which can never waste,
Through left for ages to the charter'd wind.

SECTION II.

EVENTFUL YEAR—STATE OF PARTIES—HENRY STILL A WIDOWER—DIS-
TURBED FROM DIFFERENT QUARTERS—~~STRENGTH~~ BEGUILING CRUMWELL
—GERMAN STATES—PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION—ROYAL MESSAGE—
MIRRED ABBOTS—DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES—NEW ARTICLES—BILLS
OF ATTAINDER—THE SIX ARTICLES APPLIED—FRUSTRATED—CRANMER
SAFE—LATIMER IMPRISONED—ALSO ESCAPES—CONSTANTYNE IN DANGER
—THE TIDE TURNING—EXECUTION OF ABBOTS—CRUMWELL'S POLICY—
MONASTIC SPOILS.

THE SCRIPTURES PRINTING IN VARIOUS EDITIONS—CRUMWELL'S REMARK-
ABLE ENERGY IN THIS DEPARTMENT—THE KING SWAYED ONCE MORE—
THE CAUSE IN PROGRESS—CRANMER BUSY IN PROSPECT OF HIS FIRST
EDITION, NEXT SPRING—IT IS DISTINCTLY SANCTIONED BY HENRY—
SINGULAR PROCLAMATION—HENRY NOW COMMANDING ALL HIS SUBJECTS
TO USE THE SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH.

As if it had been to render the triumph of last year still more
conspicuous, the present stands distinguished in Henry's
reign, for the number of editions of the Sacred Volume entire.
Not fewer than four editions of the Bible issued from the
press, and a fifth was almost ready: besides three editions
of the New Testament separately. The compositors and
printers in London had never before been so engaged, nor so

tion of the two monarchs relative to the conduct of Henry. From both he received the same
answer, that if he would publish the Bull they would send ambassadors to England to protest
against the schism; would refuse to entertain the relations of amity with a prince who had
separated himself from the Catholic Church, and would strictly forbid all commercial inter-
course between their subjects and English merchants."—*Lingard*. What was doing in Paris
at the moment, was below this historian's notice, but the Pontiff's day was past. His awful
Bull proved nothing more than a *bulw* and the reader will not forget that this was the self-
same Paul III., who had so basely cringed to Henry VIII. in 1536; but all the powers, in turn,
were grossly given to mendacity and in this case the Pontiff was deluded by both monarchs.
Neither of them would afterwards even receive Cardinal Pole into their dominions. It was
only *Cranmer*, who was neither to be *deluded* or overreached by the King of France, or even the
~~Pop~~ *DR. B.*

hard at work in *any* department. since the invention of printing had been introduced into England.

All this too is the more worthy of notice, as Cranmer, however busy with his first edition, did not make his appearance before the public till next spring, or April 1540. Before proceeding, however, to any detail, the state of England, and in its connexion with foreign parts, must first be understood, as the account will then be read with that interest which belongs to it.

Of this eventful year, we can scarcely fail to have one luminous view, however painful: if we now place Crumwell, Cranmer, and Latimer, on the one side: the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal, on the other: with Henry standing between them, to hold the balance. Troubled about many things, the wayward monarch was but ill at ease, and we shall see him make either scale preponderate, just as his fear or his fancy suggested at the moment. Crumwell, it has been affirmed, had some presentiment of his downfall, for nearly two years before his death, and made provision for his dependents, which Wolsey had not. If this be correct, the time harmonises with the return of Gardiner from France. But, at all events, the last and deadly struggle for pre-eminence and power, on the part of CRUMWELL, has now commenced, though he had still a year and a half to live. We shall see him trembling for the ground on which he stood, as well as for all his honours. At his outset, he had said to Cavendish, his neighbour servant in Wolsey's household, that, in going to Henry, he would either *make* or *mar* all: and the truth is, that, in one sense, he did both: first the one, and then the other. In many points, Wolsey and Crumwell were extremely different characters, but in both may be seen, as a warning to posterity, the rise and fall of political expediency. With regard to Hugh Latimer, the *only* man who ever dared to speak out before the King and his courtiers, he is about to retire from the tempestuous scene: and to say nothing of cruelty, Henry, acting in the meanest style imaginable, to the very end of his reign, will accommodate him—with a prison! Like Festus of old, willing to show his courtiers a pleasure, he will leave Latimer bound. Cranmer will this year, in one instance, discover more fortitude than perhaps he ever did in the course of his whole life. And as for the

able triumvirate in opposition, we shall see how dexterously they wrought to each other's hands against their three opponents.

To commence, however, more particularly, and with the Monarch himself. At the end of last year, we left him murmuring at the coldness and delay of Charles V. ; (at which period the Pontiff had at last issued his long suspended Bull ;) and now, on the 19th of January, he repeats his complaint to Sir Thomas Wyatt. In "this weighty matter of his marriage" with the Duchess of Milan, he requires a positive answer ; and that "some barking preachers who had slandered him in their pulpits might be punished."¹ On the 13th of February, he commands Wyatt to advertise the Emperor that Cardinal Pole is coming to him as Legate from Rome, (in connexion with the Bull now issued,) requiring that, in conformity with the treaty of Cambray, he suffer him not to enter his dominions, or expel him if he does. He then chooses to add, that Pole "has conspired to murder him and his children, and to take upon himself the whole rule."²

Presently, however, other adverse policy had transpired, as on the 9th of March we find Wriothsley, the English ambassador at Brussels, addressing Crumwell. He had asked leave to return, but neither the Queen-Regent nor her Council would consent : they had even intreated him to remain, the Queen herself adding—"the Emperor's ambassador tarrieth against my commandment in England, at your master's instance, and I am not angry that he so doth, to gratify him."³ To the royal suitor, such procedure had been sufficiently provoking : it had roused him, and opened his eyes ; for before the arrival of this letter, he had got previous information. On the 10th, therefore, he had written to Wyatt, desiring that he would thank the Emperor for refusing to receive Cardinal Pole into his kingdom, and for his not sanctioning the Pontiff's Bull. At the same time, his Majesty complains that "a sudden rumour spread throughout Germany, Spain, and other parts, that the Emperor, the French King, and other princes, by the instigation of the Bishop of Rome, were forthwith to invade England"—"that the Emperor's ambassador, (Eustace Chapuis, just referred to,) in the height of these rumours, had suddenly desired leave to depart, showing no letters, but merely saying, that it was by commandment of Mary, the Princess-Regent of the Low Countries—that for the indemnity of his English merchants, whose ships had already been detained, and in return for incivilities shown to the English ambassador at Brussels, he had arrested all ships belonging to the Low Countries, or to Spain, wishing now to know *what* the Emperor's intentions were. That since he, the Emperor,

¹ Harl. MS., No. 282, fol. 43.

² *Idem*, fol. 47.

³ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 595.

will not proceed as to the marriage of the Duchess, without the *Pontiff's* dispensation ; as the King's nobility daily *press* him to marry, and age comes on apace, Charles must not think it strange, if he seek *alliance* elsewhere !” He then informs Wyatt that he will soon be recalled, and succeeded by Mr. Richard Pate.⁴

By the 12th, Crumwell had received the letter of Wriothsley, when he immediately apprised his Majesty of its contents.⁵ No change in affairs could possibly be more welcome to my Lord Privy Seal, who had never courted alliance with the Emperor, and probably saw that his royal Master had been befooled all along. At all events, the matrimonial affair was now at an end, and Henry's personal negotiations for a political marriage, have entirely failed. To fail a second time, as a Royal negotiator, and to be foiled, not only by two gentlemen, or Francis and Charles in 1538, but by two ladies, in 1539, must have been mortifying in the extreme. For it must be observed that though Henry continued ever writing to Wyatt ; the Emperor, by his commission, had remitted the negotiation for a wife, to his sister Mary, the Regent of the Low Countries ; and she had managed to gain time, with no inferior address. She is said to have terminated the business, by declaring that the Duchess of Milan was too nearly allied to Henry's first Queen, to admit of such a union, without a dispensation from the Pontiff, a humiliation to which, of course, his Majesty could never bow. The proposal he must have viewed as an insult. As for the Lady Duchess-Dowager herself, the daughter of Christiern King of Denmark, if she replied as has been often affirmed, Henry was also reminded of his second Queen, in no flattering terms. The words were—“ If she had two *heads*, one should have been at the service of his Majesty ; whereas having but one, she preferred to lead a single life.” In the meanwhile, however, Crumwell is taking special care, that Chapuis shall not be permitted to leave Calais, till Wriothsley on his way home has arrived at that town in safety.⁶

But if his Majesty felt at all fretted by this rumour of invasion, and the *prose* of these “ barking preachers” on the Continent, he had been not less annoyed by *poetry*, supposed to come from Scotland ; while some fear was entertained that his nephew, the King, would unite with the Continental powers against him. In the close of last year, Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the West Marches, had written to Crumwell, in no small alarm, about a “ ballad” in satire of Henry ; inclosing a copy, and adding that he had employed two several spies, to proceed to Edinburgh respecting it ! His informer had affirmed that it “ was devised by the Bishops.”⁷ Not satisfied with this, he writes to King James himself, in

⁴ Harl. MS., No. 282, fol. 50. Pate is by mistake frequently named *Tate* in the Catalogue, and occasionally so in the State Papers. He was appointed to succeed, but ultimately proved a false man, was attainted, and remained beyond seas.

⁵ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 595.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 597.

⁷ *Idem*, vol. v., p. 145.

January, and on the 31st; his Majesty replies from his palace of Linlithgow,—that as he never had heard of “sic ballats” before, he rather suspected them to be “imagined and devised” by some of Wharton’s own nation, and “lieges of our dearest uncle’s.”⁹ Three days before this letter, however, Sir Christopher Mores, one of the Berwick Commissioners, had informed Crumwell, that on Wednesday the 22d of January “in a place called the Queen’s ferry, amidst a great storm of wind and weather, an ambassador out of France had arrived, and being received by the King’s Secretary, was conducted with thirty horsemen to the Scotch King, for what purpose, he could not yet show.”⁹

Meanwhile the “ballat” was still the great affair: for Holgate, Bishop of Ilandaff, and President of the Council of the North had also written to James; so that it cost his Majesty another long letter, from his palace of Edinburgh on the 5th of February.¹⁰ On the same day, also open proclamation was issued, and directed “to be made at Dumfries and other places, that no one should take, have, read, publish, or send copies of *ony sik famous, despitefull and unhoneist ballats, rhymes, or makings*,—to destroy all copies that could be found, and diligent search to be made for any “who had made ballats or sangs in defamation and blaspheming of (the King) his dearest uncle.”

The Council of the North too, by the 9th of March, had caught letters passing from Ireland to the Pontiff, as well as to Cardinal Pole;¹¹ and in short nothing would satisfy Henry but that the Duke of Norfolk himself must go down to the Northern borders, to ascertain the actual state of things, and examine the means of defence. By his first letter of the 29th of March, to Crumwell, the Lord Privy Seal, there were no good news. The Castle of Berwick was greatly dilapidated, and the troops of Northumberland miserably “ill horsed:” the only consolation was, that he heard the Borderers of Scotland were “worse horsed than they:” but there was now evidently something a great deal more formidable than a Scotch song, or any rhyming prophecy. James had taken care to make the most of the “ballad;” professing that he was “not less heavy and thoughtful” than Bishop Holgate himself; and now he affirms that “he will never break with the King, his uncle, during his life, with many more very good words.” And yet Norfolk has heard that on Thursday last, the 27th, proclamation was made at Edinburgh, and in all parts of Scotland, for “every man between 16 and 60 to be ready, upon 24 hours’ warning, on pain of death—that there were new trimmed, and part of them new made, in the Castle of Edinburgh, 16 great pieces, as cannons and culverns, and 60 smaller pieces for the field, all which were to be fully ready before the 26th of

⁹ Cotton MS., Calig. B. iii., fol. 191. *Original.*

¹⁰ Gov. State Papers, v., 148, 149.

⁹ Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 147.

¹¹ *Idem.* p. 151.

April; and two ships bound for Flanders, were to bring as many hand guns with them as they could." On the day before this proclamation, "a friar, in preaching before the young Queen at Lithgow, had been extolling the Pontiff's authority, the Bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Aberdeen, being present, but *no* temporal Lords:"¹² and different individuals had said—"If ye (England) and France agree well, we and ye shall agree well; for as France doth with you, so will we do."

"By divers other ways," adds the Duke, "I am advertised that the Clergy of Scotland be in such fear, that their King should do there, as the King's Highness hath done in this realm, that they do their best to bring their Master to the war; and by many ways I am advertised, that a great part of the *temporality* there would their King should follow our ensample, *which I pray God give him grace to come unto.*" But his Grace of Norfolk, meanwhile, believes that the Abbot of Arbroath, (David Betoun,) "is gone into France to know what help his Master shall have, as well of the French King as of the Bishop of Rome, if he break with us."

"Daily cometh unto me, some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, *for reading of Scripture in English*; saying that, if they were taken, they should be put to execution. *I give them gentle words; and to some, money.* Here is now in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late Captain of Dunbar, and dare not return, for holding *our* ways, as she saith. She was in England and saw Queen Jane. She is Sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland, three or four years ago."

His Grace closes with a little spice of flattery—"Requiring your good Lordship to have me most humbly recommended to the King's Majesty, making mine excuse for *not writing to his Highness* concerning the premises. And thus our Lord have you my *very good* Lord in his tuition. Written at Berwick, the 29th day of March."¹³

But are these actually the words of the Duke of Norfolk, and that so late as the 29th of March 1539? They are; and the reader must not fail to observe with what artful craftiness he is here trying to impose upon Crumwell, or put him off his guard, for now he would affect to be the most zealous man of his age; and, by way of finish, having once subscribed his name, with his own hand he adds this postscript—"If these *ungracious Priests* may not bring their King to war this summer, I am in good hope that once ere Christmas, the King of Scots will take much of *their land* into his own hands; *which to bring to pass shall lack*

¹² It is curious enough that at the same time, only four days after, or the 30th of March, Tunstal was practising before Henry, by boldly preaching the opposite doctrine, and denouncing Cardinal Pole in the severest terms. This was to mould the Monarch for all the advice which that party intended soon to give, if it had not been already tendered.

¹³ Gov. State Papers, v., p. 153-156. By the way, we have here positive evidence of the extent to which Tyndale's translation was prevailing in North Britain, of which more in its proper place. Though Norfolk could not be expected to be very accurate as to the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton; he cared for none of these things. It had taken place precisely *eleven* years before this.

no setting forth on my behalf, if any of his secret servants come hither unto me !"

In short the letter throughout was equal to any thing from the pen of his friend, Stephen Gardiner ; for soon after the Duke's return to London, the style adopted will appear to have been the highest essence of hypocrisy. And he soon returned ; the last letter from him to Crumwell seems to be from Richmond in Yorkshire, on the 9th of April. He will be in very good time to unite vigorously with Gardiner and Tunstal, in thwarting the Lord Privy Seal.

During these three months it certainly had been no very easy task for Crumwell to manage his disturbed Master, or ward off his fears ; and the more so that, though a bold and determined man hitherto, he had quite enough to do with himself. Already he had his trembling moments, and his *own* anxiety is quite manifest, even when he is striving, so graphically, to cheer the King. Thus on the 17th of March he writes—

" Many bruits, rumours and reports be made, as well in and from Flanders, as in and from some other parts, the grounds whereof being unexpressed, and all things well weighed, not like to be such indeed as is reported. Men may sometime upon accumulation of suspicious and light conjectures, take a fantasy indeed, that their suspicions be true ; or trusting some false reporters, which might fortune hath shewed them some true things, may perchance be deceived by them. Or marking the words of the inconstant and fickle people babbling abroad, think the same cannot be so much in the people's mouth without *some* ground, as smoke is not without fire. But for all this, some time such things do vanish away as the wind. Yet nevertheless, I cannot but so to think, that your Grace will not be further moved or pricked by such reports, or letters, upon such unknown reports, suspicions, and tales grounded, than the things do appear : for assuredly, to my judgment, the things be more and further otherwise bruited abroad, than the meaning and the deed is. Assuredly, as it is good to be ware and circumspect, so no less is to be avoided over much suspicion, to the which if any man be once given, he shall never be quiet in mind. These I do not write as thinking your Grace needeth any warning thereof, being of so high excellent wit, prudence, and long experience ; but that I would declare unto your Majesty, how I do for my part, take the things, and as I think other men should take them ; and that no more celerity nor precipitation of things should be used than of congruency. For undoubtedly I take God to be not only your Grace's protector, but a marvellous favourer ; so that in my heart I hold me assured, although all the rest should have conspired against your Grace, yet ye shall prevail through his grace, assuredly."¹⁴

While, however, Henry had been so long and so busy negotiating to no purpose ; the German States had not been forgotten, and Crumwell, ever watching on the times, now found that his opportunity was come. After their Ambassadors had been dismissed by his Majesty with Tunstal's

¹⁴ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 601

reply, last year, the Emperor had been soliciting their aid against the Turk, of whom he was afraid ; but they were as firm to their principles with him, as they had been with the King of England. In these circumstances, as the English Monarch was not likely to make any pacific agreement with the Court of France, especially while such a man as Bonner was there, urging, after his own manner, the claims of his royal Master, for the arrears of money long due by Francis ; and as it was then uncertain how far the Emperor and the King of France would second the official fury of the Pontiff ; Henry must bow to the humiliation of sending Mount and Paynell once more to those very States, whose ambassadors he had dismissed. After the return of those ambassadors to Germany, last September, no letters arrived either to Crumwell or his Master, and “fearing,” says Strype, “lest these Germans might comply with the Emperor on some terms,” Mount and Paynell had been despatched from England in December last to the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse.”¹⁵ The enquiry then to be made, whether these German Princes remained stedfast in their faith as to their professed religious principles, must have been a mere fetch to open up negotiations of a *secular* character ; and so the Embassy merged into one such subject. It is true that we shall find Burghart, who had been in England last year, arrive with the English Envoys upon their return in April, bringing a long answer from Saxony and Hesse, as to those matters of faith, with a letter also from Melancthon to the King ; but long before then we have pointed evidence to show, not only that another Queen for Henry was the main point, but that considerable progress had been made, *before* his Majesty was told that he could not have the Duchess of Milan. It was a political marriage on which the Monarch was bent, and he had been negotiating in two quarters at the same time. It has been often affirmed, that Crumwell *recommended* the Princess Anne of Cleves to Henry ; but of this, no positive evidence has ever been adduced, and the instructions given to Mount and Paynell, on such a subject, must have been not only with his Majesty’s previous sanction, but given directly by himself. There is, however, no question that Crumwell leaped at the proposal and urged it on. So early as the 10th of March this is quite apparent,¹⁶ and on the 18th, when addressing the King, still more so ; proving decidedly that the one negotiation was proceeding, before the other was broken off.

“Please your most noble Majesty to be advertised, that this morning I have received letters from your Grace’s servants, Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel, written at Frankford the 5th of this present month, the effect whereof is that on the — day of February last, the said Christopher had access to the Duke of Saxony, to whom, *all other being afar off*, he declared the effect of his

¹⁵ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 609

¹⁶ See Cotton MS., Vitell. B. xxi., fol. 133

instructions the best manner he could ; whereunto the Duke answered that he would with good will endeavour himself to his power, to do all things, and nothing to pretermitt that might conduce to the perfection of this honest affair." He trusted the Princes would meet shortly, and he would rather "break and open this matter himself, than by any other person, because he trusteth to speak better himself, and the thing be kept more secretly."¹⁷ "The said Christopher," continues Crumwell, "instantly sueth every day the acceleration of the matter, lest some other shall prevent it, and that in the meantime *the picture may be sent.*"—"Every man praiseth the beauty of the same Lady, as well for the face, as for the whole body, above all others ladies excellent."—"One said unto them of late that she excelleth as far the *Duchess*, as the *golden sun* excelleth the *silvern moon.*"—"Every man praiseth the good virtues and honesty, with shamefacedness, which appeareth plainly in the gravity of her face. Thus say they, that have seen them *both.*"¹⁸

Nothing, indeed, is now omitted by Crumwell's pen, to quicken Henry's footsteps. Thus his Majesty is informed that the electors of Brandenburg and Palgrave, with the Emperor's ambassador, Vesalius, the Archbishop of Lunden, in Sweden, were at Frankford, employed in making "a pacification, and *hope to speed*"—that the Earl of Nassau, with twenty French captains, had arrived two days before—that Mount diligently sued for an embassy to be sent to England, but the German princes "feel themselves aggrieved, and do detest the *long dilations* of our Court"—that one of the French courtiers dining with the Duke of Saxony, he asked, "to what purpose were all these preparations of the Emperor," adding, "the bruit is here that it should be against the King of England." The only reply was—"then the King of England will need to take heed to himself."

Crumwell then takes care to add—"if your Grace will have anything written to the said Christopher, we have now good commodity of men to convey letters ; wherefore I would be glad to know your gracious pleasure herein."—"Your Majesty may be assured, that your Highness' affairs, in all points, can be no more accelerate, and more done to their expedition, than we all do to our powers ; which undoubtedly be not idle. Wherefore I beseech your Grace to pardon me, and take these in good part, as I hope your Majesty, of your accustomed benignity, will do."¹⁹

Crumwell accordingly had received orders, as he wrote to Mount and Paynell, on the 22d of March, how to proceed in their negotiations.²⁰

After not less than three years of prorogation, Henry had now resolved to hold a meeting of Parliament and Convoca-

¹⁷ The Princes met on the 12th of February, so that nearly a month before Henry had said to the Emperor that he must not think it strange if he sought alliance *elsewhere*, he was then seeking it. Compare his letter to Wyatt as quoted pp. 46, 47.

¹⁸ The lady referred to was Princess Anne, second daughter of John Duke of Cleves.

¹⁹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 604.

²⁰ Cotton MS., Vitell., B. xxi., fol. 147.

tion. The subserviency of both to his will was notorious, and in this it appears that Crumwell cordially sympathised with him. "Amongst other for your Grace's Parliament," says he on the 17th of March, "I have appointed your Majesty's servant, Mr. Morisson, to be one of them. No doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack, or face with literature of learning, or by *undirected* ways, if any such shall be, as I think there will be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your dedicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass, that your Majesty had never more tractable Parliament!"²¹ As for the Convocation, since it had been summoned on the 12th of March, it is evident that whatever *articles* shall be issued, by that time they had been contemplated; and Crumwell, at least, is either preparing to swallow them, or, what is very improbable, must have been profoundly ignorant of what was before him. At all events, for these three years past, as there had been no such assemblies under our despotic monarch, they were always ominous of some strong measures.

On the 30th of March, Tunstal, usually calm and still, preached his flaming sermon before the King; Gardiner was preparing for Parliament and the Convocation; Norfolk was returning from the north; and to announce his approach, by way of firing the first gun, only about one fortnight after his strange letter of the 29th of March, already quoted, he had quarrelled with Crumwell on a subject of inferior moment.²² But by this time Crumwell had been taken unwell, and had

²¹ Richard Morysine, or Morison, now one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, who was afterwards knighted by Edward VI., we have heard of before. See anno 1525. Last year he had published his "Apomaxis," to which Cochlæus replied; and this year, he printed his "Exhortation to stir up all Englishmen to the defence of their country," and "an Invective against Treason." He had left Padua in 1537, where he was acquainted with Cardinal Pole; and now he sets himself right with Henry VIII. "Of the miracles and wonders of our times," says he, "I take the change of our Sovereign Lord's opinion to be the greatest. There was no prince in Christendom, but he was far liker to have changed than our Sovereign Lord. He was their pillar, and bare them up a great while. They gave him fair titles for his so doing, and honoured his name in all their writings. Was it not a wonderful work of God, to get his Grace from them to Him? To make him their overthrow, whom they had chosen for their Defender?"—Thus it was, that every courtier abounded in the most fulsome flattery.

²² "I have received letters from my Lord of Norfolk, which I send herewith, to the intent that your Highness may know how grievously he taketh the assignment I have made to Anthony Rouse, of one of Sir Edward Iclingham's daughters; who, by all the very true advertisements that I can have, is your Majesty's ward, and to your Grace's use, appointed to the custody of the said Rouse. I am sorry he taketh the matter so much to heart—I remit the resolution and disposition of the whole matter to your Highness; not doubting but your most excellent wisdom can, weighing the matter, weigh also therewith my said Lord, the Duke of Norfolk's good merits, and determine the best in that matter, to be fulfilled accordingly."—*Crumwell to Henry, 19th April.* Gov. State Papers, i., p. 611. This complaint, however, as it was put, and at such a time, was probably far from being wise for himself.

become so seriously. It was an attack of the ague. On the 23d of April, or the Wednesday before Parliament was to sit, he had made himself ready to wait on the King, when a fit came on, "and held him in great heat about ten hours." "The pain of the disease," said he, "grieveth me nothing so much as that doth, that I cannot be as I should there present, and employ my power to your Grace's affairs and service, as my heart desireth to do."²³ On the eve of such a battle, it was a great and bitter disappointment, and, no doubt, his enemies were improving every hour of his absence. Next day, however, he strove to do all he could, by addressing a long letter to his Majesty; and still lamenting over his state of health. In this communication it is observable, that while he goes over all the points respecting *foreign* policy, he says not one word now of what is projected to be done in Parliament.²⁴ Poor man! It is true that he will rally again as to health; the King, to serve his own selfish ends, will assume a kindly aspect, and he has yet fourteen months to live; but his frequent and direct, or familiar correspondence with Henry is now near a close.

Meanwhile, and at the moment when Crumwell was writing, Mount and Paynell arrived from Germany, accompanied by Burghart, who had been dismissed in September last. The Emperor, it was said, had now deprecated, above all things, the German Confederates receiving any others into their league; when Crumwell did not fail to suggest, that "if his Majesty would only join them, the other party, in his judgment, would be half in despair." But what was Henry to do? He was now falling in with the counsels of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal; Parliament must sit in five days hence, and Crumwell, in poor health, is but ill able to attend!

Accordingly, on Monday, the 28th of April, Parliament sat down, and the Convocation opened on the 2d of May. The Duke of Norfolk, as Prime-Minister, had been commissioned to conduct the business in the House of Peers; and Crumwell's precedence as Vicar-General was recognised, but he could no longer brandish his rod of authority over the Bishops, as he had done at their last sitting, three years ago; and much less send a deputy to claim his seat, above them

²³ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 613.

²⁴ Cleop. E. v., fol. 172. or Strype, Records, civ.

all. Not only were the majority his opponents, but the Head of their Church had changed his mind. For three years had Crumwell and Crammer enjoyed ample sway; but Gardiner and Tunstal's day had now come. They must aim at retaliation for all the past, and no time was lost before the strength of parties was ascertained.

On Monday the 5th of May, a royal message to the House was announced by Audley as Lord Chancellor. His Majesty, being greatly desirous of putting an end to all controversies in *religion*, ordered a committee to examine the diversities of opinion—to draw up articles for an agreement, and report! Nine individuals were appointed, viz. Crumwell as Vicar-General, and Archbishop Crammer, with Latimer of Worcester, and Goodrich of Ely, on the one side; and Archbishop Lee, with Tunstal of Durham, Aldrich of Carlisle, Clark of Bath, and Salcot of Bangor on the other. While, therefore, these men were left to warm and busy discussion at St. Paul's, if we turn to Westminster, there we find the King engaged in reviewing the grand muster of the citizens of London.

At this period the order and nature of events strongly suggest the idea of a laid plan, on the part of Henry and one class of his advisers, in which every movement was preparatory to measures already determined. They were measures relating to money and property of course; for as to faith and opinions, among men of such licentious habits, it would be absurd to suppose one grain of sincerity, or any conscience. To raise a false alarm, was the object in view. *Alarm* as an expedient, was altogether unnecessary in Crumwell's opinion, but he had taken special care to obey all orders. Thus, on the 17th of last month, he had assured his Majesty of there having been no lack of vigilant preparation for defence against all foreign aggression.

“As for commissions concerning the beacons, they were sent more than three weeks ago. Letters for the musters be also sent, and no doubt they shall do their duty. As for the return of the musters, it is not appointed till Easter, (8th April,) by the which time all, I trust, shall be done and certified; then upon the certificates thereof, shall other letters be ready to be sent incontinent. In the meantime, I, and other of your Grace's Council here, do study and employ ourselves daily, upon those affairs that concern *your Grace's Parliament*, and to prepenze and prepare in the same, *all that we may think to your Highness' satisfaction.*”²⁵

²⁵ Gov. State Papers, i, p. 602.

The fact was, that a muster, equally extensive with that in Scotland, or of all men from 16 to 60, with the number of their harnesses and weapons, had been ordered; and to satisfy the King, London is now displaying what she had done. Halle the old chronicler gives a minute description of the whole. On Thursday the 8th of May, every alderman, with his ward in battle array, came to the common place of rendezvous; so that all the fields from Whitechapel to Mile-end, and from Bethnal Green to Ratcliff and Stepney, were covered with harness, bows, bills and pikes, or men and weapons. By eight in the morning they were all on the move, to appear before Henry, who "sat in his new gate house, at his palace of Westminster, where he viewed the whole company." By nine o'clock, the first captain had entered Paul's Churchyard, which the last had not done till four in the afternoon. The number was 15,000, besides a class named "wyfflers and waiters."²⁶ But why all this alarm? Forts and beacons erected—the fleet equipped, and musters taken throughout the kingdom! Where was the enemy, whether by sea or land? Lord Crunwell had informed the King that he saw *no* cause for immediate apprehension; and one author has told us that "all this noise of an invasion was looked on as no better than management and mystery, by a great many." "It was the strain," they said, "of a party to colour the practice, and carry on the one design in view"—the suppression of all the religious houses, including the greater monasteries. "The King's necessities were too faint a colour to discharge the imputation: the censure went deep, and the scandal spread, notwithstanding this allegation."²⁷

At all events, it is very observable, that only five days after all this bustle in London, the subject was introduced to the House of Lords. To this Parliament all the mitred Abbots had been summoned of course, and for the last time. It was to receive final judgment; for however courteously they had been spoken of three years ago, when the *lesser* monasteries were dissolved, their day of doom was now at hand. One hundred and fifty abbots, and other superiors of a lower grade, had surrendered their houses and lands to the Crown before this year 1539; a step taken on the same principle with that of the unjust steward in the parable. They acted wisely, as they thought, for themselves, by making the best compromise they could. Still all such transactions required to be sanctioned by Parliament; and so now this most compliant House will not only confirm all that had passed, but secure all that is to come. On the 13th of May, therefore, a Bill was brought into the House by Lord Chancellor Audley, vesting in the Crown all the property, moveable and immoveable, of the monastic establishments, which either had already been, or should hereafter be, surrendered or suppressed.

²⁶ Halle.²⁷ Collier.

According to Sir Edward Coke, both Houses were then entertained with a very pretty story, as from his Majesty—

“ That no King or kingdom were safe, where the King had not three abilities. *First*, to live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. *Secondly*, to aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. *Thirdly*, to reward his well-deserving servants. Now, if the Parliament would only give and confirm to him all the Abbeyes and Priors, the Friaries and Nunneries, and other monasteries, for ever, then in time to come he would take order, that the same should not be converted to *private use*. But *first*, that his exchequer, for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched. *Secondly*, the kingdom be strengthened by the maintenance of forty-thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders. *Thirdly*, for the benefit and ease of the subject, he *never* afterwards, in *any* time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids ! and *Fourthly*, lest the honour of the realm should suffer by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine Abbots and Priors who were Lords of Parliament, the King would create a number of Nobles !”

There can be no doubt that vice, in its vilest forms, was to be found in many of these houses, from the highest to the lowest grade ; and as little, that vice, in other forms, was practised by Crumwell’s visitors, when professedly engaged in their examination and exposure ; but if immorality of conduct forms a sufficient ground for the forfeiture of property to the Crown for ever, to say nothing here of *such* a Crown, what would have become of property in England, at any period, from that day to this ? Had these houses been all of royal foundation, the case would have been different, but this they notoriously were not ; or had even the objects to which the proceeds were applied been of a laudable character, Henry, instead of adding to the disgrace of his character, might have escaped the censure of posterity ; but every one knows that the representation and promises here held out before Parliament were but delusive mockery. Every one knows that the entire spoil was not sufficient, as we shall find in one short year, when Crumwell makes his last effort at procuring more money for his prodigal and unprincipled Master.

It deserves notice, that, at this juncture, almost all the disciples of the “ old learning” howed to the King’s lust after monastic property. By yielding to him in *one* way, they might calculate on his compliance with their counsels in *another*. The mitred abbots in the House made no counter motion. Gardiner was even forward in declaiming against the religious houses, and commended the King for suppressing them. His friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had already purchased the monastery of Septon in Suffolk ; and there was now opened up to all the nobility the inviting prospect of easy purchase, advantageous exchange, nay, of free gifts ; and as since, if war ensued, it was to bring no additional burden, and even pauperism, as well as taxation, was to be heard of no more !—the conclusion served its purpose, and the Bill passed.

To smooth the way for this result and pacify the other party, another Bill was introduced into Parliament on the 23d of May by Lord Cromwell. The House was to rise next day, till the 30th of the month, and it is curious enough that this Bill, which was to enable the King by his letters patent to erect new Bishoprics, was read the same day three times, and immediately sent down to the Commons. The preamble and material parts of this act, drawn by the King himself, are still extant in the British Museum, with a list of the Sees *intended*. But it is equally well known that there was a failure here also. Thirteen are noted in this list, and fifteen or sixteen were talked of: but the result was the erection of only six; Oxford and Bristol, Gloucester and Chester, Peterborough and Westminster, the last of which was soon dissolved.

These two measures, however, were not only ones over which the Members of both Houses, as well as the people at large, were called to ruminate, till the 30th of May. There was a third, affecting the *whole* country, and fraught with *personal* violence; for we must not forget the Bishops who had been left to their discussions, while Henry was reviewing his London troops.

But however bent his Majesty now was, upon what he chose to style unanimity of opinion, it was soon manifest that the committee of Bishops appointed, could never agree. In a similar perplexity, just three years ago, his Majesty and Cranmer in union had, for the first time, framed certain *articles* for the people of England to *believe*, enforcing them on all men by the Sovereign's authority; so that consistently, the Archbishop cannot now object, should a similar course be followed. In 1536 it was no doubt deemed a fortunate circumstance, that Gardiner was *out of the way*; but he has now returned, and if he and his party can follow the *precedent* set them, and Henry should condescend to be on that side, then he will still be equally flattered, as the Lord of all opinions upon English ground. His Majesty's subjects were not to think for themselves before, and the right to do so, was not to be conceded now. At this moment, he imagined that his personal circumstances demanded a very different class of opinions, and they were now to be enforced on pain of death. The former, that is, the *first* articles, were to insure *peace and contentation*; but those about to be proposed, though directly in the teeth of the former, were, according to the precious royal announcement, to "*establish unanimity and terminate all religious controversies among his people!*" This, it must be conceded, was giving to

both parties a fair opportunity of testing the effect of "articles" as bearing upon public opinion; and as Cranmer had first led the way, he must now abide the consequences, whether they should first lead to the destruction of his own domestic happiness, or, seventeen years afterwards, to his death. In other words, the artillery which had been first framed by Cranmer, was about to be seized, and planted against himself.

It was, as we have stated, on the 5th of May that this Committee of nine had been appointed. On every point, they divided regularly, as five to four, Cranmer and Crumwell being in the minority. Henry's patience was very soon exhausted, and by Friday the 16th, Norfolk was ready with the intended *remedy* for diversity of opinions. The King, and Winchester no doubt, had been preparing it, for the mouth of that Premier; who on the 30th of March last, had told Crumwell, that he had been "praying to God, that he would give the King of Scotland grace to do, *as* Henry had already done!" The Duke having therefore informed the House that no progress had been made, or could be, by the Committee; proposed *six* questions for their consideration. They referred to 1. The Mass. 2. Communion under one kind, or the bread without the cup. 3. Private masses. 4. The celibacy of the Clergy. 5. Auricular confession, and, 6. Vows of chastity. Neither Audley nor *Crumwell* now took any part in the debate, nor indeed any layman; but Cranmer did, and with all his powers: for it is certainly going much too far, for any historian, upon a single loose anonymous authority, to deny him the credit of as much heroism as he then displayed.²⁸ For three days the discussion continued, and though Henry himself had the effrontery to come down unconstitutionally, and join in the debate, and afterwards requested Cranmer not to appear and vote, he appears to have resisted to the utmost limits of his personal safety, and never gave his formal consent. True, he did not *act*, as Latimer did afterwards, for that was not in the man; but the only wonder has been that, going as far as he did, the King was not mightily offended. This, however, will be accounted for presently.

It has been remarked that six questions were tabled, and they ended in one act: frequently denominated afterwards

²⁸ Cleop. F. v., p. 128, as quoted by Langard

“the bloody statute,” and at other times, “the whip with six cords.” Such was the remedy of Henry VIII. for diversity of opinions; for now, as he allowed his subjects no title to any opinion of their own, they must all believe, or profess to believe in—1. *Transubstantiation*. 2. That communion under both kinds is *not* necessary to salvation. 3. That Priests may *not* marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity are *binding*. 5. That private masses ought to be *retained*; and, 6. That the use of auricular confession is *expedient and necessary*: while the penalties annexed illustrated the growing brutality of the Sovereign. Denial of the first profane absurdity subjected the individual to death by the flames, for an authoritative stop was now put to *abjuration*. That could now save no man’s life; and as for the other five points, for the denial of any one of them, the party was to die as a felon, or be imprisoned during his Majesty’s pleasure. After the Parliament resumed on the 30th of May, this bill was introduced, though it was not read for the first time till the 7th of June, the second time on Monday the 9th, and passed next day.²⁹ On the following Saturday it passed the Lower House, and receiving the royal assent on the 28th, its pains and penalties were to be inflicted from and after the 12th of July.

This, however, is not the full amount of the baseness of this Parliament. At its opening, instructions had been given to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, now 70 years of age; Gertrude, widow of the Marquis of Exeter; and a young *boy*, son of Lord Montacute; Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. Exeter and Montacute, it may be remembered, had already suffered; but great difficulty was felt in proceeding with these two ladies, and especially the old Countess. After others had tried, Cromwell, who evidently thought himself skilful at cross-examination, “assayed the uttermost of his power.” But he was still baffled by the Countess, who is said to have been “more like a strong and constant man, than a woman;” after which, so eager was the sinking courtier

²⁹ On the 30th of May, the Lords had appointed two bills to be drawn,—one by *Cranmer* of Canterbury, *Goodrich* of Ely, *Barlow* of St. Davids, and *Dr. Petre*,—the other by *Lee* of York, *TENENTAL* of Durham, *GARDINER* of Winchester, and *Dr. Tragouuel*. Both were submitted to Henry of course, when of course also, the latter was preferred. See the original draft in the Cotton MS., Cleop. v. 313, with corrections in the *King’s* own hand-writing.

to please his Master, that he actually called up the judges and enquired—"Whether Parliament might condemn persons accused of treason, *without any previous trial or confession!*" These servile and unprincipled men replied, "that it was a *nice* question, and one that no inferior tribunal *could* entertain, but there was *no doubt* that the court of Parliament was supreme; and that any attainder by Parliament, (and of course by the present,) would be *good in law!*" Such a bill, therefore, they immediately passed, condemning to death all the parties, without any trial whatever! What became of the child no one knows. Fortescue and Dingley were executed on the 10th of July; the Marchioness was pardoned about six months hence, but the aged Countess was retained in prison nearly two years, till another frenzy having seized the monarch, she was dragged from her dungeon; but pleading innocence, and boldly resisting her very executioner to the last, till her grey hairs were covered with blood, the head was severed from the body on the 27th of May 1541.

Crumwell, in ambitious pursuit of his own standing, had now, with a witness, entered into the field of temptation, and it becomes difficult to hold the pen; but impartiality forbids that he should, at such a moment, be the only man in view. Among those significant "*Remembrances,*" so strangely left behind for the verdict of posterity, and to which we have before referred, there is one *item* of awful import, suggesting the idea that Henry, far from unconnected with this tragedy, had been the director behind the scenes. *Item,* says Crumwell, in his own hand-writing, "to remember specially *the Lady of Sarum*"—Salisbury: but then a little afterwards, "*Item—what THE KING WILL HAVE DONE with the Lady of Sarum.*" This, it may be presumed, must have been written before the judges were called; and such a Minister! such a Monarch! it may well be exclaimed. But we forbear all comment, and more especially as, before the year concludes, the reader has to witness other, if not greater, abominations. It should, however, be observed that the step thus taken by Crumwell, very strongly reminds one of the gallows prepared by Haman for Mordecai; as *next* year, and therefore *before* his victim, the aged Countess, *he himself* was the *first* who fell under the axe, in strict accordance with *the precedent* he had now introduced!

In conclusion of these miserable proceedings, the Lower as well as the Upper House, seems to have been willing to comply with *any* thing which might occur to the caprice or passion of the reigning King. His Majesty had taken offence at the manner in which some of his proceedings, and particularly his proclamations had been treated, since the last Parliament in 1536. An act was, therefore, now passed, which sets forth in the preamble, “the contempt and disobedience of the King’s proclamations by some, who did not consider *what* a King by *his royal power might do*; which if it continued would lead to the disobedience of the laws of God! and the dishonour of the King’s Majesty, who may full ill bear it. Considering also that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that delaying these might occasion great prejudices to the realm—therefore it is enacted, that the King for the time being, with advice of his Council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed, *as if* they were made by an act of Parliament!” If any now so offended, and in further contempt went out of the kingdom, they were to be adjudged as *traitors*. To this bill, indeed, some opposition was evinced, but it passed as well as all the others.

After doings so notable as these, and affecting so many parties, Parliament rose on the 28th of June, amidst feelings of exultation on one side, and indignation on the other; but, as far as “the six articles” were concerned, the *pet* measure of the Premier and his friends, backed as they were by the bloody statute, they were not slow in proceeding to action. This statute was not to remain a dead letter. Commissioners were instantly appointed to act upon it; that is, to seek out victims; and in the various jurisdictions, a *Bishop* was invariably to be one of the commissioners. To witness the commencement of operations, we require to proceed no farther than the metropolis. The inquisitors, selected with satanic discrimination, ignorant, headlong, and blood-thirsty, were “such as had read *no* part of Scripture in English, or in any-wise favoured *such as had*, or loved the preachers of it.”³⁰ The commissioners sat in Mercer’s Chapel, close by the old Jewry, Cheapside;³¹ and in fourteen days, there was not a preacher

³⁰ Halle.

³¹ Why select this place? Mercer’s Chapel, formerly and for ages held sacred as Gilbert

or noted individual in London, known or suspected to have spoken in any way derogatory to one of the six articles, who had not been harassed; nay, overstepping their commission, they enquired not only *who* came seldom to the church, but who *read the Bible* in it; so that more than five hundred persons had been indicted, and it became evident that the prisons of the city could not contain all those whom they thought must be brought to trial.

Thus, if the character of Henry, of his Bishops, and his nobility had been evolved in Westminster Hall, last November, at the trial of Lambert; so we have now at least five hundred witnesses to the tenets for which Lambert died. But, besides these, it must be remembered that many a man who could do so, had found it convenient at least to leave the city; though as the facts stand, we have here one of the clearest testimonies to the strength of that cause, to which the reigning authorities had been at heart opposed from the beginning. The Bishop of the diocese, Stokesly, was here setting an example to the country at large, worthy of his character in past years. He was now indeed actually descending to his grave, for he died on the 8th of September; but the busy scene, and the prospect of the moment, must have proved like a reviving cordial to his drooping spirits. Beside the Bishops, we know that the Premier, Norfolk, who had introduced the questions, was in the highest spirits, because the act had passed. In short, the preparations were finished, and could have left not the shadow of a doubt that England was about to become a field of woe, if not of blood. The whole scene is worthy of record and particular notice, were it for no other purpose than to show how remarkably a gracious Providence interposed, and, overruling as before, "made the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof were stilled."

Blind zeal has been compared to the haste of a man in the dark, who knows not when or where to stop; and shrewd as were the leaders of the old learning, they had gone at least one step too far. Both Tunstal and Gardiner had distinctly overshot themselves; for pride of understanding, and abund-

Becket's house, the father of St. Thomas, and the spot where he had been born. His shrine had been destroyed only last September—a deed which, at this moment, was denounced, abroad as well as at home, from Rome to London. Did the commissioners intend to give some point to their proceedings, by selecting this spot?

ance of caprice, had rendered the monarch one of the most ticklish of all leaders. In the course of the discussions in Parliament, it so happened that on *one* single point the King *agreed* with Cranmer. It was in reference to "auricular confession," that notable device, for not only enslaving the human mind, but preventing all sense of direct responsibility to God alone. Cranmer had maintained that it was unnecessary, by any Divine precept, and in this Henry chose to support him. Nettled at only one point out of six being controverted, Tunstal, Gardiner, and Lee, urged, that the resolution of the House should declare auricular confession to be "a command of Christ, and part of the sacrament of penance;" but the monarch would not allow one jot more than the simple declaration, that such confession was expedient, and necessary to be retained. With this, they might well have rested satisfied, but no; Tunstal had the temerity to write to the King afterwards, when he received a thorough set down for his presumption. In reply, Henry expressed no little astonishment at his writing *now*, after having been overthrown in the House by Cranmer and himself, and here simply sending to him a few texts, which "make smally or nothing to your intended purpose." His Majesty closed with the following sentence—"I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose—And thus fare you well."

The same parties must have been guilty of still greater precipitation in proposing their "Book of Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England." They had pressed this strange and superstitious farrago to be received and passed as the act of Convocation; but the project completely failed, and the book was afterwards replied to by Cranmer.³²

But even though neither Tunstal or Gardiner had ruffled his Majesty's temper in the slightest degree, perhaps neither of them foresaw that there was one point still, where their whole procedure might be arrested, and prove a failure. Nor

³² "The Bishop of Winchester, with his *own* pen," says Strype, "hath an annotation in one place of the book; and I strongly suspect that he was more than the reviser of it; and that it was drawn up by *him* and his party," &c. This is not correct. While Gardiner was absent in France, by way of doing something in the meanwhile, the book was framed by Tunstal and Stokesly, in conjunction with Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, a kindred spirit; and it is still extant in the Museum.—*Cleop.*, E. v., fol. 250-256. The marginal annotation referred to by Strype, is in the hand-writing of *Sampson*, not Gardiner. But the subject, in conjunction with all the parties, will come before us again, just before Crumwell's downfall.

let it pass unobserved that if relief be obtained, it must, in part at least, be traced to the noble stand made by the immortal *Fryth*. Hence the benefits which may ensue, *long after*, from only one faithful martyr "resisting unto blood, striving against sin." As he was the *first* man certainly known to have died upon English ground, *without abjuration*, (which was not now to be admitted,) so he was the *last* that had fallen under the sovereign power of the Bishops; and it may be remembered that in the very next session of Parliament after his death, that bill was passed, which took all reputed heretics, ever after, out of the hands of these merciless men.³³ That act had passed in Gardiner's *absence*, and was now in force. All the parties *now* apprehended, therefore, must be proceeded against forthwith, by two witnesses, and in open court. A Bishop, indeed, must be one of the Commissioners; but then every man accused is entitled to a trial by jury, and even if found guilty, the King's writ must be obtained, before any sentence can be executed. The case, in short, was so far a civil one, and since these London Commissioners have run after the prey, as if the Act passed had been positively a *retrospective* one; in the midst of their dilemma, application must be made to the Lord Chancellor. Audley, in the House of Lords, and before the royal disputant, had been silent, but now that it came to his turn to speak, perhaps viewing any selection as difficult, if not unjust, and the punishment of all to be inhuman if not hazardous, so it was that he advised the reputed criminals should be pardoned. Cranmer and Cromwell and the Duke of Suffolk (Norfolk's opponent) concurred, and not one man was brought up to trial! Though, therefore, these six articles remained as a source of great misery, and were employed afterwards, by stretch of law, as the occasion of much bloodshed, at this momentous crisis "the wise were taken in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward was carried headlong." The five hundred indictments fell to the ground, and there was nothing more left for Stokesly, just before going to render his account, than to reflect on his past cruelties. He was to be far exceeded by Bonner, his successor; and yet, if Foxe be correct, "at the point of death, he

³³ See vol. i., pp. 381. 401. 403.

rejoiced, boasting that in the course of his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics."

One wonder of the day was, that the King was not offended with Cranmer; and as it has been a mystery to others since, some explanation is necessary. Perhaps a key may be found, which will serve for this and all similar occasions, in time to come.

Cranmer, it is allowed by all, reasoned much against the bill passing, and objected to five points out of six; whereas Tunstal had done so only to one. And yet so far was the King from being enraged, that on the day on which Parliament rose, or the 28th of June, he sent for the Archbishop, and desired that he would put all his arguments in writing and bring them to himself. More than this, and by way of check to the premier, Norfolk, and his party, he ordered that he and the Duke of Suffolk, with Crumwell and the other peers, should *dine* with Cranmer at Lambeth; they were also to assure him of his Majesty's kindness for him, and that though his arguments had failed of convincing the House, they discovered great wisdom and learning! When the day arrived, it was in July, upon delivering their message, Cranmer is reported to have replied—"I thank his Highness for his regard, and you for your pains; and that my allegations and authorities may yet be admitted, to the glory of God and the good of this realm, is my hope in God."

This curious, because constrained, meeting, was at best a hazardous experiment; and, accordingly, Crumwell suffered by it, though, for a season, it was of some value to Cranmer. Materials so discordant could scarcely be expected to meet without some explosion. The guests were sounding the praises of their host. "You, my Lord," said Crumwell, "were born in a happy hour, I suppose; for do or say what you will, the King will always take it well at your hands. And I must confess that in some things I have complained of you to his Majesty, but all in vain; for he will never give credit against you, whatever is laid to your charge: But let me, or any other of the Council, be complained of, his Grace will most seriously chide, and fall out with us; and, therefore, you are most happy if you can *keep* you in this state." Poor Crumwell! he seems almost to have envied the place of the Primate; but then, unfortunately for himself, though he was merely following a previous eulogist, *Wolsey's* character and bearing, in comparison with Cranmer's, was introduced. "And that," said Norfolk, "know you well, my Lord Crumwell, for he was *your Master*." Touched at this allusion, Crumwell acknowledged his obligations to the Cardinal, but immediately added—"yet I was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen Pope, as I understand that *you* would have done, if the case had so fallen out." Norfolk, who de-

served all this, denied it, but Crumwell persisted, showing "what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome." The Duke replied, with a deep oath, that he lied, when great and high words rose between them. Cranmer and other guests interposed to quiet them, and restore decorum; but though the embers seemed to be quenched, they were only smothered, and were to burst into a flame before long.

To return, however, to the King and the Archbishop, and resolve the mystery of this unequal dealing. Were there any ground to rest upon, one might seem bound to allow, that Henry *had* discovered, on this occasion, some token of personal friendship; but there was none whatever. Of mutual benevolence, the monarch was almost altogether incapable, and he was now merely saying to his Council—

—— "let your unseemly discord cease,
If not in friendship, live, at least, in peace."

The fancy of the moment might sometimes be favourable to an opponent, or the oppressed, but, generally speaking, never did the King spare any man, but for some reason *personal* to himself, and involving either his passions or his safety. His clemency to Cranmer was connected with both. Henry made but *one* Archbishop of Canterbury, and in a very strange way; but he could not have made a *second*, without the greatest personal hazard. Had Cranmer been removed, Tunstal and Gardiner stood in the way, and could not have safely been passed over; but though Henry has been listening to their insidious advice, he had no confidence in either. Besides, Bulls could *not now* have been obtained from Rome; and though the King certainly had gone a great way as Head of the English Church, an Archbishop of *his* making, without them, would even *yet* have stood but a poor chance for acceptance with the priests. In the King, therefore, it was nothing more than policy, to uphold his Primate. In his *official* capacity, often had he already served his Majesty's purpose, and his services will yet be needed, again and again. His official character was Cranmer's *safeguard*, and this will preserve him through the bloodiest and most reckless scenes of Henry's remaining life. It was his post, not his prowess, or his personal skill, which enabled Cranmer to ride out all the storm. Should any doubtful reader request a farther proof, it is close at hand, and a striking one—the King's inhuman treatment of Latimer.

Hugh Latimer in his day had the honour to stand alone. Though not a faultless character, at this period there was none like him in all England, more especially on the bench of Bishops; and he seems to have been literally the only man who ever had the courage to face Henry VIII. Cranmer

had found it very convenient to employ him in 1536, to speak out before that Convocation, as he had boldly done; but he could not, or dared not, follow him in 1539. Latimer, it is to be observed, had not by any argumentation opposed the King, as Crammer had; but after the bloody Act was passed, he resigned his bishopric, on the first of July. Laying aside his robes, he leaped for joy, and said—"I am now rid of a great burden, and never felt my shoulders so light before." Soon after, a bishop, supposed to be Gardiner, sent for him, and expressed his surprise that Latimer should object to the traditions then enjoined by the Council, as matters of belief; when he nobly answered—"I will be guided by God's book; and rather than dissent one jot from it, I would be torn by wild horses." He then retired to the country, intending to lead a quiet life; but soon after, by the falling of a tree, he was bruised so severely, that he was under the necessity of returning to London for surgical assistance. It was not difficult to vamp up a case against Latimer; for certainly he had said many things, which to all that party must have been like gall and wormwood. There is no record of his examination extant, but there is reason to think that it took place in the royal presence. However, whether it did or not, the King well knew, and ultimately sanctioned, nay, directed all that followed: for Latimer was committed to the Tower thus unceremoniously, and there he lay till the accession of Edward VI.³⁴ The conscience of Henry had constrained him, on different occasions, to mark, if not revere the fidelity of this man, whom he now unwittingly *promoted* to be a prisoner of Jesus Christ; but he could manage to get on well enough without a Bishop Latimer, though not without his own Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was now the month of August, when a lurid gloom rested on the minds of many. In London, itself, there was a pause; the commissions under the persecuting act had not

³⁴ "Touching Latimer, his Majesty would have him yet to remain in the Bishop's house, till he may speak with you, and devise what is best to do with him. His Majesty is also contented, that my Lord Great Master (the Duke of Suffolk) shall have the use and keeping of the Bishop's mule, for the time; and if it shall so come to pass, that the Bishop's goods shall be confiscated, then his Majesty is content that my said Lord Great Master shall have the said mule, of his Highness' gift!"—*From Sadler to Cromwell*, in April 1540, a few days after his being created Earl of Essex, and within two months of his own arrest. The *meanness* of Henry's cruelty is beyond all comment, as well as the subserviency of Cromwell. See *Gov. State Papers*, i., p. 627. But by Latimer's testimony in 1546, Cromwell's character will suffer still more.

been issued for the country at large, and they never were ; but at present their issue was eagerly anticipated by some, and dreaded by others, as we shall see presently. Burghart's return from Germany was not without its effect, and must have galled the other party ; but still the needle of the beam, in Henry's hands, oscillated in suspense, and no man could tell which scale would rise. Various individuals had been escaping, some to the *Continent*, and others out into the *country*. We give a specimen of *each*, and more especially as they refer to two characters already known to the reader,—Alexander Ales and George Constantyne.

ALES, it will be remembered, had excited the wrath of Stokesly to the highest degree, three years ago ; when no man foresaw, or perhaps imagined, that the very next Convocation would be of an opposite character. Since 1536, having studied physic under an eminent physician well known, Dr. Nicholas, Ales had begun to practise in London for himself, and not without success ; but for him, above all men, it was no longer safe to remain within Stokesly's jurisdiction. Anticipating what followed, he embarked for Germany once more. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to Crumwell a letter of thanks for all his kindness, and by this we learn, that the recent doings in England were well known to all abroad.

“ I returned to Wittenberg,” says he, “ the 9th of July, being most affectionately received by all those who are chiefly in authority in the Academy, and at the Court. Before my arrival, the decrees from your country were dispersed at Nurenberg and everywhere in Germany ; and those addicted to the interest of the Bishop of Rome make great rejoicings. They hope that this precedent will very much obstruct the good cause which our friends here profess, in common with myself. In some places they have been told that I have excused the King, yourself, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that I have laid all the blame on the Bishops, who are the enemies of the gospel. I thought I did that truly.”³⁵

Of *George Constantyne* we last heard as being in London at the time of Queen Anne's execution. Shortly after this he had entered the Church of England, having obtained the vicarage of Lawhaden, or Llanhuadaine, three miles north-west of Narberth, in Pembroke-shire, under William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's. His character to the end, was at best ambiguous, and it requires to be borne in mind that he is

³⁵ Cotton MS., Nero. B. vi., fol. 56. Orig. Lat.

now deprecating the displeasure of Crumwell, which gives a turn to some of his expressions; but in the information now derived from him, we have a very shrewd and graphical picture of the state of parties at the moment. Many such conversations must have passed, both in the houses, and on the high roads of England, but none perhaps more full of incident, and entering so deeply into public men and measures, as the following:—

The times were, of course, full of perplexity and suspicion, and among others, Constantyne had once more got into trouble. He had been in town, and even at Court, so late as the 17th of August, but must have immediately, and in haste, left London, perhaps that evening, since he had reached Westbury, beyond Bristol, on Tuesday the 19th. There he met with John Barlow, Dean of Westbury and Archdeacon of Carmarthen, (to whom he was officially subject,) and Thomas Barlow, his brother, both proceeding into Wales, whither Constantyne was now hastening. He was "very loath," however, to ride in the Dean's company, trying, by a day's delay in Bristol, to avoid this, and no wonder. The truth was, that the Dean had already been representing him as a "Sacramentary,"—"which is," adds Constantyne, "if any thing can be worse, more heinous than treason." Nay, the Dean had got Sir Richard Crumwell to write, and the Duke of Norfolk to speak to Barlow, his Bishop, against him; and even Lord Crumwell himself, he had heard "note of him for heresy." Well might he escape from London, and be averse from accompanying this man for several days into Wales. However, there was no alternative, as the Dean waited for him at Aust, and they all three crossed the Severn in company on Thursday the 21st. At their first meeting on Tuesday, Constantyne had informed them of his having been at the Court, on Sunday last, the 17th; that the King was well; that Dr. Barnes had just returned from Germany; that the Act of Parliament passed, required no subscription, being of authority without that of any man; but that in reference to the *country at large*, he could hear of not one commission being yet issued, adding, "nevertheless I will advise all my friends, to keep them out of danger." Landing at Chepstow, where they supped together, the Dean succeeded in putting Constantyne so far off his guard. He made him such "heartly cheer," that he "thought all malice was forgotten; so that," says he, "I took the man for whole changed, and that all was remitted, and was very glad it was my chance to overtake him." Next day they all jogged on together to Abergavenny; the Dean as distinguished for his loquacity or inquisitiveness, as his brother was for silence; but both marking every expression that dropped from our Vicar. Constantyne, however, a shrewd fellow, seems to have taken care to say several things, which might operate in his own favour, as well as please Crumwell, to whom he afterwards sent the whole dialogue "faithfully and sensibly," as we now have it.

With the dreaded act, they began this morning, both the Dean and his brother professedly rejoicing that there was no general commission issued as yet. Constantyne replied, that he had enquired, but could hear of none, and trusted there would be a moderation in it: adding—

"Well, we know not the work of God. If it be his pleasure, it is as easy for him to overcome with few, as with many; but I think verily that my Lord

Privy Seal (Crumwell) persuaded my Lord of Canterbury, and that for other considerations than we do know."—"As I can hear, my Lord Privy Seal is utterly persuaded as the act is." Dean, "It is marvel, if it be so." George. "Wonderful are the ways of the Lord; King's hearts are in the hand of God; He turneth them as he lusteth. How mercifully, how plentifully and purely hath God sent his Word unto us here in England! Again, how unthankfully, how rebelliously, how carnally, and unwillingly, do we receive it! Who is there almost that will have a Bible, but he must be compelled thereto! How loath be our *Priests* to teach the commandments, the articles of the faith, and the Pater-Noster in English! Again, how unwilling be the people to learn it! Yea, they jest at it, calling it the new Pater-Noster, and new learning; so that, as help me God, if we amend not, I fear we shall be in more bondage and blindness than ever we were.³⁶ I pray you was not one of the best preachers in Christendom (Latimer) Bishop of Worcester? And now there is one made that never preached that I heard, except it were the Pope's law.³⁷ But, alas! beside our naughtiness, cowardness and covetousness, is the occasion of much of this. The cowardness of our Bishops, to tell truth, and stand by it while they might be heard, and the covetousness of our visitors. For in all our visitations we have had nothing reformed, but our purses."³⁸

The Dean then eagerly enquires whether there was any progress in procuring a Queen for his Majesty; that step or hinge, on which they anticipated every thing was to turn. Constantyne first cannot tell what to say, but, evidently leaning to Crumwell's hope, wishes the King were married.³⁹ There were two spoken of, the Duchess of Milan, and Anne of Cleves; and referring to the latter, the Vicar goes on—"There is good hope yet, that all shall be well enough, if that marriage go forward: for the Duke of Cleves doth favour God's Word, and is a mighty prince now; for he hath Guelderland in his hand too, and that against the Emperor's will; for the old Duke, that is now dead, sold to the Emperor the reversion of it." He then, at last, informs the Dean that "the matter is broken of Milan."—"She demanded two things, which I trust shall never be granted, the one—the Bishop of Rome's dispensation; and they would have pledges, saying, that the King's Majesty was in so little space rid of the Queens, that she dared not trust his Council, though she durst trust his Majesty. For her Council suspected that her great-aunt (Queen Catherine) was poisoned; that the second (Queen Anne) was innocently (though innocent)

³⁶ George, it must be remembered, was here speaking of the country at large, and not only so, but of his own order, and of the circle in which he *officially* moved, and his account was too true; but by that numerous class who read and revered the Sacred page, Constantyne must have long been regarded with suspicion, as a time-server. Being excluded from their confidence, he was not aware of the numbers that were now reading. But, besides this, he was in Wales, and no wonder that the *Welsh* felt great aversion to the *English* Scriptures. This subject is now better understood, for never till the Sacred Volume was given them in their *own* tongue, was any progress made. Had Wales been all along treated as Ireland has been, in spite of England's vicinity, it had been much in the same state. But on this subject the Author may be permitted to refer to another work—"Historical Sketches of the Native Irish;" or, as the third edition is entitled, "The Native Irish and their descendants;" where ample information may be found respecting the Scriptures, and their effects, in all the Celtic dialects.

³⁷ Referring to John Bell, once Archdeacon of Gloucester, from 1518 to 1522.

³⁸ This was rather bold language for the ear of Crumwell.

³⁹ He speaks of Henry's age, 43, as no discouragement, and then curiously adds—"my father might be *grandfather* to an older man than the King's Majesty, and yet is lusty, I thank God." The Dean, of course, enquires his age, and George replies—"four score and twelve, and yet the last summer he rode thirty-two miles upon one day, before two o'clock, and said he was not weary when he had done!" Born, therefore, in 1447, he had lived under six sovereigns, from the days of Henry VI.

put to death ; and the third lost, for lack of keeping, in her child-bed."—" But to say the truth, I cannot tell whether this was her answer, of Milan, or of Cleves,"—if the latter, " surely it was a great occasion of the late act." Over this act he laments, adding, " how can the Germans be our friends, when we conclude them heretics in our acts of Parliament ?" The Dean suggests that they may have been " better advised."—" I trust so," says the Vicar, " and this may fortune in the stopping of the Commissions."

They dined at Abergavenuy, and then rode on to Brecknock, when Gardiner and Tunstal become the subject of conversation. Constantyne expresses himself as charmed with a book against Gardiner's " *De vera Obedientia*," written by Erasmus Sarcerius, chaplain to Prince William of Nassau ; and though he thinks Erasmus too strong for him, wishes that Gardiner may reply, as he thought him " the best learned of his faculty in England, a great rhetorician, but of very corrupt judgment." To which the Dean replies—" he hath done much hurt, I promise you." To which we have the following answer—" There is no man hath dono so much hurt in this matter as the Bishop of Durham, (Tunstal,) for he, by his stillness, soberness, and subtilty, worketh more than ten such as Wincheater, and he is a learned man too : and a wonderful thing my Lord Privy Seal brought him in."⁴⁰ " But these two Bishops, if they were as learned in God's word, as they be in the Pope's law ; and as earnest to set the word forth, as they be traditions, they were Bishops indeed ! But alas ! by them, and such, we have nothing, in a manner, but ' *translatio imperii*,' so that they make of the King, as it were, a Pope. And dispensations be sold now dearer, by the half, than they were in the Popish time." He concludes by saying—" I would not counsel my Lord Privy Seal to trust them too much for all that. For I dare say this, that they will *do the best they can to hare him out*, if they can see him at an advantage. I would trust them, if I could see one of them once promote or set forward but one that is suspected to favour God's word."⁴¹

Having slept at Brecknock, on Saturday they proceeded to Carmarthen. In the morning, Constantyne gave his account of Queen Anne Boleyn's execution, to which we have already referred. He had derived no information whatever from his master, Sir Henry Norris, with whom he then was, nor from any personal observation all the time of his being in the house, unfavourable to her character ; he merely speaks of what he *heard*, amidst the confusion at the place of execution. But as Crumwell, to whom he was now writing, had winked, and fallen in with the whole of that tragedy, and Constantyne, then much afraid of him, was deprecating his displeasure, of course he durst not express himself as believing in her innocence. Yet he had given the Continential opinion.⁴²

⁴⁰ If Crumwell had done this, it would have proved the decided commencement of an infatuation which soon overtook him. And from this expression, Lingard goes so far as to insinuate that Crumwell was now " *labouring to procure proselytes among the Bishops*, to avoid the displeasure of his sovereign." But of this there is no evidence. We have already seen that it was the King's wish, not Crumwell's, that had brought Tunstal in ; Gardiner denied that he was then of the Privy Council, but still he had the ear of the King, and hence the undermining of Crumwell.

⁴¹ Constantyne had suffered much through Tunstal's subtilty, but nothing from Gardiner's ; and this fully accounts for his comparison. His description of the former, however, is a commentary on Tyndale's opinion of him—" that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief." But taking them both up, as to their whole lives, there is now no question that Gardiner was more cruel, and the occasion of shedding blood to a far greater extent than Tunstal.

⁴² This curious original manuscript, in the possession of Mr. John Payne Collier, was never printed till 1831, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii., pp. 507B. The explanation thus given seems to have served Constantyne's purpose, and saved him at that time. Our Vicar, however, then

A contemporary dialogue over the times, and with such a man as Constantyne, may be allowed a place among the train of events; but the suspense in which he and thousands were involved was soon at an end. He needed not to have been afraid either of Cromwell or the King, for one subject now engrossed both. The month of September had come. The men of the old learning had rejoiced over "the bloody statute," as passed into a law, and all was ready for general persecution; when lo! to their severe mortification, they find that the spell by which they had bound the King, like Samson's green withs, was broken. They must now stand aside, and see Cromwell pursue his advantage. *Anne of Cleves* is certainly to be Queen of England. On Tuesday the 16th of September, Duke Frederick, the Count Palatine or Palsgrave of the Rhine, had arrived at Windsor; the Elector of Saxony, and three other ambassadors from the Duke of Cleves followed, and got to London two days after. Cromwell immediately prepares the way for their audience, and wrote to his Majesty on the 20th. After having waited in painful uncertainty as to how far the royal favour would ever return to him, with what delight must he have received such a reply, and on the same day; while the King, all sweetness, goes so far as to discover the most tender anxiety for the *health* of his Lordship!

"His Majesty," says the Earl of Southampton, "willed me to signify to you that he takes your letter in marvellous good part, being wonderful glad of the contents thereof, and specially, that the Duke of Cleves' men have commission apart; most heartily desiring you to *put all other matters out of your head, saving only this*, his great weighty causes; and sharp your wit to attend only unto the same. And I assure your Lordship he said these words—'I would for no good his mind should be so troubled, that it should cast him into any disease'—which words, to hear him speak them so heartily, I assure you did my heart good. Sir, he oftsoons desireth you, that he may hear from you, from time to time."⁴³

Although this was literally nothing more than a mere gust of royal favour, a momentary emanation of selfish passion, its

official for two Archdeacons, &c.,) as well as his son-in-law, Thomas Young, appeared as witnesses against Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, as recorded by Foxe; and when Ferrar was burnt at Carmarthen in 1555, Constantyne had to escape once more to the Continent, where he is supposed to have died, soon after. The son-in-law returned, married a second time, and died in June 1560, as *Archbishop of York*, having thus occupied the same place that Cardinal Wolsey himself had done! Young was also President of the Council of the North, under Elizabeth.

⁴³ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 619.

effect on the character of Crumwell seems to have been melancholy and most injurious. The struggle to regain his Master's confidence or approbation having thus far succeeded, the *wildest* anxiety to please him, at all hazards, immediately ensued. Any man's life which came in the way, was then of small account, and actually involved very little else than a line or two among the base *items* of the Lord Privy Seal. That book of "Remembrances," that standing witness to the writer's character, becomes fearfully illustrative of his progress in blood shedding.

The Marchioness of Salisbury, as well as others, had been disposed of in a very summary style of injustice ; but Crumwell is now ready to go beyond even such proceedings. The monasteries being dissolved, the abbots and priors had, in general, proved so compliant, as to excite astonishment ; but "all that a man has, he will give for his life." There were, however, three individuals, who either stood out, or stood in the King's way ; the Abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury ; the two latter being Lords of Parliament. They had been attainted, but to represent them as *tried* afterwards would be a prostitution of the term. No record exists, as in many other cases, and so there have been different opinions as to the ostensible grounds of proceeding against them ; though whether they were charged with aiding the insurgents of the north, or sticking about the King's Supremacy, or both, is of little moment. The *men* were inconvenient, but their *incomes* quite the reverse ; and we may safely presume, that here lay the chief impelling motive to action. The revenue of Colchester monastery is not known, but excepting St. Peter's, Westminster, that of Glastonbury was the largest in England ; or, calculating according to the *present* value of money, above £50,000 annually ; while that of Reading Abbey was above £30,000 a-year.

Only a week after Crumwell had received this gracious message from his Majesty, or the 28th of September, Messrs. Pollard, Moyle, and Layton, the visitors, were down at Glastonbury ; and busy selling the cattle for *ready money*, letting out the pastures and domains from Michaelmas forward ; and, speaking of the house in which they were, they say, "it is great, goodly, and so princely, as we have not seen the like." It was not till four days *after* this, that they had "come to the knowledge of divers *treasons* committed by the abbot."⁴⁴ But it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any farther detail. We have only to glance over the "Remembrances" of Crumwell, and there we find the following autograph lines.

⁴⁴ Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 620 621

"Item—Certain persons to be sent to the Tower, for the further examination of the Abbot of Glastonbury."

"Item—The Abbot of Reading to be sent down, to be TRIED and EXECUTED AT READING, with his complices!"

"Item—The Abbot of Glaston to be TRIED at Glaston, and ALSO TO BE EXECUTED THERE, with his complices!"

"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Reading—Mr Hynde, the King's Attorney."—"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston—Richard Pollard, Lewis Forsecw, Thomas Moyle."

"Item—To see that the evidence be well sorted, and the indictments well drawn against the said abbots and their complices!"⁴⁵

These fixed and fearful purposes of his Majesty's Lord Privy Seal, expressed in terms worthy of a Turkish Vizier, or the Grand Inquisitor, were literally fulfilled. The abbots of Whalley, Gerveaux, and Sawley, as well as the priors of Woburn and Burlington, had been executed before; but John Whiting, the abbot of Glastonbury, with two monks, and Hugh Faringdon, the abbot of Reading, with two priests, all now suffered as traitors, and in sight of their own abbeys,—the latter party on Thursday the 14th, the former on Friday the 15th of November; and on the 1st of December, John Beach, the abbot of Colchester. Thus died three of the richest men, just as if to mark the falling of the curtain. The larger, as well as the smaller monasteries, were now no more.

This unprincipled practice on the part of Crumwell, of appointing men to be *tried and executed*, was, however, in perfect consonance with the *taste* of Henry the Eighth, who, in all his ways, had a passion, approaching to extreme nicety, for doing every thing under the form of law. The most avaricious or cruel deeds, must always appear robed in legal attire, and be recorded scrupulously as acts of perfect justice. Thus, in the whole process of dissolving these houses, the first step was to obtain by some, or by any means, a surrender of the property, then denominated a *voluntary* act; the second was to vest the property, by Act of Parliament, in the Crown; or, in other words, first fill the Court of Augmentation, and then secure the proceeds, thus received; from men who, strictly speaking, were not proprietors, but only tenants for life. Hence, in the Act of Parliament now passed, there was no occasion for the term *dissolve*, nor was it employed. There was only to come to his Majesty, all that had been, or should be, "suppressed, relinquished, forfeited, or given up." To obtain the property by "forfeiture," was, of course, an easy step to him, who could define *treason* to be whatever might exactly serve his intended purpose.

This determined course of proceeding with the monasteries, from first to last, involved the confiscation of property, amounting to nearly *three*

⁴⁵ Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., 415, &c.

millions annually of the present day ; besides a farther sum, in moveables, or money and plate, equal to more than *two millions and a quarter* ! The entire value, however, must have been more than this, as the *Visitors* are understood to have helped themselves, wherever they could do so with impunity ; but, at all events, it could not be less, though an exact estimate can never be attained.⁴⁶

That the Monks, as a body, should murmur and resent all this, was no more than might have been expected ; but, considering that the people had been so steeped into the existing system of things, as well as that the property, moveable and immoveable, in the first instance at least, all found its way into one royal reservoir, it may seem surprising that they did not rise and rebel to a far greater extent. For this, however, at least two reasons may be assigned. Crumwell had taken special care to shew to the people how they had been deceived, by exposing to public view all the trickery and pretended miracles which had so long drained their pockets. And, besides this, "it is quite certain," says Mr. Taylor, "that in all populous places, the masses, the offerings and oblations were of greater value than the settled endowments of the parochial churches, or else the 'religious' would not have been so desirous of having them appropriated to their houses,"—and these "houses" were now dissolved. But, notwithstanding all, the compliance of the people, and the servility of Parliament, were alike remarkable ; for certainly, as yet, the country had gained nothing by the transference of authority from Rome to London. In the earlier period of Henry's reign, England had been occasionally twitted by the Continental nations, as being the ass of the *Pontiff* ; but the patience of that animal was only a faint emblem of England's condition now, under the burden of its bloated Monarch, so lording it over the minds as well as the property of his subjects.

⁴⁶ Historians have differed widely in their estimates of the amount. We have relied on the authority of one of the latest and most accurate calculators—Mr. Richard Taylor, in his "Index Monasticus, London, 1821." After noticing the estimate of Speed, including 811 monasteries and abbeys, colleges and hospitals, the gross revenue of which was £106,512, 8s. 13d., he adds,—“The present value of these revenues cannot be taken at less than *fifteen* times the amount returned in 1534-7. This proportion appears to agree with the comparative prices of labour at the same periods. The daily wages of a haymaker in the time of Henry VII., were settled at *one penny*, and in the reign of Henry VIII. never exceeded *three halfpence*.” “The present rental or annual value of the estates, which formerly belonged to the abbeys and religious houses in England and Wales, may be stated at nearly *three millions*.”

With regard to the moveable property : In the account roll of Sir John Williams, keeper of the jewels to Henry VIII., we have the following inventory :—“From the monasteries, cathedrals and shrines ; of gold in ounces, 14,531 ; of silver in ounces, 67,000 ; of silver-gilt, 207,633 ;—or a total of 280,768. This was sold for £73,531, 15s. 1d. ; to which must be added £79,471, 5s. 3d. obtained in money,—or, in all, £153,003, 0s. 10d. This sum, at fifteen times, is equal to £2,295,045 ; but there must have been jewels and money which never got so far as Sir John's account roll.

With regard to the express history of the English Bible, the year 1539 is now to be added to all the past. But let the movements of the time; the tyrannical procedure of the reigning Monarch; the obsequious deeds of both Houses of Parliament, lying prostrate at his feet; the notorious complexion of his Council, in hostile array against the progress of Divine Truth; the tottering influence of Crumwell, once so resolute; with his sad and bloody footsteps as a Privy Counsellor: let all these be surveyed in succession, and then the general aspect of the year, with regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume, must appear so extraordinary, as to be almost unaccountable. The months seem to have been so crowded with agitating occurrences, that one might have imagined there had been not a day left for another, and much less for a separate *design*—a design too, however unnoticed by some, or hated by others, which had been proceeding, step by step, to successive triumphs. Still, amidst all other national affairs, time *must* be found for this.

But at such a season, who shall, or who can, nay dare to press forward, the printing of the Scriptures? Above all other men, Crumwell is the last, on which any one would fix, as the urgent mover in such a course. He seems to have had not one moment in reserve, and had he not been truly denominated “an iron man,” in regard to business transactions, certainly he had not found one. Instead of this, however, the sequel will show, that though he had been but in poor health, and though he had winked hard, bowing assent to the six articles, and stood ready to execute the King’s pleasure even unto death, nay and could order men to be “tried and executed” in the same breath; yes, even amidst all this, it comes out, that he had been resolutely bent on multiplying copies of the Bible! Strange conjunction of pursuits, as probably *ever* met in the person of the same human being! For however many were the subordinate agents, not one of them dared to have so proceeded, at least in London, without *his* fullest sanction.

It must now then be first observed, that in 1539 both Crumwell and Cranmer stand before us, in the character of thwarted and disappointed men; severely disappointed, for above *six* months of the year. Three years before, in conjunction with the momentary humour of the King, Gardiner being abroad,

they had introduced what were denominated "Articles of Religion" to the notice of the English people; but now they found, to their bitter mortification, that this was assuredly not the road to either "peace or contentation," or "unity of opinion." On the contrary, the mode which *they* had introduced in 1536, furnished the *precedent* which their opponents now followed; or the ground on which they stood, and tried to overawe the human mind. In the first Convocation, with Crumwell as Vicar-General, so far as the King and Cranmer had professedly meddled with Christianity at all, they had made it *technical and disputative*. It was not the voice of God, as contained in his Word, with which they began, for neither Cranmer or Crumwell could get those Bishops to assent to *any* translation of the Scriptures. Thus before the authority of Divine Truth in the language of the people was recognised, by these first articles a certain vocabulary had been introduced; and in the prospect of the present Convocation, Gardiner and his party were by far too shrewd, not to take advantage of the precedent set. They fought and baffled the Archbishop with his own weapons, while my Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell, like a perfect politician, had bowed to the storm. So now when the tug of battle came, and Crumwell found that, as an expedient in his hands, "articles of religion" must be given to the winds; *then* it was that the Bible, and *the Bible alone*, afforded him the only prospect of turning the tide upon his political opponents. Thus singularly *shut up* to this one object, he was not slow to improve his powers; for though he could no longer shake his rod over the Bench of Bishops, his authority and precedence or rank as Vicar-General had been distinctly recognised; and this he could exercise still, very powerfully, without the doors of the Convocation, though not within them; while the dissolution and consequent dispersion of that body, was analogous to the breaking up of a combination against him.

The operation of the bloody statute being now also stayed, and no commissions issued for the country at large; Henry too having been fully apprised of how odious that statute was to his intended *matrimonial* connections, here was a favourable crisis. To the printing of the Bible, therefore, amidst his multifarious engagements, Crumwell lent all his energy, so that not fewer than four editions of the entire Scriptures, with

which his personal influence was connected, now issued from the press.

There is no concealing it now; for by a comparison of dates, it will be manifest, that the character of Crumwell when sinking, and so near his end, presents to the reflective mind one of the most painful contemplation, and in truth, one of a far more melancholy hue, than even that of Wolsey himself. Wolsey, the "man of pleasure," not to say boundless ambition, sinking under disgrace into his grave, yet breathing out persecution against the Lutherans, and leaving this as his dying advice to the King, was a spectacle sad enough: yet is it scarcely to be compared to that of Crumwell, the energetic "man of business," himself stepping into blood, to please his Master, or retain his favour; and at the same moment pushing forward editions of the Scriptures, nay enforcing on his countrymen the perusal of the sacred page! Who can deny after this, that the heart is "deceitful above all things," and reckless beyond expression?

To proceed, however, with the proof. The Bible, described last year, as commenced in Paris, and snatched from the flames of the Inquisition, was finished in London by the month of April, and ready for circulation under the following title, *before* the meetings of Parliament and Convocation.

"*The Byble in Englyshe*, that is to saye, the content of all the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and *Newe Testament*, truly translated after the veryte of the *Hebrue and Greke* textes, by the dylygent studye of diuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tongues. ■ Printed by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." The Colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt and of the whole Byble, Fynished in Apryll, Anno mccccxxxix. A dño factum est istud."⁴⁷

This title, as well as the representation round it, ascribed to the pencil of Hans Holbein, it is now abundantly evident, were alike in the teeth of history; to say nothing of the profanity involved, in which the Almighty is represented as saying of the King—"I have found a man according to my own heart, which shall fulfil all my will!" But this served to answer the purpose of Crumwell at the moment, in his

⁴⁷ The italic words are in red letters. Of this Bible, Lewis ascribed a second edition to *this* year, or the next; and he thought he had confirmed this by a collation of the two. This has led astray ever since. There was no such reprint. Lewis confesses that his second Bible was imperfect, and the book he had before him was actually Cranmer's edition of April 1540, the next to be noticed.

gross flattery of the reigning monarch. Cromwell himself, as well as the King and Cranmer, at full length, are here distinguished also by their respective shields, or coats of arms; and this same engraving, finely cut in wood, will be employed in subsequent editions, though the arms of Cromwell, after his fall, will then be found *erased*.⁴⁸

This Bible, it is true, exhibits all the marks of a signal triumph, as already described; but let the men in Parliament or the Convocation be busy with what they might, this one edition or reprint will not suffice to meet the zeal of the Vicar-General. In chronological order, the next Bibles that were ready for circulation, were two, if not three editions of the entire Bible,⁴⁹ by *other* printers, as well as a *new* superintendent of the press.

And here it is not a little remarkable, that immediately before entering upon those editions of the Scriptures, afterwards set forth by Cranmer, we are summoned to look back; and back to the very commencement of this long and tedious warfare. Just as though it had been intended to lend *unity* to the entire procedure since the year 1526, we are to be reminded forcibly, of the deep and noisome dungeon under Cardinal College, Oxford, and of the interesting young men there immured, at the first burst of opposition, after the arrival of Tyndale's Testaments in England. One of those youths, it may be remembered, was named *Richard Taverner*. The son of an ancient family, born at North Elmham, in the parish of Brisley, Norfolk; he was one of those canons, chosen by Wolsey, whom he had intended to employ in opposing the "new learning." He had been selected from Benet College.

⁴⁸ It is to be regretted that they had at all meddled with the translation while at Paris; but Coverdale had slipped into the 14th Psalm his three verses from the *Vulgate*, which Rogers had judiciously excluded. He was still too ready for compliance with his authorities in London, such as they were. He durst not, indeed, meddle with *repentance*, however long he continued to plead for penance as synonymous. But still we discover the hand of some authority at least in one passage—"Despise not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee through prophecy, with the laying on of hands, *by the authority of priesthood!*" This may have been Cranmer's suggestion, for he was so far behind as to adopt this reading. Parker, his successor, altered the words in his edition to—"by the authority of the *eldership*." The Geneva translators, excluding the word "authority," as not in the text, say—"with the laying on of the hands of the *company of the elders*;" which was changed in our present version to—"with the laying on of the hands of the *presbytery*." Coverdale himself in 1535 had said "the hands of the *elders*." Tyndale throughout had preferred—"and with laying on of the *hands of an elder*." We cannot at present name the manuscript, or collate the successive editions of Erasmus, but that there is a various reading in favour of the singular number, is well known; and Tyndale may have had in remembrance 2 Timothy, i. 6, and 1 Peter, v. 1.

⁴⁹ See the collation of the two editions in Lewis or Cotton, and our List at the end.

Cambridge, and brought to Oxford. Though deeply implicated in 1526, as already mentioned, he was more gently dealt with by the Cardinal on account of his voice, or skill in music. He was then a *layman*, studying law, and abode by his profession through life; which renders his superintendance of the Scriptures, and his subsequently being licensed by Edward the Sixth, to preach throughout England, the more remarkable.⁵⁰ Having taken his degree of A.B. at Oxford in 1527,⁵¹ and that of A.M. at Cambridge in 1530, he removed to the metropolis; and after passing through an Inn of Chancery, then said to be *near* London, (or on the site of the present Somerset House in the Strand,) he entered the Inner Temple. To the Greek language he had paid great attention, it being "his humour to quote the law in Greek, when he read any thing thereof." He had become known to Crumwell, and in 1534, after he was chosen principal Secretary of State, and Chancellor of Cambridge University, Taverner came into attendance upon him. In 1537, Crumwell had recommended him to the King, when he was advanced to be one of the clerks of the signet in ordinary; and the clerk had now, in 1539, turned his learning to the best of all accounts.⁵² For a considerable time past, he must have been working under orders, and very busily engaged, as the proof sheets of two, if not three editions, had been passing through his hands. Taverner prefixed a dedication to the King, telling him, that "he never did any thing more acceptable to God, more profitable to the advancement of true Christianity, more displeasent to the enemies of the same, and also to his Grace's enemies, than when his Majesty licensed and willed the most sacred Bible, containing the unspotted and lively Word of God, to be in the English tongue set forth to his Highness' subjects." But to all this he had been encouraged by his master, Lord Crumwell, as it will appear presently that no man could publish the Bible at this period, without his approving sanction.⁵³

His first edition, in folio, and entitled—"The most Sacred

⁵⁰ He used to preach at St. Mary's in *Oxford*, where the Bampton Lectures are delivered. The pulpit then was of fine carved ashler stone, but this was taken away, and one of wood substituted, when *Dr. John Owen*, as Vice-Chancellor, used to officiate on the same spot, about 1654.—*Wood's Athens*. How, or by whom, it is occupied now, in our own day, we leave the reader to enquire.

⁵¹ *Wood's Fasti*.

⁵² *Wood's Athens*, by Bliss, i., 421.

⁵³ "Crumwell is supposed to have encouraged him to the revision of the Bible, on account of his special skill in Greek."—*Todd—Lewis*.

Bible," &c., was "printed at London in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Sun, by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlett;" or Berthelet, the King's printer; "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." The next edition, in quarto, was executed by the same printer; but there seems to have been a third, printed by Nycolson, also in quarto.⁵⁴ These Bibles were a correction of Matthew's, in which Taverner adopted a large proportion of the marginal notes, and inserted others of his own; yet so eager was Crumwell, that they were "allowed to be publicly read in churches."

In addition to these, that the effort now made was a bold and determined one, appears from another printer still having his hands filled, by two editions of the New Testament by Taverner. This was Thomas Petit, who also printed for Berthelet, one in quarto, the other in octavo.

Now in the earlier part of this year, though the political atmosphere seemed to portend nothing whatever, save tempestuous opposition to measures such as these; preparatory work, it is evident, had been proceeding with great vigour within doors; and by the autumn, that same Monarch, who had hurried the "bloody Statute" through Parliament, professed to be all zeal for the printing of the Scriptures, and even their perusal! The prospect of connexion with *Germany* had wrought wondrously, and a change had come over the spirit of the man. And as for Crumwell, though he still stood upon slippery ground, he could scarcely now think so, when, so far from frowning upon him, the King, on the 20th of September, had expressed himself as so solicitous about the state of his health.⁵⁵ At all events, while he was in the act of carrying through the negotiation respecting Lady Anne of Cleves, almost any thing he might request, would then be granted. Apply to his Majesty therefore he did, and successfully: although still, it is no hypothesis, to say that both the one and the other, as it regarded the Scriptures, were nothing more than *overruled* men. The King, by his conduct in Parliament, had appeared in his real character; while Crumwell, by his conduct elsewhere, has positively forced us

⁵⁴ Cotton's List, p. 6.—It is partly described by Dibdin, iii., p. 57, though he inadvertently falls into the popular mistake, and supposes it to have been "set forth by Cramer," who was otherwise engaged, as will appear presently, and not yet ready with his *first* edition.

⁵⁵ See page 73.

to place him on the very lowest ground of political expediency. The following document, however, will show that there was no hazard, at present, of any of these Bibles not getting into circulation.

“ Henry the Eighth, &c.—To all and singular, Printers and sellers of books, within this our realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our letters, hearing or seeing, greeting : We let you to wit, that being desirous to have our people at times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God’s Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe, and keep his commandments ; and also do their duty better to us, being their Prince and sovereign Lord : And considering, that as this our zeal and desire cannot, by *any* mean, take so good effect, as by the granting to them the *free and liberal use of the Bible* in our own *maternal English tongue* : so unless it be foreseen, that the same pass at the beginning by *one* translation to be perused and considered ; the frailty of man is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences ; as when wilful and heady folks shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Cromwell, Keeper of our Privy Seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and charge, that no manner of person, or persons, within this our realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand, to print any Bible in the English tongue, of any manner of volume, during the space of *five years* next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord Cromwell. Willing and commanding all *Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables*, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding to our said Counsellor, in the execution of this our pleasure, and to be conformable in the accomplishment of the same, as shall appertain. In witness whereof—Witness *ourselves* at Westminster, the fourteenth day of November 1539.—*Per ipsum Regem.*”⁵⁶

The style of this public document, and at such a time, is pointed and very observable. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the absence of all reference to Henry’s Church or Convocation. The Sacred Volume, first printed abroad, it will be remembered, had been sanctioned without any consultation of that body ; and even now, after a flaming Convocation, they are to be passed over once more. Above two years ago, the King had been overruled to bow to the trans-

⁵⁶ Rymer’s *Fœd.*, vol. xiv., p. 640. Herbert’s *Ames*, iii., p. 1550. But then there is the conjunction of events : and that so fatal to the character of both Counsellor and King ! We have heard of Thursday the 14th of November before, and the reader may well be shocked, as soon as he observes, that it was on this very day they were despatching the Abbot of Reading and his Priests—on this same day that the Abbot of Glastonbury was going through the mockery of his trial, to be executed the next. “ My Lord,” says John Lord Russel, to Cromwell on the 16th, “ these shall be to ascertain, that on Thursday the 14th day of this month, the Abbot of Glastonbury was arraigned, and the next day put to execution, with two other of his monks, (for the robbing of Glastonbury Church,) on the Tor hill,” &c. *MS., Chop.*, E. iv., fol. 99, b. *Original*. In other words, there were *six* men whom Cromwell and Henry had resolved should be executed ; the mockery of a trial must precede, and forsooth be reported.

lation ; and last year, Crumwell as Vicegerent had enjoined the Bishops, on pain of deprivation, to see to its circulation ; but after the miserable display they had recently given of their characters, they are to be addressed by him no more. No notice whatever is therefore now taken of *Bishop* or *Archbishop*, *Priest* or *Parson* ; unless the ambiguous term “ minister ” at the very end, be allowed, by courtesy, to include them all. But it was the *civil* authorities on whom Crumwell now called ; it was the Mayors, the Sheriffs, the Bailiffs, the Constables, who were so pointedly enjoined, and by the King himself, to aid him ! After having been so treated by the Bench, of which he was the Vicar-General ; as long as he remains Lord Privy Seal, he was not to be insulted with impunity ; the hour for retaliation had come ; and as he had given up “ Articles of Religion ” in despair, so it is now evident, that he had also, as a body, given up the Bishops.

Nor was such a document, “ per ipsum Regem,” now to be treated with impunity. Little had they dreamt in Parliament, *which* would be the very *first* statute brought to bear upon his Majesty’s subjects ; for “ the bloody statute ” had been stayed in its operation ; but they had gone so far as to pass a bill, showing, “ *what* a King by his royal power *might* do ; ” and “ considering that many occasions might require *speedy* remedies,” they enacted that the King’s proclamation, writ, or letters-patent, were to be obeyed “ as if they were made by an *act of Parliament* ; ” nay, and if any after that offended, they were to be judged as *traitors*. If, therefore, the men of the *new* learning had been terror-struck in April, the men of the *old*, might now well stare with amazement, but there was no remedy ; they must all stand aghast for the time being, and make way for the Lord Privy Seal.

It is curious also to observe the efforts now made to place Henry, if it had been possible, in a fair way, once more, or to face him out, as the same man—notwithstanding his recent aberration, or natural leaning to his beloved associates of the old school. At this period, a long and strange justification of his proceedings was written out. It is to be found in the State Paper Office, and has been printed entire by Collier.⁵⁷ The following statement taken from it, though far too strongly

⁵⁷ Collection of Records. No. 47.

expressed, clearly proves, that despite of Gardiner and all his associates, the Scriptures already printed had not been laid on the shelf.

“ Englishmen have now in hand in every church and place, almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue ; instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of ‘ The Table Round,’ ‘ Launcelot du Luke,’ ‘ Hueo de Bourdeaux,’ ‘ Bevy of Hampton,’ ‘ Guy of Warwick,’ and such others, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity, the light of God has abolished utterly.”—“ Englishmen stick fast to the doctrine of God in the New Testament, and in the Old conformable to the New ; and do esteem that it is ‘ *Fons aque salientis in vitam eternam.*’ ”

In short, the same ardour which had been displayed in printing, seems to have been followed by a kindred zeal for distribution and perusal ; and after such doings in Parliament, the opposite party, and all who loved the truth, had notable reasons for improving their time. Crumwell had yet eight months to live before his arrestment, so that here was a fine opportunity presented for vigorous exertion, to every man who estimated the value of the Scriptures. How very unlikely was such a season to have arrived, only a few months ago !

Here, then, terminated that class of sacred volumes, which, with considerable propriety, may be denominated *the first series*: reaching from Wolsey’s “ secret search at one time,” in London, Oxford, and Cambridge ; or from the dungeon of Cardinal College, down to one of its inmates publishing three editions of the Bible, and two of the New Testament, in one year ; when the long hostile Monarch had been made to declare, that *the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own maternal English tongue was the only mean by which his subjects could comprehend their duty to God or man* ; and when his counsellor, the successor of Wolsey, to save his popularity and retain his place, was so evidently urging the printers to speed ! The series referred to, now included above thirty editions of the New Testament, and five of the entire Bible, which for fourteen years had formed the spiritual nourishment of all those in this kingdom who had been convinced by their own experience, that “ man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.”

What a contrast, therefore, is now presented between William Tyndale and all his contemporaries, who have generally figured in the page of history, and so filled it, as to prevent

posterity from duly estimating, nay, almost seeing, by far the most eminent benefactor of his country.

It is not here, however, that the year 1539 terminates. Tyndale's translation, or the Bible of 1537, had now been taken up, personally, by another individual, who has perhaps been expected to appear before this time, and certainly for some months before Henry's letters-patent (of the 14th of November,) this year, he had been engaged in his sphere, behind the curtain, perhaps as busily as any of Crumwell's printers had been. This, it may be anticipated, was Thomas Cranmer; but, although it has been often done, with no previous edition can his name, with historical propriety, be associated.

The joy expressed by him, at the reception of the Bible in 1537, may have prepared the reader; but when he first met with Cranmer on the Continent, seven years ago, in company with Sir Thomas Elyot, then charged by his Sovereign to seize Tyndale, and next year beheld him with pain, when sitting in judgment on the translator's bosom friend, Fryth; he certainly could not have imagined that, six years afterwards, the Primate himself would have been so busily employed, in superintending an edition of Tyndale's translation. But so it was.⁵⁸ Cranmer, as well as Crumwell, had now given up the Bishops in despair, though his chief opponent, Gardiner, will not fail to cross his path presently, and try to sway the King.

It is singular enough that it should have been on this same Thursday, the 14th of November, to which we have repeatedly alluded, that Cranmer first certainly appears to have been thus engaged. The edition he had been bringing forward was a very fine one, and now nearly, if not entirely finished; but he had resolved, at this peculiar crisis, after being foiled by the Bench, to prefix a preface to the reader, of his own composition. This he had submitted, for his Majesty's approbation, and was now anxiously waiting its return, when he sent the following letter to Crumwell:—

"My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto your Lordship, that Barclett and Edward Whitechurch

⁵⁸ And as Cranmer was so indebted to *Tyndale* for the Bible he now watched through the press, so it has been said, "when he wrote against transubstantiation, in reply to Gardiner," he then acknowledged, seventeen years after, "that he had received great light from *Fryth's* writings, and drew most of his arguments out of them."—*Todd's Life of Cranmer*, i, p. 166. *Turner*

hath been with me, and have by their accounts declared the expenses and charges of the printing of the Great Bibles ; and by the advice of Bartelett, I have appointed them to be sold for 13s. 4d. a-piece, (one merk,) and not above. Howbeit, Whitechurch informeth me, that your Lordship thinketh it a more convenient price to have them sold at 10s. a-piece ; which, in respect of the great charges, both of the paper, which is substantial and good, and other great hinderances, Whitechurch and his fellow (Grafton, his partner) thinketh it a small price.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, they are right well contented to sell them for 10s., so that you will be so good Lord to them as to grant henceforth none other license to any other printer saving to them, for the printing of the said Bible ; for else they think that they shall be greatly hindered thereby, if any other should print, they sustaining such charges as they already have done. Wherefore I shall beseech your Lordship, in consideration of their travail in this behalf, to tender their requests ; and they have promised me to print in the end of their Bibles the price thereof, to the intent the King's liege people shall not henceforth be deceived of their price.

“ Farther, if your Lordship hath known the King's pleasure concerning the *Preface* of the Bible, which I sent to you to oversee ; so that his Graec doth allow the same, I pray you that the same may be delivered unto the said Whitechurch unto printing ; trusting that it shall both encourage many slow readers, and also stay the rash judgments of them that read therein. Thus our Lord have your good Lordship in his blessed tuition.—At Lambeth, the 14th day of November 1539.”⁶⁰

This Preface, however, demanded cogitation. Preferring the words of John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen, Cranmer had now ventured to go to the full extent of truth and duty, as Tyndale, in his own name, had so often done, on behalf of the people of England. Cranmer now at last pled, but through his ancient authors—

“ That every man should read by himself *at home*, in the mean days and

⁵⁹ So urgent was poor Crumwell at the moment to push the *Scriptures* into circulation.

⁶⁰ MS., in Crumwell's Correspondence, orig. The popular mistake of ascribing the Bibles issuing from the press in 1539, to Cranmer, has led to the mis-placing of this letter among the Government State Papers. Though there supposed to be 1538, it has been correctly dated by Mr. Todd, and the date verified by Mr. Jenkins, in his *Remains of Cranmer*, i., p. 289, note.

In commencing his *Preface*, we leave it to the reader, whether Cranmer had not TYNDALE'S *preface* or “pathway to the Scripture” before him. Tyndale had said—“*I do marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been so blind to ask, why light should be shown to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble, is the danger of eternal damnation ; either so despitiful that he would envy any man so necessary a thing ; or so Bedlam mad to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light,*” &c. And what says Cranmer? “Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judge the more offender ; him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledge, or him that so ungodly, or ungodly, doth abuse the same. And as touching the former, I would marvel much that any man should be so mad as to refuse in darkness, light ; in hunger, food ; in cold, fire ; for the Word of God is light, ‘*Lucerna pedibus meis Verbum Tuum*’—“*Thy word is a lantern to my feet.*” It is food—“*Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word of God.*” I would marvel, I say, at this, save that I consider how much ‘*custom and usage may do.*’ And therefore I can well think them *worthy pardon*, which, at the coming abroad of *Scripture*, doubted and drew back.”

It is curious to see the Primate here putting in a word in excuse of his own timidity ; but as *custom and usage* had such sway over himself, he could not possibly marvel to the same extent as Tyndale had done. To him both custom and usage were as nothing, compared with the Word of God.

time, between sermon and sermon—that when they were *at home* in their houses, they should apply themselves, from time to time, to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. For the Holy Spirit hath so ordered and attempered the Scriptures, that in them, as well publicans, fishers, and shepherds, may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition. But still you will say, I cannot understand it. What marvel? How shouldst thou understand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou understandest not, read it again and again. Here may all manner of persons: *men, women; young, old; learned, unlearned; rich, poor; priests, laymen; lords, ladies; officers, tenants, and mean men; virgins, wives, widows; lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons*, of what estate or condition soever they be; may in THIS BOOK learn all things, what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves, and all others.” “This one place of John Chrysostom,” said Cranmer, “is enough, and sufficient to persuade all them that be not frowardly, and perversely, set in their own wilful opinion.”⁶¹

These were sentiments, certainly by far too strong to pass in high places, in those days, without murmuring and disputation; nor in all probability would they have been allowed to pass, but for the conjunction of circumstances, already so far explained. Henry, as we have seen, had softened, even towards Cromwell, and he was more likely to have done so towards Cranmer. He had thwarted him in the Convocation, but then his official situation, as Primate, was not to be trampled on; and the King had therefore set him up again, by commanding his highest counsellors afterwards to go and dine with him. The wind, in short, had changed in the fall of the year. Henry is now on the tip-toe of expectation as to his intended Queen, and the Archbishop, of course, must perform the intended marriage ceremony. No moment could be more favourable for Cranmer asking any favour.

But then it so happened, that not only this preface, but the Bible itself, had been brought before his Majesty, and hence still farther delay; for though Cranmer be almost ready, and is now, in *November*, pressing the return of the preface for the press, the volume did not appear till *April* following. The fact was, that Henry had consulted certain Bishops, not forgetting Mr. Stephen Gardiner.

⁶¹ There are many other fine sentiments of Chrysostom quoted. We have marked the words *at home* in italics, with reference to what follows presently. This pleading for *domestic* reading in ENGLAND, however, will appear to have been six years behind that for SCOTLAND, and very powerfully put, by the native of Edinburgh, of whom Cranmer was so much afraid, in the Convocation of 1536.

“After the book was finished,” says Fulke, “and presented to King Henry the Eighth; and by him committed to diverse Bishops of that time to peruse, of which (as I remember) Steven Gardiner was one: after they had kept it long in their hands, and the King was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the King himself, they redelivered the book: and being demanded by the King what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. ‘Well,’ said the King, ‘but are there any heresies maintained thereby?’ They answered, ‘there were no heresies that they could find, maintained thereby.’ ‘If there be no heresies,’ said the King, (in his own profane and impatient manner), ‘then, in God’s name, let it go abroad among our people.’ According to this judgment of the King and the Bishops, M. Coverdale (who had been corrector of the press,) defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which if he might review it once over again, as he had done *twice* before,⁶² he doubted not to amend: but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by the translation.”⁶³

Only six months ago the gentlemen of “the old learning,” with the Duke of Norfolk at their head, had been in high glee; but of late it had come to their turn, to feel no small disappointment, if not alarm: and Gardiner is understood to have exerted all his powers to influence the King, by persuading him that it must be his duty not to allow the people to read the Bible by their own fire-sides, or, as Cranmer expressed it, *at home*. One day these two men met in the presence of his Majesty, when he engaged them in discussion. After descanting on the danger of allowing the people at large to read the Scriptures, Gardiner chose to affirm that what were called the Apostolic Canons, were of equal authority with the Sacred Scriptures, and challenged Cranmer to disprove this. Cranmer did so, and to Henry’s satisfaction. The disputation is said to have lasted for some time, when the King abruptly addressed Gardiner,—“such a novice as you, had better not meddle with an old experienced Captain, like my Lord of Canterbury;” and then remarked, that “Cranmer was too experienced a leader, to be defeated by a novice.”

The translation had been sanctioned, as we have seen, above two years ago, in Gardiner’s absence, but it was a double mortification, and one which he richly deserved, to hear it thus defended and approved, while he was standing by, and rated for a novice.

⁶² That is, once in Paris, and now again in London.

⁶³ Fulke’s “Defence of the English Translations of the Bible,” 1533, p. 4, who himself heard Coverdale speak, as reported, in a sermon at Paul’s Cross. This anecdote has been very generally *misplaced* in its application.

As for Cranmer's first edition therefore, since it did not appear till April next year, it will come before us in due time. But in the meanwhile, and independently of all such skirmishing before the King, the *other* editions which had been sanctioned by Crumwell, without any formal reference to his Majesty, must not be forgotten, nor the New Testaments which had been printed at home, nor the numerous foreign editions. This is a period noted by Strype, as one in which "the people greedily bought up and read the Holy Scriptures." The truth is that, however other matters might proceed, whether in Court or Parliament, the people had been all along reading, without asking his Majesty's leave. He little thought that he was led on by a current far too strong for his resistance. Yet in the course of such a year as the present, in which the King was so surrounded by hostile parties ever whispering in his ear; who would have imagined that he should have so sanctioned the reading of the Scriptures? This, however, he had actually done, and done more emphatically than ever before! Some complaints having reached him through the enemy, that the reading of the Bible or New Testament in public, was often in a voice so loud, that it threatened to drown if not expel the mass; Henry by proclamation ordered a lower tone, and that, while mass was going on, reading should be suspended; as well as that no man should "teach or preach the Bible," except such as were admitted by himself, or Crumwell, or a Bishop. But then he added, what was of far greater moment, though it must have been like an additional dose of wormwood to the gentlemen of "the old learning"—

"Notwithstanding his Highness is pleased and contented, that such as can and will in the English tongue, shall and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly *at all times and places convenient*, for their own instruction and edification, to increase thereby godliness and virtuous learning."

Finally, the Monarch must, *in effect*, tell posterity that in thus acting he was still nothing more than a man overruled; since, with mingled pride and profanity, he adds—

"His Highness signifieth to all and singular, his loving and obedient subjects, that his Majesty was not, nor is compelled by God's Word, to set forth His Scripture in English to his loyal subjects; but of his own liberality and goodness was and is pleased, that his said subjects should have and read the same in convenient places and times—Wherefore his Majesty chargeth and commandeth all his said subjects to use the Holy Scripture in English, according

to his godly purpose and gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displeasure and indignation, beside the pain above remembered."

The hand of Crumwell is very visible in all this; and if the proclamation "came out about May, being *now* equal with the law," as Strype has told us, it shows what confusion had been shed into the Council of his Majesty; but followed as it was, in the close of the year, by the decided approval of Cranmer's preface, we have only one proof more of the truth of Solomon's proverb—"The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever he will."

In conclusion, therefore, as already stated, we come to the end of what may be styled the *FIRST SERIES of Bibles and Testaments*. Last year, indeed, we looked at them as divided into books printed *abroad*, and then begun to be printed at *home*. But at present we allude to all that had issued from the press before the first edition by Cranmer was put forth. Of the whole array the reader may form a distinct idea, on consulting our list of Bibles and Testaments at the end of this volume.

Now, if it be observed that even by this early period, such a number of editions of the New Testament, of all descriptions, as well as of the Sacred Volume entire, had passed through the press; and that Divine Truth had obtained a footing in our land, from the moment of its entrance in 1526; he will allow that in these fourteen years, a great work had been accomplished; and greater still, when he comes to see all that had been going on in Scotland, as well as in England. The full effects, though no historian can ever detail them, must have been far greater than has hitherto been supposed. Yet is it but little more than two years since the adversary lowered his colours, and gave in. Up to August 1537 in England, we have witnessed only one uninterrupted battle, without a solitary truce; and since then, as far as Crumwell was concerned, we have seen him, in his ardour, officially pushing on the work. When once on a time, writing so bitterly against Tyndale, he little thought that, in the very height of his career, though loaded with the affairs of the nation, he would tax himself, and strain every nerve, in the

64 Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., fol. 303. This proclamation, as first drawn up, had been submitted to HENRY, and he corrected it with his *own* pen. Strype has given it entire, with the corrections made.

very direction which the Translator had so long pointed out; no object appearing to himself, even as a politician, of greater importance. He is now, however, soon to be called away from the field of action, leaving the cause to that unseen hand which had guided it from the beginning, and which will employ or overrule others, as it had done himself. Cromwell's energetic influence is not, however, yet paralyzed. He has six months to live, and the Bible, printed still more magnificently, will be in circulation before then. In common justice, therefore, to the only Vicegerent that Henry ever had, and with regard to any of those volumes already published on English ground, including the Bible which was nearly finished in Paris, it should be observed, that when Cranmer's name has been associated with them, in any degree, whether as to preparation or printing, this appears to have been historically incorrect. We have seen him, for the first time, engrossed with one book, but the publication of it belongs to next year.

SECTION III.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS—HENRY'S FOURTH MARRIAGE—JEALOUSY OF FRANCIS—ALLIANCE WITH THE EMPEROR—GARDINER AGAINST BARNES AND GARRET—PARLIAMENT OPENED—CRUMWELL NOW EARL OF ESSEX—THE USE ALL ALONG MADE OF HIM BY HENRY—CRUMWELL'S LAST DEMANDS IN PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION—HENRY HAS TAKEN OFFENCE—CRUMWELL APPREHENDED—PARTIES OPPOSED TO HIM—CRANMER'S LETTER—FIRST CHARGES—BILL OF ATTAINDER—HENRY'S FOURTH MARRIAGE ANNULLED—FINAL CHARGES AGAINST CRUMWELL—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—THE KING AND HIS TWO VICARS-GENERAL IN REVIEW—MORE EXECUTIONS—HENRY'S FIFTH MARRIAGE—THE OLD LEARNING PARTY IN TRIUMPH.

RETROSPECT—COMMON MISTAKE AS TO THE CROWN—THE LARGE FOLIO BIBLES, IN SIX EDITIONS—THE FIRST OF CRANMER'S—A DIFFERENT EDITION—THE SECOND OF CRANMER'S—THE THIRD PREPARING, TO BE ISSUED NEXT YEAR, BUT WITH A DIFFERENT TITLE—ONE IN FIVE VOLUMES, SMALL SIZE—QUARTO NEW TESTAMENT.

The second series of Bibles and Testaments, commencing with the first of Cranmer's editions, will reach to the end of

the reign of Edward the Sixth, embracing the next twelve years and a half, to July 1553. At the best, it will be a strange and varied scene; but at present our attention must be confined to the first of those eventful years. It was the year of Crumwell's downfall and death, a subject which has been allowed to pass without due investigation, and, consequently, has been misunderstood. In these circumstances, to see the cause of Divine Truth still triumphant, and in such progress, will be far more impressive, after we have carefully observed the general course of secular and political affairs.

Possessed of absolute or uncontrolled authority, the victim, in quick succession, of contending passions, of avarice and profusion, caprice and obstinacy, Henry the Eighth stood but ill prepared for any vexatious circumstances to increase his natural impetuosity; and, yet, the first six months of this year, he spent in a state of almost constant irritability. At the close of last year he seems to have been in fear of his personal safety; for, knowing what enemies he had abroad, and how discontented certain individuals were at home, he had renewed his personal guard of fifty gentlemen-pensioners—a precaution with which he had dispensed for thirty years, or since the first of his reign.

It will be remembered that, in September last, his Majesty had ordered Crumwell to “put all other matters out of his head, saving only the negotiations for that great affair—his marriage;” and, since then, his impatience for the approach of his intended Queen had risen to its utmost height. The Lady Anne of Cleves having arrived in England, had reached Rochester on the 31st of December. Upon New Year's-day, therefore, Henry, and actually in disguise, set off to obtain a sight of his intended consort. The first glance was enough. He chose to express himself as disgusted. It was, “woe that ever she came into England,” and he began to ruminate whether or how he could break off his engagement. “But, considering again,” says Lord Herbert, “that this would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the Duke, her brother, into the Emperor's, or French King's hands,” he said, “it was too far gone.” Had it not been for this apprehension, Henry would have immediately sent her back. On the 6th of January, therefore, after expressing, repeatedly, the strongest reluctance, he was married by Craumer at Greenwich; having resolved to confederate with the Princes of Germany. The ceremony once performed, “as if in judgment,” it has been said, “for his cruel and capricious conduct to his first and second Queens, Henry was now linked to one whom he abhorred,” with only this one feeling to counterbalance his emotion—a persuasion that he

had at least taken a step to secure himself against the Emperor's power. We shall see, presently, whether he was correct in his calculation.

While Henry ever had his eye on the Continent, he must have been conscious that he was watched in return; and one singular movement of the Emperor's at this period, had excited such apprehension, that it probably hastened the Royal nuptials. Last year the citizens of Ghent, revolting against the government of Charles, offered to place the city under the sovereignty of Francis. He declined this offer; and the Emperor had resolved to reduce the people of his native city to subjection. From fear of the German States, he could not pass through in that direction, and the fleets of Henry deterred him from hazarding a passage by sea. The only other road was through France; and upon Charles proposing this route, the liberty was at once granted by the French monarch. Ever since their interview at Aigues Mortes in 1538, Charles had not failed to court the King of France, and even held up the prospect of one day investing him, or one of his sons, with the Duchy of Milan; a mere stroke of policy, to prevent alliance with Solyman, the Grand Seignior. In the vain hope that he should now gain over the Emperor, he was received by the King, and conducted through France with the greatest splendour. They entered Paris in procession together, on the first of January; so that Charles was there at the moment when Henry was allied to his despised consort, an event by no means acceptable to the Emperor, and one of which he was not unmindful throughout this journey.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, the English ambassador, following the Spanish Court, writes, on the 7th of January, from Paris to his royal Master: "The Emperor's demeanour has changed." One Robert Brancetour, who had thrown himself on the imperial protection, was demanded by Wyatt as a traitor; but Charles would not deliver him up, saying he knew of no treason of which he had been guilty, except it were "his going along with Cardinal Pole!" and when Sir Thomas complained of certain preachers who had defamed the King and the English nation, the only reply was—"Kings be not Kings of *tongues*; and if men give cause to be spoken of, they will be spoken of." After declaring the Emperor's concealed designs, Wyatt tenders his opinion as to what Henry should best do.¹

Very impatient to be gone, Charles remained only seven days in the French capital, and left it early in January, proceeding by Chantilly, St. Quintin, and Valenciennes, to Brussels, having at once gained his purpose, and completely deceived both Francis and his Ministers as to Milan. Whether it was owing to Wyatt's advice or not, the Emperor had no sooner left Paris than the King of England, all impatient to

¹ Harl. MS., No. 202, leaf 41.

prevent the consequences of this supposed friendship and alliance, despatched the Duke of Norfolk in embassy to France.² His Grace was to offer Francis assistance for the recovery of Milan—to offer the remission of all the arrears of pensions due to his royal Master, as well as of the salt-money due annually—he was to employ all his powers in exciting the jealousy of Francis as to the Emperor's ambition, and proposing a strict league to the exclusion of the Pontiff; he was to inform the French Monarch not only of his alliance with the Duke of Cleves, but his expected one with Saxony and other German States. Norfolk went, but all his representations were in vain. Charles had not as yet thrown off his mask, and plainly said, as he did afterwards, that the promise made respecting Milan he never meant to fulfil; Francis, therefore, at this moment, was not to be moved, and the Duke returned to England by the end of February.

The Emperor, with his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, were then about to leave Brussels for Ghent. From the former city, on the 25th, Wyatt writes again, inclosing a letter respecting the affairs of Germany, where many false rumours were afloat as to his Majesty and his recent proceedings, and suggesting that a refutation, in German, should be dispersed.³ Twelve days more only pass away, when by his next letter from Ghent, dated 9th of March, Wyatt hints that some designs were hatching between Charles and Francis against his master—that Ferdinand was advising the Duke of Cleves to submit to the Emperor, and it was said that the Duchess of Milan would then be given to *him* in marriage. He adds, however, that for a long time there had been an affection between her and the Prince of Orange, the son of Francis; congratulating Henry, at all events, on his escape from that princess.⁴ On the 12th, he modifies this intelligence, by informing the King, that the countenance shewn to Cleves, was only a stroke of feigned policy, to separate him from the other German States, and reduce him to obedience.⁵

By this time, without any prospect of alliance with either of the great powers, what must have been the feelings of the haughty English monarch, as to his recent alliance with this petty German State; and more especially when, only two days after, tidings still more vexatious arrived!

On the 14th, Sir Thomas wrote to the following purport—"That the French King had communicated to the Emperor what the Duke of *Norfolk* had proposed to him, and what were his replies—that this token of amity had greatly delighted the Emperor, who had dreaded the effect of Norfolk's negotiation—that the amity between Charles and Francis still stood, without the Emperor's parting with Milan—that the Germans

² Herbert.³ Harl. MS., No. 202, leaf 113.⁴ *Idem*, 121.⁵ *Idem*, 126.

were said to be about agreement with the Emperor ; which, if concluded without comprehending his Majesty and the Duke of Cleves in the same, might prove prejudicial to them both, and especially to the Duke his ally—that a force of Spaniards and Italians were coming into Flanders, and that possibly the Pontiff and the Germans might be reconciled, if the former will own his power not to be absolute and usurped by Scripture, but taken as by consent.”⁶

Had Sir Thomas sat down to *invent* a communication, he could scarcely have succeeded in sending one more unwelcome to his already discontented master. Some time also elapsed before Wyatt wrote again. But, in the meanwhile, no intelligence could be more acceptable to the gentlemen of the “old learning.” And as Norfolk and Gardiner were now at the King’s ear, and ever busy, no doubt the juncture was improved in practising on his feelings and apprehensions.

At last, however, by the 5th of April there was intelligence from Wyatt, and addressed to Crumwell, who, by this time, must have been more ill at ease than even his capricious master. The Pontiff, in needless anxiety, had written to the Emperor respecting his promised donation of Milan to the French ; and Sir Thomas thinks the Emperor will never part with it, but spend the year in “practices” with the French, the Duke of Cleves, and others ; while the Prince of Salerno, one of the chief persons from Naples, was desirous of proceeding into England to see the King.”⁷ Crumwell, of course, immediately despatched this letter to the King, and he received an instant reply, through Sadler, his secretary. His Majesty was relieved, and “liked well” this intelligence ; and as Wyatt had expressed a wish to return home in company with this Italian, Henry approved of his coming, and ordered Mr. Richard Pate to be despatched as his successor.⁸

Here then was at least an opening for some change of policy. For years it had been Crumwell’s aim to keep Henry and Charles apart, that he might, in alliance with France and the German States, pursue his own policy. Now, however, Henry was abundantly disgusted with Francis, and no less so with his German marriage ; for all along his Majesty had not the slightest natural leaning towards these German Confederates, except for political purposes. Parliament and the Convocation were about to meet, when, with all accustomed form, Henry can easily relieve himself of his Queen ; and as for the Emperor, we shall find the gentlemen from his court feasting at Westminster, even before this present Parliament is prorogued !

Foreign affairs had not been the only source of anxiety to both the King and Crumwell. During all this spring, matters

⁶ Harl. MS., No. 282, leaf 128.

⁷ *I*dem, 243.

⁸ Gov. State Papers, Sadler to Crumwell, i. p. 624.

at home had been proceeding from bad to worse. Bonner, who had returned from France in the early part of the year, and was now Bishop elect of London, yet still *professedly* eager to please Crumwell, had appointed three individuals to preach, during Lent, at Paul's Cross—Dr. Barnes, Thomas Garret, one of the first dispersers of Tyndale's New Testament, now Rector of All Hallows in Honey Lane, of both of whom we have often heard before, and William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney. Barnes was to commence on the first Sunday of Lent, or the 14th of February. Gardiner, however, now in high favour with Henry, sent a message to Bonner, his old acquaintance, and with whom he had quarrelled so bitterly in France, that he intended to preach there himself on *that* day, and this he accordingly did. "From an accomplished scholar," says Mr. Todd, "as Gardiner certainly was, one could hardly have expected such worthless oratory. It might indeed be intended as a sharp defiance to the men of the 'new learning,' though they must have despised it."

"I gathered my wits to me," he says, "called for grace, and determined to declare the gospel of the Sunday, containing the devil's three temptations, the matter whereof seemed to me very apt to be applied *to the time*, and good occasion to note the abuse of Scripture among *some*, as the devil abused it to Christ: which matter indeed I touched somewhat plainly, and, in my judgment, truly. Alluding to the temptation of the devil to Christ to cast himself downward, alleging Scripture that he should take no hurt—I said—Now-a-days the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the *new teaching*, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth—come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward, insomuch as he must learn to say his Pater-Noster backward." Such was the puerile verbiage, first uttered, and afterwards printed, by this learned Bishop.⁹

A fortnight elapsed, when Barnes officiated at the same place, and taking the same text preached the opposite doctrine; but very foolishly descending also to low wit, he made some unhandsome references to Gardiner's person, and even played upon his name. Garret and Jerome also preached, but made no personal reflections on any man. The friends of Gardiner then complained to the King of the "insufferable arrogance" of the first preacher. His Majesty, interesting

⁹ See "Declaration of such Articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false." Gardiner calls this "a part of his Sermon at Paul's Cross, the first Sunday of Lent, MDXXXIX." *i. e.* 14th February 1540; though mistaken by several authors for the previous year.

himself in the affair, called Barnes before him. He was over-awed; signed a renunciation of the articles informed against him; confessed that he had overshot himself; and promised ever after to beware of such rashness. In this he was followed by Jerome and Garret.¹⁰ Henry, however, commanded all the three to preach at the Spittle, and recant what they had said; while Barnes there in public, and in Gardiner's presence, must ask his forgiveness. This he did, on what they called "Low Sunday," or the 4th of April; but he, as well as the other two, having reasserted or justified in one part, what they recanted in another, his Majesty ordered them all to the Tower, there to await his decision.¹¹

Barnes, for years in the confidence of Crumwell, had not only been before employed by him in Germany, but more recently in the ill assorted negotiations respecting Anne of Cleves.¹² It was, therefore, positively presumed, that the disgrace of the one, might bring the other into disrepute or suspicion, and the votaries of the old learning were indulging hopes of Crumwell's fall. So confident indeed were they, that his office of Vicar-General they had bestowed, by anticipation, on Tunstal Bishop of Durham, and that of Lord Privy Seal upon Clerk, Bishop of Bath. At this moment, however, they were completely mistaken in their calculations; nor is there one particle of evidence that such an idea had as yet entered into Henry's mind, as that of the destruction of Crumwell; and far less that he *ever* intended to have *another* Vicar-General, for he never had. On the contrary, Crumwell is just about to be raised still higher, and actually to have fresh honours and more power conferred upon him!

Upon Monday the 12th of April, Parliament was opened, where, for the first time, there was no Abbot or Prior present. After Audley, the Lord Chancellor, had addressed the House on civil affairs, Crumwell rose, as Vicar-general, and introduced a message from the King, lamenting the religious dissensions by which the country was still agitated;

¹⁰ Burnet. Records, iii., No. xii.

¹¹ This seems to have been a very busy day with Gardiner; for after this he must have been engaged at the consecration of *Bonner*. Yes, *FoRUND BONNER*, with whom he was so enraged in France!—See under 1536, p. 11. But as they were dear friends in 1536, so they will be again, at least as soon as Crumwell is removed out of the way.

¹² Constantyne's Memorial. *Archæologia*, xxiii., p. 57. Constantyne had met him immediately after his return, last August. "Doctor Barnes told me that my Lord Privy Seal would have had him tarried to have spoken with the King, but that he prayed license, because of his weariness."

so that neither the first "Articles" by Cranmer, nor the second by Gardiner, had produced either "peace" or "contentation." His Majesty, said Crumwell, "leaned neither to the right or left, neither to the *one* party, nor to the *other*!—but to remove or root out at once all evils, he had appointed two sets of prelates and doctors; one to reform the *tenets*, and the other the *ceremonies* of the Church!" In other words, they were to try and draw out another form of faith and practice for the people of England, to be imposed upon them once more. They were to sit three days entire in each week, and the half of the other three, and proceed with deliberation. The whole address, from such a man as the King, and to such a House, was literally nothing short of profanity; while amidst all, so strange was the mixture, the Scriptures themselves were not overlooked—his Majesty demanding the aid of both Houses to enact penalties against such as treated the Sacred Volume with irreverence, or explained rashly and erroneously the Holy Scriptures. From the men thus appointed by the King, we need scarcely add, that nothing save greater confusion and perplexity were the results. Their proceedings ended in the publication of what they styled "The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," above two years after. It was a confused and heterogeneous compound, in which, says Burnet truly, "*both* parties found cause afterwards for both joy and sorrow."

On Wednesday the 14th, the Convocation assembled, and at the close, both Houses adjourned till Saturday the 17th, which was the last day in which the Vicar-general sat as Baron Crumwell.

It so happened that last month Henry had been deprived, by death, of two of his nobility. The first, Bouchier Earl of Essex, was killed by a fall from his horse, on the 12th of March; and within a week after, died "the great Chamberlain of England," Vere, Earl of Oxford; and as if my Lord Privy Seal and Vicegerent were not already overloaded with both honour and office, his Majesty had actually resolved to combine those of both men in the person of Crumwell!¹³ After Parliament rose therefore, on the 17th, or as Halle has it, next day the 18th, Sunday, Crumwell was not only created Earl of Essex, but appointed Great Chamberlain; and on Monday he entered the House of Lords, where his name stands at the head of the roll—"Vicesgerens Regius, *Thomas Essex* comes." The former Earl having died without heirs, the King gave him at the same time, *all* that fell to the Crown. He was now in possession of all his honours, which in number, if not in emolument, far exceeded even those of Wolsey!

¹³ "This shows," says Burnet, "that the true causes of Crumwell's fall must be found in some *other* thing than his making up the King's marriage; who had never thus raised his title, if by this time he had intended so soon to pull him down." Besides, in that affair, we have already seen how cautiously Crumwell proceeded at the outset, nor was he the only man to be implicated. When the King first saw him after being at Rochester, he cast the chief blame on the *Earl of Southampton*, and said, "when he found her so far short of what reports and pictures had made her, he should have *stayed* her at Calais, till he had given the King notice."

In one day he had come into most intimate intercourse with his Sovereign, and was almost immediately intrusted with state secrets. In 1531, he was knighted and made master of the King's jewel-house. In 1532, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534, Principal Secretary of State, and Master of the Rolls. In 1535, not only Chancellor of Cambridge University, but Vicegerent and Vicar-general of England. In 1536, he was created a Baron, and appointed Lord Privy Seal, when he gave up one office, viz. the Rolls. In 1537, he was made a Knight of the Garter, Chief Justice of the Forests, and Dean of Wells; a military honour, a civil, and an ecclesiastical appointment, in one year! In 1538, he became Constable of Carisbrook Castle, and was appointed by Henry, Steward of Archbishop Cranmer's Liberties and Master of his game. To all these must now be added, the honour of an Earldom, and the office of Great Chamberlain. By this time he was possessed of property in at least eight counties, viz. in Middlesex and Essex, in Sussex and Kent, in Rutland and Leicester, Norfolk and Warwickshires. There are said to have been about thirty manors and large estates; they were rewards from the King, in 1534 and during the last five years in succession; forming a goodly proportion of the spoil from the suppressed Monasteries.

Possessed of eminent talents for business, Crumwell was equally distinguished for sagacity in managing it; but with regard to himself personally, as that sagacity gradually forsook him, he stands out as one of the most conspicuous proofs in English history of the blinding influence of ambition. How could any man stand in slippery places, so loaded with titles, and offices, and wealth? Did he intend to be the only figure among ciphers? Why could he not have declined the ensnaring proffers of his capricious Master, influenced, as he must have seen him to be, only by the moment? But no; never does he appear to have refused either honour or emolument, although the half of all he held, might, in these times, have plunged an abler man into ruin.

But what, it may be inquired, could possibly be Henry's object, in conferring fresh honours upon his Vicegerent at *present*? Although this never appears to have been pointed out, it may be conjectured if not ascertained from the *use* which the King had made of him all along. Before Crumwell's elevation, but more especially since, his Majesty had been torn by two contending passions, avarice and prodigality. They seldom meet in the same breast; but in his royal Master they reigned predominant, and were alike insatiable. He came to the throne the richest Sovereign in Europe; for his father, proverbially distinguished as the most sordid prince who ever sat on the throne of England, had left him an immense sum.¹⁴ In the days of his youth, Wolsey's example,

¹⁴ Rapin has stated that eighteen hundred thousand *pounds* sterling, were found in his father's

his cupidity, and companionship, instructed the jovial monarch into all the delights, and the mystery of spending. The fortune left him was soon dissipated, when the great talents of the Cardinal had to be exerted in procuring large exactions, or "benevolences," from the laity. The ingenuity of Wolsey, in this line, was literally exhausted at the moment of his fall. Crumwell, bred under his eye, and already skilled in the art of dealing with monasteries and their suppression, did not fail to perceive what was fitted, not only to dissolve the royal prejudices against himself personally, for they were very strong, but even to entrance the thirsty monarch. There was wealth lying before his Majesty, it might have been presumed, more than sufficient for any one King to spend throughout a long reign; but the difficulty of reaching property which had been held for ages to be sacred and inviolable, must have seemed insuperable to almost every man. Henry, however, had arrogated to himself a new *title*, and one which his subjects had been constrained to acknowledge as a sacred one. All-ambiguous as it was, and involving vast claims, it conveyed not only additional power, but a new *species* of power, unknown to any other sovereign. At the moment of its assumption, indeed, the daring and tyrannical monarch could scarcely dream that this new and highly-prized title, might not only gratify his love of power, but fill his exchequer; yet having once assumed authority over the minds, as well as the bodies of his subjects, he stood ready for the suggestions of any man who should say—"What signifies property, if your Majesty may not appropriate this also to your own use?" The title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England" was valued by Crumwell chiefly as being able to gather to itself immense wealth. Thus, while Henry, bereaved of his Cardinal, stood, like a second Midas, still wishing that all he could touch might turn into gold, Crumwell craved an audience; and after having actually shed tears of despair down at Esher, within twenty-four hours, as men say, he had made his fortune. His Majesty never, it is true, made a companion of him as he had made of Wolsey; on the contrary, he would fall out with him, and chide severely; but from the day that he was first made Master of the King's Jewel-house, nay, and before then, down to his last honours, *money* was the one grand object which his Majesty had in view by the employment of Crumwell.

We have therefore only to glance at the present state of affairs and the royal purposes. Though the monasteries had been dissolved, and most of the spoil had come in; and although only last year, or eleven months ago, the King had solemnly promised, in so many words, "that for the benefit and ease of the subject, he never afterwards, in *any* time to come,

offers. Other historians have restricted the amount to *marks*. Fither sum was immense. If the latter only, it was equal to eighteen millions of our present coin, but if the former it was equal to twenty-seven millions sterling!

should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids!" Yet is he absolutely now about to ask for money from Parliament once more; nay, and let it be specially observed, from the *Bishops* in Convocation too! This was sufficiently audacious; but where was the man who had the face to come to both Houses, and so soon, upon such a subject? Here was Crumwell. There had been none like him in all England for gathering supplies. Already he was Vicar-general; and after the recent conduct of the Bishops, he must have been even more than gratified in carrying *such* a message to the Convocation; and as for the House of Lords—give him a higher place there. Let him walk in as an Earl, and "Great Chamberlain" to boot, and he will be ready to say or to do anything.

Nor was this all; if Crumwell does not become more intoxicated, or overbearing by his elevation, and altogether forget himself, there was much business yet to be accomplished, which he could dexterously overtake, and sooner than any other man; so that should he fall, there must be a pause in the cry of "Give, give." "There were still a great many tempting morsels in the hands of Churchmen, which were full as liable to seizure as the monastic lands; such were collegiate churches, hospitals, chantries, free chapels, guilds, &c., which were all endowed, and were capable of furnishing the exchequer with an immense sum;" nay, and close at hand, there was a very large mouthful, in the priory and possessions of the Knights of St. John. In short, the position and intentions of the ever-craving Monarch fully explain the mystery of the Earldom. The Chamberlainship gave him still higher standing in the King's household, and the Earldom in the House of Lords. Together, they formed a retaining fee, and the Earl proceeded to business.

Thus, only four days after his elevation, or Thursday the 22d of April, he introduced a bill into Parliament for the suppression of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, once styled the Knights of Rhodes, and now the Knights of Malta. They were the last remnant of Monachism, having large property not only in England but at Kilmainham in Ireland, and had firmly refused to dissolve their community. In the House of Lords, their prior sat immediately after the abbots, and above the lay barons. The pensions given after the dissolution of abbeys and monasteries were, in most instances, but small, in comparison of the property obtained; but as more than three thousands annually were assigned to this body, it is evident that the property must have been of great value. This bill, which was again before the House on the 26th, was read the third time on the 29th of April. To Sir William Weston, the last prior, out of the sum referred to, a thousand pounds annually had been awarded; but as he died on the 5th of May, only a few days after the bill had passed, "soul-smitten with sorrow," says Fuller, and never received a farthing, here was an annual thousand more to the King.

Before Parliament opened, too, in order to allay the clamours of the people, to attach them to his interest, and bring them to some cordiality as to the dissolution of the monasteries, Crumwell had advised his Majesty to immediately sell the Abbey lands at twenty years' purchase ; so that, on the 12th of March, he had been put in commission, with others, for this end.¹⁵ But, still, all that had been done in the way of confiscation would not suffice for his Majesty's present demands ; and now, therefore, with a kind of wild desperation, the Earl entered at once upon still more dangerous and exasperating ground.

It was only four days after this last bill had passed, or on the 3d of May, that Crumwell proceeded with the business of the Crown, and came to the House, demanding an enormous subsidy. It was not less than "four-tenths and fifteenths, besides *ten* per cent. on their income from lands, and five per cent. on their goods from the laity." Again, on Wednesday, Parliament not sitting, Crumwell, as Vicar-general, went to the Convocation, and there demanded "a grant of two-tenths and *twenty* per cent. on their incomes for two years."¹⁶ Here, then, in both Houses, was room sufficient for the loudest murmuring and discontent. The *proposer* of such unprecedented demands, and in a time of *peace*, had overshot even his old master, Wolsey, and was preparing himself for that burst of joy and indignation which must certainly overtake him, should he chance to fall. Referring to the subsidy from Parliament, says Lord Herbert, "this exorbitant demand laid on by Crumwell, gained him an universal hatred among the people, and was one reason of his sudden fall after it," though he was only obeying orders. Ah ! but it was not the people only who were exasperated, for they could not have reached him. He had entered the Convocation, too, and *there* demanded a subsidy ; and though Henry may continue to make such demands, Crumwell, the Vicar-general, never shall again. "The Convocation," says Lingard, "continued to be summoned, but its legislative authority was *gone*. Its principal business was to grant money ; yet even these grants now owed their force, not to the *consent* of the granters, but to the approbation of the other two Houses, and the assent of the Crown. The first instance I find was in 1540." It *was* the first, and, at the same time, Crumwell's *last* demand. He *carried* both subsidies, the chief pretext being the expenses which had been incurred by building forts along the sea-coast, and repairing fortifications which had fallen into decay.

On Saturday, the 8th, in the House of Lords, so far as they were concerned, the subsidy had been settled ; and, on the same day, we find

¹⁵ Rymer's *Fœdera*, *xiv.*, p. 633.

¹⁶ Wilkin's *Council*, 350, 363, *Stat. of Realm*, *iii.*, 312. Burnet and other historians have stated this subsidy at no more than one-tenth and a fifteenth from the Commons, and two-tenths from the Convocation.

a bill of permutation, or exchange of some property, between the King and Cromwell, had been brought in and read a first time, so that every thing seemed to be proceeding successfully—BUT—next morning arrived, and what is this? For some cause or another, his Majesty is now seriously offended, and this is the first positive intimation. It was only three weeks since he had heaped honour upon the man; he has, since then, carried through money matters, of which, perhaps, no one else would have risked even the suggestion; and, besides, this is *Sunday*. No matter, Henry must write immediately, and here is his letter:—

“ Henry R.

By the King.

“ Right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well; signifying to you our pleasure and commandment is, that forthwith, and upon receipt of these our letters, setting all other affairs apart, ye do repair unto Us, for the treaty of such great and weighty matters, as whereupon doth consist the *surety of your person, the preservation of our honour, and the tranquillity and quietness* of you and all other our loving and faithful subjects, like as at your arrival here, ye shall more plainly perceive and understand. And that ye fail not hereof, as We specially trust you. Given under our Signet, at our Manor of Westminster, the 9th day of May.”¹⁷

It is singular that the *first precise cause* of offence, so strongly marked in this letter, has never transpired; though, after this, it must be evident that Cromwell could not have passed one easy hour. Still, upon Monday, the Earl appeared among the Lords as usual, when his bill of permutation with the King was read and passed; but the very next day Parliament was *prorogued* till the 25th of May, and this was ominous. On Wednesday, however, the *Vicar-General* attended Convocation, and *finished* the business of the subsidy there also.

The displeasure felt all around, on account of these enormous levies, joined with the displeasure of the King, which must have soon been whispered, furnished, during the recess, a fine opportunity for getting up the bill of accusations against Cromwell, which, no doubt, was skilfully improved; but Tuesday the 25th arrived, Parliament sat, and the Earl was there as before! Bills of attainder without any trial, according to the shocking precedent which Cromwell himself had introduced last year, were passed again and again in this Parliament, against a number of individuals; and now, at last, he is himself about to become the victim of his own measure; though still, every day, or as duly as the House assembled, *there* was the Earl, and so, generally speaking, was Cranmer. Thus it happened on Thursday the 10th of June, and after Parliament adjourned at Westminster, there was a meeting of the Privy Council; Cromwell was present, but not Cranmer. The Duke of Nor-

¹⁷ Cotton MS., Titus, B. I., 406. *Original*. Signed by *Stamp*, which may have been intended as a mark of indignity, or farther proof of displeasure.

folk and his party were now ready. The Duke, for particular reasons then high in the King's favour,¹⁸ preferred against the falling Minister the charge of high treason. His despotic Majesty, of course, had been consulted, and had concurred; and, therefore, Audley, as Lord Chancellor, having arrested him, he was forthwith conducted as a prisoner to the Tower.¹⁹ Thus the man who had sat so high in Parliament in the morning, by three o'clock was regarded as a traitor, and is said to have been even insulted on his way to the Tower in the afternoon!

That very night one party "banqueted and triumphed together, many wishing that that day had been seven years before; while some, fearing lest he should escape, though imprisoned, could not be merry. But others, who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented and heartily prayed for him."²⁰

The step thus taken has been long very loosely ascribed to Henry's recent marriage; but that event could *never, of itself*, have led to this. Crumwell would have outlived that vexation of his royal Master, by at once putting an end to it. A better key to the secret may be found. Serving a capricious monarch, sometimes pleased and soon angry, the eager and too ambitious servant must have been often at a stand. His own course was erratic. To pull down an ambitious man with safety suddenly, Lord Bacon has said, that the only way is the *interchange* continually of favours and disgraces, whereby he may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a *wood*. Now although Henry, it is most probable, had no fixed intention only a month since, it is certain that Crumwell had been first in favour then in disgrace, or first elevated, then depressed, as his Majesty had both smiled and frowned, in the short compass of three weeks. No wonder, then, if Crumwell had found himself before now, but especially of late, "as it were, in a wood." Too much elated by the favour of the King, his arrogance, in the possession of so much power and authority seems to have increased. He has been said to have treated all the men of the old learning, whether clergy or nobility with equal haughtiness, and even the Duke of Norfolk, his chief rival, he had threatened with the royal displeasure. Though, therefore,

¹⁸ Henry was about to be married to his *niece*, Katharine Howard.

¹⁹ Lords' Journal, June 10, and of this Parl. 27°. "*Hodie* Vicegerens Regis supradictus, Comes Essex, in hora pomeridiana, per Dominum Cancellarium et alios dominos de Arcano Domini nostri Regis Consilio, ex Palatio Regio Domini Regis Westm. hora tertia pomeridiana, super accusationem criminis *Lese Majestatis*, missus est in Arcem Londinens." p. 143. There have been few points on which historians have been so at variance as the *day* of Crumwell's arrest. Tytler and Lingard are correct; but Halle, Stow, Herbert, Foxe, Burnet, Collier, Mackintosh, and others, not only differ among themselves, but all are wrong. And what is curious enough, even in the new edition of Foxe, after having corrected the mistake, vol. v., p. 338, the editor, in a note, p. 461, inadvertently nullifies his own correction, by supposing that Crumwell sat in the House of Lords till the 18th! The fact is, that his name remained on the *roll* till the day after his attainder, when it was struck off; but he is no day marked *p. present*, after the 10th of June. Nor is this confusion as to dates during this year, in these last mentioned historians, confined to one. It would require a page to rectify it. In the text we have followed throughout, implicitly, the Journal of the House of Lords, in which, however, it requires to be observed, that on some pages there is a misprint of 1539 for 1540. ²⁰ Halle.

the immediate occasion of Crumwell's arrest has never been pointed out, it may now be very safely, if not clearly traced, to certain Bishops, headed by his Grace of Norfolk.

About the month of August last year, Crumwell had been incensed by one of these men, Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, as playing false with the King, having a secret favour for the Roman Pontiff, with special good will to the old learning and all its ceremonies. Correspondence and personal communications had passed between them, but up to the day of his own arrest, the tokens of Crumwell's displeasure had not been removed. The fact was, that the Bishop, in company with Dr. Nicholas Wilson, he had committed to the Tower.²¹ There, in trouble and dejection, if not fear of his life, Sampson had made certain disclosures—confessing a combination between himself, Tunstal Bishop of Durham, and Stokesly of London, lately deceased. They were to do their utmost to preserve the old doctrines with all their appendages. Upon this, Crumwell made no scruple to charge Tunstal with what he had heard; but he denied it. On Monday the 7th of June therefore, only three days before the arrest, Dr. Peter and a Mr. Bellows, were sent to Sampson to signify this, on which he sat down, and in writing addressed to Crumwell an ample and decided confirmation of all he had confessed. To refresh Tunstal's memory, if not confound him, Sampson pointed distinctly to a certain period, when they, the Bishops, were busy with the Germans and *the Bishop's Book*; he described graphically the doings of both Stokesly and himself—repeating that “Tunstal will not say otherwise, but that he, and the late Bishop of London were fully bent to maintain as many of the old usages as they might, and so they said it was necessary to do.” Here, in short, were the authors of “the Book of Ceremonies,” to which we referred last year. But this was not the whole confession now. “Winchester,” said Sampson, “was not *then* here, but the encouragement *he* had given him *was now, lately*,”—“not to fear to help things forward, for the King's Highness was very good Lord in them.” Gardiner wished him to be diligent in ceremonies and to *leave none*. Heath, too, whom Gardiner had just consecrated Bishop of Rochester, had turned, and was of the same mind. In short, “Winchester told him that they were all of one mind, very few excepted.”²²

To be thwarted in Parliament as to their Book of Ceremonies had been grievous enough, but to have its secret history thus fully exposed to Crumwell, was more vexatious still. Tunstal and Gardiner, in their true characters, stood fully before him. Now, all this happened on Monday, or only three days before the arrest.

²¹ Wilson's is the last signature to the Convocation articles of 1536. He was Arch-deacon of Oxford, and afterwards belonged to the curious old church of Wimborne Minster in Dorsetshire. Both he and Sampson were notorious watchers on the times.

²² Cotton MS., Cleop. E. v., p. 300; or see Strype, App. No. xcii.

By this moment, Henry was sick of all confabulation about Germany ; being secretly, and to his dying day, a votary of the old ceremonies. The niece of Norfolk had caught his eye ; while the alleged *treason and mal-administration* of Crumwell were poured into his ear ; and these were charges to which his Majesty at this moment was all alive. Meanwhile, the new-made Earl had already secured the subsidies, and would now inherit all the odium, or like the scape-goat carry it away from the King. After such a pointed written disclosure on Monday, no wonder if high words, for the last time, had again escaped from Crumwell on Tuesday or Wednesday ; and on Thursday he was laid low.

Next day the event was known to all, when the time-servers were busy in changing sides. Among others, Bonner, formerly *so* compliant, *so* zealous for the Scriptures and full of promise, when at Paris, who had been solely indebted for his elevation to the unhappy prisoner in the Tower, had already wheeled round. "As soon as ever Crumwell fell, the very next day he shewed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton, the printer, (so intimate with Bonner in France,) meeting him, said, he was very sorry for the news he had heard of Crumwell's being sent to the Tower. Bonner answered, 'It had been good he had been despatched long ago.' So the other shrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him."²³

In short, of all the friends that once so courted the friendship of Thomas Crumwell, there was only one solitary individual left, and this was Cranmer ; at least he was the only man who said any thing at the moment. The certainty seems to be, that Cranmer was not present when Crumwell was arrested ; that he heard this day, at the Privy Council, the grounds of his arrestment, and on the morrow, or Saturday, sent his letter to the King.²⁴ The following fragment, as given by Lord Herbert from the original, is all that remains :—

"I heard yesterday in your Grace's Council, that he (Crumwell) is a traitor ; yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty ? He that was so advanced by your Majesty ; he whose surety was only by your Majesty ; he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God ; he who studied always to set forwards *whatsoever* was your Majesty's will and pleasure ; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty ; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness and experience, as no Princee in this realm ever had ; he that was vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble Princees of memory, King John, Henry the Second, and Richard II., had

²³ Burnet.

²⁴ Herbert, mistaking the day of arrestment for the 13th, supposes this letter to have been written next day or Monday. But the day of arrest is certain : and as Cranmer says, *yesterday I heard, &c.*, it is evident he had not been present, but hearing of the arrest on Friday, he wrote next day.

had such a counsellor about them, I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown, as those good princes were:

"I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace, singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him or trusted him, and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day, to send such a counsellor, in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had."

This letter has been described as remarkable for its "very earnest and persuasive" tone; but in truth this fragment conveys no request whatever on behalf of Crumwell; and if any was made, the communication, as addressed to such a man as Henry, was not likely to operate in his favour. The remark made as to Cranmer's letter respecting Anne Boleyn, is not less applicable here. The alternative is put in such a style as to prove injurious; the "*but now, and if,*" were, at such a moment, almost fatal to any escape, or equal to acquiescence. The quick eye of the Monarch, already incensed, would at once fix on certain expressions—He is "*very glad,*" he says, "that his *treason* has been discovered in time,"—nay he only heard *yesterday*, and is already "praying night and day that God would send such a counsellor *in his place!*" Taken all in all, to say the least, this was by no means the judicious effusion of a friend "born for adversity," or bent on fair dealing.

It was on the day after his arrest, or Friday the 11th, that Crumwell underwent his *first* examination. Though denied the benefit of a public trial before his Peers, he seems to have been confronted with at least one accuser, in presence of certain members of the Privy Council; and having thus far ascertained the accusations against him, the next day he sent his first letter to the King, dated "Saturday, at your Tower of London."²⁵ Even this, however, he had not presumed to do without a direct message from his Majesty, through the "Controller" of his household; requesting him to write "whatever he thought meet concerning his most miserable state and condition."²⁶

Taken in connexion with the history through which we have passed, this letter enables us to penetrate so far into the secrets of the cabal

²⁵ The date is fixed by internal evidence, from the style in which he refers to *last Sunday*, or the 6th of June, which was the last in which he was at large; and as he also alludes to his examination, it must have occurred the day before.

²⁶ The messenger sent was likely to be regarded as the forerunner of certain death, if the Comptroller was no other than the often-dreaded Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower! The very same man whose appearance instantly struck death into the heart of Cardinal Wolsey, and who so treated Anne Boleyn. He was yet alive, but died this year, about three months after Crumwell. He had been Governor or Constable of the Tower from 1524 to 1540, and was succeeded by Sir John Gage.

against Crumwell, as well as the charges preferred at first against him. Treason was the *first*; Injustice to the commonwealth, by winking at combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders against the laws, was the *second*; Disclosing a state secret, which, in fact, was nothing more than that Henry had resolved to divorce his Queen! was the *third*. This appears to have been the whole count on this first day; and the letter sent takes them all up, in order. The three charges he denies, though in a style which it is painful to read. His imprecations on himself, if any one of these imputations were true, are not only so frequent, but so dreadful, that as in all such cases, one is at a loss to know whether they were well founded or not. At the same time, the most serious charge, that of *treason*, so far as it was now laid, appears to have been base, hollow, and incredible. In rebutting it, one or two singular circumstances are disclosed.

It will be remembered, that in the year 1536, by Crumwell's own suggestion, a Court was formed, styled "the Court of Augmentations," to register and secure the enormous sums coming in to the Crown, by the suppression of monasteries. Here, it was affirmed, the treason had been uttered or disclosed, and apparently in the summer of 1537. Why then was not the present witness seized for concealment? Better men had fallen in these days for no other crime. But who turns out to be the accuser? It was no other than a man already famous, or rather infamous, for ensnaring state prisoners. Richard Rich, the Chancellor of this very Court. The blood of Sir Thomas More, if not also of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was already upon him. He it was who at least ensnared them both in one day; so that Henry's Council had taken advantage of Rich's baseness before now; though still it is remarkable, that the first insinuations against Crumwell should have been laid in the very Court which he had himself established.²⁷ Rich, in his allegation, referred to another person, named Throgmorton, for so Throgmorton was then often spelt; but *he*, very conveniently, could not be present, either to confirm or deny the statement. If this was Michael Throgmorton, of whom we have before heard, a gentleman of family, the confidential agent and friend of Cardinal Pole, he was distant as far as Italy. He had re-visited England in very critical circumstances, as we have already seen, and used to make it his high boast, ever after, that he had then deceived or outwitted both Crumwell and Sir Richard Moryson in his employ.²⁸ If this indeed be the man, for we can find no other, Rich, in

²⁷ See vol. i. p. 490. Richard Rich, who had been Speaker of the Commons, was Solicitor-General, as well as Chancellor of Augmentations. Afterwards created Baron Rich of Leeze, he became Lord Chancellor, and was ever noted as a persecutor. Burnet, and even Strype, confound him with Sir John Baker, the Attorney-General, a different man, who was Chancellor, not of Augmentations, but of the "tenth and first-fruits;" and was not even appointed to this office till after Crumwell's death, or the 3d of August.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, xiv., p. 702.

²⁸ See vol. i., pp. 528-530. Throgmorton had been attainted for treason in December 1538.

the wickedness of his heart, well knew that he was now touching Henry's tender toe. Any thing in the slightest connexion with Pole, or any friend of his, put him at once into a rage. No supposition, however, could be more preposterous, than that the shrewd, though fallen minister, should then especially utter one word, or do a single thing, bordering on treason against his royal Master; much less in presence of either Rich or Throgmorton. But what does Crumwell himself say in reply? We except the imprecations—

“ And now, most gracious Prince, to the matter. First, where I have been accused to your Majesty of treason. To that I say, I never, in all my life, thought willingly to do that thing that might or should displease your Majesty. Mine accusers your Grace knoweth; God forgive them. Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, to my remembrance, *I never spake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and Throgmorton together, at one time; but if I did, I am sure I spake never of any such matter.* And your Grace knoweth what manner of man Throgmorton hath ever been, ever towards your Grace and your proceedings; and what Master Chancellor hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will ne can (neither) accuse him. What I have been towards him, your Majesty right well knoweth. I would to Christ I had obeyed your often most gracious grave counsels and advertisements; then it had *not* been with me, as now it is.”²⁹

With regard to the second charge, Crumwell speaks in measured language, but as for revealing Henry's mighty secret, this he pointedly refuses. The minute style in which Crumwell dwells on this, the intended dismissal of the Queen, only shows what a fastidiously tyrannical being, and capricious even to childishness, his Master was. There was not a single courtier, nor even any of the people who cared one straw about the matter, who were not anticipating what he actually did so soon. To call it a secret was ridiculous.

This first examination, therefore, if intended chiefly to ensnare, which it probably was, seems to have failed of its effect. But it was only a preliminary step to a far broader bill of attainder, without the trouble

²⁹ Cotton MS., Titus, B. i., fol. 267, *original*, and printed in Ellis' Letters, second series, vol. ii., p. 163-4. Michael Throgmorton, or Throckmorton, (a younger branch of one of the most ancient existing families in England, traced up by Dugdale to the middle of the 12th century, and to this day the steadfast adherents of Rome,) was the second son of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton, in Warwickshire, who died in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1520—this son, then a youth, being at Florence. He remained in Italy throughout life, and fifteen years afterwards became a devoted adherent of Cardinal Pole. In consequence of this, as already noticed, he and Friar Peyto had been attainted for eighteen months past; and as the mother of Peyto was a Throgmorton, they may have been related. In the chancel of the little church at Ullenhall, in Warwickshire, there is a monument for Throgmorton's son, on which the following inscription was cut, as preserved by Dugdale—“ Here lieth the body of Francis Throgmorton, born in Mantua, son of Michael Throgmorton and Agnes Hede—which Michael had lived many years in Italy, in good and great reputation, with bountiful hospitality, entertaining most of the noblemen and gentlemen in England, in the very beginning of Queen Mary's reign—and received of her gift the manors of Honiley, Blackwell, Packhurst, Winderton, Ullenhall, and others, by letters patent. He is buried in St. Martin's Church in Mantua,” having died on the 1st of November 1550.—*Dugdale's Warwickshire*, pp. 749, 818.

of any farther inquiry, which was brought into Parliament on Thursday the 17th. Cramer, who had been in the House of Lords every day they sat since the 10th, was *not* now present; but the Earl of Southampton entered and took his seat, and as *Lord Privy Seal!* The bill, therefore, was but a mere form, in usual style, and Crumwell's certain disgrace, if not death, was now apparent to all. On Saturday this bill was read the second and third times, when Cramer *was* present, and, by his silence, acquiesced. It was then sent down to the Commons, where, however, there must have been some hesitation or objections, as it remained there for ten days. In the end, having drawn out another bill, they sent both up on the 29th. The Lords, more zealous than ever, accepted the bill sent up, and having read it three times at one sitting, the King also assented on the *same* day.

Enviied by the nobility, hated by all the clergy, whether secular or regular, and now, in consequence of these enormous subsidies, by many of the Commons, this bill afforded the long-sought opportunity for displaying the meanest and most ungenerous hatred. Against a man, so loaded with office, and so engrossed in all public affairs, it was an easy task to draw out a bill of attainder sufficiently long. Not that Crumwell was such a notorious offender, compared with his accusers. To a man they had all sinned, as far as their more limited sphere allowed; and proceeded with, after the same fashion, few, if any of them, could have escaped with their heads on their shoulders. But Crumwell's day was come, and these men took special care to vent all their spleen against him. They rated him as "a man of very base and low degree," who had "released persons convicted of misprision of treason"—had "misused manifold sums of money"—had "appointed many to be commissioners in urgent affairs, and granted passports to others, without the royal assent"—and who, they repeat, "though a person of as poor and low a degree as few be within this realm, did declare that he was sure of the King." He was, besides, "a detestable heretic, and encourager of heresy"—"had acquired by oppression, bribery, extort, and power, innumerable sums of money and treasure"—and "being so enriched, hath had the nobles of the realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words, by him most opprobriously spoken, doth appear."

Their bill having passed, and the King assented, the very next day, no doubt, these men were ready for Crumwell's execution, and would have rejoiced in it; but he is not to die for a month to come. On Henry's part there must have been some wavering; at least he had sent Audley, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Russel, (whose life, by the way, Crumwell had once saved when abroad,) with a message to the Tower, informing the prisoner of the bill having passed, and inquiring once more into circumstances connected with the

last marriage. From the minute reply sent next day, or the last of June, it appears that his Majesty had sent Crumwell money, and this seems to have either encouraged the hope of life, or led him to plead the more earnestly for it. At the same time he says—

“ Sir, upon my knees I most humbly beseech your gracious Majesty to be good and gracious lord to my poor son, the good and virtuous woman his wife, (actually the sister of Henry’s *last Queen*, Jane Seymour,) and their poor children, and also to my servants; and this I desire of your Grace for Christ’s sake.” He closes in the following terms—“ Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness’ most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Crumwell. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, merey, merey !”³⁰

For four weeks from this date did Crumwell remain in a state of suspense, while at least two other letters had been addressed by him to the King. According to Foxe, in reference to the first of these, on applying to one of the commissioners to convey it, he refused, saying, that “ he would carry no letter to the King from a traitor.” Crumwell then inquired if he would convey a *message*, when he assented, on condition of its not being contrary to his allegiance. Upon this, Crumwell appealing to the other Lords present as to the promise, and turning to the man, only said—“ You shall commend me to the King, and tell him, by the time he hath so well tried and thoroughly proved you, as I have done, *he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him.*” If this was not the Duke of Norfolk, who had so shamefully dissembled and deceived him, it must have been Chancellor Rich, the Solicitor-General, and a Privy Counsellor. The other letter was conveyed by Ralph Sadler, in former days a clerk of Crumwell’s, whose fortune he had made; a letter which it is said Henry commanded to be read to him three times.

The sphere in which the fallen minister had moved, was vastly more extensive than that of any of his fellow courtiers; and his temptations being, therefore, more numerous, the ambiguity and inconsistency of his character become at last quite confounding: but still, compared with others, equally servants of the King, and near his person, it may be allowed that, *proportionally*, Crumwell was not worse than they. And now, considering that he was a man who unquestionably had been of immense service to his Majesty, during by far the most critical period of his reign—that he had come to his master’s aid, at a moment when he was greatly at a loss—that he had been his chief counsellor and stay, in many an exigency—and that, but for his holding such a tight and steady rein, Henry himself might have fallen a sacrifice to the monks or

³⁰ Cotton MS., Titus, B. 1., fol. 267. This letter, though given by Burnet as complete, is very defective, as well as incorrect. The omissions have been pointed out by Sir Henry Ellis. See “ Original Letters,” second series, ii., p. 160. See also Otho, c. x., 241 246.

friars—surely some consideration was demanded, and some pity for the man's life, who pled so fearfully for mercy at his hands. But we should greatly mistake, if we imagined that the King was much moved, or rather at all affected, by all that had occurred. On the contrary, from May downwards, nay, and during those very weeks of Crumwell's misery, he was displaying the outrageous and increasing grossness of his character, as well as all its heartless gaiety.

In the prospect of destroying Anne Boleyn, it may be remembered, he must hold a tilt and tournament at Greenwich. So now, at Westminster, as late as the first week in May, he had been feasting sumptuously with his *Queen*, Anne of Cleves, and all the Lords, on the very eve of her divorce, and while that Parliament was sitting, which would soon, with all due form, settle the business! This feasting, too, was at the close of a royal joust, tournament, and barriers, given by certain knights.³¹ Nor must these valiant knights pass unrewarded for all their foolery; and therefore large portions of the lands belonging to the knights of St. John, were absolutely given away to divers of these noble cavaliers.³² That priory, as we have seen, had been confiscated on the 29th of April, or only two days before the joust began! It was on its last day, or the 5th of May, that Sir William Weston the prior died of grief! It was during their three days' play, or on the 3d of May, that Crumwell, in Parliament and Convocation, was busy in procuring his *income-tax*, or those enormous subsidies, under the odium of which he at last sunk; and once sunk, Henry proceeded immediately with the divorce. His last inquiries sent to the attainted Crumwell had this alone in view; after which the Parliament instantly went on to display its accustomed servility. Let the following scene bear witness.

On Tuesday, the 6th of July, his Majesty's ministers, no doubt under orders, having consulted the House of Lords on his situation, they, with the Commons, *petitioned* their Sovereign to allow the Convocation to *try* the validity of his marriage, and adjourned for two days to afford time; Henry having profanely replied—"that there was nothing he held dearer than the glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and the declaration of truth!" Cranmer, who had performed the marriage ceremony, concurred with this proposal, and was one of the commission appointed. Stephen Gardiner expounded the matter in order to the Convocation, informing the assembly that his Majesty had never given his *inward* consent! Among the disgusting details, poor Crumwell's letter from the Tower was produced in evidence! The Bishops, with their underlings, were then *unanimous*, and presenting the sentence of nulli-

³¹ Sirs Thomas Seymour, John Dudley, George Carew, Thomas Poynings, Anthony Kyngstone, (as cruel a man as his father, Sir William,) and *Richard Crumwell*, alias Williams, the nephew of Crumwell himself! Harry Howard, the Earl of Surry, is also said to have been present. They kept open house at Durham Place from the first to the fifth of May, and feasted the King and Queen, and all the Lords.—*Halle*.

³² Lord Herbert's H. VIII.

fication on the 9th, next day Cranmer reported to the House of Lords, that the marriage which he had celebrated was contrary to the law of both God and man; when they sent *him* and Gardiner down to the Commons to report the same! Overcome with fear, for it could not be argument, Cranmer consented with all the rest. The dread of Crumwell's doom might be before his eyes. The Commons also having given their assent, not an hour was now to be lost, as the King's business demanded haste. The very next day, therefore, being *Sunday*, Norfolk, Southampton, and Gardiner were at Richmond, busy enough in labouring to secure the Queen's consent, nay, her approbation! They assigned to her £3000 annually, with the palace of Richmond as her residence; but this income was to depend on her living in England, and as the King's *sister*. In conclusion, she agreed literally to everything proposed, and, as it is well known, lived in this country till her death, seventeen years after.³³

The whole of this drama, however, becomes a farce, when it is once observed that it had been all arranged, even before that Henry was *petitioned* by the Parliament! "All the parts of it were cast, three days before, at the Privy Council, who communicated them to Clerk, Bishop of Bath, in a despatch of the 3d of July."³⁴ But it was even more extraordinary, that this Bishop had left England by the end of *June*, to inform the Duke of Cleves of the King's purpose respecting his sister; nay, and before going to the Duke, he was to take Bruges on his way, where the Emperor then was, and convey the tidings to him!³⁵ Charles was so delighted, that he instantly availed himself of Henry's change of policy. Before Parliament was dissolved; before the royal assent was given to the divorce of Anne of Cleves; and more than a week before the death of Crumwell, here was a large and pompous embassy arrived in London from the Emperor. There was the Prince of Macedonia, Don Frederick Marquis of Padula, the Marquis of Terra Nova, Monsieur de Flagy, and sixteen other gentlemen in their train.³⁶ According to Halle, on Thursday the 22d of July, at the Court at Westminster, "they were highly feasted, well entertained, and, upon their departure greatly rewarded." It seemed as if they had come in time to grace all the doings of our tyrannical Monarch whatever these might be. It was only two days after this, that, in person, Henry dissolved the Parliament, sanctioning all the bills past, and among the number, that for his own, his third divorce. Cranmer was not present, and as for the poor Duke of Cleves, he could only pocket the affront. A general pardon was then passed, with certain exceptions. Among these were the mother of Cardinal Pole, for "*the Lady of Sarum*" was not yet disposed of, though Crumwell had been eager enough: there was Crum-

³³ She died at Chelsea, 16th July 1557, under Queen Mary.

³⁴ Herbert. Mackintosh.

³⁵ Herbert.

³⁶ Halle.

well himself, and Sampson, the Bishop of Chichester, whom he had incarcerated. They were all alike, at this moment, prisoners in the Tower!

Such were the leading occupations of the King and his Court; or a strange mixture of the grave and gay, the lively and severe; while Crumwell, once so high, lay all the time trembling for his life. It was not, however, that he had been suffered to remain without notice. On the contrary, as if the bill of attainder, passed in June, had not been sufficient, his enemies were not idle in furnishing farther proof against him; and it would have been well for his memory, if nothing more tangible had ever trauspired.

In one of those letters to which we have already referred, there is the following passage:—"And, sir, *that EVER I have deceived you in any of your treasure, surely I have (not), and THAT God Almighty best knoweth!*"³⁷ This, it may be remembered, had been one of the charges against the attainted minister, and in these terms of denial he replied on Wednesday, or the day after the bill had passed against him. But, alas! for Crumwell's uprightness, nay, and now his veracity; only eight days after, when certain accounts came to be handed over to the Earl of Southampton, as Lord Privy Seal, we have but too sad proof, that his far too solemn assertion, was only making what was bad still worse.

There was a man who had acted under him in money matters, who, from self-interest, or in self-defence, was now become a determined adherent of the accusing party, or, rather, secretly, he had been so all along. This was John Gostwyck, who had been appointed treasurer at war in 1536, and afterwards treasurer to the King's Court of first-fruits and tenths. Under Crumwell's eye, Gostwyck had disbursed many large sums, and his accounts since November last, required the royal sanction on delivering them up to Southampton, the new Lord Privy Seal. Humbly requesting his Majesty's warrant for all he had paid, by Crumwell's orders, since the 7th of November, he now, on the 8th of July, presented the entire amount, and the various items: but there can be no question that he must have been shielded from the wrath of the King; since he actually proclaimed *his own disgrace* in the same sentence with his implication of the attainted prisoner in the Tower. His statement is entitled—"Accounts of the monies John Gostwyck, treasurer, had in hand, when the Earl of Essex, T. Crumwell, was apprehended, and of sums since paid by him, 1540."³⁸ The first article, apparently of set purpose, is expressed in the following extraordinary terms:

"May it please your most excellent Majesty to be advertised, that I, your

³⁷ This is one of the important passages *not* given by Burnet, in his very imperfect copy of the letter.—*Cotton MS., Otto*, c. x. See Ellis' "Original Letters," sec. ser., vol. ii., p. 162. It is curious enough that the well known fire in the Cotton Library should have taken one monosyllable from the manuscript, respecting which, however, there can be no question, from the following words.

³⁸ Cotton MS., Appendix, xxviii., fol. 125.

most humble servant, John Gostwyck, have in my hands, which I treasured from time to time, unknown unto the Earl of Essex, which if I had declared unto him, he would have caused me to disburse by commandment, WITHOUT WARRANT, AS HERETOFORE I HAVE DONE, XM. li.,” i. e. ten thousand pounds! or a sum equal to about £150,000 of the present day.

Rich, the Chancellor to the Court of Augmentations, had been among the first accusers, and now came this treasurer of the other Court; who, on the top of the next page, takes care to glance at the subject once more. “Memdm.—That there remained in the hands of John Gostwyck, the 8th day of July, in ready money, ten thousand pounds;” a most acceptable intimation to Henry the Eighth.³⁹

Thus from those self-same money courts, which the fallen Earl had himself established at an early period of his career, came the arrows which must have pierced him through with sorrow, when near its close. In attempting to account for Crumwell’s execution, this material charge has never been observed by any historian;⁴⁰ but of the injury he must have sustained by it, more especially after such a solemn previous denial, there can be no question.

There was no subject respecting which his Royal Majesty was more jealous and severe, than that of property of any description, supposed to be embezzled or concealed. He had disturbed the last hours of

³⁹ The accounts after all are not distinguished for accuracy. He says, on the 8th of July, that he had paid by Crumwell’s orders, since 7th of November, £15,828, 12s. 0d., for which he now humbly requests his Majesty’s warrant; and, yet, when he comes to particulars, they amount to not more than £15,324, 18s. 5d., which he sums up £15,794, 18s. 9d.! Several of the items in this account are far too curious to pass unnoticed: “To William Gonson, for transporting the Queen’s Grace from Calais to Dover £300”—besides other sums amounting to above £700, connected with Anne’s coming. These, when added to others in Sir John Williams’ Account-roll, raise the expense to above £4000. But, besides, we have here £6300, 2s. 4d. for the great wardrobe already paid, and £2970, 18s. 11d. still to pay—or, in all, £13,274, 3s. 1d. The entire expense, however, was more than this, which was a pretty good sum in those days, for only one wrong step, or a political marriage followed by unmixed misery. In this same account, however, we have items of a very different character. “To Benedict (*Benedetto* the Florence artist,) and others, for workmanship upon the King’s tomb, £142, 11s. 10d. And for 6900 weight of copper delivered for the same tomb, £77, 5s. 3d.” “Item. To know whether I shall pay for the workmanship of your Majesty’s tomb monthly, which will amount to about £20.” All this was in pursuance of the design commenced by *Wolsey*, for which he had paid *Benedetto* 4250 ducats for work done ten years ago! The stately tomb was never finished, but a hundred years after Henry’s death it was taken down and sold by order of Parliament. Thus in the shape of a monument to their memory, *Henry VIII., Wolsey, and Crumwell, lie alike undistinguished*: but that such sums should have been paying now, and included in this last account under Crumwell’s eye, is singular enough.

This unprincipled underling, *Gostwyck*, was born at Willington, in Bedfordshire, and next year was purchasing that lordship from the Duke of Norfolk, the main persecutor on the present occasion. He was the son and heir of Sir John Gostwyck, Master of the Horse, and sometime after this, as member for the county, had the audacity to accuse *Crummer* also, for heresy. This being done openly in Parliament, it soon reached the King’s ear. But allowed as he was to escape now, he was not permitted to do so then. “Go,” said Henry to one of his privy counsellors, “and tell that *varlet* Gostwyck, that if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my Lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself towards him, that he may become his good Lord, I will soon both make him a poor Gostwyck, and otherwise punish him, to the example of others.” The family, an ancient one, was afterwards ruined by electioneering contests, and the property is now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford.—*Lyon’s Brit. Reds.*, p. 156. *Strype’s Crummer, folio*, p. 123.

⁴⁰ It was only first brought to light by Sir Henry Ellis in 1827.

Wolsey by eager inquiries, through Kingstone, as to a sum of inferior amount, which, after all, was none of his own.⁴¹ And the eagle eye with which he searched after the jewels, the money and trinkets, or the *stuff* as they phrased it, belonging to all attainted persons, often exhibited the strongest features of the perfect miser—

Sagacious all to trace the smallest game,
And bold to seize the greatest.

Pity for either man or woman, high or low, at such a time, was entirely absorpt in desire for their property. And well did Crumwell know all this; so well, that in his most earnest letter to his Majesty, he had done the very utmost to make the string vibrate—"If it had been, or were in my power," said he, "to make you so RICH, *as ye might enrich all men*, God help me as I would do it." Long, too long, had he acted, and powerfully, as Purveyor-general to this prodigal Monarch, and often had he fed this appetite for property and money; but the more he had done so, it had only increased in vigour, with various other odious passions.

How long this man, Gostwyck, had taken to accumulate so large an amount, unknown to his superior; and when, or whether he intended to disclose his strange course, he does not state; but the style in which he now expressed himself, left the mind of such a being as Henry, open to unbounded suspicion. Intelligence far less astounding was more than sufficient to have produced a tumult of rage; and from some reference made to Crumwell, by his impetuous master afterwards, as well as the manner in which he acted towards his son, we have considerable evidence that his death occurred at such a moment.⁴² Although, therefore, there had been no other discovery, this alone, in connexion with the clamours of so many of his courtiers, may serve to account for the final determination respecting the Earl of Essex and all his possessions.⁴³ Only four days after Parliament was dissolved, on the morning of Wednesday, the 28th of July, he was beheaded in the Tower, and buried within its walls, in the Chapel of St. Peter ad vincula, where so many victims had preceded him, and to which so many followed. All his property was, of course, forfeited to the crown.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Singer's Cavendish, i., p. 316.

⁴² Henry is said to have wished for his Crumwell again, and even to have lamented his fall after it was too late, but at all events, within five months after his death he created his only son, Gregory, Baron Crumwell, restoring or conferring certain property, and summoning him, as Baron to Parliament. See a letter from his lady, confirmatory. Cotton MS., Vespas. F. xiii., fol. 157.

⁴³ Marilliac, the French ambassador, had said, what Le Grand took for granted, that among Crumwell's correspondence with Germany, there was found evidence of his having betrayed the confidence of his Sovereign to these princes; and upon this second-hand assertion alone, Lingard hangs the irritation of Henry at the moment. But there is no substantial evidence of this, though the Frenchman might hear as much and more, among the clamours to which we have alluded. The bill of attainder, such as it was, carries no proof; but charges as to sums of *money* are there twice mentioned.

⁴⁴ Crumwell's house in London was situate where the Hall of the Draper's Company now

Upon a final survey of the extraordinary course of Thomas Crumwell, it must be evident that he was a man possessed of very superior natural parts, and that they were employed with extraordinary diligence and industry. As to worldly affairs, his judgment is said to have been methodical and solid, his memory strong and retentive, and that no one was more dexterous in finding out the designs of men and courts, nor any man more reserved in keeping a secret. He has been represented as mindful of favours bestowed upon him in earlier life, as considerate of the poor in their suits, and bountiful to those who were in greater need ; but if all this be granted, it only lends additional regret to the positive transactions which have been here recorded.

With regard to his state of mind, or whether he had any fixed sentiments at the moment of death, we are shut up to the necessity of simply saying—to his own just and unerring Judge, he then stood or fell. To draw any rash or positive conclusion respecting the dead, in such a case as the present, from what was uttered in the last moments of existence, is not merely presumptuous ; it may injure the living, and damage the improvement to be drawn by survivors, from the contemplation of the entire character. Historians have differed in opinion, it is true, respecting Crumwell's exit, but they had not sufficiently investigated his previous character, which can be understood only by the leading transactions of his administration, and his own letters. In tracing the one, and perusing the other, though predisposed in his favour on the whole, we have been compelled at an early period of his public career, to rank him as a man but very low : and since he has been so frequently held up as favourable to the cause of truth, we have anxiously watched, and waited for a change to the better, but have waited for this in vain. His progress, even unto death, must ever be painful to every reflecting mind, and his fall, as before observed, when duly considered, is far more affecting than even that of Wolsey. A man's ambition, indeed, is generally in proportion to his capacity, and that of both men was confessedly very great ; but then Crumwell knew much more of the theory of Christianity than

stands, in Throgmorton's Street, near its junction with Broad Street, and was sold by Henry to that Company in 1541. A curious description of its interior, as well as a sketch of its appearance, may be seen in Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, vol. ii., p. 471-72.

his predecessor, and had enjoyed far better opportunities of witnessing its influence. Unhappy man! at the close of his transient career, and because ambitious, at last infatuated, it almost seems as though he had determined to wade through contempt, into posthumous disgrace, and confound the judgment of posterity as to his real character. Hence the different views which have been given of the same individual; yet the course pursued by him admits of explanation, though it be one awfully illustrative of poor human nature.

The King, from selfish motives, is understood to have regretted his death, and soon promoted his son. Norfolk and Gardiner were the willing instruments of his ruin: between the former and Crumwell there had existed a deadly hatred, which will be abundantly evident, as soon as the Duke comes forward to *his* day of terror, and the exposure of his character, when the vindictive cruelty of the Monarch was approaching to its awful termination.

Such, at all events, was the end of Thomas Crumwell, the servant and successor of Thomas Wolsey; but it is with their *official*, far more than their personal characters, that the historian and posterity have to do. They were Henry's *two* great men; for he never had a third. At certain periods, each of them possessed no small influence over him; and though the surrender of his own opinions at any moment, to either the one or the other, was out of the question, still, by their skill in suggestion, he was swayed to a degree, of which, at the moment, he was not fully aware. With no succeeding men did the King ever so act, and at this crisis, the change is not only apparent, but striking. Both Wolsey and Crumwell had enjoyed some resemblance to a premier. They were consulted generally, and were the instruments employed to execute almost all the royal commands; but Henry, from this moment, became more emphatically his own minister.

There is, however, another point of view, seldom if ever before pointed out, in which the Monarch and his two Ministers demand grave consideration; and the more so as it is one in which posterity ever since has been concerned, and is concerned still. These men formed a *trio*, altogether unprecedented in England; nay, whether *before* or *since*, no three men ever occupied the same position. The moral characters of all the three are already before the reader, and cannot be

forgotten as sufficiently melancholy ; but of the importance of their position, as official men, any one is able to judge, as soon as he observes that their influence continues to the present hour. Wolsey and Crumwell were the only two individuals who sustained an office which had been unknown before, and has been unknown since, in this country, or in any other. This, it may be anticipated, was that of *Vicar-general*, and though it died with the last, the question is whether its results died also.

The curious peculiarities of this ominous, and most eventful movement, have been already detailed. Wolsey, in gratification of his own lofty ambition when in France, obtained this *office* from *Rome* ; and, upon returning home, thus afforded to his royal Master, as it were accidentally, the first taste of what was called spiritual power. Nothing could be more congenial to the palate of such a tyrannical and unprincipled person as Henry the Eighth, and though the first Vicar-general soon died, the thirst which he had first provoked, remained. The dominion of our English Monarch ended, precisely where that of conscience commenced ; but as the man sought only the indulgence and gratification of his own evil passions, having once encroached, and once tasted of the forbidden fruit of that sacred domain, he soon determined to take full possession, and prescribe to all his subjects not merely what they were to pay, but what *surrender*, and what *believe* ! The King saw standing before him, nothing more than a commoner and a layman, against whom also he had entertained strong personal prejudice ; yet, boldly resolving, he at once raised Crumwell to be Vicar-General ; and strengthening the appointment by still more authority, gave him also a civil office of equal altitude, to correspond. He made him Vicegerent and Vicar-general, or the shadow of himself, simply to gain his own ambitious and avaricious purpose ; and this once gained, there were to be Vicegerents or Vicars-general in England no more ! All the official men who remained, of whatever description, let them wince as they might, were to be as clay in the hands of the royal potter, and so they proved.

Thus, however licentious the Monarch was, his skill in taking advantage of circumstances, and his being gifted with talents of no inferior order, become equally manifest. These two men had formed a bridge for him to pass over, and down

he sat, in his usurpation of power, superior and unknown to any King in Europe. The first Vicar-general, before his appointment to that office, had helped him to his title of "Defender of the Faith," no matter though it was the *old learning*; the second fixed him in his seat, as "Supreme Head of the Church of England;" and though Henry died, after all, an adherent of the Roman faith, still it is matter of history, that both titles he bequeathed to his successors on the throne. Confirmed by Henry's most *tractable* Parliament, in 1544, the titles thus assumed have not only continued to be worn, but they have extended in their application over a broader surface.⁴⁵

Here then is a link, or rather the first link of a chain, connecting the last three hundred years with the existing age; and it is this which entitles the past transactions to a degree of deliberate reflection common to no other period, before or since. That this was a point of time, pregnant with consequences, is allowed by all, and so the steps taken were initiatory; though to follow this line of connexion between the past and the present, is a task from which we are relieved, by the design of these pages. At the same time, it may only be observed, that this is not necessary in order to evince the long-extended bearing of this remarkable era; for among all the changes since, not one has neutralised the influence and effects of Henry's claims. In their own day, and after their own fashion by the movements already described, neither Henry nor Cromwell, with Cranmer to assist, accomplished their end. The King and his Vicar-general, with the primate in union, first proposed for the kingdom "peace and contentation," and soon after "unity of opinion;" but they originated, nay fomented the reverse, and the only solid acquisition of the day was money—money for the royal exchequer. As for the new titles, and the claims involved, there were two opinions

⁴⁵ About July 1541, we have an amusing instance of Henry's jealousy as to one of those titles, in his being so offended with James V. styling himself "Defender of the Christian Faith." This is expressed by Wriotsley, in the following terms: "Upon the arrival of Mr. Sadler, there were conveyed hither from Scotland, sundry little books imprinted; and amongst others, one entitled '*The trumpet of Honour*,' wherein, in the very titling, in the first front of the book, the King your Master taketh upon him, a *piece* of the title of the King's Majesty; the King your Master being therein called '*Defensour of the Christian Faith*,' whereby his Majesty should have great cause to think more than unkindness, if he would willingly take *his* title upon him. And the conjecture is the more pricking, because he added thereto the *Christian* faith, as though there should be any other than the Christian faith; which seemeth to have another meaning in it, than one good Prince can think of another, much less a friend of his friend, or a nephew of his uncle, if he would show himself to esteem his friendship."—Gov. State Papers, vol. v., p. 191.

then, and, without intermission, there have been two opinions since. No nation upon earth has, on the whole, been more loyal to their Kings, or more submissive to the civil Magistrate, as a branch of that duty which Christianity enforces; and yet, at the distance of three centuries, far removed from the iron and brutal reign which we have been contemplating, the same subject which so divided the people of England then, still divides the nation; and though possessed of ten-fold more intelligence, divides it far more thoroughly, than it ever did, or ever could, in the days of Henry the Eighth.

Strange! after the long and varied course of her eventful history; after the sun has risen and set upon this favoured land more than a million of times, that for every line, bearing on this subject, which was printed then, at the present moment there should be a thousand. One day, to our posterity, this must of necessity appear passing strange.

But to return. The unwarrantable power in which Henry had now resolved, not only to reign, but direct and govern, appeared at this moment in all its enormity; for only two days after he had despatched the Earl of Essex, an event occurred, full of perplexity to all parties in his kingdom. The number of persons who had been impeached or attainted during this Parliament, and according to the fashion which Crumwell, no doubt with the royal sanction, had so unconstitutionally and cruelly introduced, amounted to not fewer than a round dozen: and six of these were ordered for execution forty-eight hours after the scene in the Tower. As if awfully to verify the expressions which Henry had ordered Crumwell to utter, at the opening of the Session—that “he leaned neither to the right or left, neither to the one party nor to the other”—three of *each* were to be put to death; that is, three, for what they called *heresy*, and three for denying the King's *supremacy*! The three former were no other than *Dr. Barnes, and eeen Gurret and Jerome*. The names of the latter were Abel, Featherstone, and Powell. One of each class being placed upon the same hurdle, by way of equally vilifying both, thus they were dragged from the Tower to East Smithfield. No person present, not even the Sheriff, could answer BARNES, wherefore he and his companions were put to death; but they all suffered with great constancy at the stake, while the others were hung at the same time, on the same spot! A foreigner, it has been said, who had mingled with the crowd, exclaimed, “What a country is this! on the one side they are hanging the Pope's friends, on the other they are burning his enemies.” Both parties seeing their adherents so dragged to destruction, were alike shocked and disgusted.

According to the general voice and opinion, the man who was at the root of this barbarity was Gardiner, originating in his pique against Barnes. The imputation he tried to evade, and in print ; yet in vain, for it attached to him as long as he lived. But the cruel procedure to *both* parties had become successful, through the existing division among Henry's courtiers. Both divisions equally disowned the right of private judgment, they vied with each other in servility, and to a man they had already sanctioned the assumption of mental supremacy by a Monarch, who so far from having any command over himself, was governed solely by his own unrestrained passions. Such, therefore, was the first act of Henry, after he became, more signally his *own* minister ; and if only for the first fortnight we observe his course, it will be found sufficiently characteristic.

On Saturday the 24th of July, the King had sanctioned the bill for his *third* divorce, and then dissolved Parliament. On Wednesday the 28th, he had put Crumwell to death, and two days after, BARNES, JEROME, and GARRET, with three others. Only ten days after this, or on Sunday the 8th of August, his Majesty was married once more, by Cranmer, that is a second time within the same year, and to his fifth Queen, Catharine Howard, daughter of Edmond Howard, and niece to the Duke of Norfolk ; the marriage and presentation at Court being on the same day. The uncle and niece are understood to have had no small share in these bloody catastrophes ; but Henry had obtained his wishes, promising himself, in the sequel, no small enjoyment. Nothing, indeed, it has been said, could exceed his matrimonial contentment ; but a little time will shew how long it continued. In the meanwhile, the gentlemen of " the old learning " *seemed* to have recovered all the influence and favour they had lost, under the sway of Crumwell. In the summer Lord Lisle had been recalled from Calais, and his place supplied by Lord William Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk ; and in order to carry on his amicable connexion with the Emperor, in the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was sent as ambassador. He had not, however, come to any audience by the end of the year, and we have yet to see what transpired during his absence of eleven months. " The reigning Queen," says Lingard, " first attracted the royal notice at a dinner given by the Bishop of WINCHESTER."

Such was the year 1540, so far as secular affairs, and especially those of the Court, were concerned. They enable us to view, with greater advantage and effect, their striking contrast, in a separate, and widely different department.

For the five first months of this year, the most powerful subject in the kingdom had been rising to the top of his am-

bition. It was Crumwell, with all his honours thick upon him, and crowned with an Earldom—an Earldom of a hundred days, or by far the most miserable period of his existence.⁴⁶ He is now dead, and buried in that Tower, to which he had often sent others. But as he had finally shown himself ardent in favour of the Scriptures being printed, we are now furnished with one of the strongest proofs as to whether the progress of this cause depended on the life of any such man, or was at all affected by the death of the Vicegerent and last Vicar-general.

The cause of Divine Truth, properly so called, it has been our imperative duty to preserve from being injured or mistaken, by identifying it with any doubtful or disputable human character, however conspicuous on the page of English history. Let every man occupy the place belonging to him, but that cause, correctly speaking, can be associated only with the consistent and sincere. In no other in this country has the Almighty so reigned, and so conspicuously, as an overruler. Even historically, therefore, to drag in any man, as though it depended at all upon him, simply because he, at some moment, happened to be in office or in power as a political agent, is only betraying the cause to the common enemy of Divine Revelation. This is an error which has been committed too long, and by too many historians.

In reference to Crumwell, the noble warfare which has been already detailed, had not only commenced long before he was even heard of, but it had proceeded in spite of him, after he was known and in power. Indeed, after the year 1537, he, or any such man, be he who he may, cannot appear in any higher character, than that of “one who had tarried at home, and now divided the spoil.” Crumwell’s warmth in sanctioning, at the decline of his career, or even pressing forward the printing of the Scriptures, has been sufficiently accounted for, as resulting from political expediency. Acting, as he has been proved to have done in other respects, it could proceed from no higher motive; and when John Foxe, in his *first* edition, compares his zeal to that of *Jehu*, in the days of old, he is far more accurate, than in many expressions which he substituted afterwards, in his long and confused eulogy or de-

⁴⁶ From the 18th of April to the 28th of July

fence. He lived too near the time indeed, to know as much as we do ; but it would have been wiser had he, and others after him, said little more than he did at first. This zeal, too, does not appear to have involved Crumwell in any personal expense, except in the case of Coverdale's Bible, which, as we have seen, did not succeed. If there was any in the affair at Paris, which is not likely, as he was acting under Henry's application to the French King, it could be but trifling ; since the books were afterwards sold, the parson paying one-half, and the people the other.

The truth is, that the events of the day, if fairly reported, disentangle this glorious cause, and place it altogether out of the way of being confounded, either with the state of England in other respects, or the men who governed the country. On the part of man, assuredly, it was neither by might or power that Divine Revelation, in the language of the people, found its way into our native land, or afterwards spread ; for his might and power were leagued against it. Of this, from year to year, we have already had proof all-sufficient. Yet so egregiously inaccurate have been the representations of subsequent historians, that mere official characters have been brought forward, so as to overshadow those of humbler name. The *latter* sustained the brunt of the battle ; they bore all the burden and heat of the day ; they sustained the entire expense ; they ran all the risk, and they must no longer stand concealed behind any man. The *former*, and not until they could no longer resist the tide, tardily lent official sanction at one time, and then capriciously, or rather wickedly, withdrew it at another, although that sanction, when offered, literally cost them nothing, or nothing worthy of any notice.

But not only have historians erred egregiously, and led their readers astray : men who ought to have searched more deeply, and been fully informed, have, very boldly, founded arguments, in our highest courts of law, upon assertions which were grossly incorrect in point of fact ; and this, too, when pleading on behalf of the Crown. Let one instance suffice for the present, as the subject must afterwards be more fully explained. Two hundred years certainly had afforded time sufficient to have known and established the truth ; yet more than two hundred years after this period, in 1758, when

the Solicitor-General of England was pleading before Lord Mansfield and other judges, and talking wildly of the King having by *prerogative* several copy-rights, he actually stated in open Court, as his third ground for so pleading, that “*the translation of the Great English Bible under Grafton, was performed at the KING’S expense!*” Although this was too bad, there was no person present who was able *historically* to confront him.⁴⁷

Henry’s character, no doubt, involved the most singular contradictions. He was avaricious and prodigal, at different moments, in nearly equal extremes. He has been said to have *diced* away the bells of suppressed houses, and to have lost thousands of the spoil at play, but he certainly never spent his money in printing *Bibles*. From all we have seen already, of course it was impossible that the King could possess any heart-felt interest in the Word of God. As far as he was concerned, upon every hand sin abounded, and thus the high favour of God to this country became the more conspicuous; but so distant was Mr. Solicitor-General Yorke from the truth, that no evidence whatever has yet been adduced of Henry the Eighth having ever been at any expense whatever, in printing one solitary copy of the Sacred Volume. Hitherto, we may aver, we have made this sufficiently plain; and as for the future, we shall see presently *who* was at the expense, when even the editions with Cranmer’s or Tunstal’s name on the title-page, came to be issued. But with regard to poor Grafton, so unceremoniously robbed of all due credit and honour, after having, at the very beginning, personally embarked so large a sum in the undertaking, it may here be observed, that he had received as yet no more than a fair remuneration for his outlay of capital; and that, ere long, he found himself safely lodged in the Fleet prison; from whence the zealous Bishops, ever true to their character, and under this self-same Henry VIII., would by no means relieve him till he had given his bond for £100 (equal to £1500 now.) that *he* would print *no more Bibles*, nor *sell* any more, until a certain period—and when was that? Not until the King and the clergy should *agree* upon a translation, which, as we have seen, and shall see, they never did.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Blackstone, i., pp. 105, 113.

⁴⁸ Pryn’s MS., Inner Temple. Foxe, Lewis, and others, by mistake, have raised the fine to £300. It has been suggested that Whitchurch may also have been punished. He was, but

Here, however, we have at least one proof that as far as Grafton and Whitchurch had been concerned in printing, these were undertakings in which *no* part of the royal money, or that of the Exchequer, had ever been involved. Had this been the case, had one farthing of Henry's property been embarked, it would have been at the peril of these Bishops to have so proceeded, and they never would.

We turn, therefore, to the real state of things, and take up the second series of Bibles, or the result of Tyndale's exertions, as still more visible in his native land, and in the Scriptures which were printed and published before the face of the notorious Bonner. It should not be forgotten that we now, in fact, see the Bible of 1537, as already described, with nothing more than certain verbal alterations here and there; some of which were not improvements, and others, though now attempted, in the end did *not* prevail; while, at the same time, the first introduced Bible, and verbally, as first imported, is to be reprinted, again and again.

But, first, and with regard to those large Bibles of different dates, to which the name of Cranmer was affixed in the title-page, or *four* in number, and other *two* editions, with the names of Tunstal and Heath, and not Cranmer's, or six distinct editions in all; such has been the confusion, that they have hitherto baffled the research of all our bibliographers. Preceding authors having failed, Dibdin happens to be the last who attempted an explanation, and he fairly gives up the subject in despair. "After all," says he in conclusion, "there seems to be some puzzle, or *unaccountable* variety, in the editions of the Bible in 1540 and 1541. The confusion itself, indeed, may be accounted for. All those largest black-letter Bibles are most interesting relics, for such was the ordeal through which they passed, first in Henry's reign, and then under his daughter Mary; such the havoc to which they were exposed from the enemy, or, in other words, such the enmity evinced by official men, that the only wonder is, that *any* of them remain. Yet, upon the whole, the number left, or surviving, is by no means the least remarkable feature in their history. The consequence, however, has been,

by no means to the same extent. Of the two men, Grafton seems to have been the most zealous; and thus Bonner, after so beguiling him at Paris, ever afterwards hated him. Had it not been for Audley, the Lord Chancellor, Grafton might have fared much worse.

that, before an experienced eye, many of them are found to be copies *made up*."⁴⁹ This remark applies generally to all collections, whether in our universities, our public libraries, or in the hands of private gentlemen. Such, therefore, is the value of a *perfect* copy throughout, of these Bibles, or so highly have they been estimated by posterity, above those who first read them, that they have been sold for above forty, if not fifty pounds sterling. The original price was *ten shillings* in sheets, or twelve, when bound with *bullions*, clasps, or ornaments; that is, about seven pounds ten shillings, or nine pounds, of the present day.

In this state of things, the first step which required to be taken, was to obtain *perfect* copies of all these six large black-letter Bibles, with their genuine titles and last leaves; as all the editions to which we now refer, happen to be very distinctly dated, first on the title-page, and then more fully in the colophon. Even after this, at first sight, it might be presumed, and it has been, when the books were viewed separately, that there were here probably not more than two or three editions, with different titles, and another date in conclusion. Such a thing, however dishonest, though it has often been done with certain books since, seems to have been then unknown, for upon farther examination, all the editions are distinct. On observing, however, that the catchword at the bottom of the page, and at the top of the next, are in so many instances the *same*, the next supposition may be, that as there might not be *types* in sufficient quantity, after the first impression was thrown off, the forms, in succession, may have been transferred to another press; and thus, like the ploughman overtaking the reaper, copies might follow each other at the distance of only three or four months. But even this supposition will not solve the phenomena; for upon examining the body of the page, so numerous, or rather innumerable, are the differences in point of spelling, contractions, and even pointing, that no alternative is left but that of comparing the six volumes page by page. The reason for our being thus par-

⁴⁹ That is, made up of two or more editions. There have also been instances of making up copies, by *fac-simile*, whether by the usual process, now in such perfection, or even with the pen, so beautifully as to deceive every one, save an experienced judge. Except this be explained on the book itself, or when it comes to be *sold*, the deception cannot be too severely condemned.

ticular will appear presently ; but who, it may be asked, will ever be at the pains to do all this ? He must possess the perfect copies, or have the genuine leaves of all the six Bibles before him, and these were not to be found in *any* public collection in the kingdom ; nor was this sufficient, for the very pages of each and all must be patiently examined to mark their curious and minute distinctions. But the fact is that, at last, all this has been accomplished, through the indefatigable perseverance of one gentleman, though we must not say at what expense. Yet he himself, thus carefully collating them, the result is, that of these large Bibles, specially intended for public worship or public reading, there were six distinct editions, three dated in 1540 and three in 1541 ; two of which were issued this year, and four in the next. In all such labour, however, there is profit, though it may not appear at first ; for even at this stage, there was still some degree of mystery in every one of these Bibles being dated from *London*.

One day, in the metropolis, a gentleman, no inferior judge, remarked to the present writer—"I cannot believe that these Bibles were actually printed *in London*." "Where then," it was asked, "do you suppose?" He replied, "I think most probably in *Paris*." But why so? "Because of the *type* ; for at that time the London types, as used in all other books, were inferior to that fine bold letter." Certainly they were, it may now be added, and these, there can be little or no doubt, were Parisian types. But as for their being *so* employed in *that* city, after the violent interruption in the end of 1538 ; when once the wrath of the Sorbonne against Robert Estienne, that is Stephens the printer, is observed, and still more, the state of feeling between the French and English Kings, throughout 1540 and 1541 ; such employment of these types, and to such extent *in Paris*, must appear to have been altogether impossible. Thus then, in the end, are we brought back to admire the *energy* of poor CRUMWELL's character, in a step, hitherto but very slightly noticed in history. In bringing over the very presses, the Parisian types and even French workmen, he had done his business thoroughly, after his own manner. Types to a greater extent certainly, if not workmen more numerous had arrived, than has ever been before imagined. He had seen that the Bible being speedily multiplied, and generally read, was his best, his only main-stay, against the

insidious and powerful opposition of "the old learning" party. So that but for what *he* had done, we are now led to infer, that *Cranmer* would never have had it in his power, to have put forth at least *such* and so many Bibles as these. It was something for *Crumwell* to have drawn such spoil, if not from the "Fonderie du Roy," yet from its immediate vicinity, for it certainly appears now to be far more than probable, that an English folio Bible printing in Paris, once interrupted, had ended in *six* others being printed in London!⁵⁰ The history of the books themselves, will afford some farther curious information, and the more so when taken in the order of their dates.

The first of these Bibles which was finished in April with *Cranmer's* name, we have referred to under 1539, as preparing. We have seen that it had been subjected by *Henry* to the inspection of certain Bishops, though merely as individuals, but belonging to that body, which had all along shown such hostility to any translation whatever. The determined aspect and imperative tones of the Monarch had very soon made these enemies yield their feigned obedience; and his heart, however capricious, being in the hand of God, here is the book entire, and with *Cranmer's* preface attached, enforcing "high and low, male and female, rich and poor, master and servant," to read it, at *home* in their own houses, and ponder over it!⁵¹ This, the first Bible, is entitled—

"*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy Scripture, both of the Olde, and New testamēt, with a prologe therinto made by the reverende father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Cantorbury, ¶ This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by Edward whytchrehe. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum MDCXL.*" The colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt: and of the whole Bible fyuished in Apryll, Anno mcccxcxi. A dño factū est istud."

Of this first edition printed on English ground, there is a splendid copy on *Vellum*, with the cuts and blooming letters, curiously illuminated, in the British Museum. It has, for

⁵⁰ The zeal of Francis I. for fine printing is well known, and the types of the Royal printing-office, which he founded, have been celebrated ever since, though they were certainly never then turned to such good account, as in the case before us. The beautiful Bible of Robert Stephens in 1540 was not spared by the virulent Doctors of the Sorbonne, but drew upon himself their violent indignation. The Royal printing-office to this hour stands very high. Under *Napoleon*, when the *Pontiff*, his obedient servant, was in Paris, he visited this fine establishment; when the Directors presented him with the Lord's prayer, printed in one hundred and fifty different languages, and all of them struck off during his visit.

⁵¹ In all the following titles, certain words, and parts of words, are printed in italic letter. This is to mark the *rubric*, or red letters in the genuine title-pages.

some reason, recently been rebound, in three volumes; but splendidly in morocco. This fine book, once actually possessed by Henry VIII., is valuable, as one key to the party concerned in the *expense* of the impression; for so far from this being the King himself, this copy was given to him as a *present*. The first leaf bears the following inscription in legible characters—" *This book is presented unto your most excellent Highness, by your loving faithful and obedient subject and dayly oratour, Anthony Marler of London, haberdasher.*"⁵² "Who this haberdasher was," said Baker, "I wish to know. He must have been a considerable man that could make such a present to a prince, and seems to have been a sharer in the charge of the impression."⁵³ Respecting this London gentleman, nothing more has been ascertained except that he was a member of this Livery Company, whose records were almost wholly destroyed in the great fire of 1666: but that he was more than a *sharer* in the expense of this, and other impressions, will appear presently, and before the Privy Council.

No sooner were copies of this large volume ready, than the King's brief for setting up the Bible of the greater volume was issued, ordering now that the decree should not only be "solemnly published and read," but "set up upon every church door—that it may more largely appear unto our subjects. Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign," *i. e.* Friday 7th of May 1540.⁵⁴

It is curious enough, however, that there was another Bible in folio, also dated in *April* of this year. It has been frequently mis-stated as being Cranmer's, as if it were the same as the last. There are various distinctions. It is not only without Cranmer's prologue, and differs from his translation in the psalms and elsewhere, but the New Testament is said to be after the last recognition of Erasmus: that is, it is the same version as that which accompanied the Latin and English Testament printed by Redman in 1538. The book, therefore, is to be classed with Matthew's or Tyndale's trans-

⁵² Lewis has led into mistake, by affixing this inscription to the next Bible about to be mentioned. He also puts *Marler* for *Marler*. ⁵³ Baker's MS., in his letter to T. Hoarne.

⁵⁴ Foxe, *first* edition, p. 620. This, it may be observed, was only two days before the King took offence at Crumwell. Lewis, and others, confound this brief of 7th May 1540, with the proclamation of the 6th May 1541.

lation. It is on a smaller type and paper than the last, and seems to have been intended for the use of families,—Entitled,

“*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye, the content of all the holye scripture, both of the old and Newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrew and Greke textes. Printed at London by Thomas Petyt and Robert Redman for Thomas Berthelet, printer unto the Kynge's Grace, 1540.*” The Colophon is—“The end of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, finished in Apryll, Anno mccccxl.”

This book had been submitted neither to the *King*, nor any *Bishop*, even though it was executed for his Majesty's printer. It was warranted by Crumwell, according to the privilege given to him on the 14th of November last. By the month of July, however, another of the great Bibles was ready.

¶ “*The Bible in Englyshe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy Scripture, both of the olde and newe Testamēt with a prologe therinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Cantorbury.* ¶ *This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches.* ¶ Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, MDXL.” The colophon is—“The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynished in July, Anno mccccxl.”

Trembling for his life, and imploring mercy from his inhuman master for a month past, this Bible is remarkable for its being finished at the very time of Crumwell's execution, and the more so from its having *still* on the engraved frontispiece, his shield or coat of arms! This had first appeared last year, or 1539, and now a third time in this book; but Crumwell is dead, nay, was put to death on the 28th of this very month, and any *other* undertaking must have suffered, in which he, or any other disgraced minister, had taken such a prominent interest. It has been asserted, indeed, that after his fall, the Bible was complained of, as being heretical and erroneous; nay, that means were taken to persuade the King that the *free* use of the Scriptures, which Cranmer had so strongly urged in his preface, was injurious to the peace of the country. But a crisis had come, for here, by the month of November, a *third* folio Bible is ready for publication. Two editions with Cranmer's name on the title, and marked as appointed for public worship, were already out, and what was now to be done? Crumwell is gone, and Cranmer had not power sufficient to command the Bishops; but there is one alive who in a moment can command them all, or any one whom he is pleased to select. This book, then, must not be lost, nor even sup-

pressed, though the Vicar-general be no more. Nay, an expedient must be adopted not only to silence all calumny, but *push the sale* of the work, to which, it will appear in due time, neither the King nor the Bishops had contributed any pecuniary aid. Here, then, was *Tunstal* standing by, who of all the rest had been so conspicuous as an opponent since 1526, and it was fit that the unbending heterodoxy of this original enemy should now be put to the test; and here was Heath, who had recently gone over to *Tunstal's* party. Henry, therefore, did what seemed to him the best thing that could have been thought of in these circumstances. He *commanded* these two men to sit down, and say what they thought of the Bible now ready. The book was printed by November: meanwhile Gardiner is sent out of the way to the Emperor's court, and *Tunstal* and Heath must apply to their task. As Gardiner and others had delayed *Cranmer's* first edition, and then declared in the end that there were "no heresies in it," why examine the translation again? We may reply, because of *Crumwell's* execution, and because it was much better, by way of confounding the enemy, to make these opponents speak out. They took time, till the year to which the book belongs was ended, or the 25th of March, and then out it came with a title still more pompous, declaring the fact as now stated.

"*The Byble in Englishe of the largest and greatest volume, auctoryed and apoynted by the commandemente of our moost redoubted Prynce and soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henry the VIII., supreme heade of this his churche and realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every churche in this his sayd realme, accordinge to the tenour of his former Injunctions giuen in that behalfe. ¶ Ocersene and perused at the commandmēt of the Kynge's Hyglmes, by the ryghte reuerende fathers in God Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas Bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Edward Whitechurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1541.*" The Colophon—"The end of the New Testament and of the whole Byble Fynished in November 1540," though not published till 1541.⁵⁵

This was in truth another triumph over the enemy, one of

⁵⁵ There is an instance of this edition in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The title-page and colophon are as above, and it might be supposed, at first sight, that all was right; but upon careful inspection it is found to be made up of *two* editions, or that of this year and the next in 1541; and, what renders the book more remarkable, it is a *yellow* paper copy, having only the last leaf of *Cranmer's* preface, and therefore none of those urgent arguments why *all* should read. We have never seen or heard of a similar book; so that it may be received as a proof that the *title* was conveyed to the paper after the sheets were printed off, and not before.

most grievous annoyance to Master Gardiner; and this he will not fail to discover on the first occasion in which he can find his brethren assembled, after his return from abroad. Some poor petty spite was indeed already discoverable. The reader will recollect of the homage falsely imputed to Henry, by an engraved frontispiece to the three last Bibles; in which Crumwell and Cranmer are represented at full length, above, as receiving the Bible from the King, and below, as giving it to the people. At the feet of each figure, it will be remembered, was his shield or coat of arms. The frontispiece, esteemed a treasure of its kind, must not be thrown away. But the *arms* of Crumwell were now erased! Still there stands the figure intended for him, and so it continued to do, throughout seven editions! That is, three of them with his shield and four without. But if this was the first with the shield erased, it was the first also with Tunstal's name, and the figure of Crumwell, now so well known, standing by. And *is Saul also among the Prophets?* might not the people have exclaimed, and perhaps did; though we have yet to hear again of Tunstal and Heath's feigned obedience. There had been no time left for them to *alter* the translation. The book was laid before them, no doubt, as it had come from the press. A title was wanting to suit the moment, and Henry *now*, his own Vicar-general, commanded the present one. It will make way for two other editions from Cranmer.

In addition to these four Bibles, it is said that there was a fifth, and in five volumes as small as *sexto-decimo*, printed by Redman;⁵⁶ but, at all events, there was a New Testament in *quarto*, with Erasmus and Tyndale in parallel columns. Thus amidst all the turmoil, and in spite of foes, the cause went forward, and still from conquering to conquer.

⁵⁶ Dibdin's *Typog. Antiq.*, in. p. 235.

SECTION IV.

EUROPEAN POWERS VERGING TO HOSTILITY—SCOTLAND—HENRY AT YORK, IN VAIN—QUEEN ALREADY IN DISGRACE—NORFOLK FAMILY IMPLICATED—THE THIRD LARGE BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME, BY COMMAND—THE FOURTH, IN MAY, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—EXPENSE OF THESE LARGE UNDERTAKINGS—THE MEMORABLE PROPRIETOR, ANTHONY MARLER—BONNER'S FEIGNED ZEAL—EARNEST READING AND LISTENING—THE FIFTH GREAT BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME—THE SIXTH, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—GARDINER RETURNED, TO WITNESS THE PROGRESS NOW MADE DURING HIS ABSENCE.

AFTER the fall of Crumwell, after the royal marriage of last year, and some degree of amicable intercourse commenced between the Emperor and Henry; the Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal party may be considered as at the height of their power; so that whatever shall take place with regard to the printing or publication of the Sacred Volume, becomes the more remarkable, and especially when viewed in connexion with civil affairs.

Although the spirit of the English nation was now so crushed, or sunk, under the despotic sway of her King, in the month of April an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but it was soon suppressed, and the leader, Sir John Neville, with several other gentlemen, put to death. This rising having excited fresh fear respecting the influence or intrigues of Cardinal Pole, "the Lady of Sarum," or Countess of Salisbury, his aged mother, the last of the Plantagenets, on the 27th of May was beheaded in the Tower. Though in her seventieth year, owing to her bold resistance of the sentence, and the bungling barbarity of the executioner, every spectator must have been horrified.

At this period, all the powers of Europe, but ill at ease, were once more verging towards a state of open war. No man, however, could have divined, how all the parties would ultimately arrange themselves into two hostile bands; and we shall have to wait till the spring of 1543 before they have assumed their respective and memorable positions. We refer not to England and Scotland only, or to France and Spain, but also to Germany, Italy, and even the Grand Turk.

In the meanwhile, from the steps that Henry had taken, Scotland, for some years, had proved a very awkward neighbour. His Majesty had often felt no small solicitude that his nephew, James V., should follow his example, for so long as the Scottish bishops reigned pre-

dominant, and their abbeys and monasteries remained entire, here was a standing national testimony against all that he had done. Besides, England and France were now far from cordiality, and though the French faction in Scotland had been weakened ever since the battle of Pavia; at the present moment, if James were in league with Francis, he might operate not only in the way of diversion, but aggression. With the ostensible purpose, therefore, of receiving the submission of his subjects, and quieting the northern counties, but chiefly in order to obtain a personal interview with James, the King of England proposed to meet him at *York*; and the Scottish monarch having at least appeared not unwilling, Henry set forward in his progress.

During the King's absence from London upon this journey, it may first be observed, that the ill-adjusted state of the European powers became very evident. Although Henry and the Emperor were professedly at peace, considerable discontent was expressed by the English Council respecting our King's intercourse with the Low Countries. The Princess Regent there was harassing the English Merchant-Adventurers, and even impeding supplies of *copper* intended for his Majesty's personal use.¹ Gardiner, too, though he had left England about the middle of November, at the end of the year had not come to a personal audience with the Emperor.²

As for Charles and Francis they were on the eve of a rupture. After the former had been permitted to pass through France, and so deceived her King, he at last came forward with the following proposal:—

“Of two daughters which I have, I am willing to bestow the elder in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, and with her for dowry the State of Flanders, with the style and title of King; so shall Francis have two sons, both kings and neighbours. As for *Milan*, let them not think that I will ever part with it, since it were nothing else than to disjoint all my estates. And let it not grieve the King, for I had it by good and lawful succession, and possess it as belonging to the Empire. Take Milan from me, and you take away my passage between Flanders and Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Germany. This is that I had to say, and if it please you not, there is no occasion to speak more of the business.”

Francis at once in a passion and affronted, returned this answer:—“Since he might not have his inheritance, he would have nothing else; neither would he care to speak any more of peace.”³ We shall find him before long trying to negotiate with England.

Meanwhile, Henry being on his journey to York, by the month of August, he sends to Audley, the Lord Chancellor, but with special charge of secrecy, for an ample safe-conduct to be sent for James and

¹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 665-674. See before also, p. 116., note 30.

² Acts of Privy Council, vii. p. 100. He was with the Emperor at the Diet of Ratisbon in March this year. *Ibid.* p. 152.

³ Herbert.

his train ; though he was still not quite certain of success.⁴ In September he was in the city of York, where he remained from the 17th to the 26th of the month, but it was all in vain.⁵ Cardinal BEATON, then the prime mover in Scotland, prevailed at last, and upon some frivolous or rather false pretext, James could not leave his kingdom.

Vexed with the disappointment, if not enraged with his nephew, and determined never to forgive or forget Beaton, Henry could only return ; and it may easily be supposed, but ill prepared indeed to meet with any additional mortification. Still the King had no great occasion to regret his journey. On his way north he had received not only the submission of his subjects, but from at least ten different quarters in subsidy, above £2200,⁶ a sum equal to above thirty thousand pounds ; and the Queen having accompanied him in his progress, helped to soothe him under his felt affront. Gardiner, too, having arrived from the Emperor, had reached his Majesty about 48 miles from London, at Colliweston, (Weston Colville,) by the 16th of October.⁷ He had come home in good time to sympathize with his party, whatever should happen.

In company the King and Queen had arrived at Hampton Court on Monday the 24th, where Cranmer and Audley, or the London division of his Council, first met his Majesty. In the course of the week Henry visited Cheyuies and Windsor, but had returned to Hampton Court by Sunday the 30th, when the Council again assembled, and Cranmer, Audley, Gardiner, and others, were in attendance. The Duke of Norfolk was then in London, but the next day he addressed a letter to his Majesty, which, from its spirit and contents, carried unequivocal proof that *he* had no expectation of any impending storm.

What is curious enough, it relates solely to a proposed marriage. The King of France, now broken with the Emperor, was practising on Henry once more. The French ambassador had informed his Grace of Norfolk that “ there was never thing that his Master more desired, than a marriage between the Duke of Orleans and Princess Mary of England !” Only he thought that “ the communing of the *marriage* and of the *pension* (so far behind and long due by him) should go together.” Norfolk replies in a very prompt and summary manner ; and, on account of what immediately happened, it deserves to be noticed, he writes in a cheerful style, ending “ scribbled at Exeter-place this Hallow even, with the hand of &c. Norfolk.”⁸

In further proof that in the mind of the King also, all things yet ran smooth and quiet, in reference to himself personally ; next day, the first of November, in public he returned his “ most hearty thanks for the good life he led, and trusted to live, with his *wife*,” commanding old Longland of Lincoln, “ to give like thanks with him.”⁹ Whether he

⁴ Gov. St. Papers, i., p. 686.

⁵ Herbert.

⁶ Halle.

⁷ Acts of Privy Council.

⁸ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 688.

⁹ Letter of Council, in Herbert.

and Gardiner, also present, as well as Norfolk still in town, were all *alike* in the dark, does not positively appear; but as to his Majesty, so far from uneasiness, he had never in the course of his reign, so emphatically announced that he was in the enjoyment of personal and domestic happiness. It was next day that he was awaked from his dream of fifteen months' duration. After being at mass, Cranmer delivered into his hands a paper containing information received during his absence, or shortly before his return from York, and the high delight of his Majesty was at an end! To be impartial, the subject was a very painful one, though it was to a man who had so often occasioned anguish to many others. Henry, contrary to his usual, was slow to believe what he now read, but was ultimately overwhelmed. The Queen, it here came out, had been of abandoned character before her marriage, and even since, it was now affirmed, had not improved. An inquiry into the truth or falsehood of the charges was immediately ordered, and the result was, that the King, unable to utter one syllable in reply, burst into tears, which, said his Council, "was strange in his courage." To Norfolk, the uncle of the Queen, to Gardiner, who had so fostered the marriage, to the Earl of Sussex, and Lord Audley, as well as to Cranmer, had been assigned the task of examining the Queen. On the 10th of November, she first denied, but in the evening, to Cranmer, acknowledged the truth of the charges, and signed a written confession.¹⁰ This monarch, however, must ever and anon disclose his entire character to posterity, and it becomes more difficult to hold the pen. In order to obtain if possible a more complete disclosure of guilt, but under an express promise of extending "his most gracious mercy" to the Queen, although her life had been forfeited to the law, the King employed Cranmer to visit her. He conveyed the message, and visited her twice. The object had been to prove a pre-contract of marriage with one Derham, and Cranmer went so far as to declare that he thought the confessions made might be so regarded; but the Queen did not, and denied to the last any guilt, since she had been Queen.

Not less than six weeks had thus passed away, when, on the 15th of December, to the still deeper mortification of Norfolk, the old Duchess Dowager (widow of the commander at Flodden Field,) Lord William

¹⁰ Idem. Dr. Lingard after stating that the events which led to the Queen's elevation had made the reformers her enemies, had said—"while she accompanied the King in his progress to York, a *plot was woven by their industry*, which brought the young Queen to the scaffold!" In his last edition, constrained to correct the press, he now says—"a *discovery* which they made during her absence with the King in his progress as far as York, enabled them to recover their former ascendancy, and deprived the young Queen of her influence and her life." And then, in a note; "I am aware that there is *no direct evidence of any plot*; but if it be considered with whom the following enquiry originated, and with *what art* it was conducted, it is difficult to resist the *suspicion of a political intrigue!*" It is, however it seems, more difficult to confess a mistake, or acknowledge calumny. Certainly no party could be more mortified at the moment, and the historian of the party may be expected to feel this, even now; but is this candour, or impartiality?

Howard, the Queen's uncle, lately returned from Calais, with his Lady, and various others, were indicted for concealment of the treason. The Duke of Norfolk, who had retired from the scene, eighty miles distant, to Kenninghall, was now at his wits' end, and on the 15th of December writes in the greatest extremity, "prostrate at the royal feet."¹¹

The grief of the Royal tyrant being, however, by this time perfectly assuaged, the thirst for such money, jewels, or other *stuff* as belonged to the attainted parties, became the leading feature of his character. Six days only had passed away when there were 5000 merks in money, and a thousand pounds' worth of plate under the care of Wriothlesly, the King's Secretary. "Methinks," said he on the 21st of the month, "I would sleep the better if it were *delivered*."¹² And he was soon relieved. On the same day, probably before he slept again, he had the reply from Sadler—"As touching the money and plate, his Majesty being in *doubt*, whether it be brought by you Mr. Wriothlesly, to his Highness' palace at Westminster, or to *your own* house there, hath resolved, finally, that ye shall deliver the same into the hands of James, Mr. Denny's servant. The money to be in bags, *sealed up with your seal*, and the plate to be put in chests, *also sealed by you*—to remain there in his Highness' palace, till his Majesty's farther pleasure be known."¹³ There were to be no more royal tears shed after this.

Henry, however, always in character, must now call another Parliament, and do every thing, as upon all dreadful occasions, under the form of law. As Parliament ever went hand in hand with him in all his ways, the opening of next year will show whether his promise of "most gracious mercy" was sacredly kept; as once given, it ought to have been; but thus closed the year 1541. At its commencement the gentlemen of the old learning, in high spirits, were looking forward in hope; at its close, they were in the lowest deep, and knew not what might come next. Should that cause, therefore, which they all so cordially opposed, have advanced throughout these turbulent months, surely no man can now ascribe this, save to that overruling hand which has been so visible all along.

Considerable interest belongs to this year, as being the last in which Bibles were printed under the present reign, even though Henry had still five years to live. By his "com-

¹¹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 721. It seemed as if every man among them, must, in his turn, pass through his fit of *trembling*. For only two days before this, Cranmer himself was put in great perturbation, and to such a degree that he actually mis dated his letter to the King by a whole month, writing the 13th of *January* for December. As it was all over with Catharine Howard, this was no other than an Ambassador from the Duke of Cleves, to try and reconcile the King to Anne his sister' Of course there was no reply; but the distress of Cranmer arose from the messenger coming to *him* at all, at such a time, and on *such* a subject. Fortunately he had letters also to the Earl of Southampton.—Gov. State Papers, i. pp. 714-717.

¹² Gov. State Papers, i., p. 724.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

mandment" we have seen both Tunstal and Heath giving in their adherence to the translation, and in an edition certainly finished in November last. It may therefore be presumed that the order to look over it, had come after the book was finished at press, since it did not appear before the 25th of March this year. But this would not suffice for 1541.

By the end of May another edition was ready by Cramer, thus proving that, for all practical purposes, the version was precisely the same throughout, whether his name, or that of its ancient foe, Tunstal, was affixed. This edition, as if marked out for observation, is particularly dated in red on the *title* page, as well as in black at the end.

"The Byble in Englysh, that is to saye the content of all the holy Scripture, both of the olde and newe Testament, with a prologe therinto made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archebysshop of Cantorbury. ¶ This is the Byble appoynted to the use of the Churches. Printed by Edwarde Whitechurche. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Finished the xxiii daye of Maye, Anno domini MXXLI." The Colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament: and of the whole Byble, Fyuysshed in May mccccxli. a dño factū est istud."

Here then was not less than the fifth folio Bible completed, in the short space of less than two years. Nay, four have been completed in thirteen months! We have before us therefore, unquestionably, a magnificent undertaking. Means must be taken for the disposal of these volumes, and provision for this end may well be made by those who had been at *no* expense, should they possess *any* influence. We dismiss, at present, the expense of all other editions, and taking up those only in which we find the names of Grafton or Whitechurche, partners in business as the printers; from that first edition which was imported by them in 1537 down to only the present moment, we have six editions. The impressions thrown off have been rated at from 1500 to 2500 copies; so that if we take the medium, here were twelve thousand volumes. We now know, from Grafton himself that £500 had been embarked by him in the *first* edition, given to Britain; but those that followed after, were still finer books. Granting therefore that there had been here a sum of no more than £3000 incurred, though there must have been more, this, according to the value of money in our day, was equal to forty, if not forty-five thousand pounds! "History, though warm on meaner themes," has hitherto "been cold on this;"

and the reader of the present hour, except the transactions be explained, may pass without notice, the most memorable feature of the times. In the midst of the preceding still nobler struggle, respecting the New Testament only, Sir Thomas More had expressed his astonishment, on account of the *expense* incurred, and so much the more that he could never fathom from *whence* the money came. But what would he have said to this cause now, not seven years after his death? Ah, and what would he have said to his friend Tunstal, who so led him on the ice, by granting him license to “play the Demosthenes,” in opposition to Tyndale? And who now, by the command of their common Sovereign, is openly mixed up in the whole concern, though not in one farthing of the expense!

The memorable edition of 1537, and that chiefly printed in Paris and finished in London in 1539, are not to be forgotten; but we now only look to those volumes to which the brief of the *King* on the 7th of May last year, and the names of *Cranmer* and *Tunstal* on the title-page direct us, or four editions. These, according to our very moderate calculation, involved £2000 in advance, or equal to thirty thousand pounds now.

Here, then, was a work of magnitude, to which it would have been quite worthy of any King, or of any Government, to have contributed. But if neither the one, nor the other, bore the burden; if neither had even advanced any funds in the meanwhile; then from this time forth, and ever after, “let honour be given to whom honour is due,”—and posterity venerate the memory of the man, or the men, who so befriended their countrymen and our forefathers.

The *sale*, therefore, of these large volumes, so long loosely styled “Cranmer’s Bibles,” must now no longer be neglected, lest the noble proprietor, though to us hitherto little more than an unknown private gentleman, should be, as he said himself, *undone for ever*. It was a crisis, in the finest keeping with our entire history. There was no application about to be made by him to Government, for any *pecuniary* aid, and far less to Henry VIII. personally; but it was at least proper that his Privy Council should be reminded of their royal Master’s imperative injunctions of May 1540; and so they were in prospect of Cranmer’s last impression.

After the death of Cromwell, Henry’s Council was divided

into two separate sections; of which one sat in London, the other was with the King; and, what is curious enough, then, for the first time we have regular minutes of his Privy Council.¹⁴ It is from this source, the most authentic of all others, that we hear more particularly of that worthy citizen, *Anthony Marler*. Strange! that for three hundred years he should have been overshadowed, by the King on the one hand, and the Primate on the other; but they are now *both* certainly here present, to witness for themselves, and to be overshadowed in their turn. Thus it is that "time unveils truth."

Minutes of the Privy Council: at Greenwich 25 April, 33 of Henry VIII., that is 1541, "It was agreed that Anthony Marler of London, merchant, might sell the bibles of the Great Bible unbound for x s. sterling, (equal to £7, 10s.,) and bound, being trimmed with bullyons for xii s. sterling;" or equal to £9. What then must have been the cost of that splendid illuminated copy, printed on vellum, which he had presented to the King? But once more.

Ibid. at Greenwich, 1 May. "Whereas Anthony Marler of London, merchant, put up a supplication to the foresaid Council, in manner following,"—"Whereas it hath pleased you, for the commonwealth to take no small pains for the furtherance of the price of *my books*; most humbly I beseech the same, to have in consideration, that unless I have, by the mean of proclamation, some charge or commission that *every church*, not already provided of one Bible, shall, according to the King's Highness' former injunctions given in that behalf, (7th May 1540,) provide them with a Bible of the largest volume, by a day to be prefixed and appointed, as shall be thought most convenient by your wisdoms, my great suit that I have made herein is not only frustrate and void, but also, being charged as I am with an importune sum (troublesome number) of the said books *now lying on my hands*, am *undone for ever*. And therefore trusting to the merciful consideration of your high wisdoms, I humbly desire to obtain the same commission, or some other commandment, and I, with all mine," &c.

Now, in reply to this application, we have not one word from his Majesty, then presiding, from Crammer, then present, or from any other, as to any advance of money; nor indeed any other mode of relief, except that which was so reasonably requested. Therefore, "It was agreed that there shall be another proclamation made, and that the day to be limited for the having of the said book shall be Hallowmasse," or 1st November.¹⁵ Only five days, therefore, were allowed to pass, when there was issued—

¹⁴ The Register or Book of the Council, does not appear to have been continued for more than a hundred years! That is after 1435, or the 13th of Henry V.; and, with the exception of some original minutes, ordinances and letters, nothing is recorded of the proceedings of the Privy Council until the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. The Register begins on the 10th of August 1540, (*Sir N. H. Nicolas*,) or twelve days after the death of Cramwell. Hence the value of his sad, but curious "*Remembrances*." They should *all* be printed verbatim.

¹⁵ Minutes of the Privy Council, printed 1827, pp. 185, 186.

“ A proclamation by the King’s Majesty, with the advice of his Council, for the Bible to be had in every church, &c., devised the sixth day of May, the 33d year of the King’s reign”—That is Friday, 6th May 1541.

This proclamation, after referring to the former injunctions, goes on :—
 “ Notwithstanding many towns and parishes within this his realm have neglected their duties—whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little—and minding the former gracious injunctions, doth straitly charge and command that the curates and parishioners of every town and parish not having already provided, shall, on this side of the Feast of All Saints (1st Nov.) next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest volume, and cause the same to be set up and fixed in every of the said parish churches, there to be used according to the former injunctions—on pain, that the curate and inhabitants of the parish or town shall forfeit to the King forty shillings (equal to £30) for every month after the said feast, that they lack or want the said Bible—one half to the King, and the other half to him or them that first inform the King’s Council. That the sellers shall not take for the Bible unbound above ten shillings, or if bound and clasped above twelve shillings, on pain of four shillings, (£3,) one half to the King, and the other to the informer.”¹⁶

This must have so far brightened the prospect of our patriotic proprietor, as we shall find another edition of the Great Bible soon ready for publication, proceeding from the same quarter, nay, and another still, before the year is done ! But in the meanwhile it is now evident, that so far from Henry VIII. being at any *expense* for the Bibles already printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, as our Solicitor-General told Lord Mansfield, and as others, both before and after him, have unwarrantably affirmed, the King was now rather in the way of *making* a little money, by publications in which he had no pecuniary concern ! At least every *fine* would bring him £1, for a book which would have cost no more than 10s. ; or in other words, the value of £15, for an article at £7, 10s. But if the purchase had been neglected *two* months, then his Majesty would have £30 ; if *three*, £45 ! While, on the other hand, for every overcharge he was to receive two shillings, or equal to thirty.

But besides this proclamation, in five days more, or Wednesday, 11th May, came a letter from no other than *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of London, (still obsequiously so far playing the hypocrite,) for the execution of the King’s orders, addressed to his Archdeacon ;¹⁷ and so eager must he appear to secure the royal favour, that in September he also put forth

¹⁶ Cotton MS., Cleop., F. v., fol. 37. Burnet’s Records, B. iii., No. 24. Bonner’s Register.

¹⁷ Dated, “ xi die Maii, Anno Dom. 1541, et nostræ translationis a. n. o. secundo.”—Foxe, *first* edition, p. 621.

an "Admonition to all readers of this Bible in the English tongue"—"Evermore foreseeing that no exposition be made thereupon, otherwise than it is declared in the book itself—that no reading be used in the time of divine service—or, finally, that no man justly may reckon himself to be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat."¹⁰

The reading of the Sacred Scriptures, however, it must ever be borne in mind, had now been a practice, not in London merely, but throughout England, and for *fifteen* years; to what extent, indeed, it is impossible to say. But as we have long seen, many of Henry's subjects had truly not waited for his poor permission, whether to read or to hear: and in many a corner, far and near, there were those who knew far more of Christianity, and to better purpose, than did any of the members of Government. Even five years ago, the late Edward Fox of Hereford, a *rara avis* among the Bishops, had boldly told his brethren as much, and it was certainly no more than the truth. On the return of Bonner from Paris, where he had pretended great zeal for the Scriptures, to please Cromwell; and immediately after the King's brief in 1540, to please both, this consummate hypocrite had set up six Bibles in St. Paul's for public reading. The result at once proved, how far the people were a-head of these official men. *They came instantly and generally to hear the Scriptures read. Such as could read with a clear voice often had great numbers round them. Many set their children to school, and carried them to St. Paul's to hear.* It was, however, not long before the language of our Saviour himself—"Drink ye *all* of it," struck them, and very naturally led to discussion. The complaints of some, in lack of argument, of which the adverse party took care to avail themselves, were dexterously conveyed to the King. In *their* eyes, this reading of the Scriptures by the people, and hearing them read in public, was a sore evil; and an opportunity must be sought and seized for putting it down. Cromwell, the terror of the Bishops, was gone; and Gardiner is out of the country; but Bonner, though always false at heart, must still dissemble; nay, moreover, here

¹⁰ Such *public* reading had been enjoined three years before. First by Cromwell in 1538, then by Henry in May 1540, and now by Bonner in 1541, though he very soon not only changed his mind, and bitterly quarrelled with such reading whether in public or private, but persecuted to the death, when the fury and folly of Henry once permitted. See Burnet's Records, B. iii., No. 25, compared with No. 11, and Cleop., E. v., 337

actually come Tunstal and Heath once more, and with another edition of the great Bible, in November!

“*The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest coloume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commandement of our moost redoubted Prynce and soneraygne Lorde, Kyng Henrye the VIII., supreme heade of this his Church and realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every Churche w̄in this his sayd realme, according to the tenour of his former Injunctions giuen in that behalfe. ¶ Oversene and perused at the commaundmēt of the Kynge Iighnes, by the ryghte reuerende fathers in God, Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas bysshop of Rochester. Printed by Rycharde Grafton, 1541.*” The colophon is—“The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble. Fynysshed in November, Anno mccccxli.”¹⁹

Nor would even this suffice. Anthony Marler, the only paymaster as yet named, or to be named, is still ready to proceed; and a final edition was completed before this year was done. It had been going on at press *with* other editions; and, it is curious enough, *from* last year, but it was not finished till the close of the present; at the same time, it may have been only *nine* months in the press, as their year extended to the 25th of March. Crammer was not to be outdone by these two Bishops, and, therefore, as in May last, so he now follows them up immediately with his usual title, and an emphatic *colophon*, as if he had been in wonder at the compliance of Tunstal and Heath.

“*The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scrypture both of the olde and newe testament, with a prologe therinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archebisshop of Cantorbury. ¶ This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the Churches. ¶ Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. do. mdxli.*” The colophon, is—“The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Bible, Fynysshed in December mccccxli. † *A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doynge.*”²⁰

¹⁹ In the Bible thus twice sanctioned by these two men, but especially Tunstal, we seem to be reminded of one passage of Sacred Writ, of which different renderings have been given: We now have it, Ps. lxxi. 3—“Say unto God, how terrible art thou in thy works! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves to thee.” In the Bible then examined, it is—“Oh! how wonderful are thy works; through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies be confounded.” Parker, after this, translated—“Shall thine enemies be found liars unto thee:” and Ainsworth says—“feignedly submit themselves, for fear, or other sinister respect, against their will.” But, certainly, one and *all* of these renderings, had *not* been fulfilled in the persons of these two Doctors of the Old Learning. Tyndale had persevered unto death, and triumphed: and these men, by Henry’s command, were now humbled to the level of the Gibeonites of old, who became hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to the congregation of Israel. Tunstal himself now seems to deal out the water of life to the congregation of England! But what, in the end, will be thought of both these men, if, like the Gibeonites, they told a deliberate lie to their royal master, and then printed their names so pompously on the title-page—if, after all, they had *not* actually *perused* the volume! Such, there is reason to believe, was the fact: at least the people of England were openly so told in print, before Henry expired! See anno 1546. The bold assertion was never contradicted.

²⁰ This motto, taken from the Bible commenced in *Paris*, was strikingly appropriate; but

And thus ended the year; so that we have four of these large folios dated in 1541. It was certainly a strange movement on the part of Henry VIII., and one which must have taken many by surprise, for him first to send Gardiner off to Germany, and then, as soon as he was gone, command his friends, Tunstal and Heath, to give in their adhesion to the Bible, to which Crammer had bowed; and then also to place their names in the title-page, in token of their full approbation—a translation almost verbally the same in the New Testament, which the King himself, and Wolsey had first denounced, and Tunstal after them, consigned again and again to the flames! Such, however, was the fact. The undertaking was *not* to be denounced, even though Crumwell, now rated as a heretic and a traitor, had imported the types, and pushed forward the printing, not only of these, but of other editions.

But lo! here is Stephen Gardiner, returned in October, and gone direct to the King from Charles V. With what surprise must he have beheld the progress made! On going abroad, his party reigned triumphant; it was now in disgrace, and the Queen, whose marriage he had fostered, is about to ascend the scaffold! But, especially, if he had not been informed, with what feelings must he have gazed on the names of Tunstal and Heath in the very title-page of these Bibles!

Tunstal was now in his sixty-eighth year, and appears to have been in some degree softened with his years; Gardiner never was; and now, though of these volumes there were eight editions in regular series, to say nothing of others, which had received Henry's approval, and two of these carried the obsequious, but well-known attestation of Tunstal and Heath; still this Bishop of Winchester stood resolved to put forth all his strength, in the way of cunning sophistry, against the translation thus acknowledged, and now reading in public, in so many places. Certainly he had owned to the King before, that there were "no heresies in it." But an-

Crammer thought it might be also applied to all that he issued. It is observable that Tunstal and Heath *left it out*. In the final colophon he not only prints the motto without abbreviation but gives it in *English*, by way of emphasis. He might have completed the sentence, by adding, *and it is marvellous in our eyes*; for, certainly, when the circumstances are observed, they are marvellous still. Crammer, being an Archbishop, took to himself the title of Reverend only, not most Reverend; and he had said years ago, that he "set no more by any title, name, or style, than he did by the *paring of an apple*." Not so Tunstal and Heath. They were only Bishops, but they must not, on any account, abridge their title of *Right Reverend*! The difference of disposition or character, right or wrong, is often to be described, even in such trifles.

other Parliament is summoned, and another *Convocation*, where Gardiner anticipated that he might even yet work wondrously. Let him try; that he himself, and his brethren may come to their greatest humiliation, and to their final discomfiture as a Convocation.

SECTION V.

THE ENEMY ON THE RACK—PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE FIFTH QUEEN EXECUTED—HENRY BENT ON WAR WITH SCOTLAND—NEGOTIATING WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN.

CONVOCATION MET—THE BIBLE INTRODUCED THERE FOR DISCUSSION AT LAST—SINGULAR DISPLAY—GARDINER'S GRAND EFFORT IN OPPOSITION—CRANMER INFORMS THE KING—THEY ARE ALL DISCOMFITED, THOUGH YET SITTING, OR BEFORE THE BISHOPS LEFT LONDON—PROGRESS OF THE TRUTH IN ENGLAND.

By this year, such had been the progress made in the cause of Divine Truth, that the imaginations of its enemies were literally put to the rack. Oppose they must; but how to proceed, was a problem not of easy solution. Upon his second return from the Continent, in October last, Gardiner had found far greater occasion for regret, than he had done even before, in September 1538. Then, he could step into his fiery chariot, and bring Lambert to the stake; he and Norfolk had been worming themselves into royal favour ever after; and upon setting off for the imperial Court, in November 1540, whether he should there fully succeed or not, every thing at home seemed to promise other, and, as he thought, better days; now that Crumwell was gone, and his Majesty so delighted with the Queen which had been furnished to him by the old learning party. She was their first and *only* choice, on whose sway depended anticipations not a few. But now, that mainstay had fallen; Gardiner's friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had been trembling for his personal honours, if not his life; while, to crown all, that pillar of strength, Cutlibert Tunstal, had not merely given way, but his name had been employed, by royal authority, as though he had personally gone over to the other side. Still the party must rally once more. By this time, it might have been supposed that

their arrows would have been expended and their quiver empty ; but, subtle and ingenious in the extreme, their sophistry prevailed once more. If the peculiar situation of the King be taken into account, it must appear surprising that they should have been successful in swaying his mind now ; though, in the end, we shall leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether the whole proceeding, on the part of Henry, does not carry very much of the appearance of a *snare*, in which, when caught, the Bishop of Winchester, from being the most conspicuous character, became the most ridiculous. Be this as it may, these men will not stop till they have exposed themselves to the derision of posterity ; and as soon as we have briefly disposed of the civil events of the year, the entire scene will come before us.

Parliament having assembled on Monday the 16th of January, proceeded immediately to the loathsome and revolting affairs connected with the royal household. Among the members present, was to be seen the son of Crumwell, and sitting as a Baron ; so strange were the movements of our capricious Monarch. Commissioners having been appointed to examine the Queen once more ; on the 28th, she repeated her confessions, though to what extent is not recorded.¹ Both Houses declared her guilty ; and in the Act passed, they petitioned the King, at once, “ not to be troubled, lest it might shorten his life !” and that the Queen and all the others attainted, “ might be punished with death !” The bill was passed by the 8th of February ; on Saturday the 11th, Henry gave his assent ; and on Monday the 13th, without any regard to his express promise of *mercy*, blood was shed.² That infamous woman, Lady Rochford, had been an accomplice ; and thus, she who had acted so dreadful a part towards her own husband, and his sister Anne Boleyn, now righteously perished on the same scaffold with the Queen, to whose ruin she had also contributed. The property of the other branches of the Howard family being once secured in his Majesty’s Palace at Westminster and elsewhere, the public censure of such severity led Henry to pardon those, whom Parliament in the perfection of its servility had condemned to death, though some of the parties were left to linger long in prison.

For shame, or rather some fear of consequences, Henry could not come forward to demand a subsidy, and Crumwell was no more ; but as he was now bent upon war with Scotland, he wished the Commons would only condescend to meet his inclination, by offering him money,

¹ The Commissioners were the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, Craumer, and Thirby.

² Journals of Parliament.

without its being asked. He gave them a broad hint ; but however ready they were to bow to his sanguinary proceedings, this being an affair affecting themselves personally, for once they feigned not to understand him, and the House rose without voting one farthing. At the same time, however, so far to please the ever-craving Monarch, they had consented to pass an Act by which his Majesty might possess himself of the revenues attached to *Colleges and Hospitals* ; an Act which made both Oxford and Cambridge tremble, and an affair of which we shall hear again in 1545, when Henry has farther advanced on the road to ruin.

All offence with the Duke of Norfolk at present, had been conveniently passed over, as his services were demanded to head the army against Scotland. A country so divided at the moment, whose nobility were striving to secure their independence of the Crown, while the power of Beaton and his adherents contended for the superiority, was quite unable to resist. The expedition, in its results, so affected the Scottish monarch, that he fell a sacrifice to his vexation. James sunk into a low fever, and expired on the 14th of December, leaving his only daughter "*Mary, Queen of Scots,*" an infant of eight days old.

With regard to Continental affairs, it may only be observed that the strange negotiations of Henry with the King of France, respecting the marriage, of which Norfolk had written in December, between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary, as well as the arrears of Henry's pension, and even proposed war with the Emperor ; they were carried on till so late as the 15th of May. But in the very same month Commissioners had been appointed to enter into other negotiations with Capuis, the Imperial Ambassador, at Stepney, the result of which will appear with the ensuing spring.³

A new Parliament having assembled, on the following Friday, or the 20th, the Convocation also met ; and as it sat till the 29th of March, of course it proved, as usual, though only *apparently*, a critical period for the Sacred Scriptures. After so many storms, as all along there had been no *real* danger, so there will not be any now. At the opening, Richard Cox, Archdeacon of Ely, had preached to the House, of course in Latin, and if he had intended his text to be satirical, he could not have been more severe. It was "*Vos estis sal terra,*"—"ye are the salt of the earth !"—and no doubt a very different sermon from that of Latimer six years ago.⁴

³ Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 739-740—*notes*.

⁴ Latimer, who had pled so boldly for the Scriptures above eleven years ago, and in 1536 so pointedly inquired *what* they had ever done, was now in the Tower. This Cox had been one of the original canons in Wolsey's College, as formerly noted, and was preceptor to King Edward. His conduct at Frankfort proves that he was of a violent temper, and, as Chancellor of Oxford, he has been greatly blamed. Somewhat softened by time, he lived to the advanced age of 81.

After being detained for some time by the King's personal unhappy affairs in Parliament, these men proceeded to business in the Convocation; and at their third session, on Friday the 17th of February, the Translation of the Scriptures, so often discussed there without any result, must once more come before them. The reader cannot have forgotten their former abortive attempts, and may be the more curious to observe what happened now. They appear ever to have been afraid to look any farther than the *New Testament*, and it was of this they felt most apprehension. Upon this day, therefore, Crammer required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the *New Testament*, and so successful had been the votaries of the "old learning," that this was done in the *King's* name. It must have been no welcome proposal to the Archbishop, after he had so fully committed himself. However, as usual, he must obey; and therefore having divided the volume into fourteen parts, he allotted them to fifteen Bishops, as follow:—

Matthew	to <i>himself</i> , Crammer of Canterbury.
Mark	to <i>Longland</i> of Lincoln.
Luke	to <i>Gardiner</i> of Winchester. ⁵
John	to <i>Goodrich</i> of Ely.
The Acts	to <i>Heath</i> of Rochester.
Romans	to <i>Sampson</i> of Chichester.
Corinthians, 1 and 2	to <i>Capon</i> of Salisbury.
Galatians to Ephesians	to <i>Burlow</i> of St. David's.
Thessalonians, 1 and 2	to <i>Bell</i> of Worcester.
Timothy to Philemon	to <i>Parfew</i> of St. Asaph.
Peter, 1 and 2	to <i>Holygate</i> of Llandaff.
Hebrews	to <i>Skip</i> of Hereford.
James to Jude	to <i>Thirby</i> of Westminster.
Revelation	to <i>Wakeman</i> of Gloster and <i>Chamber</i> of Peterboro.

Here, let it be observed, were two notable and curious omissions. What had become of *Tunstal* and *Bonner*—the former once so outrageously zealous *against* the Scriptures in London; the latter as much so *for* them while in Paris? Tunstal having but recently committed himself to *two* editions of the Bible, by express *commandment* from the King, must have either declined; or, with his characteristic "stillness," perhaps expected to "oversee" once more the wished-for revisal. Bon-

⁵ Poor man! He had been "bestowing a great labour" upon the very same Gospel, seven years ago, to no purpose. See vol. i., pp. 446, 453.

ner, though a canonist and wily politician, was very probably no scholar; or, like his predecessor, John Stokesly, would have no connexion with the affair.

At their sixth meeting *Gardiner* came forward, therefore, with the fruit of his own counsel, and made a proposal perfectly characteristic, which he was sure to carry triumphantly within the Convocation. It was at best a puerile design, and to us now, a most contemptible one, with a view to keep the people of England in their ancient ignorance. He then read a list of not fewer than one hundred and two *Latin* words, that "for their genuine and native meaning, and for the *majesty* of the matter in them contained," might be retained in the English translation, or be fitly *Englished* with the least alteration. For the sake of illustration, only a slight specimen will be sufficient.

Ecclesia, penitentia, pontifex, olacausta (so in the record) *idiota, baptizare, sacramentum, simulacrum, confiteor tibi Pater, panis, propositionis, benedictio, satisfactio, peccator, episcopus, ciscra, zizania, confessio, pascha, hostia.*

The bearing of the entire list is very apparent. *Gardiner*, indeed, had talked of "majesty" in the words, but there was something else than *majesty* in view. "Witness," says old Fuller, "the word 'penance,' which, according to the vulgar sound, contrary to the original sense thereof, was a magazine of will worship, and brought in much gain to the priests, who were desirous to keep *that* word, because *that word kept them.*"

Cranmer, however, being now at his post, and retaining influence with his Majesty, although he had once more dealt out the books of the New Testament among his fellows, soon observed from their discussions, what would be the result; and therefore determined to wait upon Henry, and inform him how matters went. The Bishops, therefore, were now relieved from their several tasks, and they were, moreover, *no more* to be consulted on the subject! They must be overruled, to a man, though in Convocation assembled. After entering the House, on Friday the 10th of March, Cranmer informed his brethren "that it was the King's will and pleasure, that the translation both of the old and the New Testament, should be examined by both *Universities!*" In vain did the House oppose, and in vain protest; for *all* the Bishops present did so, with only two exceptions, viz., Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow

of St. Davids. Cranmer, who saw that his brethren only desired to get rid of the translation altogether, then finally told them that he "would stick close to the will and pleasure of the King his Master, and that the Universities should examine the translation." This, however, after all turned out as though it had been simply an expedient adopted for putting an end to the foolish proposal of submitting the Word of God to the revision of any such men; for even the Universities never were consulted!!

To have ruined *Marler*, the worthy member of the Haberdasher's Company, in the eyes of the Convocation, would have been quite an achievement; but Anthony's precious property was now safe, and it seems that something more must instantly be said respecting it. It is singular that *forty-eight hours* were not allowed to pass away! Cranmer must have immediately informed the King of his final reply; and now, so far from looking to any University, out came the following authoritative communication, dated on (*Sunday*) the 12th of March 1542; thus verifying the old proverb—"the better day, the better deed."

"Henry the Eighth &c.—To all Printers of books within this realm, to all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters, hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit, that we, for certain causes convenient, of our Grace special, have given and granted to our well-beloved subject, *Anthony Marler*, citizen and Haberdasher of our city of London, only to print the *Bible in our English tongue*, authorised by us, himself or his assigns. And we command that no manner of persons within these our dominions shall print the said Bible, or any part thereof, within the space of *four years* next ensuing the printing of the said book, by our said subject or his assigns. And further, we will and command our true subjects, and all strangers, that none presume to print the said work, or break this our commandment and privilege as they intend eschewe our punishment and high displeasure. Witness ourself at Westminster the xii day of March. *Per breve de privato sigillo.* 1542."6

But why could not his Majesty have shown a little more delicacy? Why could he not wait, but a little while, till the

⁶ Patent Rolls, 33, II. VIII. Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiv., p. 745. "Though," says the editor of the Privy Council Minutes in 1837, "a great deal has been written about the early editions of the Bible, much still remains to be said, and it would otherwise be singular that Marler's connexion with those of 1540 and 1541 should now for the first time be pointed out, and more especially as the proclamation just cited was in Rymer above a century ago." Marler is indeed mentioned by Rapin and Ames; but the connexion has never before been fully explained. The editor, however, throws out a conjecture that Henry's letters *may* have been issued in 1541; but without positive evidence, the Patent Roll must not be questioned; more especially as the history now given shows that in March 1542, such letters had become more important than ever. After these Bishops had attempted to disturb all that had been done since 1537, it was far more necessary for the King to be imperative at this crisis, and settle the business. The sanction to Marler did so at once, and effectually.

Convocation was dissolved, and the Bishops had left the capital? They were still sitting, and continued to do so for more than a fortnight, or till the 29th of the month! Did his Majesty intend to pour contempt upon them, and hold them up to derision even while thus assembled? Whatever was his motive, certainly no mortification could be greater—no humiliation more complete. Their indignation, however, they must suppress for the present; though it will not be surprising should it burst out with great violence, as soon as they meet again. But let them do what they please, the sacred text will never again be submitted to *their* consideration. They may rave about Tyndale, execrate his name, wreck their vengeance upon his writings, and thus unwittingly, once more hold up to posterity the man to whom the nation stood most of all indebted; but his work will abide and prosper, and long after they have gone down to the grave.

As there were no more folio Bibles printed in Henry's reign, it has often been supposed that this was owing to the strength of the opposing party; but the fact has now been accounted for in a manner more satisfactory. Let it only be observed that by the end of last year, or only four years and four months from August 1537, of Tyndale's translation, and based on Tyndale's, there had issued from the press not fewer than *twelve* editions of the entire Bible, ten in folio, and two in quarto. And it was well they had; they were laid up in store, like Joseph's *corn* in Egypt, for the next four years. The impression of each of those Bibles has been calculated as ranging from 1500 to 2500 copies: but say that there were 2000 copies on an average, here were more than *twenty thousand* Bibles, a most memorable fact, under all the circumstances. Many of the copies which had been printed since 1539 may have been yet for sale; and Marler, it is evident was so overstocked, that he was afraid of ruin by his outlay. The King's letters in his favour now extended his privilege to December 1545, immediately after which we shall find that Grafton was at work again, with an edition of the New Testament.

But independently of this ample supply in folio and quarto, it must ever be remembered that there were many thousands of the New Testament long circulated, and reading far and wide throughout the country. We shall take the proof from one of the best of witnesses, and as it

came from the press in London, this very year. An admirer of Latimer's, who, in 1526, when only sixteen years of age, used to hear him preach, and George Stafford read lectures, at Cambridge, had then received certain impressions which were never to be erased from his mind. After mentioning Latimer's discourses, both in English and Latin, he then adds—"at all of which, for the most part, I was present; and although at the time I was but a child of sixteen years old, (anno 1526,) yet I noted his doctrine as well as I could, partly reposing it in my memory, and partly committing it to writing. I was present, when with manifest authorities of God's Word, and invincible arguments, he proved in his sermons that *the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all Christian people*, whether priests or laymen, as they are called." "Neither was I absent when he inveighed against empty works." "He so laboured earnestly, both in word and deed, to win and allure others into the love of Christ's doctrine, and his holy religion, that there is a common saying, which remains unto this day: when Master Stafford read and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed." Stafford, of whom we heard before in 1526, had died soon after; but Latimer was still in the Tower, where he will remain till after the death of his ungrateful Monarch.

This youth was Thomas Becon. Born about 1510, he was now 32, and proved, throughout life, one of the most laborious and useful men of his time. Last year, as well as this, he had been busy at the press, even in London, and had published three small pieces, two of which had, next year, already reached a second edition. In one of these he says,—

"I think there is no realm throughout Christendom, that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give thanks to God, as we Englishmen have at this present. What ignorance and blindness was in this realm concerning the true and Christian knowledge! How many (speaking ironically) savoured Christ aright! How many walked in the straight pathway of God's ordinances! How many believed Christ to be the alone Saviour? How many trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's death, and the effusion of his most precious blood? How many ran to God alone, either in their prosperity or adversity! How many amplexed Christ for their sufficient Mediator and Advocate unto God the Father? How many felt the efficacy and power of the true and Christian faith! *But now*—Christ's death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that are sanctified. THE MOST SACRED BIBLE IS FREELY PERMITTED TO BE READ OF EVERY MAN IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE. Many savour

Christ aright, and *daily the number increaseth*, thanks be to God. Christ is believed to be the alone Saviour. Christ is believed to be our sufficient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christian faith, which worketh by charity, and is plenteous in good works, is now received to justify.⁷⁷

Notwithstanding this attestation, however, let there be no surprise, though the clouds should still be gathering, and another storm await us soon.

SECTION VI.

PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE CONVOCATION BAFFLED, ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR INABILITY TO STAY THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH BY APPLYING NOW TO PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENT DISGRACES ITSELF BY MALIGNANT BUT VAIN OPPOSITION—BONNER WITHDRAWN OR SENT ABROAD—EXTRAORDINARY ARRANGEMENT OF ALL THE EUROPEAN POWERS—HENRY'S SIXTH MARRIAGE.

PARLIAMENT was assembled this year on the 22d of January, and sat till the 12th of May.¹ The long-suffering of Heaven with such a Government, was, by this time, eminently conspicuous; but as the King on the throne had been overruled, and the cause of Divine Truth had hitherto not only baffled the Convocation, but laid it prostrate; so if there were any remaining branch of authority about to prove so infatuated as to interfere, it was fit that it should be left to expose both its folly and weakness to posterity, by so doing. Its interference, however, may be traced to the infatuation and enmity of the Convocation; for these being once infused into Parliament, there was nothing so foolish and contemptible, which they might not entertain and even enact. The Convocation as such, could not, of course, cross the threshold of the Senate; but its *leading* members the Bishops might, being members

7 From "The Right Pathway unto Prayer, by Theodore Basille, 1542." Under this assumed name Becon now published, and under this name his books will enjoy the honour of being condemned by Henry's final proclamation. There was a second edition of this tract *next* year, as if in defiance of the power vainly arrayed against the truth. In reading Foxe, it might be supposed that in 1541 Becon, apprehended by Bonner, was compelled to recant and burn his tracts, which had been much read; but this, of course, could not have happened before they were printed. The persecution of Becon has been more certainly ascribed to 1544, his writings being denounced two years after.

¹ The session, therefore, began in the 34th and ended in the 35th of the King's reign. If both Parliament and the Convocation be about to grant subsidies to the King to pay him for his war with Scotland, let us watch and observe how he proceeded to treat his own English subjects in return for the money.

also of the Upper House, or Lords of Parliament. Hence the consequences.

In opposing the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the Convocation having so repeatedly discovered itself to be a powerless body, and more especially since the scene, or unceremonious treatment of last year; it had now seemed to the Bishops that only one mode of attack remained. It was their forlorn hope. They must admit, and now, in effect, acknowledged their own inefficiency, as a body, by introducing the subject into Parliament; but they will try what could be accomplished there. Providentially, however, by this time *Tyndale's* translation had been printed under *other* names, such as Matthew, Taverner, Cramer, *Tunstal* and *Heath*; for this translation having been retained in *all* the English Bibles, with very little variation, it was now *impossible to reach it*. It so happened, too, that there were, by this time, various editions of the Bible printed *without note and comment*. Marler's editions, as well as others, were of this character, and, backed by the stern authority of the King, there was no possibility of touching any of them. To show, however, to what a low pitch the miserable spite of the enemy was now reduced, as well as to display the servility of Parliament, now become proverbial, an Act was introduced which was actually entitled—"An Act for the *advancement of true Religion!*"—and what were its provisions, nearly ten years after Henry had declared himself Head of the Church of England, and seventeen years after the New Testament had been introduced into our native land?

The name of *Tyndale* was the rallying point, and, in effect, the English Parliament must now furnish their tribute to his memory and talents. Upon setting off, by this Act *his* translation was branded and condemned as "*crafty, false, and untrue*;" although the translation actually reading in the churches! though the translation which *Tunstal* had been constrained to sanction! though the translation which had been read with avidity since 1526, and that to which the people had discovered such attachment as to perish at the stake, sooner than abandon it!² Parliament durst not con-

² To say nothing of its being the very translation, which, in the Psalms, many of the people in England read to the *present hour*, both in public and private.

demn the Bibles to which the names of Taveruer or Cranmer or Tunstal had been affixed, nor even that of *Matthew* by name; because this last had been so pointedly sanctioned by his Majesty, and *it* had prepared the way for all that followed! But, once more roused by the name of Tyndale, it was then enacted,—

“That all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, of *this translation*, should, by authority of this Act, clearly and utterly be abolished and extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm, or elsewhere, in any of the King’s dominions.” But it was provided, “that the Bibles and New Testaments in English, *not* being of Tyndale’s translations, should stand in force, and not be comprised in this abolition or act. Nevertheless, if there should be found in any such Bibles or New Testaments, any *annotations or preambles*, that then the owners of them should *cut or blot* the same in such wise as they cannot be perceived or read, on pain of losing or forfeiting for every Bible or Testament forty shillings; (or equal to £30.) provided that this article should not extend to the blotting any quotations or summaries of chapters in any Bible.”

It was farther enacted,—“That no manner of persons, after the 1st of October, should take upon them to read openly to others, in any church or open assembly, within any of the King’s dominions, the Bible or any part of Scripture in English, unless he was so appointed thereunto by the King, or by any ordinary, on pain of suffering one month’s imprisonment!”

But then “the Chancellor of England! Captains of the Wars! the King’s Justices! the Recorders of any city, borough, or town! and the Speaker of Parliament! *may use* any part of the holy Scripture as they have been wont!”³ And “every nobleman or gentlewoman, being a householder, *may* read or cause to be read, by *any* of his *family servants* in his house, orchard, or garden, to his own family, any text of the Bible; and also every merchantman, being a householder, and any other persons, *other than* women, apprentices, &c., *might* read to themselves *privately* the Bible. But *no* women, except *noble* women and *gentlewomen*, might read to themselves alone; and no *artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men* of the degrees of *yeomen*, (officers in the King’s family between sergeants and grooms,) *husbandmen or labourers*, were to read the Bible or New Testament to *themselves or to any other, privately or openly*, on pain of one month’s imprisonment.”

The burning of the Alexandrian Library, and heating its baths with the books, has been often reprobated as barbarous, but the aim of Parliament was impious in the extreme. As far as they durst venture, they intended to take the bread of life out of the mouths of the common people. The Act has been described as “a net *contrived*, to catch or let go, whom-

³ It was usual, says Collier, for the Lord Chancellor, judges, recorders, &c., to take a text for their speeches on public occasions; but that the *captains of the wars*, adds Todd, thus opened a campaign, or that the Speaker of the House of Commons thus regulated a debate, the historian does not pretend.

soever they pleased ;” but still it may well be inquired, where was “ the wisdom of their wise men, or the understanding of the prudent,” when they *contrived* it ; as the folly displayed was in equal proportion to the malignity. It might have been compared to an act framed to bind the wind, or intercept the light of day ; and whatever may have been its vexatious consequences, it was by far too late in being framed.

Observe its contents. It denounced the translation of Tyndale, and enforced it almost in the same breath ; for not only was it his translation, under another name, which was to stand in force, but many of his New Testaments had no such name attached to them. As to the second provision, whether any copies of the Bible were so *blotted* or *cut*, is nowhere recorded. If they were, they must have been consumed afterwards, for it is certain that scarcely any copies of all that survive, bear the positive proof of having been so treated.⁴ But the folly of the statute is still more glaring, when both the *manner* and the *degree* of reading comes to be regulated by an act of Parliament. While reading in the parish *church* seems to be in part abridged, the reading *at home* in thousands of instances, is legalised if not enforced ; and reading in the house, as being more deliberate and more retired, was better than reading in the church. Every one knows with what avidity men read, and will read, an interdicted book ; but this was only half interdicted ! *half* in numerous families, and *half* as it regarded the community at large. This was better still. Thus, in the former case, as *any family servant* was authorised to read the Scriptures to Master or Mistress, of course he might not only repeat what he read, but could the other servants be effectually prevented from snatching a perusal in the morning or evening, or at midnight ? And if every nobleman and gentlewoman, every merchant, or any other, being a householder, were fully authorised to possess, and read the Bible, how were the *women* of the household, how were the *apprentices*, and journeymen, or other domestics to be guarded and prevented from looking between the Sacred leaves ?

But beside these absurdities, there were certain clauses introduced, in mitigation of severity, not unworthy of notice.

⁴ There are indeed imperfect copies, but these do not convey *such* proof

Offenders, if ecclesiastics, were not to suffer death till the *third* offence; and the punishment of any others was never to extend beyond the forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment for life. The party accused also might bring witnesses, and the accused must be tried within a year after the indictment, while the Parliament, as usual, had to leave the act in the King's power, to annul or alter it at his pleasure! The bloody statute of six articles was in fact thus invaded and softened.

Such a mixture of folly and contradiction demands some explanation. Had Gardiner and his party obtained *all* their wishes, the Scriptures had been suppressed, and wholly interdicted: but it is curious enough that it was *Cranmer* who had introduced *this* act, with the view no doubt of legalising what he had enforced in his prologue to the Bible—the perusal of the Sacred volume *at home*, and hence the mystery of its *title* is explained. But once introduced into Parliament, and thwarted in his endeavours, it had, in passing through the house, assumed such a grotesque appearance, as to carry in its various clauses, the evidence of two hostile parties fighting with each other. To Cranmer, therefore, may be ascribed the credit of obtaining as much as might be, and of then stultifying the act, to disappoint the devices of the crafty, or carry the counsel of the froward headlong. In short, the passing of this act has been represented by Rapin, as a “mortification” to the adverse party, which “checked their hopes.” That its vexatious operation was at least impeded, there can be but little doubt, from what was taking place at the very moment, as well as what soon followed.⁵

With regard to the time when Parliament was thus acting; it cannot have escaped recollection that we have been called again and again to observe, at certain critical periods, either formerly, when the Scriptures were to be imported from abroad, or since then, when those who prized them were in danger of being molested, that one or more of the bitterest persecutors were either put in check, or sent *out* of the kingdom, in the character of ambassadors to foreign parts. So it had happened

⁵ The only thing left for Gardiner to do was to infuse as much of the old leaven as he possibly could, into what he delighted to style *the King's Book*. This was the treatise already referred to, “The necessary doctrine and erudition of a Christian Man,” now coming forth. And here he fully succeeded against Cranmer, who charged him afterwards, under Edward's reign, with having seduced the King. But never must such a man put forth his hand, and corrupt the Scriptures!

with Tunstal and Gardiner, and so it happened now. The focus of persecution had ever been in London, just as it was in Jerusalem of old; and of all men living, Bonner at this moment was most blood-thirsty. He had been very busy for more than a year in his favourite employment of persecution, and would have been so now. But no sooner had they begun to wrangle in Parliament, than he was sent off the ground by the Supreme Ruler.

The occasion of Bonner's removal must not pass unnoticed. It had ever been the policy of Crumwell to cultivate alliance with France and the German princes, with the design of keeping the Emperor in check; but we have seen the first symptom of a change so long ago as 1540, when the Imperial ambassadors suddenly arrived in London, in time to witness his execution, if they were so disposed. Long before then, however, and ever since, the gentlemen of the old learning had been sighing for full alliance with Charles. In such a case, they calculated that their cause *must* eventually triumph. This year they were to obtain their wishes, and we shall soon see whether the event answered their expectations.

The spring and summer of 1543 exhibited the authorities of Europe in one of the most extraordinary positions. It was a lesson of instruction, which could scarcely pass unimproved by those who thought at all. So far as the power of Sovereign princes was concerned, there were *three* systems of opinion before the world: that of the Pontiff—of Henry the Eighth—and of the Grand Turk. Francis and Charles were, professedly, alike votaries of the Pontiff, and by him Henry the Eighth had been branded for years as an anathematized heretic; while they *all* agreed in regarding the Turk as an Infidel, with whom no alliance of any kind, *could* be formed. Now immediately before Henry determined to espouse his sixth Queen, who was to lean decidedly to the side of the *new* learning, the position of all these Powers, is well worthy of distinct observation.

At the time in which Parliament was assembled, a very intimate connexion between Henry and the Emperor was already agitated; a circumstance which was the joy of Gardiner's party, in consequence of their *ultimate* intentions, but most offensive to the Pontiff, who could not know them. He, on the contrary, eager to prevent this step, proposed to buy off the Emperor by an annual payment of 150,000 crowns, and a promotion of Cardinals, such as Charles chose to name! But then it so happened that Charles longed for nothing more eagerly, than a league with the English heretic. Henry's uniting with France and the German princes, had been the Emperor's perplexity for years, as retarding the march of his ambition; but union with England would enable him to bring the

King of France to his knees, and at once destroy all hope of ever recovering Milan by force of arms. By the 11th of February, therefore, a treaty was framed in London, and Bonner, (the most furious persecutor in England,) as ambassador, must be sent off and out of the way, as its bearer. It was sworn to, says Lord Herbert, by the Emperor near Barcelona, on the 8th of April, "in presence of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, our King's ambassador;" and it was ratified by Henry on Trinity Sunday, or the 20th of May, though, for certain reasons, it was not made public till June. On the other hand, Francis, the adherent of Rome, to strengthen his hands, had formed alliance with Solyman, the Turkish Sultan; and though the zealous Cardinals took high offence at this "most Christian King," the old Pontiff himself was far from being inimical to the Porte!

Here then was the King of France standing out in alliance before the world, with the PONTIFF on one side, and the TURK on the other! While Charles, the imperial son of ROME, visibly stood in closest union, offensive and defensive, with the condemned HERETIC Sovereign of England! They were now united to oppose and humble them all! To finish the picture it should be observed that while the Emperor had joined with Henry, one of his grounds of complaint against Francis was thus distinctly stated—that "he had not deserted the Bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promised."⁶ No wonder than the Pontiff was enraged with the Emperor; but then he had his answer ready—that he might with more reason avail himself of the English King's assistance, than Francis, could do of the Turk's.

This singular array of parties may not last long, and the figures may soon change their positions; but it was sufficient that it should be exhibited for ONCE, in the eye of the world, had it been for no other purpose than to show, that there is ONE, who, as "He spreadeth abroad the earth by Himself," so, at any moment, he can expose the hollow hypocrisy of nations, or more correctly speaking, of their rulers.

The wishes and long-cherished aspirations of Gardiner and his adherents were however now, at last, in part fulfilled. They had "set up their rest," says Burnet, "on bringing the King and the Emperor to a league, which we may reasonably believe was vigorously driven on by Bonner." But then this royal Master of their's, who was "every thing by turns, and nothing long," may, by only one movement, darken all their prospects; nay, he will soon, to their vexation, take his first step, and Gardiner himself must be called in to bow, and reverentially acquiesce in it!

Parliament had risen on the 12th of May, and Henry having secured an enormous subsidy,⁷ as well as settled his foreign affairs on the 20th,

⁶ Herbert.

⁷ To show their good will to the Imperial league, though the Pontiff was in opposition, the
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the month of June arrived when the fact was announced ; but then at the same time all was preparation for his sixth marriage ; and on the 10th of July, to Gardiner was assigned the unwelcome task of espousing the King to *Catharine Parr*. The Queen, as already mentioned, favoured the *new learning* ; and though she proceeded with caution so as not to offend Henry, and therefore could not prevent the burning of three worthy men at Windsor, by Gardiner's instigation, only eighteen days after her marriage ; yet happily, through one of the Queen's servants, the plot which had already involved these men in ruin, and would have swept away others of higher rank, was detected. The King was so offended as to degrade and punish the agents employed.

It was in the last month of this year that Cranmer's palace at Canterbury was destroyed by fire, when his brother-in-law and some other persons perished in the flames. This prevented him from entertaining Gonzaga, the Viceroy of Sicily, who had arrived from the Emperor, with a view to strengthen the *league*, and urge to greater exertions against France. During the whole campaign between Charles and Francis, all that Henry had done was to furnish a small army under Sir John Wallop ; but vast preparations must now be made for this continental war, and the English Monarch will now proceed, for the rest of his reign, to *drain* the kingdom.

SECTION VII.

PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—HENRY'S STYLE AND TITLE—LONGS TO BE KING OF FRANCE !—WAR WITH SCOTLAND—HENRY IN FRANCE—GARDINER—CRANMER—HENRY'S CONFESSION OF IMPOTENCE IN ALL HIS INJUNCTIONS TO HIS BISHOPS—HIS INCONSISTENCY—NEW TESTAMENT OF TYNDALE'S, A FOREIGN PRINT.

THAT cause to which these pages have been specially devoted, had, as we have seen, been dragged into Parliament last year, but we shall have the evidence before us presently, that it continued to stand, as it had always stood, independently of frown or favour. Parliament had disgraced itself, it is true, as well as earned the contempt of posterity, by its interference ; but as for any fury involved in its proceedings, it will be evident that it could not this year be of much force,

Clergy had granted ten per cent. on their income for three years, beside the deduction of the tenths already vested in the Crown, and the laity granted him a tax on real or personal property, rising gradually from 4d. to three shillings in the pound. All foreigners paid double rates. Stat. 34, Henry VIII. 27.

in either burning, or blotting, or cutting the Sacred Volume. A variety of circumstances, involved in the state of the country, will make this apparent, and prepare us for whatever may have occurred in the cause itself; while a remarkable *confession of impotence*, on the part of his *Majesty*, as far as his *proclamations respecting religion* were concerned, will also come before us. So little had *Royal authority* to do with the progress of Truth, and that by its own *recorded confession*.

It was upon Tuesday the 14th of January, that Parliament had again met, and it continued sitting till Saturday the 29th of March, when the proceedings, as usual, assumed the shape of *whatsoever* had occurred to the fancy of the Sovereign. As the first Act introduced to the House regarded the Crown, in which the possibility of Princess Mary's ultimate succession was pointed at, the gentlemen of the old learning were not a little pleased, to say nothing of the compliment thus paid to the Emperor, who had long expressed his desire on the subject.¹ About the same time, Henry was resolved not to forget his much-prized *style* or title as King. An act was therefore passed, declaring that this should now be—"King of England, *France*, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and on earth the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland." Few moments certainly could have proved more awkward for the assumption of such a style. Its very sound, its grotesque appearance, as well as palpable arrogance, must have afforded ground for many an observation at the time, since it has drawn forth remark from the historian ever since. "King of England" Henry certainly was, as all his subjects deeply felt; and having smitten Scotland, after seeing his nephew sink into an early grave, "his heart was lifted up;" he might have "gloried in this, and tarried at home;" but as for France, he was only girding on his harness to fight her Sovereign, and, before long, this will have cost him and his son a sum equal to about *forty-five millions* of our money sterling, without any advantage whatever in return! And with regard to Ireland, this was the first Englishman who chose to style himself her King; but seven years before this, as "Lord of Ireland," he had inflicted a vital injury, from which she has not recovered to the *present hour*.² The rest of his Majesty's style has already come before us; and it was now finally confirmed by Act of Parliament, at the moment when Henry

¹ Wriothesly, who had been created a Baron on the 1st of January, and is just about to come into power, must have been not the least gratified. Lord Audley was fast declining in health, after having held the seals as Lord Chancellor for above twelve years. On the 30th of April he died, and on the 3d of May Wriothesly, a very different man, succeeded.—Gov. State Papers, i., p. 763, *note*.

² His barbaric, though impotent, *Act* for abolishing the *language* of the native Irish, the aborigines of that beautiful island—a language now spoken daily to a far greater extent than it was in Henry's reign. For *one* who then spoke Irish, there are now neatly *ten*.

was at open war with Rome, and quarrelling with the King of France because he had not deserted the Pontiff. In other words, "Defender of the Faith," a title which the Court of Rome had conferred upon him for defending *her* claims, was now to be worn, in union with another, "the Head of the Church of England," which usurped them *all*. By this time, however, it must be evident, that such a Parliament would have assented to *any* style his Majesty had been pleased to dictate.

The session had not concluded before Henry was resolved to wreak his vengeance on his nearest neighbour; for, on the eve of a continental war, Scotland must be prevented from giving any annoyance. Besides, his Majesty's proposal of a marriage between young Edward and the infant Mary of Scotland had been thwarted and opposed by Beaton. The ostensible object, therefore, was to extort a ratification of the matrimonial treaty, or rather the surrender of the young Queen. The uncle of Edward, or Seymour Earl of Hertford, with Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Dudley Lord Lisle, the Lord Admiral, were despatched with a fleet and troops direct for the Scottish capital. Immediately on the Earl of Arran's refusal, the troops were landed at Leith, on the 4th of May, and 5000 horse from Berwick having joined next day, Edinburgh was attacked the day following. The Castle defied all their efforts; but after employing four days in the plunder and conflagration of the city, the army, in returning, consigned Haddington and Dunbar to the flames. On the other hand, the fleet was employed against Leith, where, having burnt the town, demolished the pier, and swept both sides of the Forth as far as Stirling, Lisle returned with his ships to Newcastle.

But the expedition to the Continent, in union with the Emperor, was to form Henry's grand exploit for this year; and as he had just asserted his right to the French throne, he must now go to make his title good. Charles and he were to march direct to Paris. Before setting off, however, the English Monarch, now especially in want of the needful, must devise some expedient for defraying all expenses. Afraid to risk the refusal of last Parliament, after so large a subsidy, granted only the previous session, and for three years; with equal disregard to the public at large and his successor on the throne, as Henry was *his own* minister, he at once raised the value of money and adulterated the coin! A strange preparation for a foreign war; one, too, which will not meet his exigencies, and a measure the results of which will be heavily felt for years after the monarch is in his grave.

In June the first division of the English army had landed at Calais; and having appointed the Queen as Regent during his absence, Henry set off, sailing, on the 14th of July, for France, in a ship rigged with cloth of gold! The Duke of Norfolk was with the army, and Stephen Gardiner had happily preceded, on his way to the Emperor's court; for though the King had begun to regard him with a jealous eye, his services as an

ambassador could not be dispensed with. Henry was now within the French frontier at the head of 45,000 men, of whom 30,000 were English troops, and the rest Imperial. The Emperor having been much the earliest in the field, had commenced with sieges while waiting for his ally, and three fortresses had already fallen before him. Henry must not be beaten, and therefore resolved to commence after the same fashion. Sitting down himself before Boulogne, he gave Montreuil in charge to Norfolk.

It was while thus engaged, before performing any feat, and without knowing whether he should succeed or not, that our English Monarch began to feel that he must have more money still ! That he should ever be King of France, yet remained to be decided ; but without delay he must signify to his people from a distance, that he certainly was King of England. Unfortunately for his oppressed subjects, the *graduated* tax of last year had *disclosed* the value of every layman's estate, and thus, if now disposed to make personal application, his newly created Chancellor, Lord Wriothesly, knew full well *where* to apply. In August, therefore, came the royal letter, demanding the *loan* of a sum of money. It was a regular circular, with blanks to be filled up ; a royal personal application from the King direct, for a loan of money from the individual, not one farthing of which was ever to be restored, although he now said —“ we promise you assuredly, by these presents, to cause the same to be repaid again unto you, within ——— after the date hercof !” How much was gained in this way has not been stated ; it may have been only like a drop in the ocean, but whatever was the amount, Parliament will of course interpose and relieve the crown of all that was borrowed.

It had certainly been no small effort on the part of Henry to go abroad, as he had become so corpulent, not to say feeble, through self-indulgence ; so that should he not succeed to his wishes, the mortification must be extreme, though as yet there seemed to be no reason to fear the result. Charles had reached within two day's march of Paris, which had taken alarm, and even Francis had begun to tremble. Meanwhile, a Spanish dominican, in the service of France, had whispered to Charles something about overtures of peace. The season was advancing, great arrears were due to the Imperial army, and the Emperor could not winter in France. An ambassador must be sent, for form's sake, to Henry, requiring him to fulfil his engagement, and meet with Charles before Paris. In the siege in which he was engaged, Henry's honour was at stake, when Charles, who felt no scruple in breaking a treaty at any moment, went on with his negotiation. It was soon signed. The Emperor found it perfectly convenient to make peace with Francis at Crespic near Meaux, on the 19th of September, leaving our English Monarch to settle his own affairs, and return home as he best could ! It was only the day before that Henry had been riding in great triumph into

Boulogne, and with this he must now be satisfied, instead of the capital and crown of France. By the 30th of September he had re-embarked and returned, says Halle, "to England, to the great rejoicing of his loving subjects!" He had lost his Imperial ally, and was now embroiled in a war with France by sea and land! Great boast, indeed, was made of his Majesty's siege and conquest; but immediate consideration must be given to the means by which even this was to be retained. As a proof that the power of France was not impaired, and that even aggressive steps on her part were anticipated, the rest of the year was busily occupied in fortifying the coasts of England.

Several of the movements of Government this year naturally lead to the conclusion that there could not be much, if any time left, to attend to the business of persecution for the Truth's sake; although in the spring, while Parliament was sitting, the House discovered, as usual, the discordant materials of which it was composed.

Their very first bill, involving as it did, the prospect of Princess Mary's possible succession to the throne, seems to have inspirited the gentlemen of "the old learning;" for although Cranmer had triumphed over his accusers last year, it was during this Parliament that the minion of Norfolk and Gardiner, Sir John Gostwyck, of whom we have already heard enough, as the accuser of Crumwell, ventured to accuse the Archbishop of *heresy*, openly in the House of Commons; but the knight, whom his Majesty instantly denounced as a *varlet*, had to repair forthwith to Lambeth, to humble himself there, and crave forgiveness. On the other hand, Gardiner was about this time placed in very awkward, if not critical circumstances, by his kinsman, some have said nephew, and secretary, Germain Gardiner. Once the feeble opponent of John Fryth, having been apprehended for denying the King's supremacy, he suffered the penalty of death as a traitor on the 7th of March. However, the Bishop contrived, as usual, to make his peace with the King, and happily he was soon to be despatched upon foreign affairs; though still, if Gardiner failed in any way, he sunk; while Cranmer remained or rather advanced in royal favour.

To the latter, therefore, the present moment appeared to be a favourable one for the farther mitigation of the bloody statute, which had been already somewhat softened last year; and Cranmer succeeded in carrying a new Act this session.

By this, in future, no individual was to be brought to trial under that statute, till after he had been legally presented, on the oaths of *twelve* men, before such commissioners as are mentioned in this Act, and referred to in another; nor was he, *till then*, to be imprisoned. No reputed offence of an older date than *one* year was to be actionable; nor was any preacher to be indicted, if *forty days* had elapsed after any sentiment he had uttered in the pulpit. The accused might also challenge any jurymen.³ These provisions formed so many very important alleviations in the fury of persecution; though two years hence, as in the cases of Anne Askew and others, they were most scandalously disregarded.

By the time that Henry departed from France, also, it will be observed, that not only were Norfolk and Gardiner withdrawn from the country, but the Queen was Regent; and with Cranmer at the head of her Council, the chief man bent upon cruelty and mischief, or Bonner of London, must have been under certain restraint. Nor was this all. Just before his Majesty left, it deserves notice that prayers in the *English* tongue were directed to be generally used. This fact in itself was important; but in reference to past times, and royal influence, not so much so as another, which now comes out incidentally—

“ We have sent unto you,” says the King to all the Bishops of his realm, “ We have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be *for a month or two* observed, and after *slenderly* considered, as *other our injunctions*, to our no little marvel have been used, but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth,” &c.

Thus it was officially acknowledged that the King's former injunctions had carried no powerful or prolonged influence. Before this we have frequently had occasion to observe, that the cause of God and his truth had been so peculiarly conducted, as to have no leaning or dependence on him whatever. We have seen, by many striking proofs, that it went on in its course, first in defiance, and then independently of royal interference. But now, towards the close of his reign, lest posterity should mistake, or not observe it; as far as his own name and authority had been employed, here is an artless and very frank confession of *impotence*, on the part of his

³ Statutes at large. 35 H. VIII., cap. 5.

Majesty, if not also of Crammer, who is supposed to have drawn up the injunction.

So far, indeed, from being a consistent friend to the progress of Divine Truth amongst his subjects, only last year Henry had lent his authority to the reprobation of the original translator, at whose death he had winked so hard; and frowned upon the *poor* for *reading the Sacred Volume*. His injunctions, like himself, staggering from side to side, must have confounded the public mind; and considering what had passed in Parliament last year, in reprobating the name and writings of Tyndale, it was not wonderful that the indignity should be resented. Tyndale's very name had become precious to many, and his translations of Scripture were now carefully preserved or hoarded in many a corner throughout England, far beyond the ken of Bishop, or King, or any underling.

Meanwhile, there seems to be no account whatever upon record of the seizure or burning of the New Testament, though there might have been, had foreign politics and preparations for war not engrossed attention;⁴ but Lewis and some others have gone too far when they have stated that Day and Scres printed the Pentateuch this year. Day had not yet begun to print at all, and the volume must belong to a subsequent impression, or that of 1549. It is, however, curious, and more to the purpose, that a foreign press was at work even this year, and with an edition of Tyndale's New Testament. This must have been in the face of the recent anathema. A copy, once in the possession of the Earl of Oxford, is mentioned in the Harleian Catalogue, with this remark—"it seems to be a foreign print."⁵ Indeed it must have been so; and it may be put down in these troublous days, as a serenade from Antwerp or elsewhere, in answer to the contemptible brawl in Parliament last year.

⁴ It is true that in Herbert's Ames, under 1544, (p. 1555) there is mention made of one burning of the New Testament by Somers and sixteen others; but this refers to an earlier period, in the days when the possessors were condemned to throw them into the fire prepared at Cheap-side.

⁵ Bibl. Harl., vol. i., No. 428.

SECTION VIII.

WAR WITH FRANCE—EXHAUSTED STATE OF ENGLAND—UNDERMINING CRANMER—HIS ENEMIES COVERED WITH SHAME—HENRY ADDRESSING HIS PRIVY COUNCIL—HIS OPINION OF IT—ADDRESSING HIS PARLIAMENT FOR THE LAST TIME.

WE are now within two years of the King's death, and the entire period was fraught with great misery to his subjects, though, generally speaking, not after the fashion in which they had been tormented in past times. His Majesty and the government, with all the strength of the kingdom, were at present fully occupied in preparing for self-defence. Such was the consequence of Henry's visit to France!

France had not been so exhausted by the double invasion of last year, as to be incapable of retaliation. Francis, having now only one enemy before him, had resolved to attack Boulogne by land, to block it up by sea, and even invade England. His army was to amount to above 50,000 men, and he fitted out a fleet of ships, large and small, amounting to above 200 sail, besides twenty-five gallees. It was the greatest effort that France had ever made by sea.

By the middle of July 136 sail had arrived within sight of Portsmouth, where the English fleet of only sixty sail lay to defend the kingdom. The sands, however, proving their grand defence, the French were unable to dislodge them; though the contrast between last year and the present, must have been striking in the extreme, to him who witnessed both. Precisely a year ago, Henry having sailed in his ship rigged with cloth of gold, was upon French ground at the head of 45,000 men, proposing to march to Paris: and now, at no small expense to his subjects, he was standing on the shore at Portsmouth, the fleet of France braving him to his face, and riding triumphantly in the British Channel! One of the English vessels too, the *Mary Rose*, with her captain, Sir George Carew, and *seven hundred* men on board, went down before his eyes; and though the ship was very partially recovered afterwards, all on board perished!¹ The skirmishing between the two fleets was in-

¹ The French insisted that they had sunk her by their fire; the English said she had gone down from being overloaded with ordnance, and having her ports very low. We have said that she was *partially* recovered; but who would have supposed that the remains, could have been brought to light in our own day, after lying for nearly *three hundred years* under water? The timber and relics recovered from the *Mary Rose*, sunk in 1545, were recovered only in 1840, and being sold by auction in November, brought great prices. The keel of the oak mast sold for £30. Stone and iron shot, for from twenty to thirty shillings *each*. Common glass bottles and warrior's bows, from ten to fifteen shillings, and other articles in proportion. One brass and twenty iron cannon have been recovered.

significant at that moment, but no time was to be lost in farther preparations; although no sooner had his Majesty left the ground than "many of his mariners and soldiers had fallen sick, and many were not able to continue the seas."² Still, by the 10th of August, the English fleet had amounted to 104 vessels of all descriptions, with 12,738 men on board; and reprisals must be sought for on the coast of France. On the 2d of September about seven thousand men were landed in Normandy, and after burning the seaport and Abbey of Treport, the fleet returned in a condition sufficiently miserable, owing to sickness and disease. Lord Lisle, the Lord-Admiral, in writing to the Privy Council on the 14th of September, tells them "of the number of the men who came home with me, there were found in the musters, 12,000 sick and whole. And because there was *no money* to pay the army at the said musters, there was new musters taken the 13th of the said month, at which day were mustered of whole and able men 8488!" so that it doth appear there were sick, dead, and dismissed by passport 3512!³

With the most savage barbarity, during all this month, the war in Scotland had been pursued, under Scymour, Earl of Hertford, to which some reference must be made at its close next year.

Throughout this busy year, and indeed ever since the death of Cromwell, there had been no man at his Majesty's right hand, fruitful in expedients to supply his exchequer; so that the state of his finances will forcibly explain the condition into which he had now brought himself, as well as the people under his sway.

When in France the King had procured money by "loans," never to be repaid. He could not, within a few months only, solicit loans a second time; nor does he seem to have been willing to face Parliament at its usual period of assembling in the beginning of the year. As for that species of assistance, strangely enough styled *benevolences*, time there was when the spirit of the people of England put an end to their imposition, and they had been declared by Parliament to be illegal; but the iron sway of this Monarch was such, that should any man dare to resist a "benevolence" *now*, we shall soon see the consequences. Upon any emergency whatever, and much more when money was wanted, law was now a trifling hindrance. Henry had been in the habit of making and unmaking laws for many a day, as to heresy, and why not, when his coffers were empty?

Early in the month of January, therefore, his Majesty coolly told his subjects, that he had "forborne, at this time, to trouble Parliament with their repair to the Court." He now merely addressed a "Minute of a letter to divers Lords," &c., for a benevolence! In this he adverted to the "importable charges" which he had "borne, upon the league with the

² Gov. State Papers, 1. vol.

³ Idem. 1. and v., 476.

Emperor for the benefit of Christendom, and for the recovery of his right to the *Crown of France!*" He then calls on all those to whom the letter was addressed to "contribute such sums of money as they *conveniently* may, by way of benevolence, *as if* the same were granted by Parliament!!"⁴ Amongst others, of course the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were not forgotten; but two of the latter had not found it "convenient" to comply. One of them, Richard Reed, before the month was ended, had been sent off to join the *ranks* of the army in Scotland. He was made prisoner in the very first engagement, and had to pay a heavy fine for his ransom! Sir William Roach, the other Alderman, suffered a confinement of three months under a charge of seditious words, and no doubt paid sweetly for his liberation. Such were the consequences of resisting Henry's "benevolence, if it were convenient."⁵ The sum thus raised amounted to £70,723, 18s. 10d., or equal to above a million of our present money; but this proved only a mere dribble, when compared with the expenses incurred by the war with France. If the true condition of the country is to be known, and as descriptive of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it is important. Without any historical narration, the better way will be to repair to my Lord Chancellor Wriothesly, and inquire what he has got to say by the month of September. In self-defence, he will tell us far more than his Majesty would have ever chosen to disclose to posterity. He is writing to the Privy Council, on Monday morning the 7th of September, and the information will be new to most readers of English history.

"My Lords, if I had my horses here with me, I would be with you this night; but the same standing so far abroad that I cannot conveniently so do, I shall not fail to set forward on Wednesday, according to the King's Majesty's pleasure and my former advertisement.

"As concerning the preparation of money, I shall do that is possible to be done; but, my Lords, I trust your wisdoms do consider what is done and paid already. You see the King's Majesty hath, *this year and the last year*, spent £1,300,000 or thereabouts, and his subsidy and 'benevolence' ministering scant three hundred thousand thereof.⁶ So the lands being consumed, the plate of the realm molten and coined, whereof much hath risen, I sorrow and lament the danger of the time to come; wherein is also to be remembered the money that is to be repaid in Flanders, and what is as much, or more than all the rest, the

⁴ See Gov. State Papers, i., 783, *note*.

⁵ By the 21st of June, while the French fleet was in the act of preparing to pay Henry their visit, in return for his intrusion, we find the Duke of Norfolk writing to Paget the King's Secretary—"I have had here with me the collectors of this shire, Norfolk, and greatly blamed them for that the *benevolence* was not yet all paid. And their excuse was, that a great number of people have lamentably complained unto them, that for lack of payment for such grain, *as is taken of them for the King's Highness' use*, they have no money to pay the same; but *notwithstanding*, I have and shall this week, take such order, that I trust it shall be shortly paid!"—Gov. State Papers, vol. i., p. 783, 790.

⁶ That is, an amount, in our day, equal to nineteen millions and a half, of which four and a half had been received, while he saw not where the remaining sum, equal to fifteen millions, was to be found!

great scarcity that we have of corn; wheat being, in all places, Norfolk excepted, at 20s. the quarter, and a marvellous small quantity to be gotten of it. And though the King's Majesty should have a greater grant than the realm could bear at one time, it would do little to the continuance of these charges, which be so importable that I see not almost how it is possible to bear the charges this winter, till more be gotten; the great part of the subsidy being paid, the revenue received before hand, and more borrowed of the Mint than will be repaid these four or five months!

"Wherefore, good my Lords, though you write to me still, '*pay, pay, prepare for this and for that,*' consider it is your parts to remember the state of things with me, and, by your wisdoms, to ponder what may be done, and how things may be continued. I have done nothing in these matters *alone*. You were all privy to the state of them, before and after the King's Majesty came to *Portsmouth*, at which time things were considered and drawn to the uttermost."⁷

Among the other sources of perplexity, it will be observed that *Flanders* is mentioned. It was a branch of Henry's pretensions to the crown of France. In order to defend Boulogne he had hired 14,000 Germans, who, having marched to Fleurines, in the district of Liege, found they could advance no farther, the Emperor not allowing them a passage. The want of occupation and of pay soon produced mutiny; and money not arriving at the time appointed, they seized the English Commissioners as their security, and retreated. It was an ill-managed as well as expensive armament. The only consolation was, that Henry was now *his own Minister*, and no single man besides could be blamed. Wriothlesly, we have seen, declined all personal responsibility.⁸

Nearly two months after this the Chancellor reports progress to the King—"It may like you to declare to the King's Majesty that, against Monday next, he shall have in a readiness to be conveyed, whither it shall please him, the sum of £20,000, which is gotten after this sort; the Mints, our *holy anchor*, doth prepare £15,000; the Augmentation, £3000; the Dutchy, £1000; and the Wards, £1000. The tenth and first-fruits hath *nothing*, the Surveyors *nothing*, nor the Exchequer above £1000, which must serve towards the setting forth of your *ships* now in preparing to the seas, to relieve the debt of the ordinance, and to help other necessities!"⁹

By the 11th of November our Lord Chancellor is addressing Paget, the King's Secretary, very much in the same strain. "First, touching the Mint," (*their holy anchor*;) "we be now so far out with it, that if you take any penny more of it these three months, in which I think they shall be able to pay half the debt, you shall utterly destroy the trade of it, and men shall clearly withdraw their resort thither; which what it would import ye know." And after referring to the Court of Augmenta-

⁷ Gov. State Papers, i, p. 830.

⁸ *Idem*, i, p. 835.

⁹ Herbert. *Hum*

tions—of tithes and first-fruits, and the Exchequer, &c., he then adds—“ I assure you, Mr. Secretary, I am at my *wil's end* how we shall possibly shift for three months following, and especially for the two next. For I see not any great liklyhood that any good sum will come in till after Christmas, and then no more than the *relevainthes*, whereof before I have made mention which is no great matter.¹⁰ And yet, if ever I offended men in any thing, I offend in this matter. I am, as some think, *too sore* in it, but I serve him that I trust will sustain me, doing nothing but for *his service*.”—“ I would I and all men were bound to drink water twice a-week while we lived, upon condition that his Majesty might compass all things to his heart's case and contentacion ! ”¹¹ These were nothing more than empty compliments, but, no doubt, intended for the royal eye.

This state of wretchedness and beggary had at last obliged his Majesty to summon Parliament and the Convocation. They met on the 23d of November ; and the last subsidy for three years being now far more than expended, both Lords and Commons, clergy and laity, must come forward once more. The Convocation granted fifteen per cent. on their incomes for two years, and the Commons two tenths and fiftieths. The latter, indeed, added to this an additional subsidy from real and personal property, which they intreated his Majesty to accept, “ as it pleased the great Alexander to receive thankfully a sup of water of a poor man by the highway-side.”¹² To ward off, however, the recurrence or necessity for another “ sup of water,” the House proceeded one step farther, to the alarm of many who were not present to oppose, nor had ever been consulted. To his Majesty's sovereign disposal they subjected all colleges, chantries, and hospitals in the kingdom, with their manors, lands, or hereditary estates. From a monarch who never repaid his “ loans,” and crushed his subjects to the ground if they declined a “ benevolence,” they were satisfied with a promise, that he would not now abuse the confidence of his subjects, but employ the whole “ to the glory of God, and the common profit of the realm ! ” Cambridge and Oxford, however, immediately took the alarm, and approached the throne, craving mercy and forbearance. By this time it has been extremely difficult for historians to find the slightest occasion for offering incense to the memory of Henry, but several have seized the present moment for want of a better, and simply because he left these two Universities in full possession of their revenues !

Among the acts passed at this time, there was one for conveying *seventy* manors to the Crown belonging to the see of York ; one for punishing those who took above *ten* per cent. interest for money ; and a third for

¹⁰ *Relevainthes*—the revenue derived from *reliefs* : fines payable by a tenant on the death of his ancestor.

¹¹ Gov. State Papers. i., p. 180.

¹² Stat. of Realm, 1016.

settling the *tithes* in LONDON in proportion to the RENTS of the houses.¹³ On the 24th of December Parliament rose, when Henry delivered the *last* oration he ever addressed to it ; a strange production, which will be glanced at presently.

In the course of a year so pregnant with misery and confusion throughout the kingdom as this, it may appear difficult to imagine where one moment was left for the gentlemen of the "old learning" to display their hostility ; but in the autumn, after the King's return from the mortifying scene at Portsmouth, such a moment was found.

Cranmer had not failed to improve the absence of Gardiner and Norfolk. Last year, as we have seen, the former had been in Germany or Flanders, the latter in France ; and up to this period the Duke had been very busy at home, surveying the sea-coast, and harassed by the war of defence. But now in September or October, a select number of the Privy Council had found a little space to breathe and look round, when an opportunity seemed to present itself, for trying their skill once more. It was to be concentrated on the Archbishop, and for the last time. The incidents are important, not in reference to the accusers only, but as giving farther insight to the character of the King himself, in connexion with his precious Council.

In the afternoon of the 22d of August, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, died ; perhaps the most powerful friend that Cranmer now had.¹⁴ The companion of the King from his earliest youth, and possessing throughout life considerable influence over him ; Henry was sitting in Council when first informed of his decease, and could not suppress his feelings. He then declared that during the whole course of their friendship, the Duke had never made *one* attempt to injure an adversary, nor had ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of *any* person. "Is there any of *you*, my Lords, who can say as much ?" When his Majesty had uttered these words,

¹³ See the Supplication of the Poor Commons, under next year.

¹⁴ Gov. State Papers, v., p. 496.—Suffolk had been General of the English army in France, and was the first man who entered Boulogne. He it was who, in 1529, so incensed Wolsey, by exclaiming—"It was never merry in England whilst we had Cardinals amongst us,"—and it was to him and Norfolk, that the Cardinal at last delivered up the Great Seal. The Duke's last letter is dated from Portsmouth on the 7th of August, where he had remained behind the King, deeply interested in trying to recover the hulk of the *Mary Rose*, so that he had been but a short time unwell.—See State Papers, i., pp. 736 738, 396.

he looked round in all their faces, and saw them confused with the consciousness of secret guilt.¹⁵

Thus so emphatically checked, one might have supposed that they would have been careful not to verify the character which their Sovereign had seemed to insinuate; but no; it was but shortly after the Duke's remains were interred with splendour at Windsor, that certain Privy Counsellors had resolved to move. When the King gave his significant look round the Council, there can be little or no doubt that his Grace of Norfolk, Wriothesly the Lord Chancellor, and even Stephen Gardiner were present; for the latter had returned in spring, and been ever since actively engaged.¹⁶ The fears of the party must have led them to exaggerate; but from the expressions employed, the reader will at least learn what was *their* estimate of the progress now made, in a cause which they denounced as heretical, and so detested. Another mistake they made, not unwillingly, was their ascribing so much to *one* man, and that one man the Archbishop; but he was near to them, and a perpetual eye-sore; they hated him from the heart fervently, and must play their last game, under Henry, with a view to his ruin.

Being, as they imagined, now fully prepared to carry their purpose into effect, the Privy Counsellors waited on his Majesty, when they grievously accused Cranmer; saying, "that he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with their *unsavoury doctrines*, that THREE PARTS of the land were become abominable *heretics*; and that this might prove dangerous to the King, as likely to produce such commotions and uproars as had sprung up in Germany." They therefore "requested that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, till he might be examined." To their mode of procedure the King at once objected, when they told him, "that the Archbishop being one of the Privy Council, no man dared to object matter against him, unless he were first

¹⁵ Coke's Inst., cap. 59.

¹⁶ It has been stated in the British Biography and elsewhere, that Gardiner did not return from Flanders till about Jan. 1546, but this is a mistake. As early as May this year, he had returned; and it is perfectly characteristic, that the first time his name appears again in the Privy Council, is by his signature in reply to the proposed murder of Cardinal Beaton. Again, his name is at the letter from Oking, 25th Aug., to the Earl of Hertford down in the north, informing him of the death of Suffolk on the day preceding. Sadler was with the Earl, and so was Tunstall, so that he must not be implicated in the scene about to be described.—*Gov. State Papers*, v., pp. 451, 491-496. The truth might be stated as—"Bishop *versus* Archbishop;" for Tunstall had his eye upon Beaton, and Gardiner his upon Cranmer, about the same moments.

committed to durance; but that if this were done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and deliver their consciences!" Yet Henry still would proceed no farther than this—that Cranmer should appear next day before the Council to be examined by themselves, and should they *then* judge it to be advisable, so commit him to the Tower.

His Majesty, however, knowing the men well, and reflecting on what he had done, about midnight ordered Sir Anthony Denny to cross the river to Lambeth, and command Cranmer's immediate attendance at Whitehall. The Archbishop was in bed, but, of course, instantly rose, and presented himself before his royal Master, whom he found in the gallery of the palace. Henry very frankly told him the whole, and what he had done in granting their request; but concluded by saying—"Whether I have done well or no, what say you, my Lord?" Cranmer, having first thanked his Majesty for the information, went on to say, that he was well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might be *fairly* heard, not doubting but that his Majesty would see that he was so treated. Upon hearing these words, Henry, with a profane exclamation, immediately burst forth, after his own characteristic manner—

"What fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of your's may take advantage against you! Do you not know, when *they have you once in prison*, three or four false knaves will *soon* be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which else, you being now at liberty, dare not open their lips, or appear before your face! No, not so, my Lord; I have better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you; and, therefore, I will have you to-morrow come to the Council, which, no doubt, will send for you; and when they break this matter unto you, require of them, that being one of them, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought before you. And if they stand with you, without regard of your allegations, and will, on no condition, condescend to your request, but will needs commit you to the Tower—then appeal you from them to our person, and give to them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause from them into mine own hand. This ring, they *well* know, I use for no other purpose but to call matters from the Council into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." Cranmer having received the ring, humbly thanked his Majesty, and withdrew for the night.

Next morning, and by eight o'clock, a message arrived from the Privy Council requiring Cranmer's attendance. It was immediately obeyed, but when the Primate made his appearance in the ante-room, he was not permitted to proceed

any farther. There he was kept waiting, among servants and ushers, nearly an hour, while other members of Council were, in the meantime, passing both in and out. Fortunately, Ralph Morrice, the Archbishop's secretary, was with him; and indignant at this treatment, he slipt off, and informed a warm friend of his master, Dr. William Butts, the King's physician. He first came, and once witness to the fact, proceeded to the royal presence. Having informed his Majesty what a strange thing he had seen. What is that? said Henry. "My Lord of Canterbury," replied the physician, "if it please your Grace, is well promoted; for now he has become a lackey or a serving man; for yonder he hath stood this half hour at the Council Chamber door among them."—"It is not so," said Henry; "the Council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm after that sort! But let them alone; it is well enough—I shall talk with them by and bye."

At length Cranmer was called in. Their Lordships then informed him that great complaints were made of him, both to the King and to them; that he, and others by his permission, had filled the land with heresy; and, therefore, it was the royal pleasure that he should stand committed to the Tower, there to await his trial and examination. As a Privy Counsellor, the Primate first demanded that his accusers should be immediately called before him, using many arguments against their proceeding to such extremity; but all was in vain—he *must* go to the Tower. "Then," said Cranmer, "I am sorry, my Lords, that you drive me to this exigent, to appeal from you to the King's Majesty, who by this token (holding up the ring,) hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof." The royal signet once delivered, produced more than its usual effect; the Council were amazed, and the first man who broke silence was Lord John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford:—"When you first began this matter, my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him. I know, right well, that the King would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish, as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason."

This, however, was no time for confabulation. The Counsellors, to a man, must rise instantly, and carry both the ring and the cause into the royal presence. Henry, of course, was now fully ready for them.

“ Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had had a discreet and wise Council, but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury ! What make ye of him ! A slave !—slutting him out of the Council Chamber among serving men ! Would ye be so handled yourselves ! I would ye should well understand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God, (laying his hand upon his breast,) and, therefore, whosoever loveth me, will upon that account regard him.”

Something must be said in reply, when Norfolk answered for himself and his fellows :—“ We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canterbury, in that we requested to have him in durance ; which we only did, that he might, after his trial, be set at liberty to his greater glory.” Henry, however, was not to be befooled, and only added—“ I pray you, use not my friends so : I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth *malice* among you, one to another ; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you.”¹⁷

His Majesty immediately departed, when all the accusing gentlemen, so stern of late, are said to have shaken hands, hypocritically enough, with Cranmer, who was to be troubled no more, after this fashion, for above seven years to come.

It has been thought difficult to say whether Henry, over-persuaded by this junto, was at first in earnest, and afterwards changed his resolution ; or whether he took this method to check the forwardness of the Archbishop’s enemies ; but let this have been as it may, who does not see, and in the King’s own language, a hideous picture of the past ? Here was the base manner in which many precious lives had been sacrificed. The Council, stript of its disguise, by its own Sovereign, exhibits a shocking spectacle ; but above all, what can be said as to the character of the Monarch himself, who, in amazement at Cranmer’s simplicity, was perfectly familiar with the unprincipled cruelty of his own Ministers ? “ Do you not know,”

¹⁷ Strype, Foxe. Though this strange affair derives not a little point from the time and circumstances in which it occurred, it has been frequently misplaced. Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, placing it in 1544, and Burnet in 1546—from both of whom, others have copied. It is fixed by the death of Suffolk, and that of Dr. Butts. Archbishop Parker informs us that the Duke had died but a short time before, and we have seen the part which the King’s physician acted. He had been knighted by Henry VIII. before this, and dying on the 17th of November 1545, lies interred in Fulham Church. The scene must have occurred, therefore, in September or October of that year.

said Henry, "that *when* THEY have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you?" Such, no doubt, on many a melancholy occasion, had been the tender mercies of both King and Council.

Having thus schooled his *Privy Council*, by the close of the year his Majesty felt no less disposed to lecture his *Parliament*. We have already heard, from the Lord Chancellor himself, what was the miserable state of Henry's finances; we have seen Parliament strain every nerve, and even exceed their powers, in trying to improve them; and as there was no subject which made its way so directly to the royal heart, as that of pecuniary supplies, the King professed to be uncommonly pleased with his most compliant House. He had, indeed, no idea of blotting out from his style, the monosyllable "France;" but by this time, there is not only no more lofty pretensions to that crown, but he very frankly characterises the adverse turn which the war had taken—"not for our pleasure, but your *defence*; not for our gain, but to our great *cost*." Still the whole House had done its utmost, and since they had laid at his feet all the Universities, as Henry had no intention of levelling to the dust either Cambridge or Oxford; after taking full credit to himself for being a "trusty friend," a "charitable man," a "lover of the public wealth," and "one that feared God," he proceeds—

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor any 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, if necessity require, shall my person be unadventured!"

The way being thus smoothed, his Majesty proceeds to reprimand the whole House, and nothing will satisfy him short of exposing to the public eye what he thought of them all, as a body. If any benefit was to accrue to posterity, from Henry's own opinion before quitting the stage, he now gives it; and the pith of his address must not be withheld.

He commences with quoting Scripture, and his *text* is "Charity is *gentle*, charity is *not envious*, charity is *not proud*, and so forth in that chapter." But he had seen malice in his *Privy Council*, and now saw it in *Parliament*. whether Lords or Commons. Clergy or Laity.

“ Behold, then, what love and charity there is amongst you 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—Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord when you preachers sow among them, in your sermons, strife and discord? They look for light, and you bring them into 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!

“ Yet you of the TEMPORALITY be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy—And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own consciences, and to instruct your children and family. 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 ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same.”

Old John Foxe cannot permit his Majesty to escape with such credit as he would here arrogate to himself. “ Charity and concord in Commonwealths, be things most necessary; but in matters of religion, charity and concord be not enough, without verity and true worship of God. And wherein consisteth all this variance, but only because *God's word hath not its free course*, but that those who set it forth are condemned, and therefore burned?” “ How are they permitted to hear God's word, when no one is permitted to read it (as far as Parliament had enjoined,) under the degree of a *gentleman*?” Truth and error he regarded “ as two mighty flints suiting together, whereupon cometh out the sparkle of this division,” and “ there is no neutrality, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two.”

Parliament, of course, durst not reply—“ Physician, heal thyself;” but such language from *such* lips, has seldom if ever been equalled. Some may conjecture that Cranmer must have helped his Majesty to several of his expressions; but if this was indeed Henry's own unaided production, as he himself distinctly intimates, could we obliterate from our minds all the cruelty and wrong, all the reckless and unprincipled despotism of the past, then might we suppose that this was merely the last exchange of civilities on the part of a benignant monarch, concluding the whole with his final and faithful counsel. But as the past cannot be forgotten, and the speaker has yet another year to live, then does the language afford a display of the superlative deceitfulness of the human

heart, equal to any in English history. There was evidently as much need as ever for the dying prayer of Tyndale—“ Lord! open the eyes of the King of England;” for this exhorter of other men to “ gentle charity,” was himself not yet done with the shedding of blood! not yet done with breathing after the blood of the living, nor with expressing his enmity towards the original translator of what he now had styled “ that most precious jewel the word of God!” Such blindness in any man as to himself, is deeply instructive, and forcibly reminds one of the language of another King—“ His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins. He shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray.” To all this, the last year of Henry’s life will lend but too ample illustration.

SECTION IX.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND—PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—ENGLAND EXHAUSTED AS THE RESULT OF WAR—PERSECUTION REVIVED—ANNE ASKEW—HER HEROIC CONDUCT UNDER ILLEGAL PERSECUTION—SHOCKING CRUELITIES INFLICTED—HER MARTYRDOM, ALONG WITH THREE OTHER INDIVIDUALS—LATIMER STILL IN PRISON—ENMITY TO ENGLISH BOOKS. THE IMPOTENCE OF HUMAN MALICE—THE SUPPLICATION OF THE POOR COMMONS—THEIR GRIEVANCES—TUNSTAL AND HEATH EXPOSED—THE QUEEN IN DANGER—GARDINER IN TROUBLE—NORFOLK AND HIS SON, SURREY, ARRAIGNED—DUKE OF NORFOLK AND HIS FAMILY—EXECUTION OF SURREY—NORFOLK DOOMED TO DIE, AND ONLY ESCAPES BY THE DEATH OF THE KING HIMSELF—HENRY AND HIS COURTIER—HENRY, FRANCIS, CHARLES—RETROSPECT.

NOTWITHSTANDING Henry’s earnest exhortation to “ gentle, unenvious, and humble charity,” only a few days since, the Monarch pursued a course, from which he never swerved, to his dying hour; but the miserable condition into which he had now brought the kingdom requires first to be explained.

Down to the month of June, England was still embroiled in war both with France and Scotland. To the *latter* we slightly alluded in 1544; but as this war had proved so illustrative of the personal character of his Majesty, it demands a slight review, and more especially after his oration to Parliament.

Ever since the disappointment at York in not meeting with James V., Henry had burned with rage against Cardinal Beaton. His character was certainly bad enough; but whatever may be said of it elsewhere, we have now to do with that of Henry the Eighth.

Upon the Earl of Hertford first proceeding to Scotland in 1544, the following language is to be found in the commission then given to him by the *King*, of which previous historians were not aware.

“ You are there to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it; as that it may remain for ever, a memory of the vengeance of God alighted upon it, for their falsehood and disloyalty! Do what you can out of hand, and without long tarrying,” (as he was going to France,) “ to beat down and overthrow the Castle, sack Holyroodhouse, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can. Sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, *putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword without exception*, when any resistance shall be made against you! This done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages wherunto ye may reach; not forgetting amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the *Cardinal's* town of St. Andrew's, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the *Cardinal*. This journey shall succeed most to his *Majesty's* honour.”¹

Shocking in the extreme as were these instructions, it will be remembered that the Castle of Edinburgh had defied Hertford. He never reached St. Andrews; and for the honour of humanity, it may be hoped that the heart of man revolted at literal obedience to these dreadful instructions; but great as was the misery inflicted, it did not equal that which awaited other parts of Scotland in 1545, or last year.

For months, however, before Henry once more vented his vengeance on the country, he breathed with ardour after the death of Beaton, by any means, foul or fair; and the prospect of reward from his exchequer, however exhausted, had begun to operate. The Earl of Cassillis, as early as May last, 1545, had written to Sir Ralph Sadler, who, with Tunstal and the Earl of Hertford, formed the Council of the North. In this letter he very deliberately made “ an offer for the killing of the Cardinal, if his Majesty would have it done, and would promise, when it were done, a reward!” In the guilt of such a nefarious proposal, Henry's Northern Council felt no scruple in bearing a share, by immediately transmitting the letter to Paget, his Majesty's Principal Secretary; and what was the answer from Greenwich by the 30th of May, to the Earl of Hertford?

“ His Majesty hath willed us to signify to your Lordship, that his Highness

¹ Hamilton MS. recently brought to light by Mr. Tytler.

reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it ; and yet *not misliking* the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the Earl, (Cassillis) of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the King's Majesty !" (this had been already done, and here is his reply !) " To write to him what he thinketh of the matter, *he shall say*, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his Majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it : believing, verily, to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland ; and would trust verily, the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same ; as you doubt not of his *accustomed goodness* to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him !"²

To say nothing of the falsehood and prevarication practised throughout, it appears that every movement in this deliberate purpose of murder, long carried on, was directed by the King personally. Hertford made no scruple in writing to him direct, and was never left without a reply ; while not fewer than twenty individuals were involved with Henry in the same condemnation. They not only entered cordially into the nefarious project, but gloried in the idea that they were doing God service.³ Sadler, in particular, the mouth-piece of his royal Master, made no scruple in speaking out boldly. He is writing in July to Crichton, the proprietor of Brunstain Castle, near Edinburgh.⁴

" I am of your opinion, and, as you write, think it to be acceptable service to God to take him out of the way. Albeit the King's Majesty, whose *gracious nature and goodness* I know, will not, I am sure, have to do nor meddle with this matter touching your said Cardinal, for sundry considerations ; yet if you could so work the matter with those gentlemen your friends, which have made that offer, that it may take effect, you shall undoubtedly do therein good service to God and to his Majesty ! Wherefore, like as if I were in your place, it should be the first thing I would earnestly attempt—so I shall give you mine advice, to travel in the same effectually with the said gentlemen, and to cause them to put the matter in execution ; assuring you that I know the King's Majesty's honour, liberality, and goodness to be such, (which also is not unknown to you,) as you may be sure his Majesty will so liberally reward them that do his Highness honest service as they shall have good cause to be contented. And if the execution of this matter do rest only upon the reward of the King's Majesty, I pray you advertise me what reward they do expect ; and, if it be not unreasonable, I will undertake it shall be paid immediately upon the act executed, though I do myself bear the charge of the same !"⁵

² Gov. State Papers, v., p. 449. ³ Besides the King, we find ten noblemen, three knights, several commoners, and the two Bishops, Gardiner and Tunstall, all alike conversant with the affair. See the State Papers, vol. v.

⁴ Brunstain Castle, between Edinburgh and Musselburgh, now tenanted by a private family, and then the patrimonial residence of the Crichtons, was at a later period occupied by John Duke of Lauderdale.

⁵ Gov. State Papers, v., p. 471.

An Englishman named Thomas Forster had already been despatched by Sadler to the Earl of Cassillis and Sir George Douglas ; and from the latter he brought back the following message—"That if the King would have the Cardinal *dead*, if his Grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved."⁶

To quote such language is no pleasing task, and we may well forbear ; but there can be no doubt that we have now before us above twenty men, with his Majesty of England at their head, like "a troop of robbers waiting for a man, to murder him in the way by consent ;" and yet this is the very same King who, *after* all this, had the face to come forward and complain of "malice" in his Privy Council, and want of "charity" in his Parliament !

Meanwhile, and before Henry can obtain his wishes, the Earl of Hertford must enter Scotland once more. At the head of an army, consisting not only of English, but a great many mercenary troops, Irish and Spaniards, Germans, and even Italians, the Earl began to move on the 5th of September. After destroying the abbeys of Kelso, Dryburgh, and Melrose ; plundering, by fire and sword, every village and farm, castle, or mansion, on the beautiful banks of the Tweed, the whole country had become a desert ! When, without a farthing to pay the troops, and their own victuals being entirely spent, the army was obliged to return. Hertford, in exultation, wrote to his royal Master that more damage had been done by fire in Scotland, than had been done for the last hundred years. In describing the horrors of war, the Earl on his way homeward must discourse "such music as might suit the Sovereign's ear."

"Yesterday, in the morning, sending the horsemen along the waters of Kaile and Bowbent, (Bownont,) they forayed, burnt, and wasted a great part of East Teviotdale ; and, for the better execution, I sent with them 100 Irishmen, because the Borderers will not willingly burn their neighbours. Marching with the army towards Wark, we burnt and devastated the country on our way three or four miles on each hand, cast down sundry piles and stone houses, and burnt and destroyed such a deal of corn, as well in towns and lying in the fields, as also hid in woods and caves, that the Scots say themselves that they received not half so much loss and detriment by the last journey that was made to Edinburgh as they have done by this."

"Surely the country is very fair, and so good a corn country, and such plenty of the same, as we have not seen the more plenteous in England. Undoubtedly there is burnt a wonderful deal of corn ; for, by reason that the year hath been so forward, they had done much of their harvest, and made up their corn in stacks about their houses, or had it lying in shokes in the fields, and none at all left unshorn. 18 *Sep.* The burning whereof can be no little impoverishment to them, besides the burning and spoil of their houses. When the journey is

⁶ Gov. State Papers, v., p. 467.

ended, we shall make unto your Majesty a full declaration of the whole that hath, or shall be done in the same.”⁷

Some idea may be formed of all this misery, when it is stated, that by the 23d of September, they had burnt, razed, and destroyed, in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh alone, 7 monasteries and friaries; 16 castles, towers, and piles; 5 market-towns, 243 villages! 13 mills, and 3 hospitals. The Scots, in retaliation, had been doing what damage they could in the north-east parts of England; though the *raids* of the Scots could by no means prove so wasteful as the *forrays* of the English.

September thus spent, by the 6th and the 20th of October it comes out that the project for murdering Beaton had been resumed, at the very period when Henry was reproving malice in his own Privy Council; and though the Scottish Cardinal, by his cruelty and persecution, raised up other enemies in his own country, and fell at last as the immediate result of another quarrel, which we must not here anticipate, still the transactions of this period bear immediately on the characters of both Henry and his ministers.⁸ Upon his Majesty coming down to Parliament with his last oration, Hertford and Sadler, Wriothesly and Paget, Gardiner and Tunstal, with all the rest, were present. To say nothing of their being accomplices, what must *they* have thought of *him*, when he burst forth and read the whole House a lecture upon *charity*?

It was in the beginning of June this year (1546) that Henry was at last informed of the murder of Beaton, on Saturday morning the 29th of May, in his castle of St. Andrews; but, worn out with this double and expensive war into which he had plunged his country, he had begun to long for peace. Negotiations had commenced, indeed, in April, when, after “long debating, and divers breaches,” peace was concluded with France. The Emperor was comprehended by both Princes, and Scotland also was included, *if* no new occasion were given—the latter being in fact, a hollow and crafty clause to serve for the future; but, to France, peace was as welcome as to England.

It was professedly agreed that Francis should pay to Henry the arrears of pension due by the treaty of 1525; that commissioners, mutually appointed, should sit in judgment on a claim of debt due to England of 512,022 crowns; that, eight years hence, the King of England should receive 2,000,000 of crowns, as a compensation for arrears of pensions, and the charges of repairing and preserving Boulogne, which was to be restored to France.

In the foolish hope that this treaty was to be literally fulfilled, the peace was now proclaimed in London, and with great solemnity, on the 13th of June. It deserves notice merely on account of an incident per-

⁷ Gov. State Papers, v., p. 523.

⁸ See the scene in the Privy Council, under last year. pp. 174. 178

fectly characteristic of Henry after his wars were ended. On this occasion, the richest *silver crosses*, and the finest embroidered copes, collected from the different churches in London, were displayed; but, the sight once over, it had proved too much for the envious eye of our ever-needy monarch. They were to grace processions no more! This was the last time. His subjects, who ought to have been more cautious of displaying their finery, might have anticipated the result; for, soon after, the whole of these splendid decorations, as well as the plate belonging to the churches, were ordered to be deposited in the royal treasury and wardrobe, Henry assigning no other reason than his will and pleasure. This, however, was a mere trifle, caught in passing. If we desire to know the true state of things once more, we may again first inquire what my Lord Chancellor was saying, now that his Majesty had finished his royal game. For above two years past he had sought diversion, both by sea and land, and made the sorrows of mankind his sport.

The reader will not forget how much Parliament had done for the King last December, and for which he had stretched a point and came down, first to thank the House, and then charge all present with such lack of charity; but now, nine months after, Wriothesly is in no better humour than before.

“As for money,” says he to the Privy Council on the 4th of September, “all the shift shall be made that is possible, but yet the store is very small. The contribution cometh very slowly in, which we shall help with letters if it amend not. The Mint is *drawn dry*, and much owing for bullion. The rest allege that they have little, but they shall have little rest unless we see they bestir them as appertaineth.” Three days after this—“We cannot yet recover the money of the Mayor and City of London, due for corn, wherewith to pay the labourers at *Boulogne*. We caused £5000 to be delivered to the Admiralty yesterday for the alleviation of the King’s Majesty’s charges that way.” Only three days later, or the 10th—“As touching the calling on the Mayor of London (Sir Martin Bowes) for the money due, we shall not fail to call, and *cry* till we get it.”—“The Exchequer is closed up, and will help with nothing till the term come.”⁹

Day after day Wriothesly sings the same song; and a fortnight later, or on the 25th of September, he is thus joined by Paulet and Gardiner in writing to the Council with the King:—“Mr. Coferer hath declared to us this day his great lack of money for the King’s Majesty’s *household*; alleging that there is owing at this day above twelve thousand pounds, besides two thousand six hundred pounds to be paid this Michaelmas for *wages*, which men look certainly to receive herein.” In short, they add—“if the *conduits* be stopped, we shall be driven, of necessity, to tarry for the *water*!”¹⁰

When Michaelmas-Even was come, to which they had alluded, Wri-

⁹ Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 834, 861, 865, 878.

¹⁰ *Idem*, i., 879.

thesly was then in us great a passion as he dared to utter, for he was writing in reply to Paget, the King's Secretary.

“ With our answer to your strange letters I have thought meet to require you to consider that, travailing here, as we do, in things displeasent to all men whom we call before us, and devising how things may be answered, which must, of necessity, be dispatched, this kind of writing was no small discomfourt to us all, whereby all our good will seemeth to be otherwise taken than we trust we have or shall deserve. What this matter of money inporteth you know, and how slowly it cometh in, do we what we can. Even now we be advertised by Sir John Gresham that he shall not be able, from the allum and fustians, to pay Barth-Compain, but he must have £2000 by warrant. And in February we have £80,000 to pay, which must be provided for, or your credit will be in danger. It must be made of your half-year's rent, the tail of the Contribution, and some help of the Mint, for the subsidy is not payable till Easter, and the ‘fifteenth’ after. My Lord Great Master lacketh for victualling, and a great many poor men in England would be holpen that have delivered their victuals *long since*, and remain yet unpaid? I write this to you as to myself, that you may the rather weigh things thoroughly: and remember that all things must in time be foreseen, or else it may chance you shall lack suddenly, even when you would fainest have. Would to God the King's Majesty had a *sore present*—to rid us in this mean time of some of our care.”¹¹

Such expressions are far more significant of the real state of things than any general description in modern language; but still they convey no full idea of the extent of that expense and misery into which the Monarch had now plunged his kingdom. The storm he had raised besides was merely abated, not finished; and although the King of England be about to die, as well as the King of France, the burden which the former entailed on his son and successor, Edward VI., must be taken into account before we can judge of the merits or demerits of Henry VIII. when acting as his *own* Minister.

If we only glance at his Majesty's operations as a financier, we refer to a department entirely his own; and in the adulteration of the coin we see a series of measures which could only have been pursued in obedience to royal dictation. It was a course of proceeding by which, at every step, Henry at once defrauded the public, created commercial embarrassments innumerable, and involved his successors on the throne in serious difficulties long after he was gone. At his accession the ounce of gold and the pound of silver were worth forty shillings each. By his successive proclamations they were raised to forty-four, forty-five, and finally to forty-eight shillings. Contriving also, by a premium, to collect the old, he issued a new coinage, with no small proportion of alloy; and, once begun, he had gone on debasing it, till, at this moment, after such a ruinous war, the alloy exceeded the silver in the proportion of *two to one*! And what were the results to his successors? The nominal value

¹¹ Gov. State Papers, i. 880, 881

of his shillings had to be reduced, first to *nine* pence, then to *six* pence, and finally to be withdrawn. The corruptions which he had introduced into English coin were not rooted out till the reign of Elizabeth!

Base as these operations were, they still but very partially explain the extent of Henry's powers; who, after all this, had come down, and told Parliament, when taking leave of it for ever—"that no prince in the world more favoured his subjects than he did." Even since 1542, the indelible marks of his favour had cost his subjects, for naval and military expenses alone, a sum equal to more than thirty-two millions of our present coin. To this must be added, the amount in which he involved his son by this war with France, and this cannot be estimated at less than another million then, or fifteen millions more. But, to crown all, what shall we say, when only three years after, or in January 1550, Henry the Second of France not only disdained to fulfil the treaty his father had signed, and to pay the sums to which he had agreed; but even the pensions alluded to before, must no more be mentioned in his treaties! So far from any mutual umpires sitting to judge respecting debt due to England, the two millions of crowns formerly specified, have now sunk down to a fifth part of the sum, and Boulogne must be restored, on payment of the last item of 200,000 crowns! Thus, all the blood and treasure spent by his Majesty to secure a yearly tribute, in lieu of his foolish pretension to a foreign crown, were spent in vain; and Edward was left with the word *France* in his style, and stamped upon his father's debased coin, as an expressive and disgraceful memorial to himself and to posterity, of the closing years of Henry VIII.¹²

In days of old, when in trying circumstances, a despised state-prisoner once tendered his advice to a Roman centurion—"Nevertheless, the centurion believed the master and owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul." And as Paul was reputed to be no judge in regard to the weather or the sea; so what, it must have been thought, could such a man as Tyndale know about the policy of govern-

¹² The late war with France, says Lord Herbert, cost Henry £506,710 sterling, and the keeping of Boulogne £755,833, or £1,342,551, which is equal to above 20 millions. Strype and Rapin affirm that the warlike expenses of Edward, by the year 1549, had cost him £1,356,687, which, added to those of Henry, would make £2,699,234, or above forty millions. But in strict justice both to Henry and his son, these statements admit of some correction. Among the Domestic State Papers, happily, we have one authentic document on this subject, *detailed from 1542*, the entire Military and Naval expenses incurred by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. during their wars with France and Scotland, with the expenses of both Calais and Boulogne; and at the close we read,—"The sum total of the charges contained in this book, £3,491,471, 19s. 5d.: whereof in the time of the late King £2,134,784, 12d., in the time of the King's Majesty that now is £1,356,687, 18s. 5d. and some fraction of a penny." It may have been from this document that Strype took his sum; but the MS. embraces the charges *beyond* 1549, or from September 1542 to September 1552. It is grounded on this manuscript that we have spoken of Henry's expenses from 1542, the sum of £2,134,784 being equal to £32,021,760, of the present day. On the same principle, the entire amount in this MS. of twenty-three large pages, will be £52,372,075, 11s. 3d. for Military and Naval expenses.

ment, or affairs of state ? As in the former case, however, so in the latter, it would have been well for Henry VIII. had he condescended to listen to the advice given to him, in print, sixteen years ago. "We," said Tyndale, "having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet in all matters, and have spent even to the utter beggaring of ourselves. For the Frenchmen, as the saying is, of late days, made a play, or a disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor danced with the Pope and the French King, and wearied them ; the King of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why *he* danced not, it was answered, that he sat there, *but* to pay the minstrels their wages only ! As one should say, *we* paid for *all men's* dancing."¹³ This war, it is true, had cost Francis also no small sum ; but his son refusing to fulfil all previous obligations, there was no choice left to young Edward. He must sustain the expense of his father's "minstrels," and could only console himself with the reflection, that Calais was quite sufficient for a landing-place in France. By and bye this also was lost, which led Mary to say, that if they opened her body after death, they would find *Calais* written on her heart.¹⁴

By this, the evening of his life, it might seem that nothing was now wanting to complete the character of Henry the Eighth ; a character which, notwithstanding all the past, it was customary to eulogise at the moment, and strange to say, by far too common, to soften down, or even eulogise, since. Some excuse may be pled for such writers as Becon, and Udal, and Foxe, who stood, as it were, *too near* the object, to be able to distinguish and define it : but the confounding of vice and virtue in human character, which is not a venial offence against historical narrative, should certainly be corrected as the truth comes out, so that some fixed opinion may be at last obtained. Accordingly, the character of this Monarch is far more correctly estimated now, than it has been at any former period ; for notwithstanding all the verbiage, not to say unconscious errors, which have been printed by some historians respecting him, the stubborn facts of his reign preserve a uniform and awful consistency to his dying hour. It is idle to listen to what men may have *said*, now that we have

¹³ Tyndale's Practice of Prelates.

¹⁴ One of the most ridiculous features of Henry's pretensions to the French crown was this, that it had become *penal* to give Francis his own title ! And hence, in the end of next year, Edward's Parliament were obliged to enact, that "those who called the *French* King by the title of *King of France*, were not to be esteemed guilty of the pains of *translating* the King's authority or titles on any other !"

gained access to the Monarch's own language, and almost all that he *did* or sanctioned, until he breathed his last in blood.

Before that Henry was gratified by the death of Beaton at a distance, there had been misery contemplated, of a darker hue; and after it, blood was shed of far greater value, in which the Crown and certain courtiers were immediately concerned. Wriothesly and Gardiner had sat at the Council table, advising as to the murder of the Scottish Cardinal; but they, with Bonner and Richard Rich, had since then been busy with several victims nearer hand, and under their own eye.

One of these suggests the idea that there must be a climax in human depravity. The first female martyr of rank or family, tormented and burnt to ashes, for no alleged crime, save steadfast adherence to the truth of Scripture, is here referred to; and if justice be done to the entire narrative, she occupies a place all her own. Among recorded martyrs in London, she had but one predecessor, and this was John Fryth. As in his case there was to be no abjuration, no recantation of the faith, nor any fear of the enemy; so it was with the devout and determined Anne Askew.

In noticing this unprecedented instance of female faith and fortitude, it must be remembered that for about twelve years past, the reputed heretic had been, by Parliament, taken out of the hands of the Bishops *as such*, or the Archbishop's Court, so that the case could not now resemble the course pursued with Fryth. The accused party, by this time, if any regard were to be paid to legal enactments, must be presented on the oaths of twelve men, before any imprisonment could ensue.¹⁵ There was indeed an Inquest in London, probably a standing one, for the examination of the accused; but the last year of Henry's reign was to carry with it the highest possible degree of illegality, and of Satanic rage against the Truth. Witness the following narrative.

Sir William Askew of Kelsey in Lincolnshire, a gentleman of family, had two sons, Francis the eldest, and Edward, who was one of his Majesty's body-guard.¹⁶ These young men had three sisters. The eld-

¹⁵ See 1534, or vol. i., pp. 403, 404; and anno 1544, or p. 167 of this volume.

¹⁶ "Whereas I am informed that this bearer, Edward Askew, my *servant*, son unto Sir William Askew, knight, is by some nobleman preferred unto the room of one of these *new spears* in the Court, which because it is done without my knowledge and his, I shall beseech you my Lord, inasmuch as I have no friend to sue unto for me and mine, but only unto your Lord.

est having died, after her father had already advanced money in prospect of her union with a gentleman of opulence in the same county, Mr. Thomas Kyme; Anne the second, in obedience to her father's wishes, was married to him, and became the mother of two children.¹⁷ Her superior natural abilities had been greatly improved by education. The English Scriptures engaged her serious and frequent attention, and the result was, an earnest reception of the truths contained in them. Her husband, a devoted adherent of "the old learning," excited by such a decided change, in the excess of his passion absolutely drove her from his house; and, thus harshly treated, she had repaired to London to seek some redress, by suing for a divorce. Through her brother Edward, she could have no difficulty in being introduced to those of her own sex in the Court circle, who were in favour of the Scriptures; but, by whatever means it was, she became known to them all, including even the Queen herself. It was not long, however, before one so ardent in the faith was ensnared by the bloody Statute, or Act of six Articles; and Cranmer was now to witness a series of proceedings in gross violation of the bill which he had carried through Parliament two years ago.

It appears to have been on Friday the 12th of March, that this heroic young woman was first examined by one Christopher Dare, of the London Inquest, at Sadler's hall, Cheapside. The questions put, betrayed at once the ignorance of her examiner and Anne's thorough acquaintance with the sacred Volume; but she was immediately conveyed to the Lord Mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, a boisterous devotee.¹⁸ Bonner's Chancellor, Thomas Bage alias Williams, was there to record what passed. After a few words on transubstantiation, in which, by her replies, his Lordship was made to look very foolish, she was *illegally* committed to prison.¹⁹ She offered sureties, but he would take none, and sent her to the counter. There she remained eleven days, without one friend being allowed to see her. At last, on Tuesday the 23d, a cousin, Mr. Brit-

ship, that you will, at this my request bear unto him your lawful favour and furtherance in the same; assuring your Lordship, that he, the young man, is of a very *gentil* nature, right forward, and of good activity, so that I think he shall be meet to furnish such a room, and to do to the King's Majesty diligent and faithful service."—*Cranmer to Cranwell*—at Forde 28th December 1539. MS. Chapter-house. This refers to Henry's personal guard, as before explained, p. 93.

¹⁷ The third sister, Jane, was married first to Sir George St. Paul, and then to Richard Disney, Esq., of Norton Disney, ancestor of the present John Disney, Esq. of the Hyde, Essex.

¹⁸ But a famous man in his day, among the Goldsmith's Company. He was sub-treasurer of the Mint under both Henry and Edward; and as the King can do *no wrong*, so in 1550 was granted to him a *pardou* of all treasons, trespasses, and contempts done by the said Martin concerning the money and coin of the King's Majesty and his father's before the date of these presents; and of all *unjust and false making of money and payments of the same*, contrary to common law, or any statute, act, provision or proclamation. See *Stryx's Eccl. Mem.* 1550. Such was the commentary on Henry, the original offender, and cause of all the injustice done. Sir Martin left a sum for an Anniversary Sermon to be preached in St. Mary, Woolnoth, where the venerable John Newton so long proclaimed such doctrine as the poor Mayor never heard. Bowes lies there interred, under a close marble tomb.

¹⁹ Before this was done, by the Act of 1544, she ought to have been legally presented on the oaths of twelve men.

tayne, was admitted. He went to the Lord Mayor, who referred him to the Bishop, and, next day, at three o'clock, was appointed for an examination before Bonner. The Bishop called for her at one, but this noble-minded woman would never, from first to last, submit to any private examinations, by any individual; and, therefore, declined answering till the hour appointed, when all interested would be present. While waiting, Bonner's Archdeacon, John Wymmesly, began to converse with her respecting a book he saw in her hand.²⁰ It was no other than one of *John Fryth's*, for Anne had nothing to conceal. The eye of these myrmidons had been upon her for some time, and Bonner, in full possession of all the slander, began, when the hour came, by urging her to know "wherein her conscience was burdened." She replied—"My conscience, I thank God, is burdened with nothing—and to lay a plaster to the whole skin, it might appear much folly." This arch-hypocrite then pretended, before her friends who stood ready as bail, to be *driven* to bring forth the budget, gathered for his use; and to which, (according to his Majesty's already expressed persuasion,) certain knaves would *easily* be found ready to swear. After denying the first expressions laid to her charge, having never uttered them, one mighty offence came out. She had on one occasion, very appropriately, quoted those sublime words—"The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," and this, in Bonner's esteem, militated against his profane figment of transubstantiation! The Inquest, she owned, had asked her—"whether private mass did relieve souls departed?" "To whom I answered, "O Lord, what idolatry is this! that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God!" Then said Bonner, "what an answer is that?" "Though it be but mean," said she, "yet is it good enough for the question." The Bishop then upbraided her, for having reported that there were "bent against her threescore priests at Lincoln." A noble testimony, at least, to Anne's zeal and fortitude in her own county. "Indeed," she replied, "I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover, I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the Minster reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and six, minding to have spoken, yet went they their ways again without words speaking. There was one of them at last who did speak to me indeed; but his words were of small effect, so that I do not now remember them." Bonner, who was as holy in his own estimation, as his Majesty himself, replied—"There are many that read and know the

²⁰ This Wymmesly, alias *Savage*, was a natural brother of Bonner's

Scripture, who live not according to it," which was at least a confession that the readers were numerous. At the close, a written declaration was offered for subscription. "I believe," said Anne, "so much thereof as the holy Scripture doth agree unto; wherefore I desire you, that ye will add that thereunto." They add, she wrote—"I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church."

Bonner was far from being satisfied; but said, "she might thank others, and not herself, for the favour found at his hand; as he considered she had good friends, and also came of a worshipful stock." Still, however, to show his spite, he remanded her, to appear at Guildhall next day; nor would this suffice, for the day after, or the 26th, she must also appear at St. Paul's. He had now finished, and the bail-bond being granted, so ended her first examination.²¹

After this, three months had not elapsed when this young lady, of about twenty-five, must be again molested. Her appearance now was not before any Bishops, *as such*, but before the Privy Council at Greenwich. It was on Saturday the 19th of June, when Mr. Kyme, as well as his wife, were called before them. Wriothesly and Rich, *Gardiner and Tunstal*, the Lord Great Master of the King's Household, Paget and Sadler, with six others, were present; but *Cranmer* was not here, nor does he *ever* appear throughout. Kyme was "appointed to return to his country till he should be sent for;" but Anne, "for that she was very obstinate and heady in reasoning of matters in religion, seeing no persuasion of good reason could take place, was sent to Newgate, to remain there to answer to the law."²²

Her next examination was on Friday the 25th. Upon being asked as to her husband, she declined, saying that the Lord Chancellor, Wriothesly, already knew her mind. They said it was the *King's* pleasure that she should now open that matter. She answered, "she would not do so; but if it were the King's pleasure to hear her, she would shew him the truth." They said, "it was not meet for the King to be troubled with her." She replied, "Solomon was reckoned the wisest King that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women; much more his Grace a simple woman, and his faithful subject."

Wriothesly then inquired as to the sacrament. "I believe," said she, "that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most

²¹ It was printed by November this year, at Marburg in Hesse. The account inserted in Bonner's Register is unquestionably incorrect, or false, not only as to the substance, but, we have presumed, the day of the month, viz., 20th of March. Its only value consists in its confirming the time of the *first* examination. This was in March 1545 of *their* year, *i. e.* 1546.

²² Harl. MS. 256, fol. 224, b. The *second* examination was printed at Marburg, 15th January 1548.

glorious passion." Gardiner then told her to give a direct answer; but she "would not sing a new song in a strange land;" on which he retorted that she spake in *parables*. "I answered—it was best for *him*; for if I shew the open truth, ye will not accept it." He then said she was a parrot: when she told him, "I am ready to suffer all things at your hands, not only your rebukes, but all that may follow besides, and that gladly."

The Council kept her before them for *five* hours, and, not satisfied, next day commenced, once more, with the sacrament. Anne replied, that she had already said what she could; after which they put her aside to confer among themselves. The Earl of Essex, the brother of the Queen, with Lord Lisle, and Gardiner, then came to her, requiring that she would confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bones! Lord Parr, the uncle of the Queen, then on the very brink of the grave, was also standing by. With the character of all these men Anne was well acquainted, and for that of Gardiner she entertained due and merited contempt. To the Lords Parr and Lisle, therefore, she seized that opportunity of saying, "that it was a great shame for *them* to counsel *contrary* to their knowledge;" but with Gardiner she declined to hold any separate conversation, though he pressed it. He had said that he would speak with her familiarly. She replied—"So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ." Then he desired to speak with her alone; but she pointedly refused, adding, "that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine." Matt. xviii., 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

Wriothesly once more began the oft-repeated subject, and Gardiner followed, by saying "she should be burned."—"I have searched all the Scriptures," said this intrepid woman, "yet could I never find that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death. Well, well," she added, "God will laugh your threatenings to scorn." Paget, the King's Secretary, Cox, the tutor of Edward, and a Dr. Robinson, then spoke to her in succession; but, in the end, she was sent back to Newgate, and by this time very unwell. This was on Saturday the 26th of June. "Then on the Sunday," says Anne herself, "I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die; therefore I desired to speak with Mr. *Latimer*, (still in the Tower,) but it would not be;" and on Monday the 28th she once more had to appear at Guildhall.

By Act of Parliament, Aune Askew was now entitled to a jury, and to have challenged any one of them; but instead of this, she, with two other individuals, were at once condemned for the denial of the real presence; or, in the language of the contemporary manuscript—"On Monday, Mrs. Askew, Christopher White, and a tailor, (Adlam, or Adams,) who came from Colchester or thereabout, were arraigned at the Guildhall, and received their judgment of my *Lord Chancellor* (Wri-

othesy) and the Council, to be burned, and so were committed to Newgate again."²³

Had the illegal procedure terminated here, it would have been bad enough ; but the brutal servants of this monarch must reach the climax to which we have alluded. The examinations, tedious and frequent, were now supposed to be over ; the trial was ended, and Anne had been sentenced to the flames. The sentence of death once passed, was it to be imagined that examinations of any sort were to be resumed ? But so they were indeed. Fifteen days after Wriothesly had pronounced sentence, he must degrade himself below the vilest of men. On Tuesday the 13th of July Anne was taken from Newgate to the Tower, alternately the Bastile and the palace of Henry the Eighth. Having stopped first at the sign of the Crown, there Bonner and Richard Rich, that thorough-paced persecutor, awaited her, and spent their flattery in vain, attempting to turn her from the truth. Nicholas Shaxton, too, having now *recanted* and obtained his pardon, also came and presumed to address her. After many faithful monitions, she closed by saying—" It had been good for him never to have been born ! " Rich then sent her on to the Tower, thus affording another specimen of his legal views ; but at three o'clock commenced one of the most cruel and shameful scenes on record. Rich, by that hour, had followed the prisoner, and he was accompanied by no other than my Lord Chancellor once more. Some device, full of Satanic malignity, was now in view. They began by charging her to name any man or woman of her *sect* that she knew. In the legal sense of the term she knew none. That interesting lady, the Duchess-Dowager of Suffolk, the Countesses of Sussex, Hertford, and Southampton, and Lady Denny were then named to her ; when she replied, that if she should pronounce any thing against them, (in their estimation,) she could not *prove* it. They then said, " The King was informed (by themselves or Gardiner, no doubt) that she could name, if she would, a great number of her sect." Here was employment for a Lord Chancellor and a Privy Counsellor *after* sentence of death had been pronounced ! But Anne only replied—" The King was as well deceived in that behalf, as *dissembled with in other matters.*"

Thinking to discover and ensnare the ladies, on whom their eyes were fixed, they then tried another course. Little, if any, prison allowance seems to have been granted for Anne's support, as they then commanded her to show *how* she had been maintained. This was her answer—" As for the help that I had in the Counter, *it was by means of my maid. For as she went about in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they by her did send me money ; but who they were I never knew.*" Ten shillings

²³ Otwell Johnson to his brother, 2d July. See also *M.S. Records in the Tower*. Ellis's Letters, sec. ser. ii., p. 177. After her condemnation, Anne addressed a letter to the King, and another to the Lord Chancellor ; but whether the former was ever delivered is uncertain.

had been sent to her from Lady Herbert, and eight from Lady Denny ; but as these examiners could not reach the ladies, the gentlemen came next ; for they then said, (with an eye to Cranmer or some other,) " there were of the *Council* that did maintain her." She only answered, " No."

" Then," says the heroic sufferer herself, " then they did put me on the *rack*, because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time ; and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me *with their own hands* till I was nigh dead ! Then the Lieutenant (Sir Anthony Knevet) caused me to be loosed ; incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again.²⁴ After that I sat *two long hours*, reasoning with my Lord Chancellor, on the bare floor, where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job."

That two such human beings should have been found, and these two sustaining the offices of Lord Chancellor and a Privy Counsellor, may appear incredible : but Rich, as we have seen already, had shown himself, in point of baseness, capable of any thing ; and as for Wriothesly, it is in vain, after this, to talk of his general character. Burnet allows that he was " fiercely zealous for the old learning ;" and Rapin describes him as " extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merit, haughty, imperious, and very angry that his advice was not always followed—but he showed his heat and passion chiefly on occasion of *religious* matters." The entire narrative of Anne Askew carries with it such verisimilitude, that no candid reader can fail to perceive that far more agony was inflicted, than meets the ear. Let not Henry VIII. therefore sustain more than his own share of blame, which was more than sufficient for a multitude ; though " if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked ;" but there is reason to believe that when the King was informed of all this, even *he* was shocked ; and Wriothesly, as well as Rich, somewhat afraid of the consequences. The reader can feel no surprise, if, soon after this, he should hear Henry designate this Lord Chancellor as a *beast*. Let this horrible scene serve, in part, as a key to the epithet.²⁵

Three days after this, or on the 16th of July, the tragedy came to an end ! The entire proceedings had formed one continued series of deeds of *darkness*, and in perfect consonance with this term, instead of the morning of the day, as usual, they deferred the execution till *night-fall*,

²⁴ " The lady hath been racked *since her condemnation*, as men say, which is a strange thing in my understanding ; the Lord be merciful to us all !" Otwell Johnson, 2d July, as formerly quoted.

²⁵ By his Lord Chancellor indeed the King was repeatedly provoked. Thus on Wednesday, or the very day after this horrid barbarity, he had condemned to the flames a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, *Sir George Blage*, who had been committed to Newgate only on Sunday last. He was rather a favourite of Henry's, and the tidings having reached his ear, Blage was saved, and went immediately to the royal presence ; but Wriothesly had greatly offended his royal Master.

to make the sight more terrific. Upon a bench, apart and elevated, sat this man Wriothesly once more ; his Grace of Norfolk ; John, Lord Russell ; Bowes, the Lord Mayor, and others, as if they had come to see a pageant. To the spot, Anne, her bones being dislocated, required to be carried in a chair, and there, in the gloom of night, she was joined by three companions ; Mr. Lascelles, one of the King's household, John Adams from Colchester, already mentioned, and a priest named Belenian of Otterden, who were all to suffer. Before the fire was kindled, it having been whispered that gunpowder was to be employed in some manner, several of these cowards sitting on high, began to be afraid, lest the faggots on fire should come whizzing about their ears ; but upon Lord Russell informing them that the gunpowder was not deposited under the faggots, but attached to the bodies of the martyrs, the murderers sat still.

That wretched being, strangely named Bishop Shaxton, who, after seven years' confinement, had abjured, stood in a pulpit on the scaffold, fronting this young woman, to preach. In full possession of her mental powers, Anne listened, and whenever he uttered any sentiment inconsistent with the Scriptures, she dissented. "There," said she, "he misseeth, and speaketh without the book." Once finished, Wriothesly's last act followed, that of presenting, and to her first, the King's pardon, if she would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." Her fellow-sufferers, greatly encouraged by her fortitude and firmness, would not look on the instrument presented for their acceptance. Bowes, the ignorant and brutal Mayor, then called out with a loud voice—" *Fiat Justitia !*" and the flames were kindled.

A scene more disgraceful to the persecutors of the human mind, had never before occurred, nor one in which the power of Divine Truth was more conspicuous. A weak and unprotected female, abandoned to all the fury of the enemy, stood, like a pillar of brass, while other men were proving traitors to the cause, and falling around her. On the day before her trial, Crome was reading his recantation in public, and White, tried on the same day with herself, had also failed and followed his example. As for Shaxton, so refuted by her, only a few moments before she went to the immediate presence of God, he lived for ten years longer, but proved a miserable character ever after. Lascelles, who suffered with her, having before that night, expressed some anxiety respecting her constancy—"O friend," she replied in writing, "most dearly beloved in God—I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all

misery. In the Lord, I desire you not to believe in me such wickedness." The fact was that Anne Askew was in such perfect self-possession, as even to become poetical in the prison, amidst all the rage of her persecutors. It has been said that she actually sang her stanzas at her death; but be this as it might, to say nothing of the simple beauty and sublimity of the sentiment; when compared with the rhyme of more than a century later, even in point of euphony, they appear extraordinary. The following specimen, in which Henry and his Council occupy no enviable place, will speak for itself.

On thee my care I cast,	Absorpt was righteousness,
For all their cruel spite;	As by the raging flood;
I set not by their haste,	Satan, in his excess,
For thou art my delight.	Suck'd up the guiltless blood.
I am not she that list	Then thought I, Jesus Lord!
My anchor to let fall	When thou shalt judge us all,
For every drizzling mist;	Hard is it to record,
My ship's substantial.	On these men what will fall—
<i>I saw a Royal throne,</i>	<i>Yet Lord I thee desire,</i>
<i>Where justice should have sit,</i>	<i>For that they do to me,</i>
<i>But in her stead was one</i>	<i>Let them not taste the hire</i>
<i>Of moody cruel wit:</i>	<i>Of their iniquity.</i>

Before the flames of persecution for the Truth's sake, were kindled for the last time, under this reign, the only thing now to be desired was the testimony of some noble martyr to *the all-sufficiency of the Sacred Volume*. And here it is from the pen of Anne Askew, before she suffered.

"Finally, I believe all those SCRIPTURES to be true, which He hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need NO UNWRITTEN VERITIES to rule his Church with. Therefore, look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his Holy Gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart; and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps."

As far as fire and faggot were employed, so ended that war of opinion under Henry the Eighth, which, from the arrival of Tyndale's New Testament in England, had now lasted for twenty years.²⁶

²⁶ One artist has begun to pay the homage due to this the highest of all subjects; leading the way, no doubt, to other efforts of the pencil.—In the beautiful historical painting by Harvey of Edinburgh, now finished, "*The first reading of the Bible, in the Crypt of Old St. Paul's, in 1540,*" just before the downfall of Crumwell. To Munmouth, as the representative of TYNDALE, then gone to his reward, whom he had so befriended, has been given most deservedly, a very conspicuous place.—See vol. I., p. 187. *Munmouth*, as one at the commencement, and the intrepid *Anne Askew*, as one at the close of the sufferers under Henry VIII., lend a peculiar charm to

The hardened cruelties of the monarch are, it is true, not even yet at an end; but these were the last *martyrs* under his reign. The termination is very observable. To these men it had seemed a most grievous offence, that even *women*, and those of good families, had begun to have any fixed opinions gathered out of Scripture; and it was therefore worthy of the majesty of Divine Truth, that, before the tempest ceased, the savage fury of this final storm should be braved by a female mind and frame. It was an eminent instance of the Almighty choosing the feeble things of the world to confound the things that were mighty; and that also, just before his blessed Word was on the eve of being more generally circulated and read, than it had ever yet been.²⁷

the entire group, here listening with so much eagerness to the Word of Life. This picture, now in the hands of the London engraver, when once published, cannot fail to prove an appropriate household ornament, not only in this kingdom, but wherever the English Bible is now being read, whether at home or abroad. In the grand battle, however, *previously* fought and won, there is yet to be found more than one heart-stirring scene, worthy of the pencil of our highest artists. It is now more than time that TYNDALE and FRYTH in *England*, as well as ALES and HAMILTON, about to be noticed in *Scotland*, should occupy that place, whether in painting or poetry, which ought to have been assigned to them long before the present day, in the sober prose of authentic history.

²⁷ This revolting tragedy has proved rather an awkward subject for the pen of Dr. Lingard. In his first edition, he had said of ANNE ASKEW—"She was, after two recantations, condemned to the flames by the same Prelate, (*Cranmer!*) and several other Bishops!" Obligated to alter this, in his fourth and last edition, after alluding to her case, he adds—"Numerous examinations followed: those who submitted to a recantation, were removed to prison; the more obstinate were sent before the *Eccelesiastical Court*, of which the Archbishop was *probably* the chief judge; and *that* court excommunicated them as incorrigible heretics, and delivered them over to the civil power. Among the former were *Latimer* and *Crome* himself, who by submission escaped the flames; the sufferers were *Askew*," &c. That a historian, not indisposed to research at other times, should make the first assertion, and by way of correction substitute the second passage in explanation, seems to force upon us the conclusion, that there must here be some secret invincible prejudice.

It was too much to expect that the Doctor should appear in any sense as a lady's man, except, perhaps, in the case of Catharine Howard, on account of her party; but we have a right to look for some regard to impartiality, when he refers to a conscientious martyr, of either sex. The double recantation has been given up. It was a calumny, which Anne repelled, in writing, at the moment. "As the Lord liveth," said she, "I never meant a thing *less* than to recant," and this all her examiners had felt; but still Lingard is extremely reluctant to let *Cranmer* go. He now talks of an *Eccelesiastical Court*, of which *Cranmer probably* was the President! Forgetting to observe, that these Bishops were not now standing on the high ground they too often occupied before and after. The hand of *Crumwell* had been upon them in 1535, and even that of *Cranmer* in 1544; and up to this moment no suspected heretic could *legally* be brought before any Bishop, as in former days. Mr. Todd, to extricate *Cranmer*, repels the assertion of Lingard, by referring to *Bonner* as the *Ordinary*, and that the Archbishop therefore could not descend to the court of a suffragan. But the fact was, that Anne was not, as in former days, called before a suffragan court at all. She was first before the Inquest, such as it was, for even they acted illegally; and of this Inquest *Bonner* was merely one member; but when he attempted to insinuate himself personally, the heroic martyr treated him as he deserved; and would say nothing till the hour fixed for all others to be present. In other days, *Stokesley* before, or *Bonner*, some years after, would have sent her to the Coal-house, or *Lollard's Tower*; but at this moment the Bishops were muzzled. It was the Lord Mayor or Inquest who committed Anne to prison under the *first* examination; and the Lord Chancellor acting with the Privy Council, who, under the *second*, sent her to *Newgate* and the *Tower*. These were the parties, not Bishops, who examined and condemned her to the flames. It is true that *as* Privy Counsellors, two Bishops, and *only* two, were present; and why could not the Doctor, when he

Although these four were the principal individuals now put to death for opinions held, those gentlemen of the Privy Council had been extremely busy with various other examinations.²⁸ Besides Crome who recanted openly; on the 13th of May, say they, "we look for *Latimer*; for the Vicar of St. Bride's, (*i. e.* John Taylor, who, eight years after, suffered at the stake,) and some others of those that have specially comforted Crome in his folly."²⁹ When the first, or by far the most illustrious of these appeared, they put him on his oath, as to his intercourse with Crome, and presented him a string of questions, which he was to answer in writing. Latimer retired, and began to reply; but he had not proceeded beyond two or three queries, when the Council were informed, that, without an interview, he could not go on. Tunstal of Durham, and Sir John Gage, the comptroller, were then deputed to converse with him. In his own frank manner, he told them it was dangerous to answer to such questions, and that the course pursued was more extreme than it would have been, *if he had lived under the Turk*. Besides, "he doubted whether it were his Majesty's pleasure, that he should be thus called and examined." He wished to speak with the King *himself*, before he made farther answer, as he had been once deceived in that way, when he left his bishoprick. It had been intimated to him, by *Crumwell*, "that it was his Majesty's pleasure he should resign it, which his Majesty

saw their names in the manuscript which he quotes, have rather mentioned them? These, however, were Gardiner and Tunstal; and they must be passed over in silence, in order to reach Cranmer by a probability! But to erect an Archbishop's Court, and put Cranmer in the chair, was too bad. He had quite enough to answer for, in the death of Joan Bocher, under the next reign; but the present far nobler martyr was the victim of Gardiner's and Wriothesley's malice. Cranmer had nothing to do with the shocking business, from beginning to end.

It is curious enough to see the caution of Dr. Lingard in questioning the fact of Anne having been subjected to the rack, on the ground of its *illegality* without an order from the Council! and that under a Monarch who so sported with law, as well as humanity and common sense; with a Council most of whose members were so virulent and cruel. But "the Archbishop's Court," having had no existence here, we have nothing but the *Council* before us, by whose authority poor Anne was tormented from first to last. As for *illegality*, the steps taken from the beginning to the end, were in the face of two Acts of Parliament, one in 1535, and especially that of 1544. This last, too, was carried through Parliament by *Cranmer*; and had it been obeyed, the life of Anne Askew had almost to a certainty been saved. It happens unfortunately for the Doctor's last edition, that he has made what was incorrect, still more so; while not satisfied, he must now, moreover, defame Latimer. As for *his* "recanting, and so escaping the flames!" he will come before us presently.

²⁸ According to Foxe, there was one other martyr,—“Like as Winchester, and other bishops did set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repps, Bishop of Norwich,” (a successor worthy of the old blind Bishop Nix,) “did incite no less the old Duke of Norfolk against one *Hopertz*, in the county of Norfolk; but within half a year, both the King himself, and the Duke's house, decayed.”

²⁹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 646.

after *denied*, and pitied his condition."³⁰ In fine, "he thought there were some who had procured this against him for malice;" and then he named Master *Gardiner*, the Bishop of Winchester; specifying two instances of his ill-will in former days: the first occurred in a conversation they had held, in Henry's presence; and the second was evident, in that he had *written to Cromwell* against his (memorable) sermon in the Convocation! On the *latter* he dwelt, as a grievous proof of malice.³¹ By this time Latimer had been again introduced before the Council, when Gardiner immediately replied, and in a style worthy of his deep hypocrisy. "I declared plainly," says he, "how much I had loved, favoured, and done for his person, and that he had no cause to be offended with me! though I were not content with his doctrine." They then repeated Latimer's allusion to *Turkey*—said that the interrogatories were not captious; and told him that he spoke "as though no credit or estimation should, now-a-days, be given to his Highness's *Council* or his Highness's *Ministers*."³² But all was to no effect. Latimer, indeed, finished the writing he had commenced; but they were then obliged to report—"for *the* purpose, we be as wise almost, as we were before!" In the afternoon of the day, they remitted him to Henry Holbeach, then Bishop of Worcester, (originally recommended to the King by Latimer himself,) who, with the rest of the doctors, and in the elegant language of the Privy Council, were "to fish out the bottom of his stomach." But as far as all the official records go, they had fished in vain.³³ No more mention is made of Latimer; and although Lingard has chosen to say that he now recanted, it is but a groundless assumption. Once indeed, it is to be regretted, he did subscribe certain articles, and crave forgiveness; but this was fourteen years ago, and the days of recantation were with him long since past. Crome had fallen a second time, but Latimer never again; on the contrary, he was left in prison nine months longer. Like one of old, who, "to do the Jews a plea-

³⁰ See under 1533, p. 68, *not.*

³¹ See what a watchful eye Gardiner retained over England while in France. No wonder than he *dwelt* on the sermon. It was now ten years since it had been delivered, and as a sermon delivered in St. Paul's, addressed to bishops, it stands by itself, to the present day. Gardiner did not himself hear it; but it had been printed in *English* after its delivery in Latin, and must have rung in the ears of these men for many a day. —*See* vol. i., pp. 490-491.

³² And this was very much in harmony with what his Majesty, in person, had already told them. What he had said to Cranmer respecting them was still worse. See before, pp. 176 179

³³ *Gov. State Papers*, i., pp. 348 349.

sure, left Paul bound ;" so perhaps to please others, Henry left this, the most faithful subject of his realm, in the Tower. At least this much is certain, that to the man whom he had so courageously warned in 1530, Latimer was not to be indebted for deliverance from durance vile ; so that every thing conspired to tinge with a darker shade the evening of that monarch's life. On Sunday the 20th of February 1547, or the day on which Edward was crowned, a general pardon was granted to all prisoners, except Norfolk, Pole, and Courtney, the eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, at home ; and Throgmorton and Pate abroad. It was then that Latimer, released from his honourable imprisonment of more than six years, went to Lambeth, to live for some time privately, under Cranmer's roof.³⁴

In the very midst of all this fixed enmity to moral worth, there was still time found for Henry to vent his final malice to the dead, as well as the living ; and among them all, special reference must be made to by far the greatest benefactor of his reign—William Tyndale. It seems to have been for the express purpose of lending additional terror to the night in which Anne Askew and her companions were to illuminate Smithfield, by being consumed in the flames, that a proclamation had been devised and issued against *books*. Authorised by the King's name, it was dated the 8th of July, just eight days before the martyrs were burnt.

" From henceforth no man, *woman*, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree, he or they be, (to reach the highest ladies or gentlemen about the Court,) shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of *Tyndale's* or *Coverdale's*, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's most noble reign.³⁵ Nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of

³⁴ There is, however, reason to suppose that the Vicar of St. Bride's recanted three months after this. At least Wriothesley and Gardiner, on the 10th of September, tell the Privy Council,—“ It may like your Lordships to declare to the King's Majesty that Dr. Taylour, upon further conference with Mr. Shaxton, hath subscribed all Mr. *Shaxton's* articles. He was never indicted ; whereupon he is put to liberty, with bond not to depart from London.”—*State Papers*, i., p. 866. The editor there, indeed, supposes this to have been Tailour, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln ; but from what we have related, there can be little doubt that John Taylour, *alias* Cardmaker, the Vicar of St. Bride's since November 1543, is the person now referred to. See *Wood's Fasti*, by Bliss., p. 92, or Bonner's Register. He died at the stake, however, on the 30th of May 1555.

³⁵ As this Parliament sat from January to May 1542, it embraced both years. Henry's legal year commenced with April 22.

books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be set forth in the names of *Fryth, Tyndale, Wicliffe, Joye, Roye, Basil* (i. e. Becon) *Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy*, or by any of them ;—but shall, before the last day in August next coming, deliver the same English book or books to his master, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other ; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly to the sheriff, bishop's chancellor, or commissary,—to the intent that they may cause them incontinently to be *openly burned* ; which thing the King's Majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and thereof make certificate to the King's Majesty's Most Honourable Council, before the *first day of October* next coming."

Providentially, however, once more, before "the first of October next coming," both Council and King will have widely different subjects to engross their attention, rather than the burning of books. During the month before, Wriothesly and Gardiner will be worried out of their lives to provide the needful, even to pay the *wages* of the royal household ! The fiery Lord Chancellor, at his wit's end, shall not know what is before him, and Gardiner be sinking, to rise no more in the favour of Henry VIII. ; while the poor King, fractious and full of disease, will be entering on the valley of the shadow of death. Meanwhile, let it be observed, we have now a most expressive intimation of the *impotence* of all former denunciations. The proclamation itself, indeed, at this late period, is a proof of this ; but see the tameness of what follows. It is like the giving up of the ghost in despair. Before Henry dies he is constrained to crouch before the power of the new learning.

"And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the King's Majesty is most graciously *contented*, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation, for the delivery of the said books ; and commandeth that *no* bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable shall be *curious to mark* who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered."

With this proclamation, or immediately after it, there was published a long list of the books interdicted. It was the *last*, and is only to be found in the first edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, where, with his too frequent indifference to the order of time, he has inserted it under 1539 ! From the books mentioned he might have seen that it could not have

been issued before the preceding proclamation.³⁶ The proclamation itself is a proof of the spirit which was conquering "the old learning," and, in farther illustration, it is only necessary to glance over the publications in English from 1542, as given in Herbert's *Ames*, while this list of books serves as a commentary on the names denounced.³⁷

Already sinking under the weight of mortal disease, such was the last public manifestation of the monarch's malicious folly. Not that the proclamation could have much effect, if indeed any, beyond the precincts of London. The only reported notice of books having been consumed at this period is confined to that city, and this was probably to give some eclat to the vain and expiring effort. A copy of the different publications having been obtained, "soon after this proclamation," says Collier, "the books of the authors mentioned were burnt at Paul's Cross, by the order of (Bonner) the Bishop of London."³⁸

Thus Henry, at the very close of life, and his Council, as such, were drawing afresh the line of demarcation between themselves and all the good that had been effected. As much as to say, "let no future historian confound *our* names with it; or, above all, ascribe to *us* the commencement and progress of a cause against which we fought to our dying day! The Bible of Tyndale had, indeed, been sanctioned; "but in this," might his Majesty have added, "I was little else than

³⁶ This list may now be seen, under its proper year, in the octavo edition of Foxe, published by Seeley and Burnside.

³⁷ Among the dead were Wickliffe, Tyndale, and Fryth, Tracy, Barnes, and Roye; but Coverdale and Joye, Basil, *i. e.* Becon, Bale, and Turner, were alive. At the same time it is easy to see the hand of *Gardiner* in the parties denounced. Besides his share in the deaths of Tyndale and Fryth, that of Barnes was still ascribed to him; while Joye, and Bale, and Turner were his chief opponents in print at this moment. The name of *Wickliffe* is here noted, probably because his "*Wicket*" had been printed *this* year at Nuremberg, along with *Tracy's* Testament, expounded by *Tyndale*. The name of *Roye* may have been owing to the republication of his famous Satyre, and more especially as it was now made to apply to the bishops *generally*, instead of its more powerful application to *Wolsey* at first. It is, however, more important to observe that, at the very top of this list of interdicted books, stands "*The whole Bible, by Miles Coverdale*." He had been patronised by *Crumwell*, with whose name great liberties were now used. The New Testaments only of *Tyndale* are denounced, in *divers* prints, at the head of his other publications; but his translations entire were secure in those Bibles which *no Gardiner, Tunstall, or Bonner* dared to remove, and thousands of his Testaments, away down throughout all the country, could never be reached. Indeed, in *four months* only, after the 1st of October, they were not *seizable*, but might be read in open day, and were so every where.

³⁸ Collier's *Ecc. Hist.*, ii, p. 211. As a signal proof that it was *vernacular* literature before which the old learning party now trembled, we have, in the list already referred to, not fewer than eighty-five items, or distinct publications in *English*, not one in Latin. Lutheranism, as such, never prevailed in England, nor was *Lutheran* the name of *terror* now employed. In this list, indeed, we have *our* small tract of *Luther's*, a translation; but of the publications of *Tyndale* and *Fryth* we have at least a *score*. Of *Becon's* small pieces about fourteen; of *Coverdale's*, ten; of *Joye's*, seven; of *Bale's*, four; and of *Dr. William Turner's*, two

a passive instrument—I was superintended—I was, to all intents and purposes, only a man overruled.”

The enmity now shown was not, however, suffered to pass without notice, and that in a style and manner confirmatory of that marked distinction which we have seen to prevail throughout. So far from confounding the Government, or the King and his advisers, with the progress of Divine Truth, that cause appears to be now, as it had ever done, an entirely separate concern. Accordingly, by one contemporary writer, and in the name of many other individuals, the Government, in its widest sense, of which Henry was the determined head, was then placed in *contrast* or opposition to the Sacred Scriptures, and their unfettered perusal by the people at large.

The reader cannot have forgotten what a commotion was excited in 1526, just at the moment when the New Testament of Tyndale had been introduced into England, by a very small publication, entitled *the Supplication of Beggars*, which Sir Thomas More laboured to answer. But it is curious enough that, as the commotion at first was thus distinguished, so its close was marked by a second supplication, entitled, “*The Supplication of the poor Commons to the King.*” The author of this last has never been ascertained, but *both* supplications were now published in one book, being alike distinguished for the same boldness of style.³⁹

His Majesty well knew, having read for himself the former publication—whether he ever saw the latter is uncertain—but, in conjunction with the Government State Papers, it finishes the picture of his times. While from these papers it has appeared that the Lord Chancellor was “crying” to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for money, that the Mint was “drawn dry,” the Exchequer shut, the other courts of revenue able to afford but little, “that the conduits being nearly run dry, his Majesty’s servants were tarrying for the water;” from this last Supplication it is no less evident that the “Commons,” and especially the inhabitants of the metropolis, were groaning under certain burdens, and greatly exasperated by one measure relating to *tythes* in London, sanctioned by Henry’s final Parliament in November last. As the House had been so

³⁹ This Supplication is not to be confounded with “An Information and Petition against the Oppressors of the poor Commons,” by Robert Crowley, in 1548.

liberal to his Majesty, perhaps he had winked at this bill, if he did not intend it as a compliment in return to the Convocation, and especially to the clergy then living in the immediate vicinity of the throne.

This "Supplication," says the industrious Strype, "is a notable piece, and it gives such a light into the affairs of those days, that a *better* history can scarce be given thereof, being writ in those very times." It was printed and published this year, 1546; but in Strype's time, hardly to be met with. Two or three extracts will here be sufficient. After alluding to the first Supplication, circulated in 1526, and now republished, and to "the great and infinite number of 'valiant and sturdy beggars' who *then* had got into their hands, more than the third part of the yearly revenues and possessions of his Highness' realm;" and from whose exactions his Majesty had *delivered* his kingdom; still both the country, and more especially the capital, were *now* again suffering from another quarter.

"Instead of these sturdy beggars, there is crept in a sturdy sort of extortioners. These men cease not to oppress us, your Highness' poor Commons; in such sort that many thousands of us, which here before lived honestly upon our sore labour and travail, bringing up our children in the exercise of honest labour, are now constrained, some to beg, some to borrow, and some rob and steal, to get food for us, and our poor wives and children."—"Such of us as have no possessions left to us, can now get no farm, tencment, or cottage, at these men's hands, without we pay unto them more than we are able to make. Yea, this was tolerable, so long as after this extreme exaction we were not, for the residue of our years, oppressed with much greater rents, than hath of ancient times been paid for the same grounds: for then a man might, within a few years, be able to recover the fine, and afterwards live honestly. But now these extortioners take of forty shillings fine £40, and of five nobles rent £5; yet not sufficed with this oppression, they buy, at your Highness' hands, such abbey lands as you appoint to be sold. And *once* full seized therein, they make us, your poor Commons, so in doubt by their threatenings, that we dare do none other, but bring into their courts our copies taken of the convents and monasteries, and confirmed by your High Court of Parliament. They make us believe that, by virtue of your Highness, all our former writings are void and of no effect: and that if we will not take new leases of them, we must forthwith avoid the grounds. Moreover, when they can spy no commodious thing to be bought at your Highness' hands, they labour for, and obtain leases for twenty-one years, on such abbey lands as lie commodious, and then dash us out of countenance, making us believe that our copies are void: so that they compel us to surrender our former writings, whereby we ought to hold, some for two, some for three lives; and to take by indenture for twenty-one years, overing both fines and rents, beyond all reason and conscience."

"Defer not, most dread Sovereign Lord, the reformation of these so great enormities, for the wound is even unto death. We mean the great and mighty

abomination of vice that now reigneth within this your Highness' realm. Simony hath lost his name—usury is lawful gains. Last year they obtained by their importunity (in Parliament) a grant, which if it be not revoked, will, in continuance of time, be the greatest impoverishment of us your poor Commons, and chiefly in the *City of London*, that ever chanced since the first beginning thereof. They have obtained, and it is enacted, that every man within the said City, shall yearly pay unto them sixpence *ob.* of every ten shillings' rent. So that if the lord of the grounds please to double and treble the rents, as they do indeed, then must the poor tenant pay also double or treble tenths, as due increase of their riches. Have compassion upon us, most gracious Sovereign; suffer not these insatiable dogs to eat us out of all that we have. Consider, that it is against all reason and conscience, that we, your poor Commons, should be thus oppressed; that where the landlord demandeth of us double and treble rent, that then we shall pay also to the *parson* double and treble tenths. But, most dear Sovereign, how craftily have they wrought this feat! They require not the tenths of the *landlords*, that have the *increase*, but of the tenants, who, of necessity, are constrained to pay to the lords their asking, or else to be without their dwelling-places! They know right well, that if they should have matched themselves with the *landlords*, they happily would have been too weak for them at the length: but they were in good hopes that we, poor Commons, should never be able to stand in their hands.”—“If we have not wherewith to pay them, they may, by virtue of the Act, distress such implements as they shall find in our houses.”

Throughout this Supplication, that the parties petitioning were not now all of the same sentiments with those of whom they complain, is manifest, and will soon be more so. This, of course, rendered such exactions peculiarly grievous. They saw their oppressors to be men of immoral conduct—they complain of their not even “taking the pains to *bury* a dead corpse, unless they had their *duty, as they call it* ;” and thus proceed—

“Judge then, most victorious Prince, what an unreasonable sum the whole and gross sum of these enhanced tenths, with other their *petty briberies*, draweth to. They receive of every hundred pounds £13, 15s., and of the thousand, £137, 10s. : then may your Highness soon be certified what they receive of the whole rents of the city. No doubt, they receive of us yearly more than your Highness did at any time, when you were beset on every side with mortal enemies.”

“Help, merciful Prince,” they had said, “in this extremity. Suffer not the hope of so noble a realm utterly to perish, through the insatiable desire of the possessioners. Remember that you shall not leave this kingdom to a stranger, but to a child of great towardness, our most natural prince EDWARD. *Employ your study to leave him a commonweal to govern, and not an island of brute beasts, among whom the stronger devour the weaker. If you suffer Christ's members to be thus oppressed, look for none other than the rightful judgment of God, for your negligence in your office and ministry. Be merciful, therefore, to yourself and us, your most obeisant subjects. Endanger not your soul by the suffering of us, your poor Commons, to be brought all to the names of beggars, and most miserable wretches. Let us be unto your Highness, as the inferior members*

of the body unto their head. Remember that your hair hairs are a token that nature maketh haste to absolue the course of your life."

These pointed warnings, were rendered much more so, from the petitioners having laid before his Majesty their grievances and complaints in reference to the SCRIPTURES. Indeed it was with this subject they had *begun*; and we have reversed the order, simply to show, that these were not the mere ebullitions of discontented or worldly men, who did not know their value; or of men who cared nothing about the recent base attempts to take the Sacred Volume out of the hands of the useful orders of society. This they placed in front of all their complaints. Hear what they said to Henry on this subject—

"The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out—tell us, that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, diversity of opinions, and other like enormities, have reigned *ever since men had the SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH*. And what is this other, than to cause men's consciences to abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this! They say, it sufficeth a layman to believe, *as they teach*; and not to meddle with the interpretation of Scripture. And what meaneth that, but that they would have us as blind again, as we were?"—"They have procured a law, that none shall be so hardy as to have the Scripture in his house, unless he may spend £10 by the year," (*i. e.* equal to £150 now.) "And what meaneth this, but that they would fannish the souls of the residue, withholding their food from them?—Hath God put immortal souls in none other but such as be possessioners in this world? Did not Christ send word to John the Baptist, that *the poor received the gospel*? Why do these men disable them from reading the Scriptures, that are not endued with the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter that would.

"But some will probably say, they were not *all* sturdy beggars, that were in the Parliament, when this law was established: for many of them, and the most part, were *secular* men; and *not of such ability*, that this law would permit them to have the Scriptures in their houses.⁴⁰ Wherefore this law is indifferent (impartial) and taketh not the Word of God from us; but we, with our full consent, have committed it to them, in that said law limited. Whereunto we answer, that if we have given it over from us to the possessioners of this world, we may be well likened to the *Gadarites*, (Mark v.) which desired Christ to depart from their country; and the lurking birds, which cannot abide the brightness of the sun. If we have rejected this merciful proffer of our most merciful Father, to have the Scriptures, the declaration of God's will, *when he used your Highness, as his instrument* to publish and set forth his most lively

⁴⁰ The *ten-pound* qualification must have been some popular version of the Act of Parliament, as no such sum is therein mentioned. But this, incidentally, is a curious disclosure, as to the M.P.'s of the day, and shows how far such a sum then went. It was an amount, it seems, not unworthy of a King to bestow, as an annual pension; for this was the royal annuity bestowed by Henry VIII., through Paget, upon Roger Ascham. Hence the princely character of Humphry Munmouth in giving the same sum to Tyndale, on his setting off for the Continent to translate the English Bible. But here were M.P.'s who could not "spend £10 by the year."

word—let us fall down prostrate with repentance of this contempt of his merciful gift: most humbly beseeching him to behold the dolours of our heart, and to forget our obstinacy therein—giving your Highness such desire of our salvation; and that you will as favourably restore unto us the Scripture in our English tongue, as you did at the first set it abroad. Let not the adversary take occasion to say, the Bible was of a traitor's setting forth, and not of your Highness' own doing: for so they report that Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, was the chief doer, and not your Highness, but as *led* by him.⁴¹

“When your Highness gave commandment that the Bishops and Clergy should see that there were in every parish *one Bible* at the least, set at liberty; so that every man might freely come to it and read therein—many of this wicked generation, as well priests as others, their faithful adherents, would pluck it, either into the choir, or into some pew, where poor men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches, that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the withholding it from the poor of their own parishes, they never rested till they had a commandment from your Highness, that no man, of what degree soever, should read the Bible in the time of God's service, as they call it. As though the hearing of their *Latin* lies, and conjuring of water and salt, were rather the service of God, than the study of his most holy Word. This was their diligence in setting forth the Bible. But when your Highness had devised a proclamation, for the burning of certain translations of the New Testament, they were so bold as to burn the whole Bible, because they were of those men's, Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation; and not the New Testament only.⁴²

“We heard say that they proffered your Highness, that if you would please to call in the Bible again, forasmuch as it was not faithfully translated in all parts, they would *oversee* it, and within seven years set it forth again! Your Bishops, most victorious Prince, if they might have gotten in the Bible for seven years, would have trusted, that, by that time, either your Highness should have been dead, or the Bible forgotten: or they themselves out of your Highness' reach; so that you should not have like power over them, as you have now.

“When your Majesty appointed two of them, TUNSTAL AND HEATH, to overlook the translation of the Bible, they said they had done your Highness' commandment therein: yea, they set their names thereunto: but when they saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other side, they denied it; and said, they never meddled therewith. Causing the printer to take out their names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certify to all men that they had diligently perused it, according as your Highness had commanded!”⁴³

The outrageous advisers of Henry the Eighth, taking every advantage of his failing strength, having run riot with the

⁴¹ And he as *led* by Cranmer, then in despair of all official men; though not until the New Testament had passed through at least *twenty* editions, and had been reading in England for above *ten* years, independently of all the three—King, Primate, and Vicar-general; nay, in spite of all opposition. This flying report, however, accounts for Henry's command to *Tunstal and Heath*, and for their names inserted on the title-page of two editions.

⁴² The whole Bible refers to Coverdale's, as “The whole Bible by Miles Coverdale,” stood at the top of the list of books, now prohibited and condemned.

⁴³ This bold and distinct statement, as to the two Bishops, published in open day, was never met or contradicted by either the one or the other; and what does it import? That Tunstal and Heath had felt no scruple in thus falsely lending their names to Henry's mandate; nor, what was infinitely worse, no scruple in thus treating the Sacred Volume! The printer, however, *durst* not obey them, and so there the names remain, to the indelible disgrace of both the men, throughout all time.

body and blood of his subjects, were now hastening to that righteous retribution, which, even in this life, so often falls on the head of the wicked. Too long had they walked after the lusts and devices of their own hearts. Neither Wriothlesly nor Gardiner, nor their dual leader his Grace of Norfolk, must be permitted to escape. The long-suffering of God was now very nearly exhausted. These men had walked in pride, and they must be abased. As the enemies of light and of all moral excellence, but especially of the *Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and of all who prized them*, having now vented their malice, it was time that there should be some *reaction*; and what must have rendered it peculiarly galling, was the quarter from whence that reaction came. Instead of committing other people to the flames, they must now look after their own personal safety; and, instead of hunting after books to burn them, the question will be, what is to be the term of their own official, or even actual existence.

Perhaps the last occasion on which the King appeared in gorgeous array was on the 24th of August, when he met the French ambassador, d'Annebaut, and the recent treaty of peace was ratified; as from that period he gradually sunk into a state of complicated misery. For some time, however, this was a subject of such delicacy that no man near the throne dared to commit himself in writing; so that the first recorded hint of failing health is from the pen of a foreigner, in writing to Paget, as late as the 17th of September.⁴⁴ The most partial historians have allowed that Henry had been distinguished for sensuality, and that, as a natural consequence, he became a mass of disease, so unwieldy as to be moved from room to room only by the aid of machinery. His temper, always headstrong, now displayed itself by sudden paroxysms of resentment or fury. From the state of his body, to approach and wait upon him soon became a loathsome task, to which, however, the Queen herself submitted, and with most commendable perseverance. Katherine's influence, in these circumstances, was considerable. She used to converse freely with the dying man, and had ventured occasionally to express her own opinion in distinction from his. One day, however, having, as his Majesty thought, gone too far, he became irritated; and Gardiner coming in the way afterwards, of course chimed in with the King's humour; nay, at last, even pressed the propriety of some investigation into the

⁴⁴ Gov. State Papers, I., p. 660. Nicasius Yetawcirt to Paget. Nicasius became Clerk of the Privy Seal under Elizabeth. He and his son Charles were, in succession, her Majesty's Secretaries for the French tongue. Charles and his widow Jane were also *printers* under the same reign.

opinions of her Majesty. The fractious patient, unmindful of his obligations to his assiduous nurse, who had not unfrequently soothed his anguish, actually complied; and Wriothesly, as well as Gardiner, were busy once more in their favourite sphere of action. But the tide was now in the very act of turning against them, so that, so far from succeeding, their ready acquiescence in their master's frenzy only proved the precursor of another storm against themselves. Most unaccountably, the paper on which at least the imprisonment of the Queen hung, had dropped from the pocket of *Wriothesly*, and having been conveyed to Katherine by one of her friends, she was overwhelmed; and well she might, as his Majesty's signature is said to have been affixed! The King, we are told, heard her cries; and, being carried to the apartment, by her manner of reply he was so soothed, that all danger was now past. Next day, however, the Lord Chancellor must keep his appointment, and, with forty guards, had arrived to convey Katherine to the Tower. The tempest, averted from its former object, had changed in its current the night before, and now burst in fury on the head of Wriothesly. All that the King said was not audible; but the following terms in reply—"Arrant knave! beast and fool!" uttered with a louder voice, were heard distinctly, and even by the Queen. Henry then commanded him out of his sight.

By Michaelmas Even, the 28th of September, there are some curiously ambiguous expressions, from the man thus designated, addressed to the King's Secretary, Paget, which he had prefaced by saying—"I write this to you as to myself."—"The world is so *doubtful and dangerous*, whereof we have good experience, as I pray God we may put our trust in him, and *look well to our own state*, with good entertainment of the rest, that our plainness be not deceived by the *doubleness* of the world, as it hath been of late days." But whatever he meant, the scene referred to must have taken place about this very time. At all events, by the 11th of October the name of Gardiner occurs for the *last* time before he also had sunk in the royal favour, when the influence of the "old learning" party was gone.⁴⁵ The three leaders, Gardiner, Norfolk, and Wriothesly, were on the brink of a precipice; each of them, in succession, will be in distress, as a few days only will begin to discover.

The *Lord Chancellor* WRIOTHESLY appears first in hand. He was in great alarm lest the proposed New Court of Augmentations should interfere with the privileges, or rather the emoluments, of the Great Seal and the Court of Chancery. He is most urgent, in writing to Paget, "to

⁴⁵ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 800. It is strange that this letter from Gardiner should relate to a negotiation respecting a proposed marriage between Philip Duke of Bavaria and the Princess Mary, as well as a treaty between Henry and the Duke's uncle, the Elector Palatine. Of course nothing took place; but the idea of *Gardiner* being so occupied, shows that he was willing to do *any thing* if he might only retain or recover his Majesty's favour. By him and his party every such alliance had been deprecated.

move his Majesty to be good and gracious, and preserve the course of his most ancient Court and Seal, with the poor estimations and livings of his Ministers." "Surely, Mr. Secretary," says he on the 16th of October, "to write frankly unto you, I shall have cause to be sorry in my heart, *during my life, if the favour of my gracious Master shall so fail*, that, partly in respect of his poor servant, he do not somewhat of his clemency temper it."⁴⁶ Whether Henry hearkened to him or not, it is certain that the old Court of Augmentations was dissolved, and the new one was established.

GARDINER came next in order. After Monday night the 11th of October, when he wrote his letter, his name is never once mentioned till the beginning of December. For some time he had sunk so low that he durst not approach the royal presence; but on Thursday the 2d of that month he presumed so far as to address one last letter to his royal master, with another to Paget, begging him to deliver it. The former is distinguished for its cringing and hypocritical style; and so eager was he with Paget about his restoration to favour, as to whine to him in servile Latin.⁴⁷ But the attempt was vain; at least there is no reply in existence, even from the Secretary.⁴⁸ By the end of the month his name was known to have been excluded from the number of his Majesty's executors; a step on which, it has been said, Henry had resolved before going to France in 1544. But, be this as it may, the exclusion now was a loss, at once of honour and emolument. Sir Anthony Browne after this had ventured to mention Gardiner's name to the King, when his Majesty replied, that if he repeated it again, his own name would also be excluded.

This man never recovered Henry's favour, and during the reign of Edward, of course, he bore no sway. On the contrary, he was deprived of his See on the 14th of February 1551, as well as confined to the Tower. Whatever of severity there might be in this, the measure seems to have been adopted from fear of the public tranquillity; and it formed a degree of retribution by no means corresponding to the fearful and bloody years of his domination. Immediately upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was not only restored to all that he had lost, but became Lord Chancellor of England, when he will cross our path for the last time.⁴⁹

To return, however, to the present crisis; that there was not one

⁴⁶ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 382.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, p. 384.

⁴⁸ In this last letter to the King he refers to some refusal or misunderstanding as to an exchange of land with his Majesty; but there is evidently much else involved, and more meant than meets the ear.

⁴⁹ Some able writers occasionally labour under an unfortunate propensity, when sitting down to vindicate a bad man in all, or almost all, that he ever did. Gardiner's life and character have been treated too much after this fashion in the "Biographia Britannica." The article was labour in vain before any record of his deeds approaching to accuracy; and the only apology for Campbell, the reputed author, is, that he was but imperfectly informed of his hero, and not aware of many facts which have been since brought to light, verified by Gardiner's own correspondence, as well as that of others.

moment left to listen to Mr. Stephen Gardiner, is now no matter of surprise, since the entire Court circle, with the King included, were engrossed, in prospect of an event which was to produce a sensation far deeper than could have been occasioned by the disgrace and imprisonment of more Bishops than one. "Title and ancestry," says Addison, "render an ill man more contemptible," and yet the pride of ancestry, in the worst of men, has occasionally wrought their ruin. THE DUKE OF NORFOLK had for some time not spent all his wrath upon "the new learning and its adherents." There was another source of irritation which came much nearer home. In consequence of Henry having married Jane Seymour, who left a son, now about to succeed him on the throne, that family had been raised by the King to the honours of nobility; and Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the uncle of young Edward, was, naturally enough, cherishing the prospect of being Lord-Protector at no distant day. The honours bestowed on this "young" family, had often grated on the ears of the ancient house of Howard; and a bitter rivalry had existed for years between the two parties. The old Duke had a son, "the flower of the English nobility," Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and certainly a very different person from his father; but a circumstance had occurred which highly inflamed his mind. He was a man, according to Herbert, "of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage," and therefore sure to be the more exasperated by any indignity. He had been superseded in his command at Boulogne, and the Earl of Hertford sent in his room. Surrey also had often expressed great contempt of the *new* nobility; but this step had been felt as such an affront, that he is said to have vowed vengeance on his successor in arms as soon as the King should die. On the other hand, Hertford, fully aware of the influence and disposition of both father and son, saw that the chief obstacle to his promotion would be found in the old Duke, or his accomplished and impetuous son, the Earl of Surrey.

The disease of the Monarch was in progress; his mind naturally leaned towards the family of his child, and to the Earl at the head of it; a man of inferior talent to Surrey, yet daring in his designs; and, however young in point of honours, having his own share of ambition, as well as the oldest nobleman in England. To the public services of both the Duke and his son, his Majesty had been often indebted; but with his natural temper, even in health, we are already familiar; and in his present state, if there was the slightest danger connected with Edward's succession to the crown, nothing could be easier than to excite both his fear and jealousy. These once excited, no man was likely to stand before them. Whatever, therefore, the King in his cruelty may now sanction, it seems but equal justice to allow, that in the ambition, the jealousy and fear of the Hertford family, may be traced the origin of what took place. At the same time, and though he be in the act of sinking into the grave, Henry will appear quite in character.

It was upon Sunday the 12th of December, "upon certain *surmises* of treason," that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey were conveyed to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other. The only suspicion of guilt of which the old man chose, some time after, to express himself as conscious, should be given in his own words—"Undoubtedly," said he to the King, "I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, *unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries.*" Once upon a time, this language might have had its effect, but not so now. Indeed, the indecent haste of the proceedings is perhaps more marked than it had ever been upon any similar occasion. On that very Sunday night, immediately after the arrest, we see not fewer than three men, by royal authority, hastening after the spoil belonging to the merely *suspected* prisoners. These three, Sir John Gate, Sir Richard Southwell, and Wymounde Carew, must have travelled in good style for these days; as they proceeded to Kenning Hall, near East Harling in Norfolk, the principal seat of the family, distant eighty miles, and arrived there by Tuesday morning at break of day, before the inmates were out of bed. The Duchess of Norfolk, for certain reasons to be explained presently, was not there; they only found the Countess of Surrey and her children, with Mary the Duchess of Richmond, daughter of the Duke, and widow of Henry Fitzroy, the King's natural son, and a Mrs. Elizabeth Holland.

The two latter were but "newly risen, and not ready to appear." These three early visitors, "after order first taken with the gates and back doors," declared their desire to speak with these two ladies, "when the *first* news of the Duke of Norfolk and his son" were communicated. The Duchess of Richmond "perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down," having recovered, "ere long humbled herself in all, unto his Highness." But the object in view was not to convey intelligence. They saw the children of Surrey, "with certain women in the nursery attending upon them," and they report that the Countess was within six weeks of her confinement; but grandfather's property was the main look out; they must proceed to business, and in the evening of the day they all unite in reporting progress "to the King's most excellent Majesty," *direct* by "the post in haste for his life!"

They had looked most eagerly after the spoil, but were mortified in finding so little; though it was well if these gentlemen went through the search, and left the mansion with clean hands. However, having got the keys from the Duchess, they inform the dying monarch—"her coffers and chambers (be) so bare, as your Majesty would hardly think—her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage to pay her debts—we will, nevertheless, for our duty, make a farther and more earnest search." This, let it be remembered, was the widow of Henry's own natural child. They then proceeded with Mrs. Elizabeth Holland's "gear;" where they found "divers girdles, beads, buttons of gold, pearls and rings, whereof, with all other things, we make a book to be sent unto your Highness! And as we have begun here, at this head house, so have we, presently and at one instant, sent to all his houses in Norfolk and Suffolk, that nothing shall be embezzled till we shall have time to see them. We do not omit Elizabeth Holland's house, newly made in Suffolk, which is thought to be well furnished with *stuff*, whereof your Highness shall also be advertised. The almoner here enlargeth himself with all, or the most part, of the Duke's plate, ready to be delivered into our hands. Money of the said Duke he hath none, but supposeth the steward hath, on this last account, such as doth remain. By our next letters, your Majesty shall be ascertained of the said Duke's jewels,

here and elsewhere, and of the clear yearly value of all his possessions, and all other his yearly revenue, as near as we can learn by his books of accounts, and other his records.”

Nor were they yet done. The Duchess and Mrs. Holland were taken into custody, and to be sent on as witnesses to London next morning. The old Duchess was found much nearer to the city; and as for the Countess and her children, those men on the spot at once actually “beseech his Majesty to signify whether he will have the whole household continue, or in part be dissolved, reserving such as unto his Highness shall seem meet to attend upon the said Earl’s wife”—“beseeching your Highness to signify to us when, and in what place, your pleasure is to bestow her for the time.”⁵⁰—“Most humbly beseeching your royal Majesty graciously to receive these premises as a commencement of our doings!”⁵¹

And these “doings” were within forty-eight hours of the father and son, unknown to each other, having been apprehended upon “certain surmises,” a month before even Surrey was brought to trial, and only six weeks before the Monarch himself died. The writers of this letter, of course, had consulted his Majesty’s well known *taste* upon such occasions, and must have expressed themselves in the way most likely to please: but, at all events, such was Henry’s personal concern in the business at its very commencement, and such, the not unusual modes of procedure under his reign.

Nor did the haste end here. The Lord Chancellor Wriothesly had, for years, been the warm friend and supporter of both Norfolk and Gardiner. What then must have been his mortification, when his Majesty ordered *him* “to advertise the ambassadors in foreign parts, that the Duke of Norfolk and his son had conspired to take upon them the government of the kingdom during his Majesty’s life, as also after his death to get into their hands the Lord Prince! but that their devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower.”⁵² Willing or unwilling, the Chancellor had then also to turn his hand towards framing the “charges against the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey,” which afterwards were actually corrected by the King himself, in a *tremulous* hand!⁵³ And all this before the mockery of law was commenced.

On turning away from this disgraceful course of proceeding, to the parties in prison, and the interior of the Duke’s family, we meet with another scene, and in its way, not less revolting.

With the character of the Duke himself, the father of this family, the first peer of the realm, and now about seventy-three years of age, the reader is already but too familiarly acquainted. He has seen him personally engaged, or presiding, on the most cruel and melancholy occasions of past years; from the death of Anne Boleyn on the scaffold, down to that of Anne Askew in the gloom of night, at the stake. He had sanctioned also the deaths of Fisher, and More, and Cromwell; and now his own day of degradation and terror has come. A material distinction, indeed, is to be drawn between the father and the son although that son, it cannot be forgotten, then a youth of twenty, if not

⁵⁰ Such was the treatment of Frances, the daughter of Vere, Earl of Oxford, the late Lord Great Chamberlain of Henry’s household.

⁵¹ Gov. State Papers, i., p. 888.

⁵² Herbert.

⁵³ For this document, with Henry’s corrections printed in capitals, see Gov. State Papers, i., p. 891.

still younger, presided with his father, at the decided *commencement* of Henry's worst career of cruelty and legalised murder ; of which he himself was now about to become the very *last* victim. Both sat by, and the father not tamely, at the mock trial of Anne Boleyn, the niece of the one, and cousin of the other.

Now in turning our eye to this family, notwithstanding all its pride of ancestry, we see a picture of human nature, such as no family in humble life perhaps ever exhibited ; and it is only in consequence of the conspicuous figure made by this Duke of Norfolk all along, that we are placed under the necessity of looking into it. For these twenty years we have seen a PARTY standing out in determined hostility to the Word of God in the vernacular tongue ; and this man, from year to year, has been the ducal *head* of it. Whether Christianity, therefore, or even morality, be regarded, it is of importance to ascertain what were his pretensions to be a *leader*. If he had been so severe upon Crumwell and *his* character, it would be but blind partiality to pass by his own.

The bitter divisions under this domestic roof, had been of long standing ; for after making every allowance for excited passions, for the warmth of jealousy and wounded pride, if we follow the light afforded by existing original letters, and merely record the facts, the picture afforded is still of the darkest hue. The Duke of Norfolk, who was born in the year 1473 or 4, while yet Earl of Surrey, had married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of that Duke of Buckingham who suffered under Wolsey, by whom he had five children ; Henry Earl of Surrey and the Duchess of Richmond being well known. In 1524 he had become Duke of Norfolk, but before then, there had been unpleasant feeling between him and his lady ; a servant of her's, named Holland, having attracted his notice, and " she," says the Duchess, " has been the cause of all my trouble."⁵⁴ The Duke could have no complaint as to the age of his wife, for she was above twenty years younger than himself ; but such was the animosity between them, that an entire separation had taken place so early as the spring of 1533. The King himself was well acquainted with this feud, and by way of quelling it, had commanded her to address the Duke by letter. She obeyed, but there was no answer to this, though it was her third letter. In 1537, we find the Duchess in earnest correspondence with Crumwell, as Lord Privy Seal, not with any view to reunion, but in reference to her very limited circumstances ; and to him, in six successive letters, she pours out all her complaints.⁵⁵ Crumwell had advised her to go home to the Duke ; she had no inclination, and stated her fears. Norfolk then sternly addresses Crumwell in a letter from Buntingford, Hert's :—" It has come to my knowledge that my *wilful* wife is come to London, and hath been with *you* yesternight, to come to me to London. This I will never allow ;" but, again, he adds, " if she write, confessing her slander, and then sue to the King, I will never refuse the King's command."⁵⁶ And here the matter seems to have dropped at that time.

⁵⁴ This woman, though originally a laundry-maid, the Duchess allows to have been allied to Lord Hussey, who had been executed at Lincoln. She had appeared in the jewels already enumerated, and occupied apartments in Kensington Palace.

⁵⁵ Cotton MS., Titus, b. i., 363-365, and Vespas., F. xlii. 79.

⁵⁶ *Idem*, fol. 365. The wretched representations in these letters addressed to Crumwell, may

The Duchess, it is true, has been represented as a woman of high spirit, and vindictive temper, though the circumstances in which she was placed, have generally been passed over; but after making the very largest allowance for resentment, if only a titling of what she wrote to Cromwell be admitted, it is impossible to resist the conviction, that, as it has often happened, the persecutor of others abroad, had been far from correct at home, and a tyrant there. By the letter already quoted from Kenninghall, we have a separate testimony, and from the place which *Holland* there occupied, there was evidently no room for the Duchess. If we turn away from husband and wife, to the father and his children, there is still nothing to compensate for this long and deadly dissension. The children had united with their father for years, against the mother; but by this time there had been some misunderstanding between the Duke and his son; for, wherever the fault lay, they had quarrelled; and upon Surrey being first eriminated, the Duke felt no scruple in writing him down as his "foolish" son! As for the Duchess of Richmond, whose mild and fine countenance would seem to have given the lie to any such thing, she was ready to witness against her own brother!

At this alarming crisis, therefore, when both father and son were in separate cells, what were the consequences of such a state of things? A house divided against itself cannot stand. The fire which had been kindled more than twenty years ago, and been smouldering ever since, now burst out into open violence, and to the disgrace of all concerned. The proceedings were against the first peer of the realm, an old man about 73; and yet the first witness examined was this woman *Holland*! But then the wife was now ready, after examinations held, to witness against the husband! and the sister against the brother, if not the father also! In short they all came forward and thus acted, though their united testimony could not prove high treason.

As in a picture, sufficiently humiliating, here then stood the *head* of "THE OLD LEARNING" party, and at the head of his own family. This was the man, who, in his public and official character, had engaged with such ardour in the war of *opinion*. The man who, to gain his own ends, and, if possible, beguile Cromwell, could so basely play the hypocrite in 1539; and who yet now, when under the fear of death, and referring to Cromwell and himself in comparison, could say to the Privy Council,—"he was a *false* man, and surely I am a *true* poor gentleman."⁵⁷ Above all, this is the same individual who, for twenty years, had been so bitterly opposed to the ENGLISH BIBLE, as well as to its being *read* by the people, and who persecuted all who *prized its contents*; but it is no mystery now, why he pursued such a course. No wonder now, that he carried about with him certain *personal* objections to the sacred volume. It was the Earl of Rochester, at a far later period, and after he came to a sense of his own depravity, of whom it has been testified that, laying his hand on the *Bible*, he would say—"There is true philosophy.

be seen in the appendix to Nott's Life of Surrey. In the end of 1537, the Duchess says she had been married to him 25 years before, and that she was now past 40. This would make her a bride at the early age of fifteen or sixteen, when the Duke was about thirty-nine.

⁵⁷ Cotton MS., Titus, b. i., fol. 94.

This is the wisdom that speaks to the heart. *A bad life is the only objection to this book.*"

These disclosures, so mortifying to family pride, were not without their value. The friends of truth and righteousness could not be insensible to their bearing, and they might now judge for themselves, and no doubt did, whether they had any occasion to be ashamed because of their titled opponent.⁵⁸

But the King's business, not to say his rapid disease, demanded haste, and there must be no delay. They first proceeded with Surrey. He had returned from France in April; and, having spoken unguardedly of Hertford, had been committed as a prisoner to Windsor Castle in July, but only for a very short time. When the French ambassador was entertained with such great magnificence in August, the Earl, along with his father and Cranmer, had the most conspicuous places assigned to them in all the ceremonies; but it was with this pageant that the career of Surrey came to an end.

⁵⁸ We are now, however, let at least into *one* secret cause of the bitter hostility between Norfolk and Crumwell, which has never been pointed out. It was not simply because Crumwell politically leaned towards "the new learning," but Norfolk must have owed him a grudge—and at last had his revenge. The situation of the Lord Privy Seal was often difficult and critical. The fact was, that, from 1537 to 1539, he had either got himself embroiled with this divided family, or been drawn into the vortex. In 1537 we have seen him in correspondence with the banished Duchess, and this was hazardous enough; but in 1538 he comes in contact with "the Lady of Richmond," as she was often styled. Her husband, Henry's natural son, had died on the 22d July 1536, when she was left pensionless! She begs her father's aid, or to be allowed to sue in person to his Majesty, in 1538. Crumwell, then in the height of power, is applied to as Lord Privy Seal, when both Henry and himself, as if not altogether unwilling to evade her claim by some *technical* question respecting the validity of the marriage, apply to Cranmer! He, however, affirmed it to be good; but "as for the demand of the woman by the law civil," he professed his ignorance, and referred to the lawyers. In June 1538 the jointure had been granted. When Norfolk first saw his Majesty afterwards, he not only thanked him, but, professing to do every thing according to his pleasure, craftily enough made an overture of his daughter in marriage. For the young and beautiful widow he knew of but two persons, one of whom was Sir Thomas Seymour, (afterwards Lord Seymour, who married Queen Katharine Parr, soon after Henry's death;) and the King, professing to be quite pleased, spoke to Seymour. But observing both the King and Norfolk to be alike bent on the match, he referred to Crumwell, as his good lord, because Crumwell's son, Gregory, "had married Seymour's sister." He thought, therefore, my Lord Privy Seal "might the rather have the (*managing*) management of the matter." All this Sadler communicates to Crumwell, by command of the King, on the 14th of July 1538, adding, that as the young duchess was going into the country next day, "his Grace the King prayeth you to take your time the sooner." Whether Crumwell managed the way for Seymour to escape, or the duchess declined, it is evident that there could have been nothing but ill-will on Norfolk's part, after such collisions regarding both wife and daughter, for the marriage never took place.

In proposing this match to the King, Norfolk's pride of ancestry is very observable. "Perceiving," said he, "there ensueth commonly no great good by conjunction of great bloods together, he sought not, therefore, to marry his daughter in any high blood or degree." Most extraordinary, as well as foolish, language to be addressed to Henry, when referring to the brother of his own Queen, Jane Seymour! To maintain the Norfolk sway in time to come, through his alliance with the rising Seymour family, was unquestionably the Duke's *real* object, and the craft involved was not forgotten. But will it be believed, after the part that the King had acted, by Sadler's *holograph* letter, that this very proposal was now interwoven, and in the most disgusting language, with "the Charges" now drawn up, and, to crown all, actually in Henry's own tremulous handwriting? As for that family which Norfolk had styled as "not of any high blood or degree," they, with the King, were now determined on the death of both the Duke and his son. Compare Cotton MS., Cleop. F. xiii., fol. 75; E. v., fol. 101, with Crumwell's Corr., bundle S., holograph, once in the Chapter House, and now in the State Paper Office. Or see Ellis's Lett., 2d Ser., ii., 83; Cranmer's Remains, i., p. 226-229; and Gov. State Papers, i., pp. 576-7, and 491.

Richard Southwell, one of the busy searchers at Kenninghall and elsewhere, had first offered to criminate the Earl; when he vehemently demanded justice, or, as an alternative, offered to fight his accuser in his shirt. In addition to the members of his own family, Sir Edmund Knevet, and, according to Herbert, one Thomas Pope, then appeared as witnesses, but with trifling evidence.⁵⁹ The depositions, however, such as they were, were then sent down to the Judges, who were at Norwich. By the 7th of January a verdict was returned, and Surrey was indicted for high treason. A special commission was appointed to try him, and the Earl was put on his defence, as a commoner, at Guildhall, before *Wriothesly*, as Chancellor, and Hovertorn, the Lord Mayor, on the 13th of January. It was then alleged that he had assumed the armorial bearing of Edward the Confessor, which, they said, (falsely,) had been hitherto *exclusively* used by his Majesty and his predecessors. The fact was admitted, and the authority of the heralds adduced, but pled in vain; and as the legal ground was the sweeping section of more than one statute, which made it high treason "to do any thing by word, writing, or deed, to the scandal or peril of the established succession to the crown," the Earl was convicted by a jury of twelve notable men of Norfolk, eight knights and four squires, one of whom, by the way, was named *Boleyn*.⁶⁰ Surrey defended himself with great boldness and ability: but what could any defence, however able, now avail? It was on Friday the 21st of January that the poetical genius of this young man was extinguished for ever, and by the authority of a monarch now himself "lying in the agonies of death."⁶¹ Such a proceeding could not fail to cover the Seymours with lasting odium.⁶²

⁵⁹ There was but one man of this name, well known—Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford.

⁶⁰ Ten years ago he had sat in judgment upon him. The knights were, Sirs William Paston, *James Bulleyn*, Francis Lorde, *Richard Gresham*, *John Gresham*, John Clere, Thomas Clere, W. Woodhouse. The squires—C. Hayden, N. L'Estrange, P. Hubbert, and H. Bedingfield.

⁶¹ The 19th has been often stated as the day of execution; but in the notes in Lord Burleigh's handwriting, preserved in Murden's State Papers, there is this entry—"1547. 21 Jan. H. Co. *Surrey de col.*" The Lords had passed their bill of attainder against Norfolk and his son the day before, and did *not* sit on the 21st. The reason is not stated; but this seems to have been the day when Surrey was beheld privately in the Tower.

⁶² Lord Surrey is said to have been about thirty years of age. Having been singularly unfortunate in his biographers, whether Birch, Lord Oxford, or Warton, *Notts' Life of Surrey* must be consulted. In Chalmers' Biog. Diet., art. Henry Howard, the former inaccuracies or fables are glanced at. The Countess survived him many years; having had five children, and, from the letter already quoted, one of them, not improbably, a *posthumous* child. The mother married, for her second husband, Thomas Steyning, Esq. of Woodford, in Suffolk, and was living in 1563.

It is pleasing to add that the young Duchess of Richmond turned out a very different woman indeed. The children of Surrey were committed to her charge; and, stung with remorse at the part she had acted, thanks to the *new learning*! she admirably fulfilled her duty as aunt to the fatherless children, training them up in a way very different from what they must otherwise have been. It is well known that *John Foxe*, the Martyrologist, was chosen as their preceptor; and though the eldest, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, ended his days on the scaffold, through his infatuated correspondence with Queen Mary of Scotland, his instructions to his children as a dying man, are well worthy of perusal, and more especially as coming from the house of *Norfolk*.

As for the Duke himself, what with the gradual progress of that "learning," which he hated, and contempt for the new nobility, as well as family dissension, the spirit of the old man was greatly broken down. Still his desire for life was extreme, and he pled for it, in language as abject as that of Wolsey or Crumwell who had preceded him. Men who have sported with the lives of their fellow-creatures have often displayed great cowardice as to their own. So it happened with Wolsey, Crumwell, and the Duke of Norfolk in succession.

Throughout life, Henry had been always very punctilious respecting forms of his own devising; and Norfolk, a peer, could not be despatched after the same fashion with his son. Parliament had met for one day on the 4th of November, and before the close of that month the various parts of this bloody tragedy were nearly cast. At all events, the House had been prorogued, and was now to meet, very opportunely, on the 14th of January; or the day after Wriothesly had pronounced sentence on Surrey. On the following Tuesday, the 18th, a bill of attainder against the Duke was brought in, and, next day, it was read the second time. It was on this day, or within two days after, that the fallen Minister was writing his letter to the King; a most earnestly imploring one for mercy. This had been preceded by one to the Privy Council, begging for alleviations in his imprisonment, and presenting four separate confessions with an eye to mercy. As another precaution against his vast possessions being scattered among his rivals, he conveyed them entire to Prince EDWARD, and this perhaps with a view to mollify the King. But all was in vain; it was blood that was wanted, and that once shed, every shilling *must* come to the Crown. On the 20th, the bill passed the Lords. The Commons were no less expeditious: a Sabbath interrupted them, but on Monday the 24th they returned the bill to the Upper House.⁶³ Thus the very man who had made himself so busy in hurrying through Parliament the proceedings against *Crumwell*, was served by the House, as he had served others. Not a moment was now to be lost; but the custom hitherto had been to *reserve* all such bills to the close of the session, and so it had been done

⁶³ "Hodie allata est Billa a Domino Communi pro attinctura *Thome Ducis Norff. et Henrici Comitiss Surrey*, que expedita est." See the Lords' Journals, p. 204 290.

with the Lord Privy Seal. Yet if the King is to have his last dying wishes, and if the Seymours are to gain their end, wonted forms must be disregarded. Accordingly so they were. The royal assent was given on Thursday the 27th; Norfolk was ordered for execution *next* morning, and left to count the hours till break of day. Such was the *last* act of power on the part of Henry the Eighth!

But "there is no man," subject or sovereign, "that hath power over the spirit, to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death, and there is no discharge in that war." By that God, who had borne with him so long, Henry's own hour of call was already fixed, and "about two of the clock in the morning of Friday,"⁶⁴ the 28th of January 1547, he had been summoned to a higher tribunal, there to answer for his long and weighty catalogue of cruelty and crime.

To die, as it were, in the very act of embruing his hands in blood, was the close of the King's existence on earth; while no subject had been so unwelcome to himself, as that of his *own* dissolution. No man dared even to hint such a prospect, till within a few hours of his ceasing to breathe. Even then, some degree of courage was required, and it was Sir Anthony Denny who told the dying man, in so many words, "*that the hope of human help was vain.*" These were terms which betrayed an eager clinging to life still. Henry, "visibly disquieted," had to be informed that the intimation was founded upon the judgment of the physicians. He was then asked whether he wished to confer with any one. "With no other," said he, "but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him *as yet*; I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." Determine, however, he did not for nearly two hours, when it was of little or no moment who should come. Cranmer was sent for in all haste, but he arrived only in time to receive one fixed look, when Henry grasped his hand and expired! He was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and within three months of completing the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Thus narrowly, or by a space of about six hours, did the Duke of Norfolk escape with his life, though he must no more preside at the public and disgraceful execution of his fellow-

⁶⁴ So the Earl of Sussex informed his Countess. Titus, b. ii., fol. 51. printed by Ellis.

men. On the contrary he, as well as Gardiner afterwards, must remain in durance for years.⁶⁵

To the close of this monarch's existence, we have toiled through the record of human depravity, certainly not on its *own* account; but because of the moral lesson it now affords, as well as its bearing on the main object of these pages. If it be one of those laws by which God appears to govern the world, that, "*men engaged in an evil cause, however harmonious they may be in the outset, shall, sooner or later, be at variance;*" here we have an illustration of that law, well worthy of remembrance. Gardiner and Tunstal, Norfolk and Wriothesly, had been the leading and uniform opponents of the progress of Divine truth among the people, and often had they played into each other's hands; while the King, to say nothing of his habitual depravity, having but one fixed principle, or the love of power, had died as he had lived. Before that event, however, he scowls on these men, by whose advice he had been so often swayed. They were, to a man, his oldest counsellors, the ablest men around him, and the very pith of "the old learning" party. These recent events, therefore, cannot loosely, or with propriety, be consigned to the gulf of human passion alone, and there left. This was the breaking up of an old confederacy, by its own leader, or, at least, the man on whom it depended, and then he himself died. It was Providence, by degradation, and imprisonment, and death, "putting down the mighty from their seats, scattering the proud in the imagination of their hearts," and preparing the way for a very different scene in the reign of Edward, especially so far as the printing and *free perusal* of the Sacred Volume was concerned.

The remarkable period which we have now contemplated, has been often

⁶⁵ By the Journals, the House of Lords appears to have met on Saturday the 29th, and, strange to say, sanctioned some (inferior) business. Next day was still allowed to pass, and, on Monday the 31st of January, EDWARD was proclaimed King. The delay of three days would, in our time, be censured as a daring assumption; and if, as it has been supposed, the life or death of Norfolk was discussed, it only shews that it was not Henry alone, who sought his death. The Duke's escape from the block, by only a few hours, added nearly eight years to his existence; most of which, however, he spent in prison. The Duchess of Richmond did all that she could to procure his release, but in vain. On the accession of Mary, he was not only delivered, and by herself personally, but his honours were restored, and dying at Kenninghall, in September 1534, above eighty years of age, he was there interred. The Duke must certainly have been softened in his character; as he left £500 to the Duchess of Richmond, not only "for her cost and charges in making suit for my delivery out of prison," but also "in bringing up my son of Surrey's children." Now as John Foxe was the tutor, of this tuition he had approved; though poor Gardiner, *semper idem*, was then hunting for the tutor's life!

compared to a resurrection of the human mind, and certainly, since that auspicious morning, it has never slept. But the Lords of the soil, so far from bidding it welcome to life and activity, were filled with alarm, and blindly chose to confound its movements with *civil* revolt. In the three leading princes of Europe, who have been ever in view, there was at least this one point of resemblance. They all persecuted; they all interfered with the inalienable rights of the human mind. Charles and Francis, in conjunction with the original and ancient usurper at Rome; but Henry in a path of his own. In his own proper person, he had *arrogated to himself* the entire sovereignty. As an historical event, it is of great importance to observe this. The step taken, so far from its being with the concurrence of the nation, was one to which even the majority of his Council were opposed, and it was, in truth, the Monarch's own deed. The duties of his subjects, in body, soul, and spirit, were to be summed up in one word—*obey*; and so he died, leaving this his personal interference or usurpation, as a species of leaven in his kingdom, or his legacy to posterity. One eminent author of our own day, though so tenderly alive to Henry's honour, and eager to soften the asperities of former writers, is constrained to give way here. Had his Majesty, he says, "confined himself to the mere official and temporal acts that became necessary, only benefit would have resulted from the change. But opinions, feelings, and modes of worship, came into question, collision and alteration, as well as matters of revenue, dignity, and power: and Henry conceived that he had not only the right, but was placed in the duty, of guiding and ruling the faith and doctrines and religious reasonings of his people"—a conception which would never have occurred to him, but for his odious lust of power. "A wide career of *evil* was opened by this strange assumption, in which the most energetic mind, especially if unchecked by the kind sensibilities, was sure to be the most tyrannical, and from principle, unrelenting."⁶⁶

As it regarded the King personally, the position which he had so resolutely assumed, may be seen, in a very striking point of view, and by way of warning, if we observe the language which that position induced his courtiers to employ. Wolsey was a perfect master, in the art of obsequious management, but it could never have entered even into *his* imagination to frame expressions, such as his successors conspired to

⁶⁶ Turner's Henry VIII., ch. xxxi.—We have not indeed quoted the last sentence entire—"A wide career of *evil*," says the author, "was opened by this strange assumption, in which the most energetic mind, *without any bad motives, and even from its very best purposes, especially if unchecked,*" &c. The italics we have omitted, for reasons we trust sufficiently obvious to the reader. Can any such human character exist, as that of a man running "most tyrannically" in "a wide career of *evil*," without *any bad motives*? No man, whatever be his station, can be relieved from his personal responsibility to God, merely because he has placed himself in the midst of temptation, or chosen to walk upon forbidden ground. The assumption was Henry's own choice, and one which he cherished with ardour to his dying hour. Mr. Turner elsewhere refers to the imperious and impelling circumstances by which he was surrounded; but certainly if any man ever took the liberty of walking *according to his own will*, it was Henry the Eighth.

pour, on certain occasions, into the royal ear. No, these, it should be observed, were *the natural fruit* of his Majesty's assumption. Henry, though affecting to hear adulation with indifference, was observed to be exceedingly fond of praise. Wolsey first applied to him the epithet *Majesty* instead of "Highness;" but it was left for his successors to add the terms *most sacred*. Whenever these words were repeated before him, in Parliament, all the Lords rose up, and, of course, the whole assembly, bowing, in token of assent. We need not repeat the ill-timed language of Crammer to him, before Anne Boleyn's death;⁶⁷ nor the fulsome style in which Crumwell wrote, immediately after the murder of Lambert, when Henry had presided as Head of the Church of England; on which occasion he wished that all the princes of Europe had been present, to witness the scene!⁶⁸ But on another occasion Crumwell said he was unable, and "he believed all men were unable to describe, the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart!" Richard Rich, that devoted friend of "the old learning," and practised persecutor, told him in public, that in wisdom, he was equal to *Solomon*, in strength and courage to *Samson*, in beauty and address to *Absalom*! Stephen Gardiner, addressing the University of Cambridge, wrote—"The King's Majesty hath, *by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, composed all matters of religion!" Audley, the Lord Chancellor, declared in his presence, that God had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows—*above* the other kings of the earth—*above all* his predecessors; that He had given him a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures!—a perfect knowledge of the art of war!—a perfect knowledge of the art of government!" In short, both parties were alike guilty, and *vied* with each other in such profane and disgusting flattery.

The assumption of supremacy over the mind, or despotic power over the utterance of religious sentiment, was thus demonstrated to have been mentally injurious not only to the usurper himself, but to all who drew near him. It must have produced some characteristic species of delirium, before Henry could have stood, with *gravity*, expressions such as these. Any other man would have regarded them as the height of personal insult. His Majesty, however, held fast by his assumed position to his dying day, and continued to be hailed with frankincense upon every side. On all public occasions, and before the world, it was—

Thus they roll'd themselves before him in the dust,
Then most deserving, in their own account,
When most extravagant in his applause:
As if exalting him, they raised themselves.
Thus by degrees, self-elicited of their sound
And sober judgment, that he was but man,

⁶⁷ See vol. i. p. 467.

⁶⁸ See the present volume, p. 121

They demi-deify'd and fumed him so,
 That in due season he forgot it too.
 Inflated and astrut with self-conceit,
 He gulp'd the windy diet, and ere long,
 Adopting their mistake, profoundly thought
 The world was made in vain, if not for him.
 Thenceforth they were his cattle: drudges, born
 To bear his burdens, drawing in his gears,
 And sweating in his service; his caprice
 Became the soul that animated all!

Such were some of the effects resulting from Henry's assumption of absolute power, especially in the vicinity of his throne. The minds of all, without exception, who came within the sphere of his personal influence, sustained serious injury. Even unprincipled men, tempted by their love of pelf and power, became still worse in his service; men of better principles received damage for life; and we have seen one and another, as it were, shivered to atoms on this rock of absolute power. Well would it have been for the interests of humanity, had the assumption died with him; but, monstrous as it was, it gave a casto to the age—nay, it produced a confusion in the minds of men for generations to come, and one from which, even at this moment, many in Britain are not exempt.

Upon the intelligence of Henry's death being communicated to his alternate ally and enemy, the King of France, he became more pensive; and being already in bad health, he drooped and died, at Rambouillet, in two months after, or the 31st of March. The aged Pontiff, who had so thundered against the King of England, lived only two summers longer; and thus Charles was left sole survivor on the field in which they had all fought so long.

In these circumstances, and so far as these men were concerned, it is certainly not a little singular, that the tumultuous scene may be said to have closed with an act which astonished all Europe at the moment. It was the abdication of his throne, by the Emperor, three years before his death; and it deserves notice here, on account of one of its consequences. Of these Sovereigns, he was the only one who is reported to have at last seen the folly and futility of all such dictatorial interference by civil rulers with the human mind, as they had all practised. The Emperor "was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any *two* of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise, as well as regret, on his own *folly*, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion."⁶³

⁶³ Robertson's Charles V. De Thou Bayle.

That there was any magnanimity of mind in the abdication of Charles, has been denied, and ascribed simply to his declining health ; but, at all events, this *surprise* came over him only after he had left his throne, and the *regret* also came too late to benefit mankind. That the chief energetic actor throughout the whole of this remarkable period, should have now seen that “ all was vanity and vexation of spirit,” is not improbable ; and granting that his cogitations were those only of a man who had become incapable of wielding a sceptre he was reluctant to relinquish, still the inference drawn from his clocks and watches, was more sound and important than any that he ever drew when reigning in his full strength. Such is the difference between a man *in* such power, and the same man *out* of it.

But alas for the poor Emperor ! If the clocks and watches had made any impression whatever, this soon passed away. For what else could be expected from a man who delivered himself up, body and soul, into the hands of his confessor ? And what was the result ? “ Two days before his death, he added a codicil to his will, in which he exhorts his son to inflict signal and severe punishment on heretics, without exception of any criminal, and without regard to the prayers or to the rank of the person !” “ It is dangerous,” says he, “ to dispute with heretics. I always refused to argue with them, and referred them to my theologians ; alleging with truth my own ignorance ; for I had scarcely begun to *read a grammar*, when I was called to the government of great nations !”⁷⁰

Yet after all, Charles was merely one of a species ; for how many thousands are there still, and such men too as have never once felt the intoxicating influence of power, who are yet far from comprehending the incumbent doctrine of *non-interference* ? It is saying but little for poor human nature, that there has been no sentiment so tardy in its progress. So long as men held fast by the dogmas of astrology with regard to the heavens, and of alchemy as to the earth, the right of private judgment in the *arts and sciences* was not understood. That is a right, however, which has been long since conceded, and what has followed ? The perfection of science as far as it has gone. But among the nations of Europe, that right, which in any degree, is of all earthly blessings the greatest, Christian liberty, or, in other words, the liberty to be a Christian, like the loftiest trees of the forest, which spring from very small seeds, has had to sustain the strife of many a winter. Yet genuine Christian liberty, which these European nations have been so slow to understand, is still the monarch of the woods ; and when once Christianity comes to be drawn fresh from the pure fountain of Revelation *alone* ; when the Sacred Volume shall be elevated to its due place, by

⁷⁰ Sir James Mackintosh, quoting from Llorente.

the appeal *direct*, and *no other* appeal, then, and not till then, will this subject, like many others, be better understood.

Thus terminated by far the most important period through which Old England had ever passed. Important, as far as Divine and eternal truth, introduced to the people, in their own tongue, through the medium of the press, was superior to all the passing events of the day. That period has proved, it is true, one continued ferment, one incessant turmoil of human passion and depravity. The civil and political worlds have been in perpetual agitation, or one storm has come in the neck of another. Should we specially fix our eye upon Henry, surrounded by all his courtiers, for these twenty years, from first to last, what have we witnessed ?

“The whole has been a scene of civil jar,
 Chaos of contrarieties at war ;
 Where Obstinacy took her sturdy stand,
 To disconcert what Policy had plann'd ;
 Where Policy was busy all night long
 In setting right what Faction had set wrong ;
 Blind to the working of that secret Power
 Which balanc'd still the wings of every hour.”

But then, amidst all, have we not beheld a separate cause and interest, which it was far above the power of kings, as conquerors, to control ? Nay, one by which the King of England and his Counsellors have been signally overruled again and again ? A cause which, apart from the tumults of worldly policy, still prospered in defiance of them all ? Or, in other words, have we not descried all along, for twenty years, an under-current meandering through the country, in spite of all interference maintaining its own separate and peculiar channels, and, as it were, disdainful to mingle with the waves above ? Though too much overlooked by historians hitherto, it was cherishing at the roots all that has been healthy, and vigorous, and praiseworthy in this kingdom ever since. Whatever of Christianity has prevailed in England, from that time to the present, its origin is to be found here, perfectly distinct from all the councils and edicts, or the proclamations, whether for or against, of Henry the Eighth. These, after more than ten years of positive hostility had passed away, when they once or twice happened to be in favour of the vernacular Scriptures—these tokens of defeat, after the tug of war had slackened, and after Henry, and all around him, had been obliged to give way, had some influence. But even these, if we are to believe the King, instead of all that party writers have chosen to affirm, were confessed by himself, as we have heard, and towards the end of his days, to have been comparatively *impotent*. A month or two was the measure of their power, while still the cause went on, under the hand of that God who had been with it from the beginning, and is with it still.

With reference, therefore, to the history of the English

Bible, as far as we have come, and after such a detail as the past, with all its imperfections. what, for example, can any reader think when he finds one writer, in summing up the reign of Henry the Eighth, express himself in such terms as the following? "*His largest claim to our gratitude is, that he at last permitted the great fountain of religious truth and of intellectual piety to be opened to the people, by sanctioning the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the national language; thus making free to every one what millions have blessed him for!*" This is even exceeded by another modern historian. "*He resolutely maintained to the end of his life the exclusive right of God's undoubted Word to be the religious instructor of the rational creation. The assertion of this fundamental principle is the brightest distinction of Henry's reign!*"

All this, and much more to the same effect, has been actually reported of a man who, above ten years after the Scriptures of the New Testament had been introduced into this kingdom, in spite of all his power, and the hostility of his associates—a man who, after he had been signally overruled to sanction the very translation he had condemned, to say nothing of his share in the guilt of leaving the translator to the flames, did indeed at last inform his subjects that "*it had pleased him to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother tongue, to be openly laid forth in every parish church.*" But then this is the same man who, in less than six years after, enjoined that "*no women but noble women, no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the Bible or New Testament in English, to themselves or to any other, privately or openly!*" And who, in three years after this, told all England, "*it ought to be deemed certain that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not necessary for all those folks that of duty ought to be bound to read it, BUT as the Prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient to be tolerated or TAKEN FROM IT!* Consonant whereto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a *great many!*" This daring profanity was crowned by Henry's last public act, within six months of his dissolution—his endeavour, by proclamation, to consign to the flames above thirty editions of the New Testament by Tyndale—denouncing the translation as "*crafty,*

false, and untrue," though it was the very *same* with that which was included in the Bible he had sanctioned in 1537 !⁷¹

All this contemptible spleen and fury, it is true, had been held in derision, and most remarkably thwarted and counterwrought, till at last God began to deal with the man in the way of disease and death. Now if historians, at the distance of three hundred years, will *thus* write of his Majesty the reigning King, it may abate the surprise of some at the language of his courtiers when crouching before him ; but, in the name of truth, and of all that is honest in historical narrative, why should we, in this age, be directed to a source of gratitude such as this ?" Man praises man, indeed ; and if a king, however profane, or however hostile, is to enjoy the posthumous fame or personal credit of all the good that was done during the days of his mortal life, then, of course, no room is left for any other individual ; but,

" Thus idly some men waste the breath of praise,
And dedicate a tribute, in its use
And just direction *sacred*, to a thing
Doom'd to the dust, or lodged already there."

The worst effect of such language is, not that of its spoiling one of the most deeply interesting and instructive chapters in the history of our country, or its turning away the eye from her real human benefactors. There is a far higher consideration. For if man only is to be regarded here, when or where, in the whole compass of English history, is God, by himself alone, to be specially adored ? After all that we have read, may it not now, with reverence, be said of HIM, that *He* had trodden an uncommon, nay, unprecedented path ? Other nations, it is granted, received the Scriptures, and by the kind providence of heaven, but not after the same singular manner. There is no passage in the history of Germany or in that of any other nation, of a similar character ; though, strange to say, this has never yet been distinctly explained, nor at any time sufficiently observed.

" *It is the glory of God to conceal a thing : but the honour of Kings to search out a matter ;*" and perhaps there never before had occurred a more striking commentary on that sacred pro-

⁷¹ The Epistles of which were then reading in public, and continued to be so for more than a hundred years after Henry was in his grave, and the Psalms of which are read publicly in England and Ireland to the present hour.

verb. Let the reader of English history, say, whether there has been any one equal to it since.

Before ever the book arrived, Wolsey had been forewarned by Cochlaeus, a service of which he boasted for years after, and complained bitterly that our King had never rewarded him. It was only strange that he could not give the *name* of the Englishman, the translator, or that he did not, if he could. The "concealment" of Providence had already commenced. But still, and before the volume came, the Cardinal had premeditated "a secret *search* and at one time," in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, for all hated books; and of this *search*, his Majesty on the throne, warmly approved. Yet when the set time was come for the Sacred Volume to be given to England, here, accordingly, the book was! But by whom translated, no one could tell, at least no one told; and *where* it was printed, is only now in discussion, at the distance of more than three hundred years. The book was found in Oxford, at Cambridge, in London, dispersed, they said, after a few months, "in great numbers," and it must be publicly denounced. But still the author could not be named. Its continued transit to this country, its introduction, its dispersion, far from the cities and the court, were still involved in mystery: and though Solomon adds in his proverb—"it is the honour of Kings to search out a matter," here was one which baffled the King, and all his searchers. Certain individuals, belonging to another nation, and not speaking our language, were moved to take up the "concealed thing," and one edition followed after another, like "the ploughman overtaking the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed." Here they were in England, aye, and Scotland too; but the time when, the channel of conveyance, or the places to which the treasure came, were still so many mysteries. Wolsey and Warham, Tunstal and Stokesly, not forgetting Sir Thomas More, were shrewd and able men; and probably every one of them thought so of himself. Their days were spent in searching. State secrets on the Continent, they penetrated, detected, and counter-wrought; but here was an affair by which they were all entangled, as among the briars in a wilderness. They all searched out the matter, and groped their way, blindly supposing it was for the *honour* of their King; but there was still a secret working, still a "concealment" in

the business, by which they were all, individually and in succession, baffled and perplexed. The moaning of Sir Thomas More, in the sixth year of progress, at once a commentary on the vexatious concealment, and a eulogium on the parties employed, is worthy of repetition even now.

“These fellows,” said he, “that naught had here, and therefore naught carried hence, nor nothing finding there to live upon, be yet sustained and maintained with money sent them by some evil-disposed persons out of this realm thither.”—Such was the writer’s random conjecture, for to fathom the matter was beyond his power; but then there were these books, and of them he could speak by experience,—“which books albeit that they neither can be there printed, without *great cost*, nor here sold, without *great adventure and peril*: yet cease they not to print them there, and send them hither, by the whole vats full at once: and in some places, looking for *no lucre*, cast them abroad by night: so great a pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught, with the labour, travail, cost, charge, peril, harm and hurt of themselves, to seek the destruction of others!”

Such was the language of the second baffled Lord Chancellor of England; but what was all this, save the writhing of the mind, under the concealments of that God, whose highest glory was concerned in *thus* giving his Word to England, in spite of all her rulers? Here and there already, “the voice of rejoicing and salvation was in the dwellings of the righteous. The right hand of the Lord had done valiantly.”

If, however, it be “the glory of God to conceal a thing,” and many such things are with him; in the course of his providence, the curtain may, at last, be drawn aside; and then—what then? After rendering praise to Him, to whom it is first, nay, and in one sense, only due; yet, as far as human agency had been, or was still employed, whether are we to give the glory to the men whom God overruled, or the man he employed? the men He, all the while, controlled and checked, and turned as the rivers of water? or the man into whose heart he had infused his determined purpose?—the men agitated by little else than wayward and tumultuous passions? or the man possessed by “the spirit of love, and power, and of a sound mind?”

But enough, and more than enough, of Henry the Eighth and his courtiers in general. The heart now cannot but instinctively recoil from looking in that direction. Other historians, however, have directed the gratitude of their country to other individuals. The renown of the contest has been

ascribed to certain men whom we have seen wait on the times, till the battle was actually fought and won; and the credit of all that followed has been given to such as, led by political motives, were overruled to lend the cause, since it must advance, that countenance, which literally *cost them nothing*. Our preceding history may be referred to in explanation; and whether his Majesty, as far as he was a patron, did not even then “encumber them with help,” we leave the reader to judge.

We only repeat, as not the least remarkable fact in the entire narrative, that the able, though unpretending man, so evidently raised up by God to commence and carry forward the war of truth and righteousness unto victory, has been hitherto left in the background. With this never-to-be-forgotten period, other names have been associated, so as almost to overshadow him; these have been repeated a thousand times, and become familiar as household words; while there are not wanting those who still inquire—And *who* was Tyndale? But if we mean to speak of the first personal and determined preparations for this great contest—of the man who, by first applying the art of printing to the Sacred Volume in our native tongue, effectually placed the “leaven” of divine truth in the heart of this kingdom; if we intend to refer to the first victories gained upon English ground, to the brunt of the battle, or to the burden and heat of the day, these were not the men. Tyndale, with Fryth by his side, occupy a place in the foreground of the picture, from which they never can be moved by any impartial historian. But we have not yet done with the influence of our martyred Translator. The providence of God, under the reign of Edward, will interpret how much more we owe to his memory, and whether the people of England did not testify *their* gratitude and veneration, as soon as they were *let alone* to act for themselves.


THE HISTORY OF
THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BOOK III.—ENGLAND.

from Edward VI. to the Commonwealth,

SECTION I. REIGN OF EDWARD.

A REIGN, HOWEVER BRIEF, DISTINGUISHED AS HAVING NO PARALLEL IN BRITISH HISTORY, WITH REGARD TO THE PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

HE storm has changed into a calm ; so that in reviewing the Christianity of England from the sixteenth century, there have been those, as there are still, who prefer to begin with the reign of Edward the Sixth ; while others repudiate every event before the reign of Elizabeth. But whatever may be the inducement to either preference, such parties must not expect to be acknowledged as possessing much, if any, energy of purpose in tracing effects to their cause ; or any measure of that disposition, which cannot be satisfied without accounting fully for circumstances, still existing before every eye. The reign of Henry the Eighth, whatever had been his personal character, was, in many respects, not only *initial* but *germinant*. Every day since, has so testified ; and the broad surface of the kingdom still bears witness to the weight and pressure of his sceptre. He left behind him certain marks, which are still acknowledged as memorials of his power.

It, therefore, becomes only so much the more observable,

that the genuine or correct history of the English Bible has never allowed us, as it never allowed him, to come down and confound the Sacred Volume, either with the ecclesiastical arrangements, so called, of his time, or with the fallible interpretations of erring men. No historical line could be more distinctly drawn, whether while the King and his advisers were arrayed *against* the Scriptures, or after they were overruled to *admit* them into England. Then, indeed, his Majesty himself became the remarkable instrument in not permitting the English Bible to be at all identified with the ecclesiastical body he had set up and sanctioned. Not only did he not consult it on this subject, but frowned upon his Bishops, when once presuming to sit in judgment upon the translation.

And now that the King is dead; now that the New Testament Scriptures had been reading for twenty years, and the Bible entire for nearly ten, not unfrequently in the face of the flames, we are escaped from what may be regarded as the grand tempest. One furious blast, indeed, under Queen Mary, we have yet before us; but still with mere political, or any other affairs, there will be less occasion for perplexing ourselves any more. These might afford instructive warning and monition; but the leading design of these pages, now disentangled from the past, may be regarded with an eye but occasionally diverted from itself. That history can now be viewed throughout, under successive reigns; or in those of Edward and Mary, Elizabeth and James, when we come to the version universally in use. In other words, for the *main practical purpose* which we have in view, from the beginning to the end, we no longer require to proceed only year by year, as we have done; nor is it any longer necessary to notice the editions of the Scriptures in regular succession. We have, it is true, all this time been only laying the foundation, and in so doing feel perfectly conscious that we may have trespassed on the patience of certain readers; but more especially on that of any who have never been before aware of what a superstructure has been reared upon it. They have now before them the groundwork of infinitely the *largest* undertaking which Britain has to show, whether to her own people, or those of surrounding nations. When compared with it, every thing else without exception, throughout this kingdom, is but *local and limited*.

At the close of this volume, however, will be found, at least

so far, one index to our history, in a List of the Editions of the Bible, and New Testament separately, from the year 1525 down to our present version in 1611 and 1613; soon after which the Scriptures in English actually become a multitude which no man can number. At the same time this fact will at last lend its assistance, in any attempt to estimate our present most singular condition as a nation, as well as our position in reference to the world at large.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth we are presented with a contrast between father and son; or between two men, seated in succession on the same throne, such as England had never witnessed; and this becomes still more striking, from the rights of conscience being now no better understood, than they had been under the previous government. The blame then, however, recoiled upon the King; now it will fall upon his Ministers. Of the father, it might in truth be said—"As the whirlwind passeth," so the man was no more; but after the oppressive and tormenting misery endured by so many, and especially after he became "his own Minister," the reign of his son must have come to the best of his subjects, exhilarating as the morning breeze over a beanfield to the traveller. It was not indeed "a morning without clouds;" but as far as such a history as the present is concerned, it was like "clear shining after rain." We speak *only* with reference to the Sacred Volume; and, in this point of view, justice still remains to be done to the brief reign of that youthful and amiable monarch—the Josiah of his day.

Henry VIII. being interred at Windsor on Wednesday 16th of February, four days after, or upon Sunday the 20th, his son, then only in his tenth year, was crowned. An incident occurred, indicative of the change which had taken place, so far as the crown was concerned. Upon that day, when three swords were brought before Edward, as tokens of his being king of three kingdoms, he said there was one yet wanting. The noblemen around him, not exactly catching his meaning, inquired which that was? He answered—*the Bible*. "That book," said the young Prince, "is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought, in all right, to govern us, who use them for the people's safety, by God's appointment. Without that sword, we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power: from that we are, what we are, this day: from that alone we obtain all power and virtue, grace and salvation, and whatsoever we have of Divine strength." After some other similar expressions, Edward commanded the Sacred Volume to be brought with reverence, and so carried before him.¹

¹ Hayward. Strype. Though the former mistakes the day of coronation for the 19th, and the latter says Sunday the 21st, it was the 20th of February.

In the change which now commenced, the attentive observer may discover one feature of Divine interposition, often displayed in other instances. In the wonderful works which our blessed Lord condescended to perform, when dwelling here below, a rule may be observed,—in his never doing, by miracle, more than was requisite, or whatever might be effected by *ordinary* means.² And so now, the days of direct,—that is, to *our* eye, of more striking interposition of Divine Providence, in favour of the Sacred Volume, were not so frequent, and under this reign, at least, they were but seldom demanded. The season for human agency had come. Printers and publishers may do the rest, and purchasers will not be wanting; though, at the same time, the unseen, yet overruling hand, is not withdrawn. That cause which we have already seen weather many a gale, will continue to retain its own singular character for *independence*, whether the reigning power smile, as under Edward, or frown, as in the days of his sister, Queen Mary.

With regard to the various editions of the Sacred Scriptures issued from the press in the brief reign of King Edward, we have already hinted that no justice has ever been done to the subject. To say nothing of older historians, even so recently as the year 1792, his readers were informed by Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh, nay, and as a proof of “earnest endeavour that the Word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified;” that “during the course of this reign, that is,” said the author, “in less than *seven* years and six months, *eleven* impressions of the whole English Bible were published, and *six* of the New Testament; to which may be added, an English translation of the whole New Testament, paraphrased by Erasmus.”³ This only shews how little attention has been paid to the subject, when a period so heart-stirring could be thus reported; but that the blundering statement should have been literally repeated up to this hour, and in our best introductions to the study, or the translations, of the Scriptures, is more surprising still.

We need not remind the reader that, instead of seven years and a half, Edward did not reign quite six and a half; but how stand the facts under this brief period? Why, that

² When He had raised Lazarus from the dead, he was “bound hand and foot with grave clothes,” Jesus said to those who stood by, “loose him and let him go.” When, and after having been “laughed to scorn,” the dead young maid arose at his bidding, and her spirit came again; He “commanded *them* to give her *maid*.” As much as to say, in both instances, that though raised by miracle, they were not to live by miracle.

³ Newcome’s Historical View of English Biblical Translations. p 64

so far from only *six* editions of the New Testament, there were nearly *thirty* more; instead of eleven editions of the Bible entire, there were at least fourteen; and all these within the space of less than six years and a half, for Edward reigned no longer. In other words, instead of only nineteen distinct issues of the Scriptures, including Erasmus, as often so erroneously reported, we have ascertained about *fifty*; and as for the Bibles, all these editions issued from the press in less than *four* years, or from August 1549 to July 1553.

Such a period, therefore, well deserves a better survey, furnishing, as it does, several instructive and memorable results. With regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume in the days of Henry the Eighth, we have seen that it was throughout, at best, but a troubled scene, and distinguished for bitter persecution; the days of Edward the Sixth, when properly examined, stand altogether unrivalled, even by any subsequent reign, for *non-interference* with the Scriptures. Nay, the truth is, that in the history of England, it so happens that we have not another reign of a similar character to exhibit; it stands *alone*. It is, however, curious enough, that the reign of the most *youthful* sovereign that has ever *since* reigned in Britain, should have made the nearest approach, and promises before long to equal, and, it may be, far excel it. We refer to the absence of monopoly, and of course to our present benignant Queen Victoria. Meanwhile, even the present age would do well to look back and acquire a little wisdom from this early period; for, although a strict regard to impartiality has left us no choice but to record other things of Cranmer, which must ever be condemned, he will now be entitled to a meed of praise, which his most partial admirers have either never observed, or, at least, never marked, as they might have done.

As there was none of that arrogance and impiety on the part of the Crown, with which Henry was ever insulting his subjects; talking to them, at one moment, as if they were children, or were to have no mind of their own; and at another, as if they had no right to form any opinion whatever for themselves; so, on the contrary, great liberty now prevailed in printing any one translation already made. No change for the better, could then be greater. The last act of the father was to brand the name and memory of Tyndale:

in the first Parliament held by his son, that act was repealed, and declared to be "utterly void and of none effect;" nay, the portrait of Edward will soon be seen and sold, in immediate conjunction with the name and translation of Tyndale.

Possessed of such power of control as Cranmer now enjoyed, one might have imagined that he would have pressed forward *his own* correction of Tyndale's version, and in superiority to all others. But there is no such personal leaning to be discovered—quite the reverse. The people had been left freely to make their choice, or declare their preference, and we shall soon see the result. Here, then, was one trait in Cranmer's character, and one which has never been pointed out, even by those who have sought to justify other steps which cannot be defended. True, it may be said that he was altogether engrossed with "his Book of Homilies and his Catechism, with King Edward's Service Book, his Book of Articles, and the Reformatio Legum," to say nothing of his Parliamentary and official engagements. This is granted, for such indeed was the course he chose to pursue; but still, had Cranmer been disposed to have interfered with the printing of the Scriptures, he certainly could have found time to have both discovered and exerted his power. On the contrary, with his name at the head of the Regency, and on such a subject possessing great sway, he appears to have acted with a degree of candour and liberality which has never been surpassed, nay, never equalled by any man in power *ever* since.

One important consequence has been, that we are able now to see at once what *was* the popular taste. Twenty-one years after the New Testament of Tyndale had been sent into England, an opportunity had at last presented itself, for the people as such to speak out, and say what they wanted. The printers were ready to print, and the stationers, as they were called, to sell; but, of course, *they* would not press any one translation except that which they knew beforehand was most likely to remunerate them. As all the editions were *individual* undertakings by men engaged in business, they, it must be evident, would print chiefly that book which was most frequently and eagerly sought after.

That zeal for the art of printing which burst forth instantaneously after Henry's death, will prepare us for the numerous editions of the Scriptures which immediately fol-

lowed. This noble art had been introduced into England under Edward IV., when there were three or four printers;⁴ under Henry VII. there were five; and four of these survived to print under his son: but during his long reign of nearly thirty-eight years, not fewer than forty-one printers had commenced business in London, or forty-five in all. Now, the first importation of Tyndale's New Testament into England had taken place, not till more than eighty years after the invention of printing, and about fifty-eight after the art had been introduced into the country; but it is worthy of notice, that from *that* period, of these forty-five printers not fewer than thirty-three had started in business, and that eight of them were ultimately connected with printing the Sacred Volume.⁵

Let us then now observe what ensued, as soon as Henry had "ceased from troubling," and Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstal, were bereft of the power. Of the forty-five printers under Henry, fourteen survived when Edward came to the throne. While his father, the subject of loathsome disease, was sinking into the grave, and in less than twelve months after his death, as many as eight new men had started in business as printers. Next year, however, there were not fewer than eleven more, and in the next two, eighteen, besides six others in 1551 and 1552, or forty-three in all; raising the number of printers under this youthful monarch to not fewer than fifty-seven, in the brief space of six years! Now if it be inquired, what connexion had all this with the diffusion of the Divine Record? it was no less than this—that out of these fifty-seven printers, *more than the half, or not fewer than thirty-one, and these the most respectable, were engaged either in printing or publishing the Sacred Scriptures.*

As neither London itself, or the broad surface of England, has ever since exhibited any thing similar to this state of things, it would be unpardonable to withhold the names of those printers and publishers, who so adorned this reign, by their zeal and assiduity in forwarding the interests of Divine Truth. The fourteen men first mentioned belonged to Henry's reign, with four of whom we are already familiar, but seven more of these now found employment in connexion with the Scriptures.

⁴ Into Oxford 1463; Westminster about 1474; London and St. Albans 1490. See Cotton's *Typographical Gazetteer*, second edition.

⁵ These were Berthelet, Nycolson, Grafton, Whitechurch, Redman, Treveris, Petyt, and Byddle.

To these eleven we are now to add twenty more, or at the least *thirty-one*, so engaged. We give the year of their commencing business, and the names in *italic* mark the men who are known to have been employed in either printing or selling, in whole or in part, the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue. Indeed many, if not most of them, both printed and sold.

1530. <i>Tho. Berthelet.</i>	1547. <i>Richard Jugge</i>	1549. <i>Robert Craneley.</i>
1537. <i>Richard Grafton.</i>	1547. <i>Gualter Lynne.</i>	1549. <i>John Mychell.</i>
1537. <i>Edward Whitekurch.</i>	1547. <i>Roger Madeley.</i>	1549. <i>John Cawood.</i>
1536. <i>Thomas Petyl.</i>	1547. <i>Thomas Powell.</i>	1549. <i>Anth. Kytson.</i>
1537. <i>John Wayland.</i>	1547. <i>William Powell.</i>	1550. <i>Rich. Chauleton.</i>
1546. <i>Thomas Raynald.</i>	1548. <i>Roger Carr.</i>	1550. <i>Harrington's Widow</i>
1541. <i>Will. Middleton.</i>	1548. <i>Humphry Powell.</i>	1550. <i>John Wyer.</i>
1541. <i>Robert Toy.</i>	1548. <i>Richard W'ger.</i>	1550. <i>Andro Hester.</i>
1542. <i>William Bunham.</i>	1548. <i>William Hyll.</i>	1550. <i>St. Myrdman.</i>
1542. <i>Richard Lant.</i>	1548. <i>Robert Sloughton.</i>	1550. <i>Tho. Gualtier.</i>
1543. <i>Reginald Wolfe.</i>	1548. <i>John Overton.</i>	1550. <i>John Turk.</i>
1544. <i>John Herforde.</i>	1548. <i>John Oswen.</i>	1550. <i>John Kyng.</i>
1545. <i>Richard Kele.</i>	1548. <i>William Copland.</i>	1550. <i>John Tysdale.</i>
1545. <i>Michael Lobley.</i>	1548. <i>William Sres.</i>	1550. <i>Humphrey Toy.</i>
	1548. <i>Anth. Scoloker.</i>	1551. <i>John Case.</i>
	1548. <i>Hugh Singleton.</i>	1551. <i>Abraham Vcale.</i>
	1549. <i>Herforde's Widow.</i>	1551. <i>John W'gghle.</i>
1546-7. <i>John Daye.</i>	1549. <i>John Harrington.</i>	1551. <i>Richard Tottel.</i>
1546-7. <i>Nicholas Hyll.</i>	1549. <i>William Tille.</i>	1552. <i>William Riddle.</i>
1546-7. <i>John Walkey.</i>	1549. <i>William Baldwin.</i>	1552. <i>Gerard Dewes.</i>

Had Edward lived, or the same course been pursued, it is impossible to calculate what must have been the consequences. Of the men now mentioned, three had already carried the art to Canterbury, Ipswich, and Worcester, and a fourth to the capital of Ireland. In 1549, Mychell at *Canterbury* was printing the Psalter; at *Worcester*, Oswen was printing the New Testament in 1548 and 1550; Humphrey Powell, after printing the Psalter for Whytchurch, had commenced business in *Dublin* by the year 1551; while not fewer than twenty-eight other substantial men were concerned with the Scriptures in the metropolis itself. Though the printers in London may now amount to five hundred in number, nothing wearing the most distant approach to this state of things, has ever been exhibited since.⁶

But the editions of the Scriptures themselves will now furnish us with another view of this memorable period. For Bibles in *folio*, there may have been not so much need as yet, considering the number which had been printed in 1540 and

⁶ One of the first printers who commenced business in prospect of Edward mounting the throne, very well serves to mark the crisis. This was John Day, and his first publication, immediately after the King's death, in 1547, was—"The sum of *Holy Scripture*, imprinted by John Day, dwelling in *Septulchre's* parish, at the sign of the *Resurrection*;" alluding to the rebus or device he had adopted and often employed, viz. one youth awaking another out of sleep, at the moment of sunrise, with this motto—"Arise, for it is DAY." Another man was Richard Jugge; or two printers, with whose names so many editions both of the Bible entire, and the New Testament, were now to be associated. The latter will soon print two of the smallest and most beautiful editions of Tyndale's New Testament, in 24mo, with the portrait of Edward himself prefixed!

1541; for although Henry had licensed Anthony Marler to print for five years longer, he was then over-stocked, and the sale must have flagged, as the wayward monarch only frowned on the undertaking ever after. New Testaments, however, were in great request, and the people will now discover which translation they preferred.

To our List of editions at the close of this history we are now under the necessity of referring, both for illustration and proof. Should therefore any slight discrepancy be discovered, between any general statement, and the editions there put down, though in no case will it affect our argument on the whole, the reader will find it safe to abide by the List. At the same time should any instance occur it will be *there* noted. At present we confine ourselves to a cursory survey. Looking at the entire period of six years and a half, there appear to have been about fifty distinct publications, whether of the Sacred Volume entire, or the New Testament separately; that is, fifteen of the former, and thirty-five of the latter; though it is not improbable that one or two more may yet be discovered.

Of Coverdale's version there was one edition though in two issues, first in 1550 by Andro Hester, and in 1553 by R. Jugg. Of Taverner's version there was one, in five volumes in 1549, and another, though this has been questioned, in 1551. Of Cranmer's Bible there seem to have been seven editions. Of Matthew's there were at least five; but then one of these, about to be mentioned, was so large an impression that it has been mistaken frequently for a number of distinct editions. Allowing to each separate individual embarked, his own Bibles, there were not fewer than eight distinct issues of this one edition. This would make twelve in all, of Matthew's.

With respect to the New Testament, besides the English translation inserted in the paraphrase of Erasmus in 1548, of which there was a second edition, at least of the first volume, in 1551, and one edition generally ascribed to Sir John Cheke; of Cranmer's Testament there appear to have been eight editions, but then of Tyndale's, whether under his own name or that of Matthew, there were not fewer than twenty-four, besides one of Coverdale corrected by Tyndale's version.⁷

On the whole, therefore, if the public demand had called for Cranmer's correction of Tyndale, fifteen times, it had done so for Tyndale's version, as it stood, fully double that number; and if six men were concerned in the former, eighteen, at least, were in the latter.

The edition to which we have alluded, of Tyndale's or Matthew's translation in May 1551, is worthy of special notice, as indicative of the zeal now abroad, so unfettered by interference. In this Bible not fewer than nine different respectable men, printers and booksellers in London, were concerned, and the impression, therefore, must have been

⁷ The first Testament of Cranmer, though dated in 1546, as their year ran on to the 25th of March, we place under *Edward*, as it was most probably not published till after Henry's death. So scarce is it, that we have known of thirty-five guineas being offered for a copy. Unfortunately for Cranmer's next Testament, by Whitchurch as printer, not fewer than eleven verses were omitted in one chapter, viz. Rev. i. 9-20. It has been surmised that the book had been called in, but at least one copy now exists in London, in the collection of Mr. Offor.

a very large one. It may be regarded as an ornament of its kind, pointing to the reign of England's youngest monarch. With the exception of one, to be noted, under Elizabeth, London ever since has never furnished a parallel. The following is its title, with a colophon partly corroborative of the fact as now stated :—

“The Bible, that is to saye, all the holy Scripture : In whiche are contayned the Olde and newe Testament, truly and purely translated into Englishe, now lately with great industry and diligence recognised,” &c. Small folio. *Colophon*—“Here endeth the whole Bible after the translation of Thomas Mathew.—Imprynted at London by Nycolas Hyll, dwelling in Saignet John's Streete, at the cost and charges of certayne honest menne of the occupacion, whose names be upon their boke.”

Separate titles were printed for each of these “honest menne,” who were at least eight in number, viz., John Wyghte, Willyam Bonham, Thomas Petyt, Thomas Raynolde, Richard Kele, John Walley, Abraham Veale, Robert Toye. The first and last three books are in the Bristol Museum ; and most of the others, if not the whole, have been seen by the writer in other collections. The copies with the names of Wyghte and Bonham are said to be printed *by* them, indicative of their being partners in the expense with Hyll, the actual printer. The others have Hyll's name as printer *for* each of them, or generally, as in the above colophon for Robert Toye ; but the book is the same throughout, though it may have been often mistaken for three, if not eight or nine, different editions.⁸

Tyndale's Bibles were published under the name of Matthew ; but as for the New Testament separately, the name of William Tyndale was now inserted in the front titles of fifteen editions, if not more. At the same time it may be observed, in farther proof of the freedom of the press, and of the absence of all jealousy or interference on the part of Cranmer, that the impressions of Matthew's Bible took precedence of his own in point of time. That of the former, by Day and Seres, was finished in August 1549, and that by Reynolde and Hill in October ; but Cranmer's, by Grafton and Whitechurch, not till December of that year.⁹

⁸ It was, however, more than could have been expected that such a course should go on to the end without some itching after a monopoly. RICHARD JEGGE, when bordering on the last year of Edward, began to discover his cupidity, and obtained a license from the Privy Council, dated 10th June 1552, “forbidding all other men” from printing the New Testament. But he did not profit by it, and his son will be plentifully paid back in the father's own coin, by Christopher Barker, in the reign of Elizabeth. WHITECHURCH, too, is said by Herbert to have applied for a patent to print *Cranmer's* Bible for seven years ! But if so, it was inoperative. Nicolas Hyll printed Cranmer in the face of any such thing, and the reign of Mary was at hand.

⁹ The edition by Day and Seres has been mistaken for Taverner's. It is Tyndale's version.

Thus, if a version ever received distinguished marks of public approbation, it was that of our first translator. There had been certain verbal alterations in the text, whether by Cranmer, Coverdale, or Taverner—some of which were no improvements; and so it now appears the people at large had thought throughout the days of Edward the Sixth. They had said, in a manner not to be mistaken, “We decidedly prefer the version of our original Translator, as he gave it to his country.”

It is now, however, of importance to observe, that the preceding remarkable course of events with regard to Divine Truth, so interesting in itself, becomes still more so, as proving that, when the people were *let alone*, they could act with vigour for themselves; and that they were acting well and nobly, in a direction from which nothing but good could ensue. But our interest is greatly increased upon observing two of its peculiar features, namely, the *dissimilarity* of this course to every other, and its marked *independence* of the reigning power.

There was actually no other train of things of a similar character under Edward VI., but, on the contrary, quite the reverse. For, without plunging into politics, no sooner do we turn our eyes than the leaven left by Henry is to be seen in operation. There was free course for the Book of God, but everywhere else constraint would now and then discover itself. Whether we turn to the *old* learning, or to the official men professing the *new*, or to heresy itself, properly so called, it was still the same. No man in power conceived of any remedy save one. Instead of reason, argument, and the exposition of Divine Truth being left with God to their own effects, the only *ultimate* resort was personal constraint, and even unto death. The reader of history need not be reminded of the short-sighted policy pursued towards Mary, the presumptive heir, who was sure to repay the restraint imposed upon her with double interest as soon as she came to the throne. With respect to the characters of Gardiner and Bonner, there could be but one opinion as to their just deserts in the sight of God. “Their hands were defiled with blood, and their fingers with iniquity; their lips had spoken lies, and their tongue still muttered perverseness;” but the policy pursued by their opponents was sure to recoil upon themselves. By their course with Mary and these two men they were for years preparing a threefold cord against another day, or rather a scourge of three thongs, to be steeped in their own blood and that of many more. The same blind zeal was displayed in the lamentable intolerance of Cranmer, and even Ridley, towards the zealous and learned John Hooper, when actually “forcing” him to be a bishop, according to their own ideas of that office. Their conduct, too, appears

much more reprehensible when contrasted with that of their amiable and youthful King. These old men could not learn a lesson of wisdom and moderation, though tendered to them even by the lips of their youthful Monarch. Hooper having objected to the oath imposed, as well as to the old priestly garments, Edward himself crased the exceptionable words, and was inclined to dispense with the garments also. But no; ultimately committed to the custody of Cranmer, Hooper was consigned to the Fleet prison—although the dispute had to be settled at last by mutual concession. Nor did they stop here—though, had Edward's feelings been consulted, his reign had never been stained with blood. Even the tears of the young Monarch were shed in vain; heresy was to be punished with death, and the names of Joan of Kent and of George Van Pare will always recur to sully the character of this otherwise bloodless reign. It may, however, be received as one redeeming point, that the blood of not *one* disciple of the old learning was shed; while the other events conspire to render the freedom enjoyed as to the Scriptures only the more observable.

Nor is the dissimilarity of which we speak less striking, when, from men and things, we turn to certain books, proposed to be *enforced*, during this reign, by royal authority. In justice to the history of the Sacred Volume, let that of two others, for a few moments, be observed. We refer to what were styled "The Articles in Religion," and to the "Revision of the Ecclesiastical Laws." These, it is well known, engrossed much of the time and attention of Cranmer throughout the whole six years and a half, while other men were busy, and left free to supply the demand for Sacred Scripture itself. That there is an infinite difference between the words of men and those of God, is a truth to which all subscribe; but the question is, whether any palpable line of distinction was, by certain occurrences, now drawn between them, and made perfectly apparent, as a lesson or monition, to posterity. If there was, he can scarcely be said to go below the surface of the times who does not observe and record it.

It was in the year 1536 that "Articles of Religion" were first started by Archbishop Cranmer in the Convocation. From the dexterous and successful advantage which such a mode of procedure had afforded to Stephen Gardiner and his party afterwards, one might have imagined that Cranmer by this time would have discovered his mistake, and, but for his situation, perhaps he might; but the *all-sufficiency* or perfection of the Divine Word itself was an idea which neither he nor any other man in public understood. Cranmer, indeed, was now even far more bent upon "Articles" than ever before. In 1536 they were only nine in number, but they had now grown under his hand to forty-two!—thus enlarging the debatable ground to nearly five times its original size. But then "it is remarkable," says an intelligent writer, "that though much promptitude was shown under Henry VIII. in drawing up formularies of

faith, *five years* were allowed by his successor without *any* publication of this nature."¹⁰ This extraordinary delay, indeed, went farther, even to within a month of Edward's death ; nay, the royal mandate to procure adhesion by subscription is dated only a *fortnight*, and that by Cranmer only *eight days* before that event. The King's printer had only finished the book at press, when all the labour, not to say all the expense, was in vain !

But how, it may well be inquired, could Cranmer thus proceed with the slightest hope of success ? Did he not see the youthful Princee daily and evidently descending to the grave ? No doubt he did, and the blinding effect of what has been styled "politie handling" becomes strikingly apparent. The Primate was dreaming on the edge of a volcano, in vain expectation of another successor to Edward than the one appointed.

One obvious advantage, however, of Cranmer's long delay in printing these Articles was this—that the public mind was much *less* diverted from the sacred page itself ; and this delay is the more remarkable, as it appears to have originated in little else than a mistaken flight of the imagination. The most feasible explanation which can be given is the following. For years, and in conjunction with *Philip Melancthon*, Cranmer had dreamt of attempting "a *General Confession of Faith*" for the churches or communities abroad, as well as at home. Full of this intention, he had invited certain foreigners to visit England, as the most suitable or safest place for conference at that period. Melancthon, Bullinger, and, it has also been supposed, Calvin were invited. Cranmer continued, it is certain, to press the subject up to the spring of 1552, when his final invitation to Melancthon, dated 27th March, was despatched. Not one of the parties invited, however, arrived ; and so Cranmer, despairing of success, proceeded at last with his own ideas, entitled "The Book of Articles of Religion." In May 1552, it was laid before the Privy Council, who retained it till November ; but the royal authority was not signified till the end of June, when the King was nearly breathing his last. Thus, it is very observable, the present "Articles," proposed for "avoiding controversy" and establishing "concord," met with even less notice than those first put forth under Henry, with the vain expectation of producing "peace and contentation." How much of mercy had been involved in the people at large having all these years full and free access to Scripture itself, and the opportunity of drawing their faith directly from that well of life or living water, it is impossible to say. This, however, above all others, and beyond all question, had proved the crowning mercy of the times.

The other book, to which we have alluded, the "Revision of Ecclesiastical Law," met with no better success, though now completed, and that chiefly through the persevering exertions of Cranmer. It was now

¹⁰ Cranmer's Remains, by Jenkins. Preface.

above *twenty* years since this revision had been first projected in 1532 ! Two years after, in March 1534, an Act was passed, empowering Henry VIII. to nominate commissioners, and enacting that the canons approved by them, *if* fortified by the Royal assent under the Great Seal, should be kept and observed within *the realm*. This Act was renewed in 1536, and again in 1544. After this, and at last, commissioners *were* appointed, a body of what they called Ecclesiastical Law was digested, and a letter of ratification prepared for the King's signature ; but this signature was *never* affixed. Henry died, and the powers granted to the Crown died with him. A fresh Act, therefore, under Edward, was passed in 1549. Commissioners are *said* to have been appointed shortly after ; but it is certain they had done little, or rather nothing, as a new commission was issued in October 1551. This was directed to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers, of whom eight were still only to "gather up and put in order the materials." They had, of course, now not been pleased with the former "digest," under Henry, which was only waiting for his signature ; and now, under Edward his son, after all these preliminaries, the whole affair was intrusted by the King to Cranmer, who employed three others, Taylor, P. Martyr, and Haddon, to assist. From the manuscript copy, however, now in the British Museum, it is manifest that Cranmer and Peter Martyr were the chief labourers ; but what came of it all at last ? We need scarcely add, they had laboured in vain ! "Such," says Mr. Todd, in his *Life of Cranmer*, "such is the unauthoritative code, often altered, it appears, in its progress through the reigns of Henry and Edward ; in vain endeavoured to be brought into use in that of Elizabeth ; merely reprinted in that of Charles the First ; and at last ineffectually suggested to public notice, with a view to its establishment, by Bishop Burnet."

In the providential history, therefore, of these two books, in comparison with that of the Sacred Volume, no line of distinction could be more palpable—no contrast more bold and striking. The undertakings of men, and these, let it be observed, men in power, though backed by royal encouragement, had not only dragged on heavily, but the ruler's smiles turning soon away, they, with the ruler, died. We have heard of "the voice of past years," and this is one, not without signification to the present age.

The reader may already be disposed to regard the contrast as sufficiently strong, but the unbroken or continued *independence* of this cause, as it regarded *official men*, as well as books, is now not less worthy of particular notice. Under Henry VIII., the history of the Sacred Scriptures in English, has appeared to be a separate or distinct undertaking, carried forward by a succession of private individuals, at their own proper cost and risk : but so far from this being observed to continue under Edward VI., perhaps many, if not all, have been accustomed to

regard the course pursued as quite the reverse. The substantial procedure, however, even now, was neither suggested, undertaken, or pursued at the instigation of either the King or Privy Council, the Convocation, or the Parliament. It is true, that before even the first Parliament was assembled, the Privy Council, seizing time by the forelock, and grounding their proceedings upon that outrageous Act of Henry's, by which the King's letters were to carry equal authority with an Act of Parliament, did issue certain injunctions; and by them, one chapter of the Old, and another of the New Testament, was to form a part of public service; the parish church, too, was to be provided with a copy of the Scriptures, of which many of them were still destitute, and to this was added the paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels. But still, as in the year 1537, the Bible was introduced into England, independently of the Privy Council, the Convocation, or the Parliament; even so now the Scriptures must be plentifully printed and circulated. No injunctions were issued on this subject. There was no royal proclamation. Nor must the Senate be permitted to have a voice with regard to the *reading* of the Scriptures. On the contrary, in the very first year of Edward's reign, or 1547, when a certain bill, bearing on the subject, was introduced into Parliament, it failed. And when the capricious, nay profane treatment of the Sacred Volume by that Assembly, as well as by the Convocation, is remembered, every one must see the propriety of their not being allowed now to interfere, in the way of hollow, though professed favour. No, the cause had stood the battle and the breeze, without their hypocritical friendship, before Edward was born; and it will do so again, when these men are either gone to the grave, or have basely changed sides, as many of them did in a few years. This Parliament may frown upon the sanguinary Acts of the late King, and especially on that which so absurdly and cruelly restrained the *useful* classes from reading the Scriptures; but they must proceed no farther. They might brand the deeds of the preceding Senate, by repealing the statutes they had dared to pass; but as for the positive perusal of the Scriptures, they must not falsely enjoy any credit for enforcing it. They must not legislate. The subject was mooted, it is true, but it seems as if this had been intended only to show more visibly to posterity, the independence which we have observed all along. Upon Tuesday the 15th of November, in the House of Lords a bill was introduced, by whom is not stated, though Cranmer was present, "*for the reading of the Scriptures*;" but it actually never reached a second reading, nor was any such measure even hinted throughout the reign.¹¹ Legislation was once proposed, but it must be abandoned; and although there was no Act of Parliament—no Act of Convocation—no imperative injunctions—no new translation—

¹¹ See the Lords' Journals, p. 297.

no new false title pages, similar to the profane mockery of Henry's days, there was, so far as one individual youth was concerned, something of far different and better effect, and more congenial with God's own glorious purpose and design—*Edward's own visible and marked veneration for the Sacred Record itself.*

The cause, therefore, continues to stand out before us, as the spontaneous act of individual enterprise, in reply to the voluntary and urgent calls of the people themselves, and especially for the New Testament Scriptures. They were anxious to proceed according to the good old French maxim, "Laissez nous faire"—*Leave us to act*; and the Government was, providentially, strong enough to comply. For many years, it is true, the votes or voice of Parliament could have formed no index whatever to the consent or non-consent of the people at large. From the way in which members were summoned, or both Houses constituted, this was impossible; but then, at the same time, both Houses were most obsequious, and had wavered with the Crown. Now, in these circumstances, it is only the more observable, that the Parliament of Edward should become conspicuous for *non-interference*, when the King himself was a sincere and ardent admirer of the Scriptures. Thus, though *unconsciously*, the House was witnessing to posterity the benefits which ensue from not touching with this subject. Of these benefits, we have already given substantial evidence; and the reader will be still more struck, when he turns to the particular statement of all these precious volumes, in our list at the close of this work. Meanwhile, no one could desire more evident proofs, in long succession, of a "separated cause," a sacred undertaking; and these, too, present themselves at a period, when the unprincipled changes perpetually occurring, whether in the Privy Council or the Parliament, were loudly saying of every other department—"it is but the cause of men, of fallible and changing men."

Here, then, was the distinguishing feature of this brief, but memorable reign; and it certainly becomes the more worthy of notice from the facts already stated; for in this one point of view, there has been no reign, of a similar character, ever since. In contrast, too, with Edward's immediate predecessor, far from any thing to repel in the young Prince, there is much to invite our love and admiration. Whatever was ob-

jectionable during his sway—of which there were more steps than one or two—an enlightened judgment will ever ascribe to his Ministers; for, in the age in which he flourished and faded so soon, he stood like an apple tree among the trees of the wood, if not as a lily among thorns. To say nothing of the precocity of his talents, which, no doubt, has been exaggerated, though he must have been more than usually intelligent, there was his strong aversion to the shedding of blood, which so painfully places Goodrich, and Cranmer, and even Ridley, before us; but, above all, his profound and often expressed veneration for the Sacred Volume itself. It was this that brought him so near to the character of Josiah of old, though even yet so much younger than the Jewish monarch, when the Book of the Law was found, and read before him.

But, lo! the clouds are gathering; the young King, to the grief of many, and these certainly the best in the land, is seen to be slowly descending to the grave; and all the enemies of Divine Truth in the vulgar tongue, begin to rally and look up. A lurid gloom begins to settle on the realm. A time of trouble and vexation, of banishment and blood, is at hand. But there was no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel, against Him by whom all things were foreseen. We must enter the storm, and there, even there, delight to trace once more, the peculiar care of the Most High, over his own Word.

It was upon the evening of Thursday, the 6th of July 1553, that Edward died of consumption. His favourite and inseparable friend, Sir Henry Sidney, had him in his arms, when he suddenly exclaimed—"I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit!" He instantly expired, at the early age of fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days. Few kings have fallen so soon; far fewer still, as safe; and perhaps none in English history more sincerely lamented, by discerning survivors. Under such counsellors he might have been corrupted. He was taken away from the evil to come.

Before King Edward was interred at Westminster, on the 8th of August, there had already occurred great changes; and that storm had commenced, which was to end only with the reign then begun. Had the short rule of the deceased Prince, been one of only *unmixed* good, the judgment which now fell upon England for about five years, would have been inscrutable. The reign of Mary having been so awfully tempestuous, has always been designated as tyrannical and bloody; but

since it did occur, the judgment, as a national one, must have been righteous. God doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men. Before leaving the present reign, therefore, the reason, or procuring cause, must be sought for in the six years and a half which had now passed away. By how much the following years were severe, the preceding only demand the more attention.

The *Privy Council* of the deceased King, therefore, on whom the executive power had rested, and the *nation*, as such, equally require notice. With regard to the first party, they had rendered themselves notorious, as a set of men fighting for their own individual interests. But whatever might be reprehensible at other times—and there was not a little—it is curious enough, that if we fix our eye only upon fifteen days, or even only three, at the commencement, and twelve, or only two, at the close of their sway, we have sufficient evidence that all was not right, in the sight of either God or man. Over the first three days, there has long hung a degree of mystery which has puzzled all our previous historians. Sir James Mackintosh has remarked that the delay of three days in officially announcing the death of Henry VIII., would be regarded, in our time, as a piece of daring presumption; but what these men, the Earl of Hertford and his associates, were doing, in the course of these days has been the question, and no one could inform us till very recently. The validity of Henry's will has been often canvassed, but whatever was its character, it turns out that this State document was in the Earl's private keeping, and that no Privy Counsellor could even see it, until he sent the key from Hertford, where he was, twenty miles distant from London, and twenty-five hours after Henry had breathed his last. The truth is, that as soon as the King died, early on Friday the 28th of January 1547, Hertford had proceeded to this place, as Edward was there; and his letter to the other executors is dated from thence "between three and four in the (next) morning."¹² Forty-four hours more pass away, and Hertford, at eleven o'clock on Sunday night, is only at Enfield, still ten miles distant from town. Both Edward and Elizabeth, (not Mary,) were under his care, and here he first informed these children, of their father's death. Elizabeth was left in the country, and it was not till three o'clock on Monday that Edward had arrived at the Tower; the decease of the monarch not having been communicated to Parliament till they assembled that day. On Tuesday, or the first of February, the greater part of the nobility arrived at the Tower, to bow the knee before their young Sovereign; and to hear from

¹² Though Parliament was of course dissolved by the King's death, it met next day, or Saturday, and proceeded to business! This not only gave time to the Junto, but Paget seems to have been trying to take care of himself. Besides other business there was a "Bill for assuring certain lands to Sir William Paget, Secretary to the King's Majesty,"—and the King's Majesty dead, thirty hours before they met! They then adjourned to Monday, which was to serve for carrying on the delusion.

Wriothesly, as Chancellor, the purport of his father's will and testament.¹³ The deed, *as far as declared*, of course exactly served the design of Hertford and his party; for what had they actually done? They had *opened the will*, before either the King or the Parliament were informed of Henry's death, and had held consultation what *portions* were to be communicated! Thus while Parliament and the nation believed, or were left to suppose, that their Sovereign was still alive, all the intended measures were already fixed, and by a faction to whom no resistance could be made. In short, the Earl of Hertford was already regarded as Protector by his fellows, three days before the accession of Edward was announced.¹⁴

There is no occasion here, however, for going on in detail. The proceedings of Hertford, who was soon created Duke of Somerset; of the Lord-Admiral Baron Seymour, his brother; and of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, are well known. The two former had perished, and the last is now about to die, on the scaffold. But if the *first* steps taken under Edward were wrong, the *last* were much worse. If Henry's last will was valid, and it had been read as their guide, great freedoms had been used with it, by these Counsellors, at the beginning; but they finished, by putting it aside altogether! The duplicity practised in both cases, serves to show the ambition with which they were filled.¹⁵ To their crooked and short-sighted policy was then ultimately sacrificed, one of the loveliest, the best educated, and most refined young women in all England—Lady Jane Grey, the illustrious daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the Queen of ten days. She had been married only in May to Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth son of the

¹³ Here we may as well take leave of this unprincipled and cruel man, the Lord Chancellor. Immediately after Henry's funeral, in consequence of the creation of Peers at Edward's coronation, WRIOTHESLY was elevated to be Earl of Southampton; Fitzwilliam, the last Earl, having died, s. p. in 1543. Perhaps the new Peer had been congratulating himself on being through the storm, as through he was, had he not immediately brought another on himself; for the first business of importance after the coronation was his fall. Retaining his office as Lord Chancellor, he had, of his *own* authority, appointed three deputies in the Court of Chancery to act for him there. The Judges decided that he had thus forfeited his office, and become liable to fine and imprisonment. His passion at this decision availed him nothing, and his insolence to Hertford, then Duke of Somerset and Lord-Protector, completed his ruin. Cromwell had possessed an Earldom little more than three months, but the new Earl of Southampton was in disgrace by that day month on which Henry died. The Great Seal was taken from him, he was put under arrest, and not relieved till the 29th of June, after entering on a recognizance of £4000 to pay whatever fine should be imposed. Recovering his influence in some degree, he became the hope of his party, but by the end of 1549 he precipitately left the Court; and, according to Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, "fearing lest he should come to some shameful end, poisoned himself, or pined away for thought." From whatever cause, he died on the 30th of July 1550.

¹⁴ It is to Mr. Tytler that we have been recently indebted for these particulars, in his "England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary." Vol. I., pp. 15-19. The information is contained in original manuscripts, only now first printed.

¹⁵ The objections of the young and dying King to set aside his father's will, and so injure his sisters, are not upon record; but he can only be regarded as the tool of Northumberland's wicked ambition, and of sophistry no less wicked, on the part of those who sympathised with the schemes of the Duke.

Duke of Northumberland. When poor Jane, like a devoted victim, was carried in state procession, on Monday the 10th of July, it was intended that Law and Government, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility and Clergy, should all appear to be in her favour ; but though the course was great, it was merely to see the pageant ; there was only faint praise from the people, and but few acclamations ; nor had the feeling of the better orders been at all consulted. At that moment, indeed, Mary, little else than a lonely fugitive, and fled to Framlingham Castle, might seem unlikely ever to be Queen of England ; but a few days only passed away, when the enchantment of those who had sought to disinherit her was dissolved. In one week Henry's eldest daughter found herself supported by forty thousand men, foot and horse, at their own expense, without costing her a crown piece ! The enthusiasm was excessive, and characteristic ; so that when Mary was proclaimed at Paul's Cross, the very next week, or Wednesday the 19th, it was amidst acclamations from the multitude, which drowned the voice of the heralds ! If Crammer, therefore, and Ridley too, as well as some others, would sit in council with such men, and would " go in with dissemblers," they must now abide the consequences ; but the manner in which the event was hailed, forcibly points us to the people at large, or the state of the *nation* as such.

We have witnessed it is true, a very remarkable progress in the diffusion of Divine Truth ; but we have also seen that this was effected, not by the encouragement or sanction of Parliament, nor, of course, with the consent of the *nation* as such in any form ;—no : the cause itself, though *in* the kingdom, was not *of* the kingdom ; since no rulers in Europe had discovered greater hostility to Divine Revelation. The present convulsion, therefore, though only the commencement of a storm, served at once to clear the moral atmosphere, and forcibly distinguish between the passions of men, and the cause of God. It enables us, even now, to see, with far greater precision, the actual state of things.

As there had been a *separate undertaking*, which we have descried all along, so it now appeared, as the consequence, that there had existed a *separate people*, not to be identified or mingled up with any intrigue of the times. So far as the human mind was concerned, the changes which had ensued, from the first step taken by Henry VIII. until now, were not national changes. The nation, *as such*, though so long and singularly visited by Divine Truth, cared not for it ; and still clinging to its old ceremonies and habits, leaped at the prospect of

falling back into its long repose under the shade of Rome. As a warning to the age, therefore, and especially to posterity, *to distinguish things that differ*, some fearful lesson of instruction was demanded, and this must no longer be withheld.

Meanwhile, what the Almighty had so mercifully done for England was analogous to that which, to use the words of Scripture itself, was done by Him, "at the first," when He did "*visit the nations, to take out of them, a people for his name.*" Such a people, however despised and trampled on, we have beheld in England, in the days of John Fryth, and before then. Some of the best among them we have seen by the light of those fires, which the enemy had kindled; and they had been increasing in numbers all along. Under Henry VIII. the war had commenced against the Sacred *Volume* itself, without even knowing the translator; and it went on against all who imported, received, or retained it. Under the reign of his son, it had been plentifully printed, purchased, and read; and it will now become a decided proof of *progress*, however heart-rending in detail, that the persecution about to commence was to be against all who had *believed* its contents, and held its sacred truths to be more precious than life itself. This, however, in the end, will materially further the cause of Divine Truth, not retard it.

SECTION II. REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

A REIGN, DISCOVERING THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE NATION, AS SUCH; BUT ONE, HOWEVER PAINFUL IN ITS DETAILS, WHICH SO FAR FROM RETARDING THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH, ONLY DEEPENED THE IMPRESSION OF ITS VALUE; AND AS IT BECAME THE OCCASION, SO IT AFFORDED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SACRED SCRIPTURES BEING GIVEN AFRESH TO ENGLAND, MORE CAREFULLY REVISED—THE EXILES FROM THE KINGDOM PROVING, ONCE MORE, ITS GREATEST BENEFACTORS.

UPON the 6th of July 1553, at the age of thirty-six, Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., succeeded to the throne, and reigned as Sovereign alone for one year. Afterwards, allied by marriage to Philip of Spain, the Queen died in less than four years and four months, on the 17th of

November 1558. This reign throughout, has been all along, and generally regarded as a portion of English history distinguished by little else than the shedding of blood. Few, however, have sufficiently observed, that this blood-shedding for opinions held, did not commence till February 1555, or more than a year and a half after Mary held the sceptre. And if this fact has been but slightly regarded, fewer still have ever noticed its bearing on the Sacred Volume, and those who prized it.

That Volume, printed for a period of fully ten years on the *Continent*, had been very strangely introduced into England; or in a manner which must ever distinguish it, historically, among all other European versions. Yet now, as if to fix the eye upon it still more intensely, it was about to be carried abroad, or back to that same *Continent* from whence it first came, and by all such as valued the boon, above their necessary food. Yes, now, when the first edition of the *New Testament* was already twenty-seven years old, and the first Bible printed on English ground had left the press fourteen years ago, as many copies as could be, must be carefully concealed at home, and even *built up*, as they actually were, and the rest must be carried abroad! For years that were past, the people had read those Oracles of God on English ground, which had been prepared for them on the *Continent*: they must now, scattered all over that *Continent* itself, read the volumes which had been printed in the metropolis of their native island! Formerly, they perused at home, what came from abroad; they must now read beyond seas, what had been prepared for them at home. No doubt, also, copies which had been printed on the *Continent*, were then carried back to it. Still, however, time must be afforded for escape. The wind of persecution being restrained, that it should not blow on the land for fully a year and a-half, those who valued the truth of God, carrying with them the Sacred Volume, as their highest treasure, soon departed by hundreds, as best they could. The clouds were gathering over England, a time of trouble and rebuke to a nation, which, as such, had too long “despised the Word of the Lord,” was at hand; yet could those who fled, have seen only a few years before them, they might have sung in concert over the result, as they were sailing to the different seaports to which they fled for

shelter. But the preface or introduction to this fiery trial first demands notice.

The Privy Council of Edward had concluded his reign, as they began it, by a course of dissimulation. But they were not now to succeed as they had done before. They had placed double guards to maintain greater secrecy, and then tried to conceal the King's death for two days. But, what was much worse, they had sent a false letter to Mary, the heir, at least by her father's will, which they formerly professed to follow, saying that "her brother was very ill, and earnestly desired the comfort of her presence." This foolish expedient to inveigle the Princess, and get her in their power, only served as a sure token to confirm her suspicion of a plot. Under the impression of fair dealing, she had at first actually set out from Hunsden in Hertfordshire; but by the time she was only eight miles on her way, or seventeen from London, she was met at Hoddesdon by her goldsmith, sent direct from town. He informed her distinctly of the hour of her brother's death. Somewhat suspicious of the quarter from whence the information came, the Princess ruminated for a little while; but the snare was broken, and, with constitutional firmness of mind, she immediately bent her way towards Sawston, near Cambridge.¹ Early next morning, and seated behind the servant of the proprietor, Sir John Huddleston, Mary had left; but they were not out of sight of Sawstonhall, before it was in flames.² Passing through Bury St. Edmonds, she got to Kenninghall, which had been assigned to her as a residence.³ From thence, next day, or the 9th, she addressed the Lords of Council, claiming the Crown. Very foolishly for themselves, and as full of infatuation as ever, they replied on the evening of the same day. Although Mary was now to ascend the throne, in terms of a will, *parts* of which they could read aloud, as law, when these answered their own ambitious views; they now, in no measured terms, addressed their correspondent, as an illegitimate daughter, by the everlasting laws of God; though Lady Jane Grey was certainly not even proclaimed till next day. To this reply were affixed the names of twenty-three members of Council, at the head of which stood Cranmer's, for to all these proceedings he had been a party. If they thus yet dreamt of intimidating the future Queen, never had men so reckoned without their host. Destitute of money, without an army, or even ad-

¹ It is worthy of special notice, that Mary was indebted for timely warning, *not* to any gentleman of the *old* learning, but to one professedly of the *new*, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; and it was this that made her hesitate for a moment. Sir N. was not only a friend to legitimacy, but an enemy to Northumberland and all his ambitious projects.

² The house was rebuilt for Sir John, at least the Queen, says Fuller, "bestowed the bigger part of Cambridge Castle upon him, with the stones whereof he built his fair house in this county." This ancient family is represented at present by Richard Huddleston, Esq., High Sheriff in 1834 of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon.

³ The seat of the Duke of Norfolk, still in prison, but restored to him soon after this.

visers, on the morning of the 11th, Mary, on horseback, with her female attendants, set off for Framlingham Castle, twenty miles farther distant from London, to be still nearer the coast, in case of any disaster ; but the moment she entered it, she appears to have acted at least, as if the undisputed Sovereign of England. A courage and self-possession were displayed, on which the deluded Counsellors had never calculated. They proclaimed Lady Jane to be Queen, in London, on the 10th ; it was but the second day after, when Mary ordered her own proclamation on the 12th at Norwich ; and remaining where she was, immediately formed a Council out of the gentlemen who had already resorted to her presence. Finding herself before the end of July surrounded by an army, which had cost her nothing, so eager were the people to support her claims, she moved forward from the old Castle on the 31st, towards London. Her progress was but one continued triumph, for she had been proclaimed even in London, so early as the 19th. Her grand opponent, Northumberland, had joined the people in doing the same thing at Cambridge ; and he, as well as the Lady Jane, with her husband, were now in the Tower. On her way, Queen Mary had been met at Ipswich by Cecil, the future Lord Burleigh, whose character has recently suffered so much, as a time-server. As one of the Counsellors whose names were affixed to the preceding letter, he was the first to approach. He secured his own personal safety, and afterwards bowed to the magic of "the old learning," but could never obtain office under the present Queen. On the 3d of August Mary entered her capital, and going direct to the Tower, at once a palace and a prison, she immediately released the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal, or three men with whom the reader has been long familiar. Gardiner was sworn into the Privy Council the second day after, and the Queen remained in the Tower till after her brother's funeral.

The lingering decline of Edward's health, who had never fully recovered the effect of small-pox and measles in the spring of 1552, had certainly given timely warning of the approaching tempest ; but those strange proceedings of his Council, so far as they were known, were directly calculated to beguile certain parties into false repose. Even Cranmer seems to have pleasingly deceived himself. For surely he could never have issued those "Articles" of his for signature, by an official mandate, only a few days before Edward expired, except he had imagined that there was nothing but plain sailing before him ; and that the present Queen would never ascend the throne. At all events, few persons seem to have yet left the kingdom ; for the friends of Divine

⁴ Of all the Counsellors who had so replied to the Queen, only two suffered ; Northumberland himself, and Sir John Gates. Cranmer, though arraigned, was pardoned, but retained in prison. Some time elapsed before the execution of Lady Jane and Lord Dudley, the victims of this ambitious Council.

Truth were now to be divided into two bands ; namely, those who were able and inclined to escape persecution by flight, and those who either could not, or would not, leave the country.

Many, unquestionably, were taken by surprise ; and, in these circumstances, had this new made Queen immediately stepped into blood, the consequences, dreadful as they ultimately were, would have been far more so : but although she, without disguise, will soon discover her political intentions, much, very much of the restraining mercy of God was to be first displayed.

Communication must now first be held with Rome once more, the ancient magazine of persecution ; and the last Cardinal that was ever to visit England, must first arrive from thence, before ever blood will begin to flow freely. In the meanwhile, Mary, though firmly fixed in her principles as a Roman Catholic, and something more, found herself placed in a singular and anomalous position, owing to the strange movements and wild ambition of her father. In consequence of these, the gentlemen of "the old learning," whatever they might say, could no longer boast of their *unity*. They were now divided, very distinctly divided, into two bands. There were those who longed for full alliance with Rome : there were those who strongly deprecated this, and who, though still drawing their faith from *abroad*, wished the Sovereign at *home* to be their only Head upon earth. The very Sovereign herself entertained scruples on this subject, but here was even Stephen Gardiner, and about to be appointed Lord Chancellor, who expressed himself as strongly averse from any re-union with the Pontiff, except simply as a foreign prelate. Mary, who could refer to the *Bible*, when it answered her views or inclination, pled Scripture in her favour. "Women," said she, "I have read in Scripture are forbidden to speak in the Church. Is it then fitting that *your* Church should have a *dumb* head."

There were two measures now in prospect, in the way of alliance, to both of which, in succession, the Queen was secretly, but firmly inclined. The first was full alliance with Rome ; the next, alliance by marriage with Philip of Spain. To the first, a strong party stood opposed ; to the second, the nation entire ; and certainly her Majesty discovered no inferior tact in accomplishing both, though to her own confusion, or ultimate heart-felt vexation.

Thus, however, it was, that while waiting for Rome, a breathing time was granted, for escape. Many in those days might well ponder, and most probably did, over what had been said long ago, in reference to another and different pause or crisis. "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains." And although London was not Jerusalem, nor England Judea, the voice of Providence was sufficiently distinct. It was now heard and obeyed,

as we shall see presently. But above all, whether this remarkable pause, or restraint from personal violence, was not also a distinct demonstration in *favour* of the Sacred Volume in our native tongue, we shall leave the reader to judge, before the reign is ended.

Meanwhile, there were notable men who were not permitted to avail themselves of flight, and although Mary had been so singularly indebted to Throckmorton, a gentleman professedly of the *new* learning, for her own personal deliverance from the snare laid for herself; that learning was not to obtain any favour from her, the moment she felt herself securely seated. It was in fact only four days after her brother's interment, when she had very distinctly expressed to the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London what were her sentiments and intentions; and these they delivered in the following terms—"Albeit her Grace's conscience is staid (or fixed) in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously, not to compel and constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put into their hearts a persuasion of the truth *that she is in*, through the opening of his word by godly, virtuous and learned preachers."⁵ At the same time the Lord Mayor was not to allow *any open reading of the Scriptures* in the Churches, or preaching by the curates, without her special license, which, of course she never granted.

Upon leaving the Tower for her palace at Richmond, but a few days had elapsed before Mary issued her "Inhibition" against preaching, *reading* or teaching *any Scriptures* in the churches, and *printing* any books! The Word of God in the vulgar tongue, and the printing-press, being the objects of special dread. But even two days before this, there were certain men at large, who must be so no longer. On the 16th of August, Bradford, Vernon and Becon, were committed to the Tower; while no other than *John Rogers*, alias *Matthew*, the editor of the Bible received by Henry in 1537, was commanded to keep himself within his own house, and to have no communication with any persons except those of his own family. They had already taken certain steps, if not commenced proceedings against many persons, and by the 15th of September, *Latimer*, and *Hooper*, as well as *Cranmer*, were safe in the Tower. As for *Ridley*, having preached at Paul's Cross in favour of Queen Jane, he had chosen, however

⁵ These words have been quoted as a proof that Mary acted with bad faith, but then the words in italic have been left out. Nothing can so destroy the moral lesson to be drawn from history as *unfairness* to an opponent. The words quoted are from the Privy Council book itself.

⁶ Given at Richmond the 18th day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign. She had been proclaimed only upon the 19th of July, and was not yet crowned. The 1st of October, was the day of her coronation, by Gardiner.

strangely, to proceed to Framlingham to salute Mary, where he was instantly dispoiled of his dignities, and sent back to the Tower, by the 26th of July, or only ten days after he had preached his sermon. But still there were as yet no tortures, no murder, nor any threatened martyrdom.

Most providentially, the Queen, though only thirty-six years of age, was to reign no longer than five years and four months; but those fires which never ceased to blaze for three years and nine months, were not kindled, as already hinted, till February 1555, or a year and a half *after* she had come to the throne.⁷ Gardiner and Bonner, as the leading dogs of war, had not only been let loose, but reinstated as Bishops, and there was the most cordial feeling in harmony with Rome; but still the arm of the oppressor was stayed, nor must one stake be prepared, or fire lighted up, for more than sixteen months after these imprisonments. Cardinal Pole, also, must first come from Italy to England before the kingdom could be formally reconciled to Rome; while Gardiner, now raised to be Lord Chancellor, was, from personal ambition, not a little anxious to *retard* his return, and, in the meanwhile, seeking greater things, if possible, for himself. Bonner, it is true, at once brutal and rash, was ready, at a moment's warning, to plunge into his favourite occupation with fury; but a compass must be fetched; and Gardiner was there to guide it. Cautious, as well as vindictive, he will steadily watch the time, and not fail to end in blood; when both he and Bonner will be in at the death of the best men in all England.

It must, however, have very soon, and *thus* mercifully, appeared, that good faith and clemency were out of the question. Conscientious men, in considerable numbers, were bent upon escape to the Continent, and facilities shall not be wanting. All *foreigners* were to be allowed to depart without hindrance. There were not only Germans and Frenchmen, but Italians and Spaniards, Poles and Scotsmen, harbouring not in London alone, but elsewhere, and enjoying a degree of freedom from molestation, unknown at the moment in *any* other part of the world! They must now seek safety by flight.

⁷ Before this, it will be remembered, that the lovely victim of Edward's counsellors, LADY JANE GREY, with her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, had suffered on the scaffold in February 1554; but we here speak of martyrs of opinion, condemned to the flames.

Early in the month of September, that interesting Polish nobleman, John a-Lasco, the uncle of the King of Poland, embarked from London, carrying a considerable number of his congregation with him.⁸ About the same time many French, and other foreigners, left England. Orders were sent down to Rye and Dover, that no impediments should be placed in their way; and to these orders, not a few of the English, the salt of the land, were indebted for their escape. Many went under the character of servants, and others, by what means they could, till at last it has been computed that there were

⁸ This formed one of the most striking and affecting illustrations of the difference between the reigns of Edward and Mary. *Credo's and confessions* had been the order of the day, abroad as well as at home, instead of an immediate and patient appeal to the Sacred Record alone. Notwithstanding this, Edward, with a nobility of soul peculiar to himself, among living monarchs, and unknown to his very Council as such, had granted to this able and learned man, JOHN A-LASCO, and all who listened to him, as Superintendent of his congregation, the most perfect liberty of conscience and worship. By *Superintendent* was meant an office a-kin to that of *Bishop*, as he had four ministers under him; for it is well known that under this reign, the title of *Bishop* had rather fallen into *disuse*; and no marvel, considering the part which most men sustaining it, had so long and so often acted. Edward's patent, dated 24th July 1550, is given at length by Burnet, in which he says,—“ We strictly command and charge the Mayor and Aldermen of our city of London, and their successors, with all others, Archbishops, Bishops, and Justices of ours whatsoever—that they permit the said Superintendent and Ministers, freely and quietly to enjoy, use, and exercise, their own rites and ceremonies, and their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do *not* agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom.” “ The care of our Church,” said a-Lasco afterwards, “ was committed to us chiefly with the view, that in the ministration thereof, we should follow the rule of the *Dicene Word* and Apostolic observance, rather than any rules of other churches.” “ The King himself,” he affirms, “ was both the chief *author* and *defender* of this measure; and Cranmer promoted it also, with all his might.” The King, too, had admonished them “ to use this great liberty, rightly and faithfully, not to please men, but for the glory of God, by promoting the reform of his worship.” What a contrast was here to the entire surface of Europe at the moment! And the only one found to read such a lesson to his country and posterity, was an intelligent boy, not yet thirteen years of age! The step taken by young Edward has been remarkably acknowledged up to the present hour, and the church of Austin friars, then given by him to a Lasco, and styled “ The temple of Jesus,” still exists, to be occupied by *foreigners*; and to call up this, as well as some interesting *previous* recollections, for the reader has heard of the building before. See vol. i., pp. 177, 333, &c.

But now, with the accession of Mary, these worthy strangers must depart, and whither shall they go, to find such an asylum? They knew not. It was the publication of what was styled the *interim* by Charles V., that had driven them, and others, into England, where, however, they can now no longer remain. Two Spanish ships were lying in the Thames, and on board of them a-Lasco, with 175 of his friends, embarked. There were *Poles and Germans, Italians and Spaniards, French and Scots*, and all of *one faith*; a most interesting and precious body of passengers! They arrived on the Danish coast in the beginning of a severe winter. But they had not signed, and could not sign, the *Lutheran confession of faith*! They were more of the opinion of Zuinglius, the spiritual father of their Superintendent—and what then? They were not suffered to land, nor even to anchor, above two days! They then attempted *Lubeck—Wisimar—Hamburg*,—but with no better success! Thus men, women and children, were tossed on the billows, through all these dreary winter months, and after many perils and privations, it was absolutely not till the winter was long past, that they were permitted to disembark at Emden, and finally settle in *Friesland*. From September to March they had been driven about on the seas, and flying from the wrath of one woman in England; till the pity so long and barbarously denied, was at last found in the breast of one female abroad. It was the good Countess Dowager, Anne of Oldenberg; a friend in former days of John-a-Lasco. How instructive as well as affecting, is such a story! *Credo's or confessions* imply belief, which, by imposition, can never be produced. But once drawn up, and then imposed by men who were themselves as yet but imperfectly acquainted with the tenets of Scripture; such was one among other palpable results. Already they had become fountains of sorrow to Christians, as they were to be sources of objection, by the infidel and unbelieving, to the pure fountain of Revelation itself.

from eight hundred to a thousand learned Englishmen, beside those in other conditions, who were now to sustain the honourable character of exiles from their native land, on account of their attachment to Divine Truth. There can be no question that, as far as they could, they took their most valued treasure, their *books*, with them, but, above all, their copies of the *Scriptures*; and thus it was that the volume which had been originally translated for England, upon the European continent, was now to be read by more than a thousand of her sons and daughters, and all over these countries, from Emden to Geneva!

These exiles, of whom their native land at the moment was not worthy, found refuge at *Emden* in Friesland, as a-Lasco and his flock had done; at *Wesel* on the Rhine in Prussia; at *Duisburg*, a town of Guelderland in Holland; at *Strasburg* in France; at *Zurich* and *Berne*, *Basle*, *Geneva*, and *Aran* in Switzerland; at *Frankfort* in Germany, and a few fled to *Worms*, the spot where the first English New Testaments had been completed at press. Many of these people had, in the end, no great occasion to regret the storm that had driven them from home, so far as they themselves were personally concerned. The improvement and enlargement of their minds was the result, in many instances; while their being all alike sufferers from one common calamity, gave occasion to a far finer display of Christian sympathy and bounty, both abroad and at home, than they ever could have experienced in other circumstances, or ever left for posterity to admire. There were at least three Ladies of title,⁹ at least six Knights,¹⁰ besides other persons of property, among the number who had fled, and they regarded all the rest as brethren in adversity. Many pious individuals too, chiefly in London, contributed freely to their relief, by sending money, clothes and provisions. Strype gives a list of twenty-six as the most eminent. Abroad, the King of Denmark, Henry, Prince Palatine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and Wolfgang Duke of Bipont, with all the states and free cities where the English sojourned, were very bountiful to them. So were foreign divines, especially those of

⁹ The Duchess of Suffolk, cousin to Queen Mary, Lady D. Stafford, and Lady Elizabeth Berkeley.

¹⁰ Sirs Richard Moryson, Francis Knollys, Anthony Cook with his learned daughters, Peter Carew, Thomas Wroth, and John Cheke.

Zurich, whose small stipends scarcely served to maintain themselves. Peter Martyr's house at Strasburg was filled, where the inmates, living at one common table, paid, if any thing, easy charges for their diet. Several of the learned exiles subsisted partly by their own exertions. John Foxe had now leisure to compose and publish the first edition of his history in Latin, and Grafton the printer had time to write his chronicle, to say nothing of other works; but we shall hear of labours infinitely more valuable, for which this temporary banishment from their native land was to prove the *time appointed*.

These may be regarded as an army of *confessors*; but there were many who could not, while others would not, avail themselves of safety by flight, and these formed a distinguished portion of the noble army of *martyrs*. England, as we have witnessed, under Edward VI. had proved an asylum for the oppressed among other nations: it was ere long to become an *Acelanda*, or field of blood. In the first Parliament under Mary at the close of 1553, the statutes of the preceding reign, as well as some of Henry VIII., had been repealed. The state machine was rolled back to its old position, and the kingdom in 1554 was once more placed under the protection of Rome. Her Majesty though not at all times a quiescent votary of the Pontiff, was, both from principle and past circumstances, a persecutor; while she could not have found in all England two spirits more congenial with her intentions than those of Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner. If they led, others on the bench, and many unprincipled underlings were ready to follow. All statutes which stood in the way being entirely removed, as there was "a clear field," so there was to be "no favour." Men and women, of whatever character, office, or condition, even the lame and the blind, and from the child to the aged man, all who had any conscientious opinions not in harmony with the "old learning," all were appointed unto death.

From the 4th of February 1555, to within only seven days of the Queen's exit, on the 17th of November 1558, a period of only three years, nine months and six days, the number burnt to ashes, and who died by starvation, slow torture and noisome confinement in prison, can never be given with accuracy by any human pen. In reading through the details.

as the heart grows sick, so every one must come to the same conclusion—that there is but *one* list, and that one accurate and indelible—but it is one above. The highest point of human guilt, is to be found in persecution for the *truth's* sake, or in violence done to *conscience*; and when at last inquisition is made for blood, the Judge of all will remember every drop that has been shed, for “the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.”

The different calculations, however, which have been made by Foxe and Burnet, by Strype and Speed, as well as an account by Cecil Lord Burghley, have been carefully collated: and we have thus made out a distinct list of three hundred and eighteen individuals. Of these, two hundred and eighty-eight were consumed in the flames, eight or ten were positively famished, and twenty more pined and expired in their dungeons. Of almost all these we have the names, as well as the time and place of their last triumphs; but the number of deaths, without doubt, must have been greater, especially from imprisonment.¹¹ In a treatise often ascribed to Lord Burghley himself, but certainly sanctioned by him, and coming from authority, in 1583, we have the following passage—

“In the time of Queen Mary, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, *almost the number of four hundred*—lamentably destroyed. And most of the *youth* that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children, (which is to be noted,) were such as had never, by the sacrament of baptism or by confirmation *professed*, nor were ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but *only of that* which, by their blood and death in the fire, they did as true martyrs testify.”

Now, whatever may be said as to the precise number of victims, the information conveyed by the closing paragraph, which we are requested to *note*, is of eminent value. This summary was given for a political purpose, and as for these people not having *heard* of any other kind of religion, this was merely a flourish of the pen, and a very absurd one; but the statement, after all, may be received as a memorable testimony to the *source* from whence these martyrs had derived their faith and principles; a testimony to the power

¹¹ The number of those who suffered in each year, of whose cases we have any distinct account, appears to have been in 1555, 36; in 1556, 104; in 1557, 78; and in 1558, 50, or in all 318. Of these were martyred in 1555, 77; in 1556, 97; in 1557, 77; in 1558, 47; or 298. Cecil's list, as printed by Strype, is incorrectly given.

of the Sacred Oracles as *read* by the youth of the kingdom ; for as to *preaching* the truth, this had, with a few exceptions, ever been at the lowest ebb.

If, therefore, the number who lost their lives by every species of cruelty be stated at 375, this gives an average of one hundred deaths annually, in three years and nine months. Of the counties in England, 21 suffered, and 2 in Wales ; but the persecution lay heaviest upon those parts where the *Scriptures* were best known. In Essex and Middlesex the victims were at least 114 ; in Kent and Sussex, 88 ; in Suffolk and Norfolk, 32 ; in Gloucester and Warwick, 18 ; so that in these eight counties alone, two hundred and fifty-two had triumphed at the stake. Nothing could exceed the more than savage barbarity by which these, the most valuable subjects in the kingdom, were put to torture and death. Of the entire number, more than one hundred and fifty had been consigned, in *groups*, to one common fire ! Thus we find of such companies, that there were six instances of *three* individuals, at different times ; five of *four*, and four of *five* ; six instances of *six*, and four of *seven* ! There were two dreadful cases of *ten* the same day ; the first at Lewis in Kent of six men and four women, including the master and servant, the mother and her son, in one common conflagration ! The second was at Colchester of five men and five women, six of whom were martyred in the morning, and four in the afternoon. Several of these must have been advanced in life, as their united ages amounted to about 406 years.

But the most horrible scene of all, in point of number, was at Bow, near London, when not fewer than *thirteen*, eleven men and two women, were consumed in one pile, on Tuesday the 27th of June 1556. The number of persons present was estimated at *twenty thousand* ; “ whose *ends* generally in coming there,” says Strype, “ and to such like executions, were to *strengthen themselves in the profession of the Gospel*, and to *exhort and comfort* those who were to die.” Yes, and notwithstanding all the fury of the enemy, this disposition on the part of the people went on to increase throughout the years 1557 and 1558, till upon this very day of the week, two years hence, we shall see what happened. When the present martyrs appeared at the stake, a few words were all-sufficient to secure an echo. The short expressive ejaculation on the

part of only one bystander, was replied to by an *Amen*, which came upon the ears of their murderers with a voice of thunder; and such a voice had made them quail. These noble confessors indeed actually triumphed at last, so far as to paralyze the arm of Bonner, and banish the fire at least from *Smithfield*, nearly five months before Mary was called away by her final judge! The very last time, when seven martyrs were there consumed, on the 28th of June 1558, was a memorable one, and as it has never been sufficiently pointed out by any historian, must not pass unnoticed here.

The reader cannot fail to remember that there was a "*Congregation*" in London, that had assembled in secret, many years ago. The term implied organisation, and set times for Christian worship. He has heard of it, as early as 1531, before the death of Bainham, and in 1533, before the heroic martyrdom of John Fryth. For more than twenty-five years, however harassed and perplexed, this Congregation, whose meetings varied from eighty to two hundred, had never been broken up. Under the present fearful reign, they had met not only in Bow Lane, Cheap-side, but wherever else they could; in Blackfriars, Battle Bridge, Ald-gate, Thames Street, Ratcliff, Islington, and occasionally on board ship in the Thames.¹² Strype, in one place, speaks of them as so many separate congregations, and no doubt there were separate meetings at the same moment; but they formed but one community, devotedly attached to each other—"a chosen generation, a peculiar people," in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. Of one ancient primitive church, this is recorded to its honour—"I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth." He who condescended thus to testify from heaven itself, is "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever;" and without doubt had his Sovereign eye upon every movement in the metropolis of England; though, from first to last, how many of this despised congregation had received the crown of martyrdom, in London, the head-quarters or *seat* of all the persecution, no man can tell. But this month of June 1558, forming, as it did, at once a crisis and a climax in its history, is well worthy of observation.

¹² On the evening of New Year's Day, or Tuesday 1555, about thirty of their number, with Mr. Thomas Rose their minister, were seized in Bow Church Yard, and all committed to prison. Rose, well known to Cranmer, and once recommended by him to be Archbishop of Armagh, was examined by Gardiner, but befriended by the Earl of Sussex and Sir William Woodhouse, he escaped to the Continent. After this the Congregation met as they could, and often during the night. "At these meetings they had collections in aid of those who were in prison, and sometimes would gather *ten pounds* at a night meeting," or an amount equal in value to above £100 of the present day.

For some time the whole Church had been in imminent danger ; and how they had contrived to meet and worship so often and so long would form a history, certainly of the most singular character. But Bonner and his spies seem as though they had recently resolved to exterminate them in a body. The method adopted was one of ancient usage. " They watched them, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of their words, and so deliver them to the power and authority " of this the most cruel of living men. Throughout Mary's reign, this Church, or Congregation, had been favoured with a succession of pastors. First Mr. Rose, and then Mr. John Pullain, a native of Yorkshire, both of whom escaped to the Continent. There succeeded Mr. Thomas Fowler, Mr. Edmund Scamler, and Mr. Augustine Bernher, a Swiss, once in the service of Latimer. He was of great comfort to the prisoners, martyrs, and exiles ; the widows and children bereaved by martyrdom looked to him as to their common benefactor, and in this most honourable of all human occupations he had been occasionally styled the " Angel of God." But their next minister had been a character too well known in past years to remain long unmolested. This was Mr. JOHN ROUGH, a native of Scotland. In early life one of the Black Friars at Stirling, he was afterwards chaplain to the Earl of Arran, when his eyes were first opened to see the truth. And this was no other than the man who, ten years before this, in his own name and that of his brethren at St. Andrews, had, with so much solemnity, called *John Knox* to engage in the work of the ministry. From this period he had been known in England, and received, through Henry VIII. himself, as chaplain of the garrison, £20 a-year. Since then he had been twice as far distant as Rome, and there seen all that he had so often heard of before. During the time of Edward, the same annual amount having been assigned to him, he had preached at Carlisle and Berwick, Newcastle and Hull ; but, in the beginning of the present reign, he fled to Norden, in East Friesland. Here he and his wife, an Englishwoman, had honourably supported themselves by the humble occupation of knitting caps and hose. Being destitute of yarn, he had ventured to England, in 1557, for a supply, but hearing of this " Secret Society " of the faithful, upon once joining them, he was immediately chosen minister and preacher. It was not long before he witnessed more than sufficient to have alarmed any timid disciple. On the 17th of September, four martyrs, sent up from the country, had been burnt at Islington, the very place where this Congregation occasionally met. Rough was there present, he afterwards said, " to learn the way ; " and as there were three others consumed in Smithfield on the 18th of November, he may have been there also, since he had evidently resolved neither to leave his charge, nor yield one iota of his faith. Such a man was not to be tolerated long. It was upon Sabbath morning the 12th of December, when the Congregation had pur-

posed to meet for worship, that no less than Sir Henry Jernyngham of Norfolk, one of the first favourites of the Queen, her Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard, appeared at Islington. He was led there by Sergeant, one of the spies sent out. Apprehending Mr. Rough and one of their most valuable members, a deacon of the Church, Mr. Cuthbert Symson, they were both immediately carried before the Council, who, in three days more, handed them over to Bonner for his disposal. The Church had never before been thus bereaved of a pastor; and the only anxiety felt by him related not to himself, but to the flock he was about to leave in the midst of wolves. Two days before he suffered, he sent them a letter, alike worthy of his character and office, which is given in full by Foxe.

“My dear sons,” says he, “now departing this life, to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corn cast into the ground, which, except it die first, can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to my great advantage; for thereby the body ceaseth from sin—but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon.”—“What a journey, by God’s power, I have made these eight days! (from the 12th to the 20th December:) it is above flesh and blood to bear; but, as Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run; I have fought a good fight; the crown of righteousness is laid up for me; my day to receive it is not long to. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end: then shall ye possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein ye are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the Gospel of the Cross, by me preached, nor yet of my suffering; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before; I suffer first the baiting of the butcher’s dogs: yet I have not done what I should have done; but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ, and your wisdoms and learning will accept that small talent, which I have distributed unto you, I trust, as a faithful steward.”—“The Spirit of God guide you, in and out, rising and sitting: cover you with the shadow of his wing; defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily to the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb!”

And this is the man condemned to be burned alive, and for his sentiments! Immediately before or after writing this letter he was again before the Bishop: and having once mentioned his being at Rome, with what he had seen there, Bonner, rising up like a savage, laid hold of him by the beard, and actually tore a part of it from the roots! Delivering him up to the secular power on the 21st of December, he was brought to the stake next morning by half-past five o’clock, in company with another determined female confessor.

That wealthy and generous citizen of London, Mr. Symson, who had been seized along with Mr. Rough, was reserved in prison for three months longer, and for far greater suffering. He had possessed a list of

all the members of the Church, and the great object with Bonner was to get hold of this, or compel him to name his fellow-disciples. But they had laid hold of a man whom no terrors could shake—no agony could move. He was conveyed to the Tower, and there tortured actually *three times*, upon which even Bonner himself could not suppress his astonishment. "Ye see this man," said he to his Consistory; "what a personable man he is. And furthermore, concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me; for I tell you he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken." After this testimony, from whatever motive, still there was no mercy; and Mr. Symson, with two other members of the same body, all suffered in Smithfield about the 28th of March.¹³

Thus bereaved of their pastor in December, of their deacon and two other men in March, what were they to do? To "forsake the assembling of themselves together?" No, by no means. Only two days before his death, Mr. Rough had encouraged them in these terms:—"God knoweth you are all tender unto me; my heart bursteth for the love of you. Ye are not without your Great *Pastor* of your souls, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, as God be praised there is *no want of men*, He would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that Rock; the wind of temptation shall not prevail. Fast and pray, for the days are evil." And it is remarkable, that almost immediately after, they had been supplied with another minister, although he must come all the way from Switzerland. This was Mr. Thomas Bentham, a man of learning, and of such courage as the moment demanded; for the persecution still raged with unabated vigour, sharpened by the hope of destroying the whole body. Bentham had been an exile for years; but either from his own motion, or pressed by the zealous Thomas Lever, then at Aran, had arrived early this year.

A month, however, had not elapsed after the last fiery trial, when about forty of this people, men and women, having assembled in the vicinity of Islington for prayer, "were virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word," with their Bibles or Testaments in their hands. First their books were demanded by the constable, and his assistants coming in sight, they seized and secured twenty-two of this number. They were all conveyed to Newgate, where they had remained for seven weeks without being once called up for examination.

But now the more eventful month of June was come. On the 6th, there was issued, in name of Philip and Mary, a proclamation against

¹³ By Mr. Symson's own written statement, it appears that he was first set in an engine of iron, called Skevington's Gyves, where he remained about *three hours*. And another day, besides being otherwise tormented, he was racked twice. See the "Letters of the Martyrs," p. 529, ed. 1837.

certain books. *Not Bibles or Testaments by NAME, however; for it is certainly a memorable fact, that throughout the whole course of this reign, from whatever cause, there was not even one such proclamation as had been issued under Henry VIII.* The present one was against books, not even named, but said to be filled with "heresy, sedition, and treason." Foxe says, they were such as were "godly and wholesome;" but at all events, "any person having or finding them, and not immediately burning them, shall, *without delay, be executed according to MARTIAL law.*"

Of the twenty-two individuals apprehended in the open field at Islington, two had already died in prison; and on the 14th, Bonner had called the remaining twenty before him. In ten days he had condemned thirteen to the flames, and seven, not without much trouble, hardly escaped with their lives. Of the former number, seven had been sentenced as early as the 17th, and they were to be burned in Smithfield.

It so happened, however, that one of these seven martyrs was a Mr. ROGER HOLLAND, a person evidently above the common rank. Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Jarret, — Eglestone, Esq., a kinsman, with several other relatives and friends from Cheshire and Lancashire, had earnestly intreated Bonner for his life. They were present at his third or final examination. With an intrepidity not to be shaken, and intelligence far superior to the Bishop, he answered most distinctly for himself. Bonner, with all the meanness of his character, tried, by flattery, to separate him from his Christian brethren. Calling them "worse than hogs," he added—"But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you." Nothing, however, could move the good man one point; and so after he had uttered several wholesome truths, Bonner read the sentence of condemnation. Holland heard the whole with patience; but when the Bishop rose to depart he then said—"My Lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words." At first he would not, but one of Holland's friends interposing, at last said Bonner, "Speak, what hast thou to say?"

"Even now," replied the martyr, "I told you that your authority was from God, and by his *sufferance*. And now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears by his afflicted saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, which by his spirit I am moved to say, *that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his Church. And (turning to his friends) this shall you in short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true; for after THIS DAY, in THIS PLACE, shall there not be any by HIM put to the trial of fire and faggot.*"

An intimation sufficiently pointed and solemn, as coming from the lips of a man he had now doomed to death, and not unworthy of being

repeated here, since it was about to be so exactly fulfilled. At the moment, indeed, nothing could seem to be so unlikely as the announcement made; but now Tuesday the 28th of June had arrived, when Holland and his six companions must suffer. And with this day came the trial of strength—the victory of moral power over the brutal fury of the King and Queen, as well as of Bonner and all his bloody underlings. To render this only the more conspicuous, there came down, in the name of Philip and Mary, a proclamation, to be read first at Newgate and then at the stake. It strictly charged and commanded, that “no man should either *pray for*, or *speak to*, the martyrs, or once say—‘God help them.’”

A great multitude had assembled by appointment; but so far from the first reading of this proclamation having any effect, no sooner did the seven martyrs appear in sight, than a scene ensued, for which the authorities had not provided. In the bosom of this multitude was “the congregation, with its pastor;” and both in union, with one general sway, made towards the prisoners, so that “the bill-men and other officers” thrust back, could do nothing, nor even come nigh. There was no attempt at any rescue, but once meeting the martyrs, embracing and encouraging them, there they were at the place of suffering in Smithfield.

The people now left the bill-men and officers to act. The proclamation in name of the King and Queen, enjoining profound silence, was again read, with a loud voice. Mr. Bentham was there, and now came his time to speak. Immediately upon seeing the fire kindled, turning his eyes to the people, he cried out and said—“We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say God strengthen them.” Then more boldly—“*Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!*” With entire consent, and one voice, all the people followed with—“*Amen! Amen!*” The noise was so astounding, and the voices so numerous, that the officers did not know what to say, nor whom to accuse. Holland then, embracing the stake and the reeds, closed his life with these words—

“Lord! I most humbly thank thy Majesty that thou hast called me from the state of death unto the *light of thy heavenly word*, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say—Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts! And Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry.”

The whole seven died in joyful constancy, in prayer, and praising God.¹⁴

¹⁴ Bentham himself, in writing to his friend Lever, in Switzerland, on the 17th of July, says—“A fearful and cruel proclamation being made, that, under pain of *present death*, no man should either approach nigh unto them, touch them, neither speak to nor comfort them; yet were they so mightily spoken to, so comfortably taken by the hands, and so godly comforted, notwithstanding that fearful proclamation, and the present threatenings of the sheriff and sergeants, that the adversaries themselves were *astonished*.” Harleian MS., No. 416, p. 63.

Such a triumph well deserved to be traced, for it was a decisive one. Mary had yet nearly five months to reign, but she must no more burn a single martyr at the wonted place, nor at any other, within her own capital. Bonner's occupation, too, was gone; for, as far as we know, he never personally sentenced one individual to the flames, in any place, after being thus addressed by Roger Holland. Six men, indeed, out of the twenty-two seized, still remained to be disposed of, and, a few days after Holland, they had been examined; but all this the Bishop had prudently left to Thomas Darbyshire, his nephew, the Chancellor; nor were they put to death till the 13th or 14th of July. But even then they cannot be burnt in *London*; they must be sent down to Brentford, and the writ to execute come from the Lord Chancellor's office. All this is distinctly stated to have been done in "post-haste," and at night, either from *fear or craft* on the part of Bonner;¹⁵ but never again must the fire blaze in Smithfield. Such was "*the Congregation of the Faithful*," assembling for worship in the days of Queen Mary; and, with all its imperfections, there certainly never was in England a body of Christians more highly honoured by God, in "resisting unto blood, striving against sin."

In adverting to the character of Mary's administration, owing to these detestable cruelties some historians have consigned the entire period to unmitigated or indiscriminate censure in every other point of view; but the fact is, that the odious character of persecution for *opinions*, on the part of Government, is rendered much more so when the state of England, in other respects, is candidly observed.

The Queen herself, indeed, was very frequently, perhaps the most unhappy living being in the kingdom, and certainly so for the last year of her life; but when we embrace the entire period, once exclude the war of opinion, and turn the eye away from those ever-blazing fires of the later years, the commercial interests of the country were not unprosperous, at least up to January 1558, when Calais was lost. Her expulsion of those worthy foreigners at the commencement of her reign, who, with an ingenuity they had brought with them, were naturalizing their arts and manufactures in England, was at once impolitic and hurtful; but Mary concluded an advantageous commercial treaty with Russia, and put an end to the injurious monopoly so long carried on by the Easterlings, or Merchants of the Steel-yard. One very intelligent foreigner was

¹⁵ Harleian MS., No. 416, p. 63.

then living in England, Signor Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador, who, of course, troubled not himself about the cruelties of the day ; but he has left his own interesting survey of the country, as he reported it officially to his native states, part of which it must be some relief to peruse. Having mentioned a certain profusion which had struck him as peculiar to the country, he thus proceeds :—

“ I use the term *profusion*, as there is no nation which, in its manner of living and ordinary expenditure, is more extravagant than the English ; because they keep more servants, with a greater distinction of offices and degrees in which these servants are placed. In this manner, to mention only one particular, in order to give an idea of other expenses of greater moment, the expense of the Court in the mere article of living, that is, of eating and drinking, and of what solely relates to the table, amounts to from fifty-four to fifty-six thousand pounds sterling a-year, making 230,000 of our scudi. It is a monstrous thing to see the quantity of victuals usually consumed, with the allowances to attendants and servants ; and yet not the fourth part is now expended of what was spent in the time of Henry and Edward, the predecessors of the Queen—her Majesty having succeeded in correcting many abuses, and regulating superfluities, partly by limiting, and partly by entirely abolishing, many tables, and taking away all arbitrary supplies of provisions.”

Among servants, the ambassador here evidently included that numerous class of *retainers*, granted by the Crown to officers of the household, and special favourites. A retainer was a servant, not menial, but wearing the livery of his Master, and attending upon all special occasions. The number had been diminishing from the days of Wolsey, and notwithstanding her retrenchments, Mary far exceeded her successor, Elizabeth, in this source of expense. Stephen Gardiner, who was extremely fond of style as well as of money, led the way under Mary, by contriving to obtain for himself as many as *two hundred* retainers ; the only other man who then had as many being the Earl of Arundel. Elizabeth never yielded more than *one* hundred to any person of the highest rank, and that but rarely. Mary, in five years, had granted thirty-nine such licenses of retainer ; Elizabeth will grant only fifteen in thirteen years.

With the general state of the country in other respects our ambassador was particularly struck. “ But the liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful ; indeed there is no other country, in my opinion, less burdened and more free. For they have not only no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of : NO TAX on salt, wine, beer, FLOUR, MEAT, cloth, and other necessaries of life, which in all parts of Italy especially, and in Flanders, are the more productive the greater is the number of inhabitants who consume them. But here every one indifferently, whether noble, or of the common people, is in the free and unmolested enjoyment of all he possesses, or daily acquires, relating either to food or raiment, buying or selling, except in those articles which he imports or exports by way of traffic.”

The last exception, of *custom*, on every export and import, this in-

telligent foreigner, had before explained, as well as the various other sources of revenue ; but it becomes doubly striking now, that so much as this, or any thing like it, could be asserted respecting the people at large, at the very moment when, as we have seen, there was one exception, so cruel and profane. It was to be found in the case of all those, whether high or low, male or female, who dared to *think* for themselves, or who either *read or believed the oracles of God!* Our Venetian was himself a disciple of "the old learning," but he was far too shrewd to suppose that the change enforced by this reign of terror would last long. On the contrary, he regarded the nation as a vessel loosened from its long accustomed mooring.

"Generally speaking," says he, "your Serene Highness may rest assured, that with the English the example and authority of the Sovereign is every thing, and religion is only so far valued as it inculcates the duty due from the subject to the Prince. They live as he lives, they believe as he believes, and they obey his commands, not from any inward moral impulse, but because they fear to incur his displeasure ; and they would be full as zealous followers of the Mahometan or Jewish religions, did the King profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so. In short they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."

Such was the judgment formed by Michele, about eighteen months before Mary's death, for he had returned to Venice in 1557 ; and no doubt to some persons, at first reading, it will appear to be distinguished for severity. But when it is remembered that in the mouth of such a man, *licentiousness* might be only his epithet for "entire freedom from all the superstitious trammels of the old learning," and by *profit* he may have referred simply to the desire after commerce ; then the terms may be allowed to pass, as no very inaccurate description of two leading sentiments or feelings which prevailed throughout the country. Already he tells us that "all eyes and hearts were turned towards the Lady Elizabeth as successor to the throne ;" and there can be no doubt that thousands were now sick unto death of Bonner's brutal sway ; though at the same time, even after noticing the final scenes at Smithfield and Brentford, Mr. Bentham added—"And yet men, for the most part, were never more careless, nor maliciously merry than they are now."¹⁶

On the whole, the reader can now easily distinguish between the people at large, and those who had been so shockingly persecuted ; nor need he imagine that the English as a nation had all of a sudden become more distinguished for cruelty than

¹⁶ The report of Signor Michele, containing many curious particulars as to this reign, may be seen entire, in the letters printed by Sir Henry Ellis. Second series, vol. ii., p. 218-240.

the neighbouring nations on the Continent.¹⁷ They had indeed, at first, asked for such a Queen as Mary, and obtained their desire; they had unwillingly submitted to such a King as Philip, and to such Ministers; and under their united sway that salutary horror was implanted in the nation, which was not to leave it for generations to come; but it was the leaders of this people who destroyed them, but more especially, as a body, the Bishops, who were now fighting with fury for "their kingdom of this world," as they so manifestly had done, ever since the Scriptures were introduced in 1526. For these five years past they had been powerfully backed, and occasionally goaded on, by both the King and Queen; nor had the diocese of Canterbury under Cardinal POLE formed any exception to the raging cruelty.¹⁸

¹⁷ The same rampant fury against what they called heresy had raged horribly on the Continent. Paul Sarpi assures us, that from the first edict of Charles V. to the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, in 1558, *fifty thousand* had been hanged, beheaded, burned and buried alive for their opinions! And Philip, following his father's counsel, disposed of an equal number, during the next thirty years! Grolius states the entire number at 100,000! Such was the course run first by the father-in-law, and then by the husband, of our Mary the First! *Look at Spain, now!*

¹⁸ That anxiety which has been often shown by biographers to exempt their hero from the guilt of persecution, forms one powerful testimony against its wickedness. Tunstall and Pole have been often so treated. The former appears to have been softened by his advanced age, for under the Marian persecution, he was now above *eighty*, and died the year after it, aged eighty-five: and Pole, in private life, might have been mild in his deportment, but what does this signify when we come to facts? Phillips in his life, of the Cardinal, has told us, that he, the biographer, had "too real a respect for the public, to trouble it with wrangles on *facts or duties or authorities* of little or no consequence;" but this was after he had informed that public, as a *fact*, that "*not one* was put to death in the diocese of Canterbury after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that see!" Now, to say nothing of the diocese at large, Pole took his seat, the very next day after Cranmer's martyrdom, by which time nineteen had been put to death in *Canterbury* itself, and in the same city, *twenty-three* more followed, five of whom had been famished in prison. In truth, the very last burning was in Canterbury, when five perished at once, and only eight days before the Cardinal himself died, all these had been delivered up to the secular arm in July, by Pole's own written certificate to the Queen. And what can be said in reply to the language of Pole himself? So late as the close of 1537, in writing to the Pontiff, he informs him,—"*my whole employment and labour is that I may daily gain more to the Church, and to cut off those that are obstinate as rotten members. Your Holiness hath reaped greater fruit of honour from my labours, than any Pope, by any Legate, for many ages ever did.*"

Even Gardiner's character has been mistaken, simply from want of attention to dates. Speaking of this period, Sir J. Mackintosh has said—"Justice to Gardiner requires it to be mentioned that his diocese was of the bloodless class." But Gardiner was *dead*. He died only nine months after the persecution had begun, and before then he had cordially sanctioned the death of Rogers, and Saunders, and Bradford; of Hooper and Ferrar, Ridley and Latimer: men who might be styled "the head deer" of the whole flock afterwards slain. No, Gardiner died in November 1555, and hence it bears so much harder on the predominant counsellor who succeeded him, who for *three years* after this, wilfully sanctioned persecution. This counsellor, it is well known, was Reginald Pole, whom Mary would not permit even to reside in Canterbury, that she might have his advice on *all* occasions. Gardiner, however, had been concerned in the death of almost every *eminent* martyr, and these, with the exception of Cranmer, had all been cut off, when Pole succeeded.

Fuller has surveyed this persecution by looking to every *diocese* in succession, as if the character of its bishop were to be seen by such a survey; but the criterion is a very imperfect one. Wherever *occision* offered, no bishop would have found it safe to resist; and even Bonner himself was quickened by royal authority. There is, however, an important and far more correct key to blood being shed, or not shed, in any district. *Most* blood was shed, and most misery

In return for all this violence and bloodshed, the moment of reaction, of course, arrived at last. The day of retribution began to dawn. Our Venetian ambassador had left England immediately before the period which would have constrained him to modify his style. Persecution employed by any Government, without recoiling on its authors, is unknown to history; and whether it did so now, let the reader judge. *Death* and *banishment* and *deprivation of office* had been the leading punishments inflicted, and although this be not the world where we are to expect perfect retribution, there is always enough to prove, that "Verily there is a God, who judgeth in the earth." The extent to which those very evils fell upon the parties in power, is well worthy of observation.

In the language of sacred writ, "Judgment had begun at the house of God;" and was there nothing to befall those who obeyed not the truth, and especially those who had despised and rejected the Word of God? Prevailing disease, by fever and ague, was nothing more than the preface or introduction to other evils: but, by the summer of 1557, these diseases are said to have gone to such extent as to endanger the produce of the earth. "In some places corn had stood and shed on the ground, for want of reapers; and in others, they would have willingly given one acre of corn, to reap and carry another." Disease too had fallen especially upon "gentlemen and men of great wealth;" but all this was merely a preparation for the year 1558, or Mary's last.

In the spring of 1557, the Queen had been visited by her cold husband, Philip, and for the last time. He, without difficulty, drew her into war with France; and by the 7th of January 1558, she had lost Calais in seven days. It had cost Edward III. eleven months of siege, the English flag having floated on its battlements for above two hundred years. The loss was more deeply lamented indeed than it deserved; still it was felt, not merely as a national degradation, but by the mercantile interests especially, as one which might prove of serious injury to commerce, an object to which thousands had become much alive.

The summer and autumn of 1558 turned out to be more unhealthy than those of the year preceding. Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, calculated that three parts out of four, throughout the country, were sick. Gentlemen, who kept twenty or thirty servants had not above three or four to help the residue. Even the harvestmen had become so scarce that twelve pence were given for work, wont to be done for three. And if it be recollected that all this misery occurred at the close of five years of violence and injustice, of oppression and slaughter, no wonder if thousands were exclaiming with one of old—

endured, in all those districts where *the Word of God* had been *most read*; and wherever there was but little or none, there the Scriptures, as yet, had been but little known. Hence the difference between the northern and some other counties, compared with others nearer to London

What shall be the end of these things?" The end, however, was now near at hand.

Parliament assembled on the 5th of November. Financial embarrassments were disclosed, and pressed for consideration. A subsidy was proposed, and might perhaps have passed the Upper House, but what could this signify now? On the 14th, the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Lords in a body, *came down* to the Commons to reason with them, but they would not move, and came to no decision. The close of Mary's life might well serve as a lesson of terror to all persecutors. At the outset of her reign, she had paid no regard whatever to freedom of opinion, and then remitted a subsidy in order to fix herself on the throne. She then obstinately determined to espouse a Spanish husband, not having the sagacity to perceive, that Charles V. and his son Philip were only practising their ambition upon her. It was a step which the nation never forgave. Then came that outrageous course of blood and torture, with which thousands were now so thoroughly disgusted. The rough physic of Providence had produced its destined effect. On the fifth day after this Parliament sat down, five martyrs had suffered at Canterbury. They prayed at the stake, that they might be the last, and they were the *last*. And now, in five days more, the Government is at an end; the supplies are stopped; pecuniary aid can be obtained no more, and the Queen, full of chagrin and disappointment, has little more than forty-eight hours to live. She had been attacked in summer by the *prevailing* fever, then so fatal; and early on the morning of Thursday the 17th of November, she breathed her last, at the very moment when her own husband and Henry the Second, "the Spanish and French Monarchs, were meditating the extension over all Europe, of such a tribunal as the *Inquisition* had already shewn itself to be, by its exercise of authority in Spain."¹⁹

The Queen herself, in conjunction with that body of men denominated ecclesiastical, had been the responsible agents in the kingdom, and one naturally turns to this quarter as to the moving spring of all that had been perpetrated. Adverting to this period, the close of 1558, Mr. Strype has told us that the mortality among the priests was such "that a great number of parish churches, in divers parts of the realm were unserved, and no curates could be gotten for money." But with the Bishops, and their immediate agents, lay the chief responsibility; and if we can arrive at certainty as to their mortality, as this has never been sufficiently observed, there may be enough to arrest attention even now, at the distance of more than two hundred and eighty years.

The Bench of Bishops under Mary consisted of twenty-seven individuals. Now, besides the hundreds of martyrs whom they had consigned

¹⁹ Mackintosh.

to the flames, it is well known that they had put to death five of their own number, namely Hooper and Ferrar, Latimer and Ridley in 1555, and Cramer in 1556. How then had it fared with this order of men throughout the reign? By the month in which Mary herself was interred, twenty-four Bishops had expired, and in only thirteen months after, six more had followed; that is *thirty* such men had died "by the visitation of God." These included two Lords Chancellor, Goodrich and Gardiner, and two Cardinals, Pole and Peyto. In the short space of four years, from the death of Gardiner (the next after Latimer and Ridley) in November 1555, to that of Tunstal inclusive, in November 1559, twenty-four had died; nay, *fourteen* of these had expired in less than *sixteen months*, before and after the Queen's own decease. Death has been sometimes denominated "a great teacher:" but here was a lesson, which surely could not fail to be the subject of frequent remark at the time.²⁰

Fuller, the old historian, had been struck with this mortality; and, in his own quaint manner, he has said "There were nine Bishops now dead, who were the *death-guard* of Queen Mary—as expiring a little before her decease; namely, John Capon or Salcot, Bishop of Salisbury; Robert Parfew, Bishop of Hereford; Maurice Griffith, (*Griffin*) Bishop of Rochester; William Glynn, Bishop of Bangor. These were Queen Mary's *ushers* to her grave. Or, as expiring a little after her departure, as Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury; John Hopton, Bishop of Norwich; James Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester; John Holyman, Bishop of Bristol; Morgan, Bishop of St. David's; these were Queen Mary's *train-bearers* to the same."

But if the historian would take up the catalogue of the dead, from Parfew to Morgan, and thus assemble them round the body of the Queen, the funeral procession was far more striking than this. The following would have been more correct; and, placed in the order in which they were called away by death, it exhibits a spectacle with which there is few, if any, in history to compare. We have intermingled with the Bishops, however, several other appropriate characters, as the proper place and time, for announcing their decease.

²⁰ These statements are founded on the following table, in which the reader may at once discover in *italic*, the martyrs, or the number put to death by man, and the number consigned to the grave by the God of life and death. There died in 1554, Goodrich of Ely, 10th May; Sampson of Lichfield, 25th Sep.; Voisey of Exeter, Oct. In 1555, Hooper of Gloucester, 9th Feb.; Ferrar of St. David's, 30th Feb.; Latimer of Worcester and Ridley of London 16th Oct.; Gardiner of Winchester, 12th Nov.; Cotes of Chester, Dec. In 1556, Aldrich of Carlisle, 5th March; Cramer of Canterbury, 21st March; Bell of Gloucester, 2d Aug.; Day of Chichester, 2d Aug.; Man of the Isle of Man; Chambers of Peterborough; Bird of Chester. In 1557, Parfew or Warton of St. Asaph, 22d Sep.; Salcot or Capon of Salisbury, 6th Oct.; King of Oxford, 4th Dec. In 1558, Peyto elect of Salisbury, April; Glynn of Bangor, 21st May; Brookes of Gloucester, 7th Sep.; Bushe of Bristol, 11th Oct.; Pole of Canterbury, 17th Nov.; Griffin of Rochester, 20th Nov.; Hopton of Norwich, Nov.; Holyman of Bristol, 20th Dec.; Christopherson of Chichester, Dec.; Reynolds elect of Hereford, died in prison. In 1559, Bayne of Lichfield, Jan.; Allen of Rochester, Oct.; Tunstal of Durham, 18th Nov.; Morgan of St. David's, 23d Dec. In 1560, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, 4th Jan.; and White of Winchester, 11th January. Pount of Winchester, died abroad 11th April 1556.—See *Nicolas' Synopsis*. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*

- PARFEEV of *St. Asaph*, 22d Sep., 57.—SALCOT of *Salisbury*, 6th Oct.—KING of *Oxford*, 4th Dec.
 William Warham, Prebend, and nephew of the Archbishop, Oct.
 Sir Richard Rochester, Comptroller of the Queen's house: a willing persecutor, Nov
 CARDINAL PEYTO, Elect of *Salisbury*, Apr. 1558.
 GLENN of *Bonnyr*, 21st May.—BOOKER of *Gloster*, 7th Sep.—BISHOP of *Bristol*, 11th Oct.
 Tho. Chettleham, Prebend, the successor of Rogers the Proto-Martyr, Oct.
 Edward Mowle, Prebend and Archdeacon of Essex, Oct.
 Tho. Bennet, Treasurer of St. Paul's, 16th Oct.
 QUEEN MARY, 17th Nov.
 CARDINAL REGINALD POLE of *Canterbury*, 18th Nov.
 GRIFFIN of *Rochester*, 20th Nov.—HORTON of *Norwich*, Nov.
 Robert Johnson, Principal Register of *Bonner*, and Proctor-General of *Canterbury*, 22d Nov.
 Basset, Esq. one of the Queen's Privy Chamber, 26th Nov.
 Gabriel Dunne, Prebend, the betrayer of *Tyndale*, 5th Dec.
 Sir T. Cheyne, Master-Treasurer to the Queen, 8th Dec.
 Hugh Weston, in disgrace, opponent of *Latimer*, *Ridley* and *Cranmer*, 8th Dec.
 Verney, Master of the Queen's Jewel-house, 12th Dec.
 Queen interred, in *Westminster Abbey*, 13th Dec.
 HOLYMAN of *Bristol*, 20th Dec.—CHRISTOPHERSON of *Chichester*, Dec.
 REYNOLDS, Elect of *Hertford*, Dec. ?—HAYNE of *Lichfield* and *Convtry*, Jan. 1559.
 ALLES of *Rochester*, Oct.—TUNSTAL of *Durham*, 18th Nov.—MORGAN of *St. David's*, 23d Dec.
 And only the next month afterwards,
 GULLETHORPE of *Carlisle*, 4th Jan.—WHITE of *Winchester*, 11th Jan.
 Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Jan.²¹

Beside the Queen herself, we see that not fewer than thirty-one conspicuous official individuals had been swept away by death; twelve preceding, and nineteen following her Majesty to the grave—or five connected with the Crown, and twenty-six ecclesiastics. Of these, four had been Prebends, and nineteen Bishops; two of whom were Cardinals. The first, Peyto, was never allowed to enter the kingdom; the second, Reginald Pole, was the last Cardinal who set his foot in England.

Under the authority of these men, however, not only had blood been shed, but deprivation of office, and flight beyond seas, had ensued; and in the change which now took place, at least one hundred and ninety-two of the most noted characters thus suffered. Of these, fourteen were bishops, three of whom fled, and the rest, in free custody, shorn of their office and emoluments, so died. Only one of the entire Bench, an old man, was suffered to remain—*Kitchen* of *Llandaff*, who conformed, and died in 1566. But besides these, there were at least eighty Rectors, fifty Prebends, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, and six Abbots and Abbesses—all of whom were deprived, and not a few fled.²²

After all, there can be no question, that many a man who had embued his hands in blood, or had been instrumental in the infliction of unmerited misery, still survived, with apparent impunity; but this was not without an end. "Slay them not," said the sacred writer, "lest my people forget"—but "scatter them by thy power, and bring them down, O Lord." Such petitions at least had been literally fulfilled. As a

²¹ Wood's *Athenæ* and *Fasti*. Nicola's *Synopsis*. Strype's *Annals*, anno 1558. *Newcourt's Repertorium*. By this time there were about *fourteen* Sees vacant!

²² Cotton MS., Titus, C. x. Cambden. Strype

combination of human beings against all righteousness and truth. they had been "brought down;" the chief ring-leaders had been sent, in quick succession to the grave, and the impious conspiracy was at an end. Every man who loved Divine Truth might say, "Thou hast smitten all mine enemies on the cheek-bone; Thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly."

To some persons, however, after such a review, the greatest mystery of all, may seem to be the comparative escape, and long survival, of by far the most active agent in cruelty and blood—the man who appeared almost to congratulate himself on the number of his victims. If his original name had been *Savage*, it ought never to have been changed. This was Edmund Bonner, who survived almost all his contemporaries, and his royal mistress nearly eleven years.²³ Elizabeth on her accession was distinguished for caution in disclosing her intended course; but of all his brethren on the Bench, Bonner was the *only man* whom the Queen marked out, by withholding her hand, when she gave it to the rest, and not permitting him to touch it. Familiar with the Satanic work of persecution from the earliest days of his appointment, under Henry the Eighth, eighteen years ago, he was now a veteran in crime; and well acquainted with the Marshalsea prison, he was finally sent back to it once more. Had he expired *soon*, with so many of his fellows, his example might soon have been forgotten; but Bishop *quondam*, as he was called, shall live, in contempt, to excite most salutary recollections, and keep in remembrance the flames of Smithfield. "A jail," says Fuller, "was conceived the safest place to secure him from the people's fury." Had he thus died, by the hand of man, it must have been regarded as nothing more than an act of private revenge; but surviving in disgrace, as the most significant "memento" of past times, it was as if Providence had "set a mark upon him," that he might live as the standing object of universal execration. As a living monument of Divine displeasure, he died in prison, unchanged, on the 5th of September 1569, and was buried, under the cloud of night, among the condemned, in Southwark churchyard. Midnight was ordered by Edmund Grindal, as the safest time, to prevent any disturbance by the citizens.

A far different subject, or the history of the English Bible during this reign, now claims our attention; although it is probable that not a few may be disposed to inquire,—"And what can possibly be said at such a time as this?" That "*all things went backward*," is an expression which has been often

²³ "Cum te generit Sacrifex *Saripus*; Die unde *Boneri*, rogo, nomen tibi?" is the epigram given by Parkhurst. The name of *Savage* has been fathered upon him even by Anthony Wood, but Strype denies it as a calumny, on the authority of a Baron Lechmere.

employed, it is true, in reference to the days of Mary the First; but it is one, strictly speaking, far from being correct. There was, to a certainty, *one* exception, and that one was worth all other things put together; so that for every feeling excited, or rather harrowed up, by the recital of martyrdoms, cruelty and banishment, there is yet balm in reserve; and as that is to be found nowhere else, except in the positive progress of Divine Truth, it only renders the history of the Sacred Volume one of deeper interest.

The purpose of Heaven, in keeping the history of the country, and that of the Divine Word, in our vernacular tongue, *perfectly distinct*, has been made apparent, we presume, in all that is past: but the distinction was now to be more marked than ever. In other words, the Government having fallen back into its old condition, the same singular course which had been pursued at first, was now, as we shall see presently, to be *repeated*. As far as Divine Revelation in the language of any people is allowed to be an infinite blessing, it cannot be too deeply impressed upon every *English* reader, that the history of no other European version affords such peculiar proofs of the fixed purpose of God. Let what will take place, to the people of this insular kingdom were to be committed these Living Oracles, and that independently, nay, and in defiance, of all that could be done to the contrary. Nor is there any other kingdom in Europe of which it can be said, that the Scriptures were originally prepared for its inhabitants, and afterwards so perfected for their perusal, *beyond the boundaries of the country itself*. Curiosity may therefore well be excited to observe the progress now, when this glorious design must appear to have arrived at what is familiarly termed, a dead stop.

It is true that all the authorities, styled civil and ecclesiastical, were up in arms against it; and now, banded together as the soul of one man, they could officially alter or destroy every thing else of human appointment or device: but they might as well have expected to succeed rooting out in the violet or the rose from the soil of England, as to do so in banishing the Word of Life from the country, or in snatching it from all the people who had already received and prized it, as their only and all-sufficient guide to a better world.

No sooner, indeed, had January 1555 arrived, than it seemed

as if something of this kind had been meditated, by their hasty attempt to brand certain *persons* with odium. There were two individuals still remaining in England to whom the country had stood indebted for the Scriptures—*John Rogers* and *Miles Coverdale*; and these were among the earliest victims seized by Government. With both characters the reader is already intimately acquainted; the first, as the original editor of Tyndale's Bible, which, after so many editions, was now in use; and the second, not only as a translator, but the diligent corrector at the press, of several of these editions.

When Queen Mary entered London, and had reached the Tower, on Thursday, the 3d of August 1553, it is well known that on the second day after, she released Gardiner, and Bonner, and Tunstal, from imprisonment, styling them "her own Bishops." The first of these she immediately appointed to be Lord Chancellor. He had been distinguished as one of the most eminent enemies of the vernacular Scriptures, and we have seen him, many a time, vent his enmity. It will be recollected that, in the year 1537, when the Bible edited by John Rogers was introduced into England by Grafton, and with such success, Gardiner was in France; and that, after his return in September 1538, he did all in his power to thwart the circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue. Rogers, then on the Continent, had remained for twelve years longer, ministering to a German congregation. During the reign of Edward, either attracted by the state of the country, or personally invited, he had returned to England by the year 1550, and afforded occasion for one of those singular scenes, which had not unfrequently taken place under the roof of St. Paul's. The reader cannot have forgotten one in 1536, while Latimer was preaching his noted sermon to "the children of light and the children of darkness." Both classes were congregated here still; but perhaps no discordancy had ever exceeded the following. At the risk of a little repetition we present the picture entire. In September 1549, Bonner had been deprived of his office as Bishop of London, and who should be officiating in his room for the following half year, but *Gabriel Dunne*, as residentiary prebend?—the man who, with Phillips, had ensnared Tyndale at Antwerp, and at Brussels did his best to secure his death! Dunne's official services, as bishop *pro tempore*, had ended by the appointment of Nicholas

Ridley to the Sec of London in April 1550, and it is the very next month that we have certain evidence of Rogers being in London. He may have come earlier, but we are told that "when he returned to England he was admitted Rector of St. Margaret Moyses, and after that, Vicar of St. Sepulchres, London, on the 10th of May 1550." The Rectory, however, he resigned next year, on the 10th of September, having been appointed by Ridley, one of the *Prebendaries* of St. Paul, on the 24th of August preceding. Here then, we have *Dunne*, as prebend, sitting in the twelfth stall on the right side of the choir, and *Rogers*, as *Panercross* prebend, in the sixth on the left; but this is rendered still more remarkable from its being the very stall which had been occupied by *Robert Ridley*, the uncle of Nicholas, once so furious in opposition to Tyndale and his translation!²⁴

Any person can now clearly perceive, with what good will both Gardiner and Bonner must have welcomed the day when they should be able to triumph over both the Bishop and his Prebend, Ridley and Rogers, and wreak their vengeance on them both. Ridley, it must be confessed, by the warmth of his zeal in favour of Lady Jane Gray, had hastened himself into the Tower before his fellows; having been sent there by Mary, even *before* her arrival in the capital. It was the first specimen of her power, and significant of all that followed.

But JOHN ROGERS had done nothing to call for any interference. He had occasion, it is true, to preach, in his turn, at Paul's Cross, and then he warned the people against idolatry and superstition. This was after the Queen's arrival in London. He was immediately charged with preaching erroneously, but he so defended himself before the Council, that he was freely dismissed. At this moment, had he felt disposed, he *might* have escaped abroad, and he had strong inducements so to do. He had a wife and *ten* children, and in Germany he must have been secure of a living; but he would not depart. By the 18th of August 1553, a proclamation was issued, forbidding *all* preaching; after which, Rogers was or-

²⁴ See his memorable letter, and some farther account of this man, under 1527, vol. i. It may be added, that in a corresponding stall to that of Rogers, on the right side of the choir, sat John Harpsfeld, the noted persecutor, who stepped into Dunne's seat, at his death, in 1538; while John Bradford, the martyr, occupied the tenth stall on the same side. A house divided against itself cannot stand; but what a monstrous mixture of character was here? And hence the language of Nicholas Ridley in his *farwell* to St. Paul's. See vol. i., p. 536.

dered to remain, as a prisoner, in his own house, and communicate with no one, save his own family. He happened to live not far from Bonner himself, who, with the sanction of Gardiner, as Chancellor, at last got him sent to Newgate, the worst of all the prisons; where, among thieves and murderers, he remained throughout the whole of 1554, and there he is said to have been of use to the prisoners. "My Lord," said Rogers to the Chancellor, "ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison *without law*, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings, which was against the law." They had, in short, left him to pine or perish in prison, and there having been no specific charge, the whole course was illegal.

At last, however, Rogers was called up for examination. The year 1555 was to be distinguished for persecution, and on the 1st of January they had commenced in good earnest, by the apprehension of thirty individuals. On the 22d, both Rogers and Hooper were before Gardiner, and other members of Council, as the Queen's Commissioners. The parties present were perfectly characteristic. Besides Gardiner, there was Tunstal, Heath, and Thirlby, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir John Bourne Secretary of State, and others, evidently eager to sit in judgment on such a man as this; and as if it had been to point out to posterity the precise *animus* or spirit of the persecutors, as well as give still greater prominence to the history of the Sacred Volume, Rogers must die *first* of all. He must now lead the van in the army of martyrs, and obtain ever after the honourable appellation of *Proto-Martyr* in Queen Mary's reign.

Towards this good man, it is evident, that Lord Chancellor Gardiner had behaved with peculiar harshness and cruelty. He had, in fact, owed him a grudge for eighteen years, and now illegally had imprisoned him, for nearly eighteen months, though the martyr had frequently implored his release. Rogers had married when abroad, and presuming that a female, and a foreigner, and she not far from the time of her confinement, might have some influence, he had sent her to Gardiner,

with certain female companions, so long ago as Christmas 1553, and as far as Richmond, "humbly craving that he might be set at liberty," there being nothing laid to his charge. The only answer to this was his being committed by Bonner to Newgate! From Newgate, Mr. Rogers had not only sent two petitions to the Chancellor, but his wife many times, without any effect. A Mr. Gosnold, and other benevolent gentlemen, had also petitioned on his behalf, but all was in vain; and now that the prisoner is brought up for examination, it seemed as if, in the first instance, it had been only to gratify Gardiner's spleen and passion.

He was called up once more, before a far more formidable array of persecutors, on the 28th, and finally the next day, at nine o'clock, when Gardiner read his sentence condemnatory, giving him over to the tender mercies of Bonner and the Sheriff. Not one word had been said respecting his publication of the Sacred Scriptures, but the Chancellor, in condemning him, had thought this far too fine an opportunity not to cast a slur upon the *Bible*, and thus hold up Rogers to the terror of all its readers, at the very commencement of this fiery day. In his sentence, when naming Rogers, three times, he took special care not to omit, "otherwise called *Matthew*." We have no proof that this was the intention, but it served such a purpose for the moment. Gardiner having finished, gratuitously told him that he was now "in the great curse," and that no man was to speak to him. Rogers, who throughout had spoken with great boldness as well as ability, and, as we shall see presently, to Gardiner's utter confusion, if not dismay, then replied—

"Well, my Lord, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take Him to witness, that I never wittingly nor willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the *true* Catholic Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these *twenty years*—the Lord be thanked therefore! But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me *one thing*?"

What is that? said Gardiner. "That my poor wife, being a stranger (a foreigner) may come and speak with me, so long as I live—for she hath ten children, that are her's

and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what *were best for her to do.*" Will it be believed, that, at once discovering a mind of the vilest character, the solitary request, and so touchingly put, was with disgusting barbarity denied! And Rogers, though he had told the Chancellor that he had been married eighteen years, saw the man no more. The amount of such wickedness, it is not for us to describe.

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, his honourable companion, had been also condemned the same day, and both were to be conveyed to Newgate. There was now, however, some cowardly fear of the people. The sentence had not only been pronounced with *closed doors*, but they waited till *night*, before their victims were sent off. Even then, they conducted them from the Clink Prison to Winchester's house, close by, and passing through it, along London bridge, officers had been sent before them, ordering the costermongers, who sat at stalls in the street, to put out their lights! Why all this caution, if there was no apprehension of a rescue? Their coming, however, had been anticipated, and pious householders appeared on both sides of the streets, with candles. On their part, as the prisoners passed along, there was nothing but salutations of affectionate sympathy, thanksgiving for their constancy, and earnest prayers for its continuance.

This was on Tuesday the 29th, and Rogers had only to live till Monday following. Early that morning, the 4th of February, not aware of what awaited him, like Peter of old, he was sound asleep. The jailor's wife went and had some difficulty in awaking him. She then warned him to make haste, and prepare himself for the fire! "If it be so," said the good man, "I need not tie my points." Bonner was already in waiting. Both Hooper and he were then, what they chose to call degraded, by being bereaved of their ecclesiastical trappings; a process, which necessarily occupied some time, as they had first to be arrayed, and then the several parts were torn from them piecemeal. Hooper was to be sent off next day to Gloucester; but the stake was already prepared for Rogers. Then once more, to Bonner he tendered the same solitary request, he had done to Gardiner; but it was now reduced to this—"that before going to the stake, he might be permitted to speak a *few words* to his wife." But this, like his fellow, the inhuman monster denied! Foxe

supposes that it was chiefly to inform her of his examinations and answers, in his own handwriting, which he had left behind him, concealed in the prison. But if it was, the Bishop's denial went for nothing, as they were afterwards found.

Upon being delivered up to the Sheriff, Woodroff, before they left the prison, urged Rogers to revoke his opinions. "That," replied the martyr, "which I have preached, I will seal with my blood."—"Then," said Woodroff, "thou art an heretic."—"That," replied Rogers, "will be seen at the day of judgment."—"Well then," said the Sheriff, "I will never pray for thee."—"But," said Rogers, mildly, "I will pray for thee." Thus they proceeded to the stake.

Upon entering the street, they found an immense crowd awaiting them. In walking towards Smithfield, Rogers was repeating a portion of that blessed book he had given to his country—the 51st Psalm. The people were giving thanks for his constancy; but there among the crowd, there met him the wife, whom neither Gardiner nor Bonner would permit him to see. His wife, the foreigner, with *all* her children—one of these, a youth named Daniel, if the eldest, now nearly seventeen years of age; the youngest, or the eleventh child, an unconscions babe, now hanging at the mother's breast! In the midst of this overwhelming scene, the husband and father stood firm, and having got through it, the bitterness of death was past!

At the stake they brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant. This, of course, he pointedly refused to do, and at last, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames, he cried with his final breath, "Lord, receive my spirit."

We have referred to his examinations and answers, as they were afterwards printed in full, from the copies left behind; and by John Foxe, who knew the martyr well. It so happened that Mrs. Rogers, with her son Daniel, had gained access to the prison, and after looking in vain for these manuscripts, they were about to depart, when the youth, looking round once more, spied his father's papers, deposited in a corner under the stair.

John Rogers appears to have been the son of a father of the same name, and born, not in Lancashire, as it has sometimes been stated, but in Warwickshire, at Deritend, in the immediate vicinity of Birmingham. Rogers had been mar-

ried in 1537, or the same year in which he had completed the Bible, to Adriana Pratt, alias de Weyden. She now returned with her children to Germany, and the lad who had found his father's papers was afterwards better known, as an Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to different countries.²⁵

With regard to MILES COVERDALE, without farther explanation it must appear almost incredible that, only fourteen days after the death of Rogers, or on the 18th of February, Queen Mary was writing a letter, of which he was to be the bearer, to the King of Denmark. He also had been in trouble, as well as Rogers, since 1553, though not confined to prison. This letter was written only on Monday week after the scene at Smithfield, and the same day on which a splendid embassy was leaving London for Rome; and yet the very next day Coverdale had his passport, "for himself and two servants," by which was most probably meant his *wife* and *one* servant; and so he left England for Denmark. Thus, if the one man connected with the Scriptures must lead the van of martyrdom, the other can easily be extricated from the grasp of Government by the overruling providence of God.

The deliverance has been ascribed *solely* to the repeated and very earnest interposition of his Danish Majesty; and but for this, humanly speaking, he might not have survived: but there was a very curious concurrence of circumstances in favour of Coverdale's deliverance at *this* moment, for King Christian's

²⁵ Daniel Rogers studied at Wittenberg, under Melancthon, as mentioned in one of his letters, and understood the German, Dutch, and Latin languages, as well as English. He then came to England, and at Oxford had taken his degrees in July and August 1561. In the years 1568 and 69, he lived with Lord Henry Norris, as his secretary. Having married Susan, the youngest daughter of Nicasius Vetsweirt, French Secretary to Queen Elizabeth; and once introduced to public notice, he not only became Clerk of the Council, but was afterwards employed as ambassador to Belgium in 1575, to Germany in 1577, and to Denmark in 1580. Thus he became the frequent correspondent of Cecil Lord Burleigh, as he was the valued friend of Camden the historian. He died in February 1592, and was interred close by his father-in-law, in the parish church of Sunbury, Middlesex. See Strype's Annals, anno 1584. Wood's Athense by Bliss, i., 370. Tanner's Bibl. Brit., p. 620. Wood, it is true, has sent Rogers, the father of Daniel, *abroad*, and noticed the martyr as though he were a different person; and Chalmers in his Biog. Diet. follows the Oxford annalist. But from Foxe we know the martyr's son was named Daniel, and from the son himself, the ambassador, that he added *Albi-moutonus* to his name, as descriptive of his birth in Germany. Now, though we are indebted to Wood for the name of the martyr's father and his wife, nothing can be more improbable than that there should be two men of the same name, *both* of whom went *abroad*, and *both* returned, *both* in trouble at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, *both* married to foreigners, and *both* having a son named Daniel, about the same age! Strype, who had the manuscripts of the ambassador in his possession and examined them, positively affirms him to have been the son of the martyr. This too he does in his Annals, under 1553, or *ten* years after he had published his life of Whitgift, in which he had only conjectured the fact. But besides Daniel, there is some ground for believing that an old and eminent minister, Richard Rogers of Wethersfield in Essex, was another son. At least, William Jenkin, father of the expositor on Jude, was brought up under *his* eye, and it is well known, married the *grand-daughter* of Rogers the martyr.

second letter to Mary on his behalf was nearly *five months* old. Why, then, should Coverdale, a married Bishop, and an old offender in their opinion, be suffered to escape, and that immediately after the fire had been kindled for Rogers? It will certainly prove to have been a memorable fact if the examination and martyrdom of the *one* man should have contributed to the escape of the *other*, and more especially as Rogers could have had nothing of the kind in view.

The circumstances, therefore, now referred to are the more worthy of notice, as they not only stand in immediate connexion with the examination of the Proto-Martyr, but discover not a little of the true character of these unprincipled men in power. Taken all in all, they form the richest scene in the reign of Mary, though scarcely, if it all, before observed.

The martyrdom of John Rogers, in February 1555, connects itself with that of the heroic female, Anne Askew, in March 1546. There had been no fires in Smithfield since the memorable night on which she suffered, almost nine years ago. Considering the progress which had been made during the reign of Edward, through the medium of the Scriptures, the death of Rogers must have been regarded by many in London with unmingled horror; but, beside this, a large and promiscuous assembly had been present at his notable examination on the 28th of January, when he caught Gardiner and his bishops in a snare, and the people marked it. The language of Gardiner could not fail to have been in the mouth of thousands ever since, and the excitement in a few days was such as to frighten for a moment all these men of blood, from King Philip downwards. The present juncture, embracing a space of less than three weeks, will explain this.

It was on Tuesday the 22d of January that Rogers was first examined. This was before Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, and other members of the Council, such as Lords Howard and Paget, Sir Richard Southwell and Sir John Bourne, as Commissioners from the *Queen*.²⁶ But on Monday the 28th, to Wednesday the 30th, Gardiner and many more sat by *commission* from Cardinal POLE; and yet only the next week, when six other men were examined and condemned, they were

²⁶ Next day all the Bishops were down to Westminster, to receive the blessing and advice of Cardinal Pole. Must not the advice be inferred, from what followed?

not brought before the same tribunal, but merely before Bonner and his Consistory, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. Here were *three* distinct forms of proceeding, within the short compass of eighteen days. Then, to crown all, the very next day, or Sunday the 10th of February, we have a sermon preaching before King Philip, and by a Spaniard; but upon what subject? *The sin of persecution for conscience's sake!* Now, why this erratic course on the part of the persecutors? Why could they not go straight forward? And if this sermon was a base artifice, of which there is now no doubt, why was it resorted to at the present moment? The true character of all the parties in power is here involved.

Stephen Gardiner, who plumed himself on his sagacity or cunning, had, no doubt, imagined that if *he* once proceeded against certain leading men; or, in the cant phrase of the day, if the *head deer* were only brought to the ground, the common people would shrink with terror, and succumb to their authority. It was full of this idea that he commenced, in a high tone, with John Rogers on the 22d of January; but the very man with whom he thus began, proved to be more than a match for his proud and imperious temper. On the 28th, as soon as Rogers entered, nothing daunted, we know from himself that he remarked the change on the Court. Gardiner was there, of course, as Chancellor and Bishop, and chief persecutor; but "there were," says Rogers, "a great sort of *new men*, his fellow bishops, of whom I knew few"—after eighteen months' confinement. There were, in fact, not fewer than thirteen in all, six on each side of the Chancellor, besides three notaries, three noblemen, eleven knights, and a very great multitude.²⁷

Gardiner perhaps never forgot himself so far as he did this day; but he could not stand the replies or remarks of his prisoner, and found it not so easy to examine these men as he had anticipated. In his wrath he actually called King Edward an *usurper*, and then tried clumsily to recall the term; but another expression, in reference to *the reigning Queen*, turned out to be vastly more awkward for him and all his order. Rogers had intimated his persuasion that "*her Majesty* would have done

²⁷ Gardiner being in the centre, on his right side sat *Bonner* of London, *Heath* of Worcester, *Thirby* of Ely, *Bourn* of Bath and Wells, *Brookes* of Gloucester, and *Holyman* of Bristol; on his left sat *Trunstal* of Durham, *Aldrich* of Carlisle, *Walson* of Lincoln, *Moryan* of St. David's, *Hopton* of Norwich, and *Bayne* of Lichfield and Coventry. See here the result of Pole's ADVISE

well enough but for his (Gardiner's) counsel." When, in his haste, in reference to the persecution now commenced, he replied—" *The Queen went before ME, and it was HER OWN motion!*" Thus affording another instance of persecutors wishing to shift the blame from themselves; though certainly, at such a time as this, the assertion was very hazardous, whether it was true or false. But Rogers replied—" Without fail, I neither can, nor will I ever, believe it!" Aldrich of Carlisle, in name of himself and all his brethren, immediately said—" They would bear (Gardiner witness." " *Yea,*" said Rogers, " *that I believe well.*" On which the laugh went round among the crowd assembled. Upon this, even Sir Richard Southwell, the Master-Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Sir John Bourne, Principal Secretary of State, stood up to *confirm* the Chancellor's assertion. Never had men more fully committed themselves. Rogers then said—" It was no great matter; but I think that they," the Bishops, " *were good helpers thereunto themselves.*" Such a dialogue was easily carried away, and every word must have told upon the people throughout the metropolis; but the assertion first made, in open court, and before such a crowd, for "the thousandth man could not get in," was felt, in the cool of the day, to have been no light matter. If it was true, they had betrayed a state secret! Accordingly, next morning, when Rogers and Hooper were brought up for condemnation, it was found convenient to do so, as already hinted, with *closed doors*.

Gardiner, however, both this day and the next, was equally nettled in the examinations of Tailour, Bradford, and Saunders. From Rogers, to the last man examined, he had had his own book,—"*De vera obedientia,*" or "true obedience," quoted against himself, and his present conduct. To this book, Bonner had affixed a preface, or high eulogium; and both having been translated into English, and printed abroad, many had it in their hands, many more in their mouths, and it was now quoted, or referred to, before both the authors, by men who had been long familiar with the original publication in Latin. Tunstal also was forcibly reminded of his famous sermon before Henry VIII., printed by Berthelet in 1539, or sixteen years ago. It, therefore, could not fail to be no small mortification, after his furious attack on the *head deer*, when my Lord Chancellor found that here were *six* more men waiting to be examined; one of them, indeed, a gentleman,

Mr. Hawkes, but the other five precisely of that humbler class on whose boldness and principle poor Gardiner had not calculated. Hence, when these individuals came to be examined and condemned, neither the Chancellor nor eleven of his Bishops were there! The whole process was despatched, and that speedily, by Bonner alone, as Ordinary, who had called the Lord Mayor, Sir John Lyon, and certain aldermen, to sit with him and his underlings.

Bonner had examined the whole number on Friday, and condemned them all to the flames on Saturday the 9th of February, or the fifth day after the Proto-Martyr had been consumed to ashes; and what, then, could the reader expect to follow only next day? If it was a sermon—which, in these times, was a great rarity, and therefore the more to be observed—must it not have been a sermon in praise of the Bishops, for their burning zeal on behalf of “the old learning?” It was quite the *reverse*. The blundering assertion of Gardiner to Rogers, only thirteen days since, confirmed as it had been by all the Bishops present, and even two official laymen, had neither been forgotten nor unfelt. It had certainly placed *her Majesty* before the country in one of the most critical of all positions, as the sole and imperative persecutor; and there can be no doubt, from what followed, had made her tremble, not only for herself, but the husband on whom, at this moment, she doated. The truth is, that public feeling still ran very high against the Queen’s marriage. She had allied herself to a Spanish prince, and the people had been foretold that, to a certainty, he would introduce the Court of *Inquisition* into England. Nothing, therefore, could have been more dangerous to the Queen than the positive affirmation of Gardiner, before a large and promiscuous audience. So, at least, it had been felt, but more especially by King Philip; and what was the miserable artifice to which he resorted? He had brought with him into England, as his confessor, Francis Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish divine, himself an author against *heretics*; and this was the man appointed by the King to preach before the Court, on the 10th of February, and *against religious persecution*.²⁸

²⁸ The first edition of his treatise “De Hæresibus,” had been printed at Paris in 1534, and an enlarged edition the year after this, or 1536. He died at Brussels, in February 1553, soon after having been appointed Archbishop of Compostella.

We regret not being able to find out his text ; but in the course of his sermon he enlarged on the sin of taking away the lives of any for their religion—reprobated the practice of burning men on account of their opinions—and affirmed that the *Bishops* would search the *Scriptures* in vain for any authority to spill the blood of their flocks. The *Scriptures*, he insisted, taught Bishops, in the spirit of meekness, to instruct those who opposed them, and not to *burn* them for their conscientious opinions !

But the Lord Chancellor of England, at the moment, was a Bishop, and President of the Court for burning ; Tunstal, who, in former days, led the van of persecution, had sat on his left hand, and Bonner on his right, who, only the day before, at one sweep, had appointed not fewer than six men to the flames. By the authority of these men, and ten others of the same order, on Monday before, Rogers had been consumed to ashes ; on Friday, at Coventry, Saunders had followed ; and only twenty-four hours before the sermon, Hooper was in the flames at Gloucester, and Dr. Tailour at Hadley !

As an exhibition, therefore, next day, nothing could have exceeded this. A Spanish priest upon English ground, preaching before the Court, and against the Bishops of England, especially those in power ! Arraigning, nay denouncing them in public, for having embrued their hands in blood ! While there sat Philip to sanction the sermon, not without some fear for his personal safety or favour ; and, like Pilate of old, he seemed “ to take water and wash his hands before the multitude,” saying, “ I am innocent of the blood of these just men.” The occurrence was a remarkable one ; and the more so, since it is evident, that nothing less than apprehension of some sort in the breast of the Monarch, could have been the impelling motive. “ It was believed,” says Collier, “ that the Queen was overruled since her marriage, and that these fires had been kindled by *Philip* : however, the King, it seems, had no mind to lie under this imputation.”

Where Gardiner and Tunstal were, or how engaged, at the moment when the Spaniard was preaching, we are not informed ; but certainly our exulting Lord Chancellor had but little imagined, that *the Editor of Tyndale's Bible* would live to come to England, and lead *him*, in the last year of his life,

so to expose the Bench and the Court, at one stroke! Still less could he have supposed that the same man would so hit the mark, as to cause him eventually to shrink behind the curtain, and retire from playing at the game of persecution ever after!! Such at least was the fact, for "he never afterwards," says Lingard, "took his seat on the bench:"—"whether it was," says the same author, "that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important duties!" The latter alternative is, to say the least, strangely expressed; but neither the one nor the other will now serve the purpose of history, in accounting for the Chancellor's non-appearance. "Gardiner," says Soames, "having kindled the fires of persecution, left to others the hateful office of supplying them with a succession of victims:" but we have no evidence whatever of any change of disposition in the man. The circumstances now related, alone and perfectly account for that change of tactics which ultimately ensued. At present, however, there was a dead pause; the execution even of the condemned prisoners was suspended; and the crisis occasioned farther debate in the Council itself.

Now, it was precisely at *this* moment that *Coverdale was released*, and sent out of the country. On Monday week after this sermon, it had been thought *advisable* for the Queen at last to write her letter. It might very conveniently seem almost to contradict what Gardiner had said in open court, that day three weeks before, and on Tuesday the passport was also ready. It will, perhaps, therefore now be conceded, that there was at least some connexion, between the examination of Rogers, and the escape of Coverdale: though the interference of his Danish Majesty must not pass unexplained.

It so happened that Coverdale, as well as Rogers, was a married man; and strange as it may appear, that which had formed a source of such agonizing distress to the one man, became one of relief and safety to the other; a circumstance the more remarkable, as marriage, though "honourable in all," was alone sufficient, after the accession of Queen Mary, to ensure the bitterest mockery, as well as privation and punishment. So Rogers had felt, especially during the last ten days of his life. It was to an excellent woman, Elizabeth Macheson, that Coverdale had been allied for a number of years, and they were both at Exeter when he was summoned to appear before

the Council at Richmond, in August 1553. From that time he had been committed, though as a prisoner at large.²⁹ But then he and an exile from Scotland had married two sisters, known, from monumental inscription, to be of Scottish extraction, though they might have been born abroad. This exile, who had passed through England to the Continent, was John Macbee, named in his own country Macalpine, and known abroad as Dr. Maccabæus. Having retired to Denmark, he had been of great use to Christian II. ; was not only one of his Chaplains, and professor of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, founded by the King, but had been one of the translators of the Danish Bible, first printed in 1550.³⁰ It was through his intercession for his brother-in-law, Coverdale, that the King interfered, and himself wrote a letter to Mary, so early as the seventh calends of May, or 25th April 1554. This drew forth a tardy and evasive reply, as if the only cause of displeasure with Coverdale had been, that he was in debt to the Treasury, or in arrears with his tenths. Taking advantage of this admission, his Majesty wrote a still more urgent letter—"it was only a *debt*, and the bishopric had not been enjoyed long enough to afford to pay anything—he would not trouble her Majesty by *repeating* the petition;" but "we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly, in our presence, make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty." In this letter, dated from "our city of Otton (Odensee) the 24th of September 1554," the case was actually so put, as if a refusal might affect the good understanding between the two kingdoms; and yet we have seen that four months passed away, till at last they came to the examination of Rogers and its consequences. It may therefore be said, in conclusion, that to the influence of two men, Maccabæus and Rogers, both of whom had been connected with the translation of the Scriptures, the *third*, Coverdale, was indebted for his deliverance!

After an absence of more than three years and a half, Coverdale returned to England; and though his name will occur once more, under Elizabeth, since his labours in editing any edition of the Scriptures had now closed, we here briefly notice his remaining days. He was now

²⁹ So in May 1554, when Rogers, Hooper, Bradford, Philpot and others were in confinement. Coverdale subscribed his name after theirs,—“with these mine afflicted brethren, *being prisoners*.”

³⁰ Fecheri Theatrum. pp. 174. 305. Townley's Bib. Lit., vol. ii., 329.

entering on his sixty-eighth year. It was in July 1551 that he had been nominated as Bishop of Exeter, and in July 1553 that his appointment came to an end—having sustained the office only *two* years out of eighty-one. During his incumbency, in 1552, Coverdale had republished his translation of Bullinger on “The Christian State of Matrimony,” and well might he print on this subject; though not as yet aware that to his *marriage* he was to owe his *life*, while to his *bishopric* he had now owed his *imprisonment*. Once released, on the 18th of February 1555, and his passport signed next day, (though he was to be buried in London, honourably, *that day fourteen years* after,) with all despatch he repaired to Copenhagen, and after expressing his obligations to his Royal benefactor, he went to Wesel in Friesland, where, by this time, he met with at least one hundred refugees from England. After a short stay he proceeded to Bergzabern, at the request of Wolfgang, the Duke of Deux-ponts, where he had a pastoral charge assigned to him. In December 1558, we find him at Geneva, and next year he returned to England. Though urged repeatedly to return to his office as a Bishop, he could not now accept of it, nor assume the dress imposed. Grindal, however, in 1563, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge, remitting the first fruits, as he had nothing to pay them, and with respect to dress, he was permitted to do as he pleased; but in about two years more he either resigned, or was obliged to do so. Still, however, he continued to preach; only he who so zealously preached against the *sectaries*, about seventeen years before, was now called, at the age of seventy-eight, to experience what was involved in being one. On a Saturday, his hearers used to send inquiring where he was to officiate next day, but even this he at last declined mentioning, lest it should give offence! Yet, as long as he was able he continued to preach, and died, most happily, in February 1569, in the eighty-first year of his age. His remains were honourably interred in Bartholomew’s Church, behind the Exchange, on Saturday, the 19th of February, when a vast crowd attended.³¹ Thus, in the end, alas! was left to England no ground for congratulation, with regard to her treatment of *any* of the men concerned in her earliest editions of the Sacred Volume! Recently, after the Royal Exchange was burnt, Bartholomew’s Church being to be taken down, the supposed bones of Coverdale were removed to the spot where he often ministered, St. Magnus, and a marble tablet has been erected to his memory, dated MDCCCLXXVII.³²

On account of the intimate connexion of Rogers and Cover-

³¹ “Miles Coverdale, doctor of divinity, was buried ano. 1569, the 19th of February.”—Register of Burials in the parish Church of St. Bartholomew’s by the Exchange. The date here being that of the *old* style, was in our 1569.

³² See our former reference to this tablet, vol. i., p. 353, where the reader is requested to correct the *misprint* of 1537 instead of 1837.

dale with the Sacred Scriptures, it was to be expected that the *death* of the one, and the *deliverance* of the other, would here be fully explained ; but before hastening to the history of the Scriptures themselves, it is not less necessary to glance at the events immediately following this crisis.

That the sermon of the Spanish friar was not merely a shallow artifice, but a piece of profane mockery, appeared but too soon. Lingard takes care to tell us, that "*it made a deep impression,*" and providentially it was so deep, as to admit of Coverdale's escape, like a brand from the burning ; but as if to render that escape only the more observable, we search in vain for one other happy result or lenient measure. And if the impression was deep, it was little more than a momentary panic ; as perhaps no reader could divine how soon the patience of the Court, the Council, and the Bench, was exhausted. Only five short weeks had passed away, when Philip and Mary, and the Bishops by their authority, and that of Cardinal Pole, were once more fairly started on their pursuit after blood. Six individuals, it will be remembered, were under condemnation at the moment when *di Castro* was denouncing all cruelty. Five of these it was found expedient to send to the *country*, and put to death in *different* places ; one of whom, Mr. Hawkes, did not suffer till so late as the 10th of June : but even so early as the 16th of March, the fire was first kindled for one of the six, Tomkins, and in Smithfield itself. Only ten days after this step, an order was sent to the Justices of *Norfolk*, in which they had special instructions to look after all preachers of heresy and private meetings ; and this order, let it be observed, was by no other than the King and Queen.³³ Nay, before the 24th of May they had sent their "*Letters unto the Justices within every of the counties of this our realm,*" and even Bonner himself must be roused and urged to proceed to extremities ; their Majesties at the same time actually expressing "*no little marvel*" that there had been such relaxation on the part of certain Justices.³⁴ Pawlet, Marquess of Winchester, "*the willow tree and not an oak,*" who bent with every blast, was specially vigilant in the Council, and Richard Lord Rich, a persecutor from the days of Sir Thomas More, was no less active down

³³ Cotton MS. Titus, B. ii. 116.

³⁴ Regist. Bonn. fol. 363

in the country ; but still, even to the close of this year, 1555, it was found necessary to proceed with caution in *London*. Out of above eighty martyrs before the 18th of December, not more than seven appear to have suffered in the capital.

It was in January the next year, 1556, that the persecutors set off in full vigour, when seven individuals were committed to the flames at Smithfield, in one fire, and five at Canterbury, in another ! In short, Gardiner, unchanged, must go the way of all the earth, and Cardinal Pole succeed as the adviser ; when, what with his official authority, administered with characteristic policy, and that of the King and Queen, at certain convenient moments, Bonner, as “ the chief slaughterman of England,” powerfully aided by his Satanic assistants, and other persecuting prelates, contrived to perpetrate all the cruelties, or the sickening enumeration, which has been already given.

Throughout the month of September, 1555, the health of GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, had been declining rapidly. On Monday the 21st of October, Parliament was opened. That day he was present, and the next, for the last time ; when he spoke and exerted himself beyond his strength. On Wednesday, or seven days after Latimer and Ridley’s martyrdom at Oxford, he was confined to his chamber, and after lingering for three weeks, he expired at Westminster, early on the morning of Tuesday the 12th of November. His body was immediately removed to his house in Southwark, but not carried to Winchester for above three months, on the 24th of February 1556. His true character we need not now depict ; as it is to be read in the various transactions already recorded. In point of talent, he was certainly one of the most able men of his times ; but this only increased an amount of guilt which the day of final reckoning will disclose. Before his death he is generally understood to have been in great trouble, if not agony of mind. At one time he is said to have requested the account of the Saviour’s last sufferings to be read to him, and when they came to the denial of Peter, he desired the reader to stop. “ I have denied,” said he, “ I have denied with Peter ; I have gone out with Peter ; but I have not as yet learned to weep bitterly, with Peter !”

As for Latimer and Ridley, they died, it is known and confessed by all, triumphantly at Oxford, twenty-seven days before this, on the 16th of October. Crammer followed on Saturday the 21st of March 1556, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and after the manner which has been so plentifully

described elsewhere, by conflicting authorities. Whatever imperfections were to be found in his character, the virulence with which it has occasionally been attacked, only proves, that for the part he acted as a whole, he is never, by certain parties, to be forgiven. His enemies, even still, will scarcely, if at all allow, that before his death he had learnt, what Gardiner had never done—"to weep bitterly with Peter:" even though a spectator of the last scene, and he of *opposite* sentiments, has told us that he stood there with a heart bursting with grief—"his face bedewed with tears, sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; and to be brief, an *image of sorrow*." His recantations assuredly were the more to be lamented, after the firm and heroic testimony borne by his two precursors four months before; and whom, it is said, he saw from his cell when they were on the way to the stake. But still the burning of his right hand—"that unworthy hand"—"that hand hath offended," as he emphatically repeated, and as long as his tongue would suffer him, was a testimony to the deepness of his regret, as powerful and expressive, as it was then possible for him to give; and still more so, from its being the only one then left to him.

In a history such as the present, however, the character of Cranmer now comes before us, under an aspect altogether different from that which it may have done in any other history. To every impartial reader of the preceding pages it must be evident that the present writer is not only relieved from entering farther into its merits or demerits, but that there is high, because sacred ground, for his abstaining. The "Articles," whether nine in number, as in 1536, or forty-two afterwards; the "Institution of a Christian Man," in 1537; the English Litany, in 1544; the Primer in 1545; the First Book of Homilies in 1547; the Liturgies or Service Books of 1548 and 1552; the Body of Ecclesiastical Law, with some other pieces, are properly to be discussed in connexion with Cranmer's character and principles. These productions have been regarded as either his own, or nearly so; but the translation of the Sacred Volume was the work of *another*. So far as Cranmer followed up the subject, under Henry's reign, in conjunction with Crumwell, we have endeavoured to do him ample justice. Under Edward he never appears to have per-

sonally returned to the work ; but his abstaining from all interference with any others so engaged, ought never to be forgotten.

In a manner to which, in our English history, there is literally nothing parallel, the history of the English Bible, properly understood, had been preserved separate or aloof from the possibility of its being identified with the imperfections, the timidity, or inconsistency, of any one man living in England. The volume was originally prepared beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, and ever since its very singular introduction, no human being could as yet be at all regarded in the light of what is properly styled a patron. Nay, what should never be forgotten, in every instance of human agency, on the part of official men, we have discovered, not what any man can correctly style “ only the pure and unadulterated love of Divine Truth itself, or for its own sake.” All official men, without exception, have come before us, as either impelled by circumstances, moved by political considerations, or overruled. As to even the last of these, and at the very outset or beginning, no man was more distinctly moved than Crammer, and moved from abroad ; but even then he appeared first in sight, in the humble attitude of a petitioner without power. Nothing is more clearly or frequently marked in his correspondence, than entire subserviency to Crumwell, when at the top of his ascendancy. *He* sent an imploring letter to Crumwell, and *he* petitioned Henry, and *he* was overruled ! The King’s heart was never more distinctly “ in the hands of the Lord ” throughout the entire compass of English history.

Let, therefore, the history of the English Bible be still regarded as altogether *sui generis*, for certainly so it ought to have been, all along. As yet, the general thread of our narrative has never been broken, or even disturbed ; and what shall we say, should an all-wise Providence continue to preserve the Sacred Volume in the same high and singular position, throughout the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even down to our own day. At present, however, we have first to look at the reign of Mary, when there will be no risk of confounding this cause with any official person, whether at home or abroad.

Upon the accession of Henry’s eldest daughter, and with immediate reference to the Scriptures, it need scarcely be re-

marked, that the country at large was in a very different state from what it had been less than thirty years ago, when there was neither a printed Bible, nor even a New Testament in print, within its borders. Just before Mary assumed the Crown, England seemed to be fairly on the way for becoming a land as distinguished for the possession of the Sacred Volume, as God had appointed it should be, in the end. About sixty-five editions of the New Testament, and thirty of the entire Bible had passed through the press: but here now was an opposing party, not only in full power, but determined to exercise it. Resolved to carry every thing before them, it might naturally have been supposed, that one of the very first movements must have been a systematic attempt to *destroy all these volumes*. Could the burning of the sacred books, have been a more obnoxious measure, than the burning of men and women, old and young? Was the seizing of the *Scriptures*, and at once burning them in open day, not as easy as the seizure and imprisonment of *men*? And yet, however much blood was shed ultimately, and however much cruelty inflicted, on the part of Government there was, on the whole, a most mysterious silence maintained, with regard to the English Bible, which has never been sufficiently observed.

In the days of Henry the Eighth, it was the *book* by way of eminence, the "pestiferous poison," as Tunstal profanely styled it; the "heretical fountain of all novel and dangerous opinions;" or, the Sacred Volume, under various abusive epithets, against which they gave forth their loudest thunder, and after which, under orders, they daily hunted. The very possession of it, or its distribution, whether by gift or sale, were crimes denounced and punished. There were a thousand copies in England now, for one at that period; and yet, under Queen Mary the great hue and cry had almost entirely changed. Justification by faith, as a tenet of Scripture, but above all, transubstantiation, as a chief corner-stone of "the old learning," were the engrossing topics; mixed up with an endless measure of low and even obscene abuse on the part of the examiners. But throughout these tedious and repeated cross-examinations, the cautious abstinence from reference to the Bible, as a book, or to the possession of it, is very remarkable. The examiners never appear to have been enjoined to abstain, and yet they did. Throughout the entire reign there

were three proclamations, and in the second only were *any* books whatever specified by *name*. The first of these, 18th August 1553, already mentioned, merely forbade the *public* reading of the Scriptures. The second was not issued till twenty-two months after, on the 13th of June 1555. In this, twenty-five authors are distinctly denounced by name, or thirteen foreigners,³⁵ and twelve Englishmen;³⁶ thus hinting, by the way, a continued and powerful *importation* of books from abroad, but nothing is enjoined as to burning the Scriptures already printed and possessed. The injunction related solely to the books specified being *imported* from *henceforth*.³⁷ The last proclamation was certainly the most dreadful. It referred to books, in general terms, wicked and seditious, to be delivered up on *pain of death, without delay, by martial law!* But this was not issued till *three* years after the former, on the 6th June 1558, or only five months before Mary's death; and still no mention is made of the Bible, or New Testament, separately. It was a proclamation against books of *human* composition only, not the Sacred Scriptures.³⁸

Under the reign of Henry, we have seen first the New Testament Scriptures, and then the Bible entire, distinguished by *name*, and condemned in royal proclamations. We have seen the name of Tyndale in immediate *connexion* with the Sacred Scriptures, as well as that of Coverdale, distinctly branded; but it is material to observe that no similar proclamation is upon record by Philip and Mary: nor was the Divine Record, as such, in our language, whether as issued by Tyndale or Rogers, by Coverdale, Crumwell, Cranmer, or Taverner, once formally denounced by the throne! Yet Tunstal, on the borders of eighty, and having yet five years to live, one of the earliest enemies, was now in power; with Gardiner by his side, for two years, and as Lord Chancellor. Cardinal Pole, with powers unlimited, was in the country, for the express purpose of bringing every thing back to its ancient position. The Queen was so zealous as to urge even the Bishops, and

³⁵ Luther, Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, Calvin, Pomeraine, Alaseo, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Ochine, Sarcerius, Martyr, and Justus Jonas. See Herbert's *Ames*, iii., p. 1565-7.

³⁶ Tyndale, Fryth, Latimer, Barnes, Bale, Hooper, Coverdale, Cranmer, Turner, Becon, Roye, and Halle's Chronicle by name, the *only book* specified.

³⁷ One *female* importer, Elizabeth Young, was examined by these inquisitors *thirteen* times, of which Foxe records nine. After all she escaped martyrdom.

³⁸ Strype's *Annals*.

Bonner, to their duty ; having a husband for King, the future hero of the Spanish Armada, who would now have most willingly introduced the Inquisition into England. Why then was even Gardiner's, the Lord Chancellor's pen so restrained ? Why not now have come out, in round set terms, with all his malignity to the Book against which he had wrought hard for years ? And after him, why was the pen of the Lord Cardinal fettered ? A royal proclamation could have been very easily penned, and surely at some moment of wild exasperation, in the course of five years, the royal signature, or signatures, might have been as easily obtained ?

But let us not be mistaken. Copies of the Scriptures no doubt were consigned to the flames, though we can fix upon no more than three occasions. The first is mentioned, three years after Mary had been on the throne, when at least one foreign author, Cabrera, has told us that "many of the Bibles, chained to desks in churches, were burnt about this time ;" and again, in the opening of 1557, when the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were visited by Ormaneto, a furious Italian, datary of the Pontiff, or chief officer of the Court of Rome. When the bones of Bucer and Fagins were actually dug up and burned at the former, *Bibles* as well as other books were also consumed ; and the same course is said to have been pursued at Oxford, when the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife was treated with such indignity. But still, in the midst of so much Satanic opposition, and the royal denunciation of *other* books and *human* authors, perhaps there has never been a more striking line of distinction drawn, in reference to the Sacred Volume. What renders the fact already stated still more observable is—that the translations of the Bible by Tyndale and Coverdale had been once pointed out, or referred to, at least by the priests or clergy, and for destruction. In an address by the *Lower* to the Upper House, these were their words—"We the clergy of the province of Canterbury do humbly pray"—"that all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament, the authors whereof (*not however here named*) are recited in a statute made year of Henry VIII. &c. may be destroyed and burnt throughout this realm."³⁹ These few words are buried among twenty-eight other items, and

³⁹ Parker MS. Col. Cor. Chr. Cant. or Burnet, book 2, Records xvi.

the reference made must be to the Act of 34th of Henry; but still no express law followed, nor was there a single proclamation in compliance, or one in which the Sacred Volume was pointed out for destruction, either by royal authority or that of the Convocation, or that of Cardinal Pole. Why then not acknowledge the Overruler? "He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him, and the *remainder* thereof He restrains." Certainly neither Philip or Mary intended to draw such a line of distinction between the words of *men* and the "Word of *God*." When Henry's wrath was up, he drew no such distinction, and that he might shew that he imagined a vain thing, and fought in vain, he was permitted: but thus far Philip and Mary were restrained, and this, in connexion with what follows, was *progress*.

Nor was this the only point worthy of observation under this reign. Providentially, time was afforded for the preservation of the Scriptures, and by two distinct methods. One was by their being carried abroad, beyond the reach of danger. The pause at the commencement of Mary's reign was not unimproved as to personal safety, and the exiles unquestionably availed themselves of the opportunity as to that which they valued above most fine gold. A single copy, if more could be carried away, would not satisfy any one among them; and it was far more easy for them to carry books away at the time they went, than it was afterwards for some of these exiles to import their own writings. This, however, they afterwards did, and to such extent, as to provoke the royal inhibition of June 1555, which, after all, could not stem the influx. The stern proclamation of death by martial law, three years after, was a proof of *failure*; and the Queen was thus, in effect, only declaring—what her father before his death had done—that royal edicts, in certain circumstances, if not nearly impotent, possess no sovereign power.

But the other mode of preservation was by *concealment*; and this was practised to no small extent, whether in the crowded city or the hamlets of England. Even in the cottages of the latter there are supposed to have been methods of concealment so ingenious as to baffle all search—

" Fierce, whisker'd guards that Volume sought in vain,
Enjoy'd by stealth, and hid with anxious pain ;

While all around was misery and gloom,
 This shew'd the boundless bliss beyond the tomb ;
 Freed from the venal priest—the feudal rod,
 It led the suff'rer's weary steps to God ;
 And when his painful course on earth was run,
 This, his chief wealth, descended to his son."

This course, however, from its very nature, did not admit of its being put on record, and yet we are not without evidence of the fact. The highly-prized treasure, read often in the dead of the night, was concealed under the bed, in hay-lofts, or in out-houses ; and we have one notable instance of another mode. Mary had not dismissed from her immediate service *all* who had any value for the Scriptures ; on the contrary, Strype assures us, from manuscript, that the Gentlemen Ushers of the Queen were "almost all favourers of the Gospel." These had been in the service of Edward, her brother, with the exception of others that she had appointed. Of one of them the same laborious author gives a long account in his "Memorials,"—Mr. Underhill, a gentleman, who, though imprisoned and molested, after all continued to receive his pension, and outlived the present reign. At one period, "a diligent search being made for all suspicious books," he was then living in Wood Street, Cheapside. Underhill forthwith "sent for a bricklayer, and built up a wall in his chamber, against the place where all his books were, and so inclosed them in security from the danger of being taken, preserving them for himself against better times." Similar precautions were, no doubt, taken by others ; and it is impossible to say how many precious volumes, if not also printing materials, were built up until Mary should draw her last breath.⁴⁰

It may now, however, be observed that, of all the *other* books printed up to this period in England, there are not a few of which not a vestige remains ; while, in reference to the *Scriptures*, of which so many editions had been printed, nay, and innumerable editions since, it is a most singular fact, that there are very few, perhaps not above three or four, of which we have not a copy, and of the great majority several copies, either in England or Scotland. In this point of view, our

⁴⁰ Unhappy woman! the day before she expired was actually styled, and by the best of her subjects, *Hope-Wednesday!*

list of editions at the end of this work becomes one of the most remarkable in the entire range of English literature.

Returning, however, to the reign of Mary, it may be remarked by some that the writer has been only putting the best face upon a gloomy period. Be it so. Then this need not prevent us from looking round only once more.

Rogers, indeed, has been martyred, and Coverdale banished ; Grafton and Whitchurch, though imprisoned, and excepted in the general pardon granted at Mary's accession, have escaped to the Continent. John Day, the spirited printer, and above twenty more beside, can act no more as they were wont to do, up to July 1553, when Edward died. Leaving, then, the numerous editions of the Scriptures which had been printed, to be preserved from the hand of the destroyer, whether at home or abroad, and as they best might, was there absolutely nothing to be done, under this Queen's reign, in the way of farther progress ? With regard to printing the Scriptures, however humbling to national vanity, we are obliged to answer—in *England, absolutely nothing*. The press, we have seen, was fettered or suppressed, and not a leaf could be issued. The text of the translation also required to be *reviewed* with far more leisure and superior skill than it had ever yet been upon English ground, or since the first edition by Rogers ; but this cannot be done, or rather, as Providence had determined, *must not*, in any corner of our native land. The Government has fallen back into very much the same condition in which it was in 1523, when Tyndale found at the last, that there was “ not only no room in my Lord of London's house to translate the New Testament, but that there was no place to do it in all England.”

But what did all this signify ? Providence had at the first spoken to this Island, in a way not *common* to the other nations of Europe, and there was nothing now to prevent a repetition of the same singular mode. There was, indeed, perplexity and confusion in the councils of England, and all things were turning upside down ; but human nature, strained to its highest pitch, in opposition to Divine Truth, presents but a feeble barrier ; and “ God's eternal thoughts moved on —His undisturbed affairs.”

An *exile* from his native country, first accomplished the translation, and some how or other got the book introduced into

the kingdom, in spite of Henry VIII., and *his* Cardinal Wolsey. Then, an *exile* shall do the same thing once more; by correcting and printing the New Testament, and sending it into England in spite of either *Philip or Mary*, or *their* Cardinal Pole. In every point of view this was no other than a similar triumph; and in both instances at a moment, when there was nothing but opposition from the Crown and the bench of Bishops, as well as a Cardinal, by authority from Rome, triumphantly presiding in the country. It also deserves remark, that, in both cases, the Testament was published *anonymously*, without ostentation, or a dedication to any official individual whatever. In the first instance, the name of the translator was not known, nor till Tyndale was compelled by circumstances to disclose it. In the second instance, nothing having occurred to compel the improver of this version to disclose his name, it has been overlooked to the present hour. Both books were prepared, and sent into England, when persecution was the order of the day, and every seaport seemed to be shut against them. No analogy could be more striking, or complete.

But was this second triumph effected while Mary was yet on the throne? It was. The recension of the text must have commenced not long after the time when the stake was first prepared; the book left the press on the 10th of June 1557, one of the most awful months in the record of persecution;⁴¹ and it was perusing *in* England, for sometime before the Queen's death. By how many indeed, it is impossible to say; but one authentic instance will be sufficient proof of the fact.

There was a priest of some learning at Auburn near Lincoln, who had been appointed to the place by Old Longland the Bishop, Henry's Confessor in the days of Wolsey. This man, named William Living, had married, and with his wife had taken up his abode in London, where he seems to have tried to support himself, in the time of Mary, by the sale of buttons. One Cox, a spy, or as they phrased it, a promoter, having lodged information against him, the constable and his assistants soon came, and upon examining his books, they made sure that he could not be a safe man. This happened to be in August or September 1558, when the Queen was far from being well. Among the books, Dean, the Constable, had fastened his eye on one that was bound and *gilt*, which happened to be a work on Astronomy—the “*De Sphæra*” of Manilius. On observing the figures, round, triangular and quadrilateral, this was enough! Carrying this book open with him in the street, along with its owner and his

⁴¹ In *four days*, from the 18th to the 22d of this month, at least twenty-seven martyrs died! viz. one in the diocese of Bath and Wells, two at Newington, seven at Maidstone, seven at Canterbury, and ten at Lewis! Twenty-seven were thus consumed to ashes in *four days*!

wife,—“ I have found him at length,” said the constable, “ and it is no marvel the Queen be sick, seeing there be such *conjurers* in privy corners ; but now I trust he shall conjure no more !”

Delivering up both parties to Tho. Darbyshire, Bonner’s relative and the Chancellor of London diocese, after ascertaining who Living was, and charging him with being a schismatic, he immediately ordered the husband to the Bishop’s Coal-house, and the wife afterwards to the Lollard’s Tower. In conveying the former to his prison, however, the jailor carried him first to his own house in Paternoster Row, and “ there,” says Living himself, “ he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, my Psalter, and a *New Testament of Genera.*”

Bringing his victim to the nauseous Coal-house and to the stocks,—“ Put in both your legs, and your hands also,” said the cruel and avaricious man, “ and except you *fine with me*, “ I will put a collar about your neck.” “ What is the fine,” it was asked. “ *Forty Shillings*,” said the jailor ; a sum equal in value to at least twenty pounds of the present day ! “ I am never able to pay it,” said Living. “ You have *friends* that be able,” was the reply ; for well they knew how to take advantage of the generosity and sympathy of the lovers of truth. He then ordered both limbs into the stocks till supper-time, or six o’clock ; when a cousin of the prisoner’s wife, actually paid *forty-pence* (equal to about two pounds,) to this monster in waiting, for one hour’s ease to partake of food ! Then from seven that evening to two the next day he lay thus confined without any intermission ; the man waiting no doubt for another fee. After this he also was carried to the Lollard’s Tower, “ having the *favour*,” says the prisoner himself, “ to put my leg in that hole which Master John Philpot’s leg was in ; and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me, with either meat or drink.” Next day, however, Living was delivered, on the payment of fifteen shillings for his fees. Thus, on the most moderate calculation, the imprisonment had cost a sum equal to about eleven pounds of our present money ; but had this happened one year earlier, or had the Queen even now, been as *lively* as the man himself, he certainly would not have escaped with his life. The “ Testament,” of course, which he most of all valued, was gone.

His partner in life had been separately handled, and one of her replies was sufficiently expressive. “ You be not ashamed,” said Dale, a promoter, “ to tell wherefore you come hither.” “ No,” replied the good woman, “ that I am not, for it is for *Christ’s Testament.*”⁴²

But what was this Testament of which they spake ? It was the book to which we have referred ; a very beautiful one, and now of rare occurrence, printed with a silver type, and on the best paper ; by far the best review of the Sacred text that had yet been made, “ diligently revised by the most approved Greek examples, and conference of translations in other tongues.” It is the *first* English New Testament, *divided into verses*, and formed an important preliminary step to the revision of the whole Bible.

⁴² Foxe.—Herbert mentions, “ *Celius Secundus Curio* to his dear friend *Fulvius Morato*,” as translated into English by W. Living. “ Printed by John Alde, 1576.” It is an epistle for the godly bringing up of children, and concludes : “ From Luce, 1542, the iii. of the ides of June, quoth *W. Living*,”—of Saint Swithen’s by London Stone. *Curio* may be remembered as one of the most interesting characters in M’Crie’s Italy.

Few mistakes have been more common, and even up to the present day, than that of ascribing the translation of the Scriptures into English to a *number* of individuals. Thus the name of Tyndale has frequently been associated with various other men : with even an amannensis, Roye, who was only about fifteen months in his service ; with George Joye, though never an associate ; with Constantine, though little else than one of those agents who, in early times, conveyed copies of the New Testament into England. The same confusion has prevailed, when referring to this " Testament of Geneva." " This translation," it has been said, " was made by *many* of the principal English Reformers."⁴³ The translation, correctly speaking, is an improvement of Tyndale's, on comparing it with the Greek original, once more : but so far from *many* being engaged, the address to the reader at the beginning incontestibly proves it to have been the work of only *one* man ; and although it cannot even yet be very positively asserted who that individual was, we now offer some interesting particulars respecting one, which will probably leave no hesitation as to his being the person to whom his country stood indebted.

William Whittingham, the branch of a family, not extinct in the male line, till so recently as 1758, was born in the year 1524 at Holmeset, afterwards called Holmeside Hall, six miles from Durham, in the parish of Lanchester.⁴⁴ His father, William Whittingham, Esq. of Holmeset, had sent him to Oxford, where he became a commoner at Brazen-nose College about 1540, and made such proficiency in learning, that in 1545 he was elected a fellow of All-Souls. Anthony Wood affirms that he was after this chosen one of the senior students in Christ Church, formerly Cardinal College ; " Henry VIII. endeavouring to *replenish* it with the *choicest* scholars in the University," precisely as, the reader may remember, Wolsey had first attempted. This is curious enough, as Whittingham was thus following in the *same* path by which John Fryth had been led, twenty years ago. Whittingham, however, so far from being, like his predecessor, confined in the dungeon below, in May 1550 had leave

⁴³ Lewis, Newcome, Horne, Lowndes, and others.

⁴⁴ It is perhaps the name of this parish which has led to a mistake, not unusual, that he was born in the city of *Chester*.

granted him, by the dean and canons, to travel for three years. He embarked for France, intending to go into Italy; but being taken unwell at Lyon, he proceeded first to Paris, and then to Orleans University, spending at least a year and a half between these two cities. After having visited several parts of Germany, his travels terminated at Geneva, where he remained till about May 1553, when his three years had expired. But what a change awaited him on his return! Edward died on the 6th of July. Christ Church now, must soon have proved as dangerous to him, as Cardinal College, or the same spot, had done to Fryth. Whittingham, with a mind now enlightened, had no idea of waiting till another Cardinal should bear sway, and his agents at Oxford burn Bibles, as Wolsey had treated the New Testament Scriptures. Instead, therefore, of "leave granted" a second time, just as if to make the parallel more complete, like Fryth or Tyndale before that, he must now fly to the Continent, where he arrived in safety, and at Frankfort, on the 27th of June 1554, with the first exiles who there took up their abode.

Into the painful and unseemly dissensions which arose among the exiles at this place, in March, the next year, well known since by the title of "The Troubles of Frankfort," it is happily not our province to enter. They come before us in connexion with Whittingham, only in passing, but it is in a light hitherto but little, if at all, observed. The war of opinion in England was rising to its utmost virulence, and the flames about to be kindled by it were to blaze in every direction. Nothing, therefore, could be more humiliating, than to see a number of good and able men, who had fled in haste, and but narrowly escaped with their lives, all at once discover so much pertinacity. Surely the ground which both parties had previously occupied, must, in itself, have been *untenable*, before such a scene could have occurred. There was no difference of opinion, at least expressed, as to the way of a sinful creature's acceptance before his Maker; none as to repentance towards God, or faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; none as to justification, or the necessity for a holy life, the resurrection from the dead, or eternal judgment. But, strange to say, without taking time to exchange sentiments on these fundamental truths; without any time to recognise and bow to them, as the only *cement* of any acceptable or lasting union; taking no time first to kindle up the spirit of individual devotion, and of mutual love or esteem; although no difference of sentiment existed as to the obligations of social worship, they at once plunged into a vortex, respecting its mere *external* form of display! Had they been a company of simple-hearted disciples, no such misery need to have occurred, nor probably would; but they were not only possessed of learning, in a greater or less degree, but mostly *official* men; and, alas! "the wisdom that cometh down from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated," was not there. It had been usual to urge conformity to *ceremonial* observances, from respect due to the *regal* authority by which they were en-

joined; but here there was no authority whatever, quite the reverse. Yet the Service Book, drawn up by *Cranmer*, which had been set forth by the authority of a Monarch, under age, Edward VI., now no more, set them unhappily wrong. Neither party had sufficient light to take the high and sacred, the only safe ground, and stand upon it. That is, neither party saw, so as to adore, the *fullness and all-sufficiency of the Sacred Record itself*, as a Service Book, and Prayer Book, and every thing else in the shape of a book; and the contention actually became so sharp between them, that in the space of less than one solitary fortnight, or from the 13th to the 25th of March, they were divided into two hostile bands! Had both parties immediately died on the spot, no consequences might have ensued, and the hasty contest might have passed away, as the crackling of thorns under a pot. But Providence had appointed otherwise, and that with *immediate reference to Sacred Writ*, as infinitely above all human composition. One party retired to Geneva and Basil, and the other, who had conquered, and remained at Frankfort, were *never* united among themselves. Their's was indeed a chapter of "troubles" from beginning to end; thus affording to posterity a striking lesson of instruction and warning, from which it might have learned much. At this distance, indeed, it may be easy for many to see the cause of this division; and say—"it is perfectly evident that they were too precipitate, too hasty or impatient, than which nothing can be so injurious to Christianity; but besides, they seem to have been mistaken altogether as to the *essential* origin of 'social religion exemplified.' They were bent, and at once, on 'the uniformity of profession in the bond of ignorance,' instead of 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'" Be it so, only it would have been well for thousands since, had they not foundered, again and again, on the self same rock.⁴⁵

Had Whittingham not gone to Frankfort, or had he not been a party concerned in this scene, we should have been saved the necessity of any reference whatever to the subject; but as he was not only present, but deeply interested, and then one of the *retiring* party; in retiring with him we shall now have occasion to mark the watchful care of the Almighty over his own Word; once more about to be given to a country, which was once more fighting against it. He, and let it be observed, immediately after this, found out for this confessedly eminent scholar, far different and nobler occupation than that of fighting at Frankfort, about the words which *man's* wisdom teacheth. Amidst all the war's tumultuous noise, God's own revealed will, must not be neglected. Whittingham had hitherto sustained only the character of a Christian and a scholar. Having had no official, that is, no ministerial character in the Church, he bore still nearer resemblance to John Fryth; and in his own apprehension, we

⁴⁵ For an account of "the troubles of Frankfort," anno 1554, see the original edition, 1575, or the reprint in the *Phoenix*, vol. ii., 46. Old Thomas Fuller gives a very candid statement in his characteristic Church History.

know, that, "from his former travels and observations, and his acquisition of several languages," he imagined "he had fitted himself more for civil or state employment than any other." No matter; this, we presume, is the individual now selected to sit down, with greater skill and more composure, to the New Testament, than any man since Tyndale himself; and like him also, happily now unfettered by any human authority whatever. Hitherto Whittingham had lived a single life, but after retiring to Geneva, where he had arrived in the autumn of 1555, he was married to Catharine, the sister of John Calvin.⁴⁶ Whatever may have been the date of his marriage, this was the time in which he must have applied assiduously to the English New Testament, with "the most approved Greek examples" before him. To his recension of Tyndale's version, he prefixed two things. First, "an Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Law, by John Calvin," his brother-in-law; and then his own address, of three leaves, "To the reader." In this, he speaks throughout in the *singular* number, taking the entire responsibility upon himself; and after the broil in which he had previously been involved at Frankfort, his language becomes the more impressive. Adverting to three distinct classes of men, he says—

"Some are malicious despisers of the Word, and graces of God, who turn all things into poison, and a farther hardening of their hearts: others do not openly resist and condemn the Gospel, because they are stricken as it were in a trance with the majesty thereof; yet either they quarrel and cavil, or else deride, and mock at whatsoever thing is done, for the advancement of the same. The third sort are the simple lambs, which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so hear willingly their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance, tarry the time till the Shepherd find them, and bring them unto his flock. To *this* kind of people, in this translation, *I chiefly had respect*, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment, which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva.

. . . To these, therefore, who are of the flock of Christ, which know their Father's will, and are affectioned to the truth, *I render a reason of my doing* in few lines, &c."

⁴⁶ Wood, in his *Athenæ*, speaks, though with hesitation, of Whittingham having been married at Orleans, on his first visit to the continent, and to Katherine, daughter of Lewis Jacques, near that city; but we have no evidence whatever of his having been the husband of more than one wife, and that he was married to the sister of Calvin is certain, from the words in his epitaph—"Mariti Catharinæ Sororis Johannis Calvin theologi."—Willis, i. p. 253, where no mention is made of any other. Whittingham's name will occur again under the reign of Elizabeth, but any account of him taken from Anthony Wood must be compared with, and corrected by other writers. See Hutchison's *History of the C. Pal. of Durham*, ii., 143, 150, 378. *Forbes State Papers*, ii., 207, 418, 487.

“Counselled,” as he tells us, by others, it is evident that the writer had obtained the palm for scholarship among his brethren: now as Whittingham will come before us, presently as the *chief* person engaged with the entire Scriptures, or the Geneva Bible of 1560, there can remain little or no doubt that he is the man now speaking in this preface. Afterwards he will appear to have availed himself of the learning of some other individuals, though by no means to the extent which has been all along so vaguely reported.

This New Testament, in duodecimo, neatly printed in roman and italic types, consists of 456 leaves, including the title—“The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approued translations. With the arguments as wel before the chapters as for every Boke and Epistle; also diversities of readings and moste profitable annotations of all harde places; whereunto is added a copious table.—At Geneva, printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII.” And at the end, “Printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII. this x day of June.” The date is worth notice on one account, that Whittingham died only six miles from the spot where he was born, or at Durlam, on the very *same day*, twenty-two years afterwards, the 10th of June 1579. A copy of this book, at public sale, has brought as much as £11, 5s.

Here, then, was one set-off for the reign of Queen Mary, which she and her husband would have gladly dispensed with. Literally, in the time of “blood and fire, and vapour of smoke,” in a dark and cloudy day for England, *that* was accomplished which had never been overtaken all the time of King Edward. The New Testament did require revision, but it must be done by an *exile* upon foreign ground, and be printed much nearer to Rome than London, while the book, as we have seen, was already in the kingdom. More than this, the entire Bible, still more improved by a careful comparison of the original Hebrew and Greek, was *already* commenced; nay, during the last year of this Queen’s reign, the revisers at Geneva were engaged with it literally *night and day*. Whatever, therefore, had been overturned or trodden down in England, this cause had sensibly advanced. The storm had only enlivened its progress, and actually brought it into a *far better* state than it was before. We have yet to see how it fared with “the Exiles’” Bible, and what a blessing it proved to the families of our native land, for a period equal to ten times the duration of Queen Mary’s reign. The Queen expiring on the 17th of November 1558, she was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth.

SECTION III. REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A REIGN, EXTENDING TO MORE THAN FORTY-FOUR YEARS, BUT HOWEVER POWERFUL IN EVERY OTHER DEPARTMENT, HAVING NO ACTUAL CONTROL OVER THE CHOICE OR PREFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, WITH REGARD TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THEIR NATIVE TONGUE, AND THUS PRESENTING THE ONLY EXCEPTION TO UNLIMITED SWAY.

THE second daughter and only surviving child of Henry VIII., or the last branch of the Tudor family, now ascended the throne, at the age of twenty-five. Born with the finest natural capacity, the education of Elizabeth, followed by the discipline through which she had passed, enabled her to hold the sceptre with a firmer grasp than that of any of her family who had preceded her; and throughout the long period of above forty-four years, England had no occasion to complain for want of what certain persons have styled a strong government. The preservation of the Queen to the present hour was very remarkable, and it proves, in the most striking manner, that a nation can no more judge of what may contribute to its stability, than any single man can tell what is good for him all the days of his vain life, which he spendeth as a shadow. Thus, the English people, when Mary was proclaimed, had drowned with joy the voice of the heralds; but their hearts revolted at the very prospect of her marriage to a Spanish prince, and the step once taken was never forgiven. Yet that prince must come into the country, and enjoying, as he did, entire sway over his English Queen, thus prove one instrument, and in no inferior degree, of preserving her sister from the block. The life of no heir to a throne was ever worth less than that of Elizabeth at one period; and had Mary only remained single, with Stephen Gardiner for her adviser, humanly speaking, her sister might have ended her days on the scaffold. One providential purpose for which Philip had come to England being answered, he may live abroad, and another day, with his armada, seem to be bent on the ruin of the princess he had saved; but she will outlive him, as well as every storm that shall be raised against her.

Without entering into politics, or the character of particular acts, it is allowed by all, that capacity for ruling formed the leading feature of the entire reign, whether we look to the Queen herself, or to the men by whom she was surrounded. Under other monarchs, it is by no means difficult to fix upon one man, as minister, who was, in fact, the presiding genius of the age, but Elizabeth, in her own person, formed a striking exception. Of all her ministers, it has been remarked, that they owed their advancement to her choice, and that they were supported by her constancy, but, with all their abilities, they were never able to acquire any undue ascendancy over her. "In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress." Inflexibly resolved never to divide her power with any man living, and never to marry, her object throughout life was to reign alone, a course which she pursued with a sagacity which has seldom, if ever, been exceeded. Should there happen, therefore, to be *one* palpable exception to her imperative sway, more especially should there be *only* one, and that one embrace the continued history of the Sacred Volume, this will not merely extend that line of distinction between it and all other affairs, which we have beheld as unbroken, throughout three successive reigns; but it will show that, as far as the current of events had any voice, the God of providence was lending increasing energy to that course which He had maintained from the beginning.

The first months of this able monarch were, however, remarkably distinguished by caution. At once she discovered a mind which seemed to have been accustomed to consult only with itself. As far as worldly prudence could foresee, she had resolved to mark out her own path, and in the meanwhile to do absolutely *nothing* rashly. On this account, her future course became the subject of deep solicitude and anxious speculation, rather than that of certain hope to either of the two parties, into which her council, as well as her kingdom, was divided. Had the Queen at once listened to either party, and implicitly followed its advice, there can be no question that persecution must have been the immediate result; for notwithstanding all that had passed over both, still neither the one nor the other understood how to separate power from persecution, or the exercise of mental freedom from obedience to civil authority. No more did Queen Elizabeth, or rather less, but determined, if possible, to make herself beloved by her people as a whole; some time was required, for a mind like hers, to trace out such a path as she supposed was most likely to secure that end.

The caution, however, to which we have referred, has been noticed here, on account of its having distinctly embraced the Sacred Volume. Even this, also, must be regarded with what Elizabeth imagined to be prudent expediency. It is true, that on Saturday, the 14th of January 1559, as has been often repeated, on proceeding through London, in public

procession, when an elegant English Bible was presented to her majesty, at the Conduit, in Cheapside, she received it with a grace peculiar to herself, and kissing it, said, while pressing it to her bosom, that she would "oftimes read that holy book." The Queen had just passed the spot where the Scriptures had been often burnt; and the present gift had been adopted, no doubt, with the view of drawing forth some pointed declaration; but it went no farther, and then, the very next morning, or that of her coronation, it was *not* to be understood that she had already signified her approbation of either printing or circulating the Sacred Volume!

"Queen Elizabeth," says Lord Bacon, "the morrow of her coronation, it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince, went to the chapel, and, in the great chamber, one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition, and, before a number of courtiers, besought her, with a loud voice,—'That now this good time, there might be four or five principal prisoners more released.' It was inquired who they were, when he replied,—'These were the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul, who had been long shut up, as it were, in prison, so as they could not converse with the common people, who were eager to see them abroad.' The Queen, however, answered very gravely,—'That it was best first to inquire of themselves, whether they would be released or no.'"¹

The last Queen had now been dead two months, but nothing definite had ever escaped from the lips of her successor. On the other hand, the steps actually taken conveyed no certainty of signification, so that the hopes and fears of two adverse parties were alike quivering in the beam. Thus, in reference to her Council, Elizabeth had retained a majority of professed disciples of "the old learning," some of whom had been active in its defence, and all of them men distinguished either for capacity or influence; but to these she added eight others of opposite sentiments, not exempting some who had suffered imprisonment or exile for their opinions. Cecil, the Queen's principal adviser and Secretary, as well as herself, had *conformed* under the late reign, and though it was understood that they had merely bowed to the storm, from a Council so constituted, it was impossible to augur anything. There was in fact a very different, or secret cabinet, of much smaller dimensions, with whom rested the power of control.

A number of steps had only prolonged the public uncertainty. Thus, on the 14th of December Elizabeth had buried her sister, with all the rites of the old learning, and on the 23d ordered a solemn dirge for the *soul* of the Emperor Charles: but then two days after, the prisoners on account of religious opinion were released, while on the 27th all preach-

¹ This courtier, says Heylin, was named Rainsford, probably Sir John Rainsford, a Knight of Essex, said to have been the generous protector of George Buchanan on his flight from Scotland in 1539.

ing by any party was imperatively suspended, till consultation was held by the Queen with the three estates. She had passed through London indeed with great eclat ; but the very next morning, as we have seen, checked her too forward courtier. The Princess Regnant must be let alone, to think out, and resolve upon, her own course, and to consult farther with Cecil and Bacon ; but this is not to be done now, in open Hall, and before the Crown has yet been set upon her head. Parliament itself must first assemble, as it did in ten days after, when her Majesty had no reason to be dissatisfied with the amount of power conferred upon her. Its very opening however must be distinguished by the characteristic ambiguity. It was on the 25th of January, when Elizabeth assisted, in state, at a solemn high mass ; but after this followed a sermon, and by no other than Dr. Cox, the tutor of Edward, and one of the *exiles* just returned from banishment. Not a little business was done, while a cautious expediency is still very observable. Certain laws of Henry the Eighth were renewed, many of Edward's revived, and those of Mary repealed : but in Parliament there must not be a single movement as to *faith* of any kind. They were summoned to consult respecting an uniform "order" of religion. Analogous to Cranmer's proposal, twenty-three years ago, they must first decide upon the ceremonial or external order ; only now no "Articles" in reference to doctrine or the fundamental *truths* of Christianity must be once propounded. In the Convocation indeed, also assembled, "and which, owing to the times," says Fuller, "was very small and silent," the adherents of "the old learning," with Bonner for their leader, were broaching, for the last time, certain articles, but though presented to Bacon, the Lord keeper, and they led to a discussion afterwards, such subjects are not to be admitted within the walls of Parliament.

The "Supremacy," however, must now be both discussed, and settled. But here again, her Majesty had objected decidedly to a title, first assumed by her Father, and one in which he gloried,—"*the Head of the Church.*" The world, it has been said, is ruled by names ; and so the *apparent* rejection of a cherished title on the one hand, and non-interference, as to faith, at present, on the other, must have had their respective objects. Abroad at least, the first movement might sound auspiciously for the moment, and the last, if it had no softening effect at home, at least left the way still open for indulging a pleasing dream, or the hope of amalgamating two hostile parties. Meanwhile the title by which Elizabeth chose to be distinguished was that of "*Governor of the Church ;*" but according to Fuller, complaints were heard still, "that the simplicity of poor people was abused ; because while the Queen declined the former title, and assumed the latter, though less *offensive*, it was more *expressive* ; so that while their ears were favoured, in her waving the word, their souls were deceived with the sense under another expression.

There was now to be no Parliament or Convocation for three years, but at last, and without therefore having consulted either the one or the other, about midsummer or the autumn of this year we hear something respecting the Scriptures; and by virtue of Elizabeth's authority, certain injunctions were issued. Among these were the following, left with every parish visited.

“To provide within three months after this visitation, at the charges of the parish, one book of *the whole Bible* of the largest volume in English, and within one twelve months the paraphrases of Erasmus also in English, and the same to be set up in some convenient place within the said Church, where the parishioners may most conveniently resort and read the same. All parsons under the degree of A.M., shall buy for their own use the New Testament in Latin and English with paraphrases, within three months. Enquiry was to be made whether any Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English.”

No intimation was given, here, or any where else, as to how or where *such* volumes were to be found, and hence it has been inferred by Lewis, that under the late reign they had *not* been destroyed or burnt to any very great extent. At the same time, it may be observed that this was nothing more than a *royal* injunction; buried too among not fewer than fifty others, some of which are strange enough; and if the effects resembled those which resulted from *Henry's* voice, then there would, in many instances, be a reluctant, in others, only a tardy compliance.

As for the preparation of more copies, Elizabeth said not one word, while the printing press, as we shall see presently, far from approaching its freedom in the days of Edward, has become more fettered than it had ever been, since the art was first introduced into England!

All this, however, will only render the progress in printing of the Sacred Volume still more remarkable. This was a cause in which neither the reigning Prince nor the Privy Council, the Parliament or Convocation, had ever been much consulted, and *never* with a view to its essential progress. It had commenced contrary to the will of all these parties, and as certainly proceeded without taking orders from them. For the progress, therefore, at this crisis, as we were accustomed to do in the days of Elizabeth's father, we must now look abroad. From *thence* the Queen requires to be *put on her way*,

and in a manner not unlike to Henry's reception and sanction of the Bible at first, in 1537.

Before turning to her Majesty on the throne, however, we are met by an old acquaintance still alive, in perfect keeping with our narrative ; a man who, as an instrument, at least in this history, occupies a place superior to that of any reigning Prince. We refer to no other than Richard Grafton, the printer of the *parent* Bible, and others following. Before Elizabeth had done any thing, nay, when, as Jewel informs Peter Martyr, she was "wonderfully afraid of any innovations," Richard appears again in sight, and quite in character, as if summoning afresh to their work, the friends of Divine Truth. But before he called, they were answering, for they had been busy "night and day." Only, let it be observed, that as it happened in the days of Henry, the answer or echo will once more come from *abroad*. It was in 1559 that Grafton began by a reprint, first published at the accession of Edward in 1547, after his father had, only with his breath, ceased to frown. The title is,—“A godly invective in the defence of the gospel, *against such as murmur and work what they can, that the Bible should not have free passage, very necessary to be read of every faithful Christian.*” By Philip Gerrard, yeoman of King Edward's chamber.”² We are thus reminded of the “Supplication” which preceded the New Testament, under the Queen's father, as well as of the fine opening of King Edward's reign : but the reigning Princess is resolved to be as cautious as she was vigilant and powerful. We shall see, therefore, whether these can prevent her from being overruled, and to the end of her long sovereignty.

While Elizabeth was yet in jeopardy of her life, and under the guardianship of Sir Thomas Pope, we have already seen that an edition of the New Testament had been printed at Geneva—that copies were finding their way into England, in despite of all opposition,—and that an edition of the entire Scriptures was already commenced, in the same city. The exiles themselves inform us *when* this was begun. It was when “the time was dangerous, and the persecution, in England, sharp and furious.” The fact is, that no sooner had the New Testament left the press, than Whittingham, with one or two others, were preparing for their larger undertaking, and, at the latest, by January 1558 they had commenced. These men tell us that “they thought they could bestow their labours and study in nothing more acceptable to

² Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 53. Herbert's Ames, pp. 523-538.

God, and comfortable to his Church;” and they add,—“ God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of *two years and more, day and night*, occupied herein.” The space referred to, therefore, was from January 1558 to the 10th of April 1560, when the last sheet was put to press.

Considering the high character of this version, and the number of editions through which it passed, it would have been gratifying could we have fixed, with more positive certainty, on the individuals to whom the nation stood indebted. They were most probably not more than *three* in number, or four at the most; but whether it arose from modesty or motives of prudence, we are left to find out the real parties. The revision has been often, it is true, and very loosely ascribed, to *six*, and even *nine*, individuals, as though engaged in one body: viz., William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Knox, John Bodleigh and John Pullain. This, however, is doing nothing else than numbering up certain men possessed of learning, who happened to be then living at Geneva. It requires but a little investigation to reduce the number to one-third, and then, we presume, the great burden, if not the entire responsibility, will appear to have fallen upon three of these scholars. It is true that all these men, with many others, were intimately and affectionately connected with each other. They were members of the *same* Christian church, and a church, be it observed, who as a *body* felt deeply interested in this edition of the Sacred Volume. The entire expense not only of this Bible, but of an edition of the Psalms by itself was to be, and *was* defrayed by “ such as were of most ability in that congregation.” There was no application to their native country, no solicitation of one farthing from without. Amidst the storm that raged against the truth, they had been driven into a corner, and thus the Church was employed. In the fullness of their hearts, the sound *learning* of certain members, and the pecuniary *substance* of others, being devoted to the cause of their common Saviour, nothing could be a finer exhibition of Christian zeal for the highest interests of their native land. Thus, as the first translation of the Sacred Word, commenced in 1524, had sprung from the devoted zeal of a solitary Christian *exile*, whose heart had bled with pity for his country; so

the next thorough revision of the entire Sacred text, must come from the bosom of a small Christian community, also in *exile*, "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The accession of Queen Elizabeth, however, in November 1558, naturally filled this entire circle with joy, and the men we have named, as well as others, were as naturally separated; but then this was with the *exception* of those who had devoted themselves to the revision and printing of the Bible. The good news had reached Geneva in December, and at that moment, we are informed, that the *greater part* of the book was *not* finished; but "Whittingham, with *one or two* more, did tarry at Geneva an year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, *being resolved to go through with the work*."³ Le Long has affirmed that "the chief and most learned" of the men already mentioned, were Coverdale, Whittingham, and Gilby; but Coverdale, now seventy years of age, cannot be traced as at Geneva sooner than December 1558, and it is certain that he returned in 1559; how early we cannot tell. He was preaching at Paul's Cross on the 12th of November.⁴ In short, *Knox* had left Geneva as early as January 1559; *Goodman* followed him to Scotland, where we find him in September; while it is as certain that *Coverdale and Cole, Pullain and Bodleigh*, returned to England in the same year.⁵ The only three left, therefore, were Whit-

³ Wood's *Athenæ*, 4to, l., p. 447.

⁴ Strype's *Life of Grindal*.

⁵ Wood's *Athenæ*, &c. That COVERDALE and KNOX, the most conspicuous of those who now left Geneva, could not have been engaged with this translation, may be made more evident. COVERDALE, as already mentioned, had left England in February 1555, and went direct to Denmark, where the King would have sustained him; but bent on being useful, he went first to his expatriated countrymen at Wesel in the duchy of Cleves. Being, however, acquainted with German, and having formerly ministered to a church at Hergzabern, in Bavaria, there he sojourned; the first time his name is to be found any where else is at Geneva, on the 15th of December 1558. Now, as the Bible was begun nearly a year *before* this, and as he so soon took his departure for England, some casual or passing advice was the utmost that his time afforded. The same thing is equally evident with regard to JOHN KNOX. He had gone to Frankfort from Geneva in 1554, where he first met with Whittingham, when by the unanimous suffrages of his brethren he was chosen pastor of the church. It was in March following, that he was unceremoniously ejected by Dr. Cox and his supporters, just arrived from England. By the 12th of June 1555, Knox had returned to Geneva. It was then only, and on the borders of 50, that he *first began to study Hebrew*; but in August he left Geneva for Scotland, and was in Edinburgh by November. In the spring of 1556 we find him in Ayrshire, at Edinburgh again in May, which he left, with his family, in July, for France, proceeding by Dieppe to Geneva. But by March 1557, he was anxious to return to Edinburgh, and had gone to Dieppe in October, where he remained two months, returning, however, to Geneva early in 1558, when the Geneva Bible was already undertaken. The English Church at Geneva had chosen two pastors. Knox was one of them, and Anthony Gilby had ministered in his place when absent. But even now, throughout 1558, Scotland still dwelt on his mind, as it was in this year he penned his letter to the Queen Regent, as well as his *Appellation and Exhortation*. By November of this year, indeed, letters from his native country had arrived, urging his return, and he left Geneva for the last time in January 1559; Whittingham having been ordained as his successor.

tingham, Gilby and Sampson, and with their names *only* the translation should have been associated; since the men who completed "the greater part," must have been those by whom it had been begun. Many of their brethren, indeed, they tell us, "*put* them on this work by their earnest desire and exhortation;" while others encouraged them "not to spare *any charge* for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God toward his Church."

Although we cannot now notice every edition here, but refer to our list, yet as the *only* English Bible distinctly pointed out in any patent, from Elizabeth downwards, and especially as the basis of so many editions for above eighty years to come, this demands some farther notice.

Title.—"THE BIBLE AND HOLY SCRIPTURES conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Grecke, and conferred with the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader." Beneath is a wood-cut, of the Israelites passing through the red sea. "At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall, M^DLX." *Collation.*—After a dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to the Readers, about to be noticed, we have the text from Genesis to 2d Maccabees, fol. i., 474. "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., with the same wood-cut and imprint as before. "The Holy Gospel," &c., fol. ii., cxxii. A table of interpretation of proper names—of principal things—the years from Adam to Christ—and the years from Paul's conversion. There is no Colophon. The Sacred text is in Roman, the contents of chapters in Italic type. A full page contains 63 lines.

Not at all aware, perhaps, of the cautious expediency by which the Queen of England was now guided, they subjoined a dedication to her Majesty, remarkably free from that fulsome adulation, which had been far too common, and expressing with great frankness their zeal for further progress in the cause of truth and righteousness. But there was a *second* address or "Epistle," still more worthy of notice. In what they had done, the translators now fixed an eye of sympathy and love, not upon *England* alone, but, taking a nobler flight, upon all those to whom the English language was *vernacular*. Such was the happy effect of *adversity* and *travel*; the one softening, the other enlarging their minds. Their epistle of explanation, therefore, as to this version, is addressed to no

Returning by Dieppe, he landed at Leith on the 2d of May. To say nothing, therefore, of Knox's but recent attention to Hebrew, it is evident from these movements, that, however interested, he could never have been engaged with this new version of the Bible.

particular party; but—"TO OUR BELOVED IN THE LORD; THE BRETHREN OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND." A most judicious title, and if there must be any Epistle to the Christian Reader at all, it would have been well for the interests of the United Kingdom had the words been preserved *intio-late* from that day to this. Amidst all that has occurred since, it is the *only* one to which no objection worth notice, could, or can, be brought; to say nothing of its being so akin to the simple majesty of the Divine Record, and to that only light in which God has regarded the entire number of his people, in this highly favoured country, all along.

The last sheet of this Bible having been committed to the press on the 10th of April 1560, Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson returned home immediately; but of all the men already mentioned, there was one, who had not only fostered the translation when proceeding at Geneva, but was specially interested in its circulation throughout England, immediately afterwards, and he must not now be passed over. Bodeleigh or Bodley is a name that one should have imagined would not have escaped notice, as it has generally done.⁶

⁶ Neither Foxe, Burnet, or Strype, Mr. Todd or Mr. Whittaker, give us any information. Lewis glances at him as *one* John Bodleigh; and Mr. Townley, in his valuable "Biblical Literature," after some notice of all these men, closes by saying—"Of John Bodleigh no account has been obtained." Of the three men who returned last, it may here be added, that they never appear to have made any public statement respecting the good work in which they had engaged; leaving the translation to be estimated by its own merits. At one period or another, in future life, all the three seem to have been befriended by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. As for GILBY, he lived and died at an advanced age, as Rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, the gift of this nobleman. WHITTINGHAM'S talents we have mentioned as of the first order. This partly appeared as soon as he returned home. He was immediately nominated to accompany the Earl of Bedford on a mission to the Court of France, and on his return went with the Earl of Warwick, through whose influence with Elizabeth he was chosen Dean of Durham. Soon after this, his character and abilities being known and acknowledged, when Sir W. Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, was made Lord Treasurer, Whittingham was thought of, and according to A. Wood, (who was no admirer of course), actually nominated among others to succeed him. Whittingham, however, was not in the least anxious for Court favour, and remained where he was, at Durham. Neither he, nor his two friends, were ever reconciled to the dress imposed by authority on the clergy, and in several things, like Coverdale, never conformed; but it was not until near the close of his life that Whittingham was molested. This had reference to the validity of his *ordination*. He had, it is true, been only an eminent Christian scholar, till he went to Geneva the second time, where he was called to the ministry by the unanimous suffrage of his brethren, and was then ordained, precisely as John Knox had been before him. Edwin Sandys, though himself once also an exile, was now Archbishop of York, and with 35 articles, and 49 interrogatories, he now fell upon the Dean; but the chief charge related to his Geneva ordination. Whittingham denied the power of Sandys to visit Durham at all, and appealed to Elizabeth. But her commission being addressed to Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, as Lord President of the North, and to Hutton, Dean of York, &c., as well as to the Archbishop, the two former were warm in favour of Whittingham. On one occasion, the Dean of York made no scruple in telling Sandys, though his own superior, that Whittingham was "ordained in a better manner than the Archbishop himself." After two attempts to visit, they alike failed, and our translator died soon after, on the 10th of June 1579; or twenty-two years after his New Testament was finished at press. SAMPSON, after his return, was offered the See of Norwich by the Queen, but he declined, and in Michaelmas 1561 was elected Dean of

John Bodley, Esq., was a native of Exeter, according to the statement of his own son. "In the time of Queen Mary," he says, "after being cruelly threatened and narrowly observed, by those that maliced his religion, for the safety of himself and my mother, (formerly Miss Joan Hone, an heiress in the hundred of Ottery St. Mary,) who was wholly affected as my father, knew no way so secure as to fly into Germany; where, after a while, he found means to call over my mother, with all his children and family, whom he settled for a while at Wesel in Cleve-land, and from thence we removed to the town of Frankfort. Howbeit, we made no long tarrance in either of these towns, for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the city of Geneva, where, as far as I remember, the English Church consisted of *some hundred members.*" Here it was that the father first took that deep interest in the Geneva Bible, which comes before us presently, and here too it was that *this* son acquired that taste for literature and books, for which so many genera-tions, ever since, have had such reason to revere his memory. For who was this son? No other than Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Bodley, who, under his father's care, spent from his twelfth to his fifteenth year in Geneva, and then studying Greek and Hebrew, as well as other sub-jects under the best teachers. On returning home, his father in 1559 or 1560 placed him in Magdalene College under Mr. Laurence Hum-phry, and in six years after, at the age of twenty-one, he was reading publicly a Greek lecture in Merton Hall, or the College of Wickliffe. The founder of the *Bodleian*, one of the most magnificent of all libraries, at home or abroad, is annually remembered by a solemn speech in the schools; and certainly on the day when the visitation of the library is held, all petty prejudice aside, Geneva may well be glanced at, as the spot where the seeds of learning were first sown in the founder's mind, and his taste for literature was first implanted. At all events, whatever be done or said at Oxford, in the *present* day, let not the zeal of his worthy Father be forgotten elsewhere, on behalf of the Sacred Volume itself, and that in a translation which was read in the *families* both of England and Scotland, for more than half a century to come.

Although, however, these exiles had completed their trans-lation of the Bible, and borne the charge, it by no means fol-lowed that the book should be forthwith admitted into Eng-

Christ Church, Oxford. In the application to Elizabeth on his behalf, subscribed by twenty men of letters, they say that they found "none to be compared to him, and it was very doubtful whether there was a better man, a greater *linguist*, a more complete scholar, or profound divine." Yet in four years after he was removed, and simply for non-conformity as to *dress*; the mere garb of the man being regarded as a superior consideration to all others. On the 13th of September 1570, he was collated to the prebend of Pancras in St. Paul's, thus occupying to his death the same stall which *Robert Ridley* and *John Rogers* had done before him. Though much disabled by palsy for the last fifteen years of his life, yet as master of the hospital at Leicester, he was of great service; where he died 9th April 1589, aged 72.

land, and more especially by authority. They had laboured "night and day," indeed, but though so zealous, this was a point yet to be ascertained. The New Testament of 1557 had been secretly introduced, but it was then an interdicted book—it had not since been recognised as lawful, and already we have witnessed the extreme caution of the reigning Queen. Besides, there was a translation under the name of Matthew, and, above all, of Cranmer, both of whom had been once, or already sanctioned; while this new version had been accomplished by men, who, like Tyndale of old, had been obliged to fly the kingdom. But, notwithstanding, the time had come for the Geneva book to be admitted, and this was as soon as it was finished; only all these circumstances render its reception at the moment more worthy of notice. On returning to our native land, while not one word has yet been said as to any reprint of *Cranmer*, and in the face of John Cawood and Richard Jugge having been already appointed *her Majesty's printers*, the first distinct notice of the Geneva Bible having arrived in England is by no less than a patent from the Queen, granted in favour of John Bodeleigh already mentioned.⁷

"Elizabeth, &c.—To all manner of printers, booksellers, &c.—We do you to understand, that of our grace special, we have granted and given privilege and license, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant, and give privilege and license, unto our well beloved subject John Bodeleigh, and to his assignes, for the term of *seven* years next ensuing the date hereof, to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, the *English Bible, with Annotations, faithfully translated and finished in this present year of our Lord God, a thousand, five hundred and three score*, and dedicated to us; straitly forbidding and commanding, as well printers and booksellers as other persons, within our realms and dominions, in any manner of wise, to imprint, or cause to be imprinted, any of the foresaid English Bibles, that the said John Bodeleigh shall, by the authority of this our license, imprint, or cause to be imprinted, or any part of them, but only the said John Bodeleigh and his assignes; and that every offender shall forfeit to our use forty shillings, of lawful money of England, for every such Bible at any time so printed, and all such books to be forfeited, &c. In witness whereof, &c. 8th Jan. 1560-1561."⁸

Whether this patent was of much advantage to the patentee is at present of secondary moment; but it forcibly reminds us

⁷ Cawood had been appointed by Mary her printer for life. Elizabeth sustained the appointment, but joined Richard Jugge along with him, to print either separately or together. But till the year 1577, or sixteen years later, the printing of Bibles and Testaments was common to all printers who took out a license. See Lansdowne MS. 48, No. 78, and the subsequent pages, where the subject will be more fully explained.

⁸ Their year of 1560 ran on to the 25th of March.

of Henry VIII., in the year 1537. It presents Elizabeth before us, now *at the first call* from abroad, and without any hesitation, herself opening the way for the general circulation of this Bible throughout her dominions, for seven years to come. Little did the exiles imagine, when flying abroad for *their* lives, that one grand intended purpose was the improvement of the Book of *Life* itself, and that no sooner should *that* be finished, than it should be at once, and so received! Both Philip and Mary had thus, unconsciously, been pushing forward the cause they wished to destroy, and Elizabeth, however imperative at other moments, or however cautious, must not now stand in the way.

But is this the selfsame Queen who spake so warily before all her courtiers, less than a year ago? It is the same. Her reign was the commencement of a new era, in many respects; but, in the present case, one is forcibly reminded of another, in the reign of her father, twenty-four years ago, and the analogy is not faint. As only *eleven* months had elapsed between Henry's winking at the martyrdom of Tyndale and the royal sanction of his translation, so only *eleven* months had now passed between the evasive or cautious reply of his daughter and her royal patent. Both volumes had been prepared upon foreign ground, and both in the face of clouds and darkness, or the frown of the reigning government; yet the second is now come into England, as did the first, by the declared consent of the Sovereign. Henry had not read the Bible he sanctioned, nor had his daughter assuredly examined the present volume. In this second instance, however, there is equal, if not superior, emphasis. The present Sovereign, no less arbitrary and inflexible, was far more quicksighted and vigilant than her father. It has been said that "her eye was everywhere," and as far as free inquiry through the medium of the press was concerned, the reader may now form his own opinion, as to whether it had ever been in a more singular state or more guarded, since the introduction of the art into England. One of the injunctions which the Queen's Majesty had recently issued was the following:—

"*Item*, Because there is a great abuse in the printers of books, which for covetousness regard not what they print, so they may have gain, whereby ariseth great disorder, by publication of unfruitful, vain, and infamous books and papers; the Queen's Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of *Book or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what*

soeter language it be, except the same be first licensed by her Majesty, by express words in writing, or by six of her Privy Council, or be perused and licensed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the Bishop being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place, where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinary of the place to be always one, and that the names of such as shall allow the same be added at the end of every such work, for a testimony of the allowance thereof, &c. And touching all other books of matters of religion that hath been printed, either on this side the seas, or the other side, because the diversity of them is great, and that there needeth good consideration to be had of the particularities thereof, her Majesty referreth the prohibition, or the permission thereof to the order which her Commissioners within the city of London shall take and notify.⁹ According to the which her Majesty strictly commandeth all manner her subjects, and specially the Wardens and Company of Stationers, to be obedient."¹⁰

Under these circumstances, the patent granted to Mr. Bodley for the Geneva Bible, with annotations, must appear, in its true light, as not a little extraordinary. Here, as it had happened before under Henry VIII., no reference could have been made, either to Parliament or to the Convocation, for they did not assemble for two years to come; nor was there any reference to the Privy Council, much less to such Commissioners in London. As Crumwell formerly at once obtained Henry's admission of Tyndale's Bible, without the King being aware of what he was doing, so some one now, perhaps Cecil, had gained the assent of Elizabeth. Such, however, was the fact. The Bible, completed by these exiles, being intended for English eyes, the habitual caution of the Queen must be laid aside, and her *first* official act in reference to the Scriptures, sanction its printing in England, and that without the slightest reference to any Bible *previously* admitted or sanctioned by her father or brother.

As already stated, the expense of the Geneva Bible of 1560 had been defrayed by the English Church in that city, but there had been an edi-

⁹ The supremacy now granted to the Queen, gave her power to depute any persons to exercise it in her name whom she chose to appoint, and this gave rise to a court, but too well known afterwards—the *High Commission Court*. It exercised the same power which had been lodged by her father in the person of one man, Crumwell, as Viceregent and Vicar-General. It continued throughout the whole of the present reign, and for two in succession, or till its deeds had rendered its very name odious. On being dissolved by Parliament, the Act declared that "No such jurisdiction should be revived for the future in any court." But whatever may be said of the Commissioners now appointed, Elizabeth's patent was *her own deed*.

¹⁰ The "Company of Stationers" had reference to the preceding reign, a creation of Philip and Mary's. On the 4th May 1556 they had appointed "the Stationers' Company," including printers and booksellers in London, to the number of ninety-seven. The Company had been talked of loosely, from the days of Wynken de Worde; but there was no *charter* granted before this; and what was the leading object in then doing so? To prevent "the renewal and propagating very great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound Catholic doctrine of Holy Mother the Church." Under that reign, this language was perfectly *intelligible*; but what meant Elizabeth? On the 10th of November, or two months before granting her patent to Bodley, Elizabeth confirmed the Stationers' charter in these words:—"We ratifying and allowing the foresaid letters, and all and every thing contained therein, do, as much as in us lies, accept and approve them for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, and do ratify and confirm them to our beloved Reynold Wolfe, now the master of the foresaid mystery, &c.—See Herbert's *Ames*, vol. iii. pp. 1590-1600.

tion of the New Testament in 16mo, suitable for the pocket, and in both of these Mr. Bodley, as a member of that Church, had borne his share. By the day on which his patent was granted, however, a second edition of the Bible, in folio, was far advanced at Geneva, and finished by the 10th of April 1561, or precisely one year after the former. For this book he seems to have been personally or chiefly responsible; and the patent, applied for and obtained, would aid him in the sale. Rowland Hall, the former printer, having returned home, had by this time begun business in England, so that he had no concern in this folio; and probably, from prudential motives, owing to the critical state of the times, *no* printer's name was affixed to it.

Such was the commencement of those numerous editions of the Geneva version which followed, not only during the long reign of Elizabeth, but down to nearly the middle of the next century. As for the present moment, placed in circumstances the most critical, but surrounded by men of high renown as politicians, a Prince more potent had never swayed the sceptre of England; only we have yet to see whether Elizabeth had power sufficient, either to control, or in the slightest degree regulate, the stream of Divine Truth which in a few years flowed over the land; or, in other words, whether the public opinion and taste, as to the translation of the Sacred Word, was influenced by regal authority or not.

After that two editions had been executed abroad, besides two of the New Testament in a separate form, it was certainly time for the English printers to bestir themselves; and the man who had printed for Queen *Mary* all along, John Ca-wood, must be allowed to take the lead. He had changed with the times, and now came forward with an edition of Cranmer's Bible in quarto; while Richard Juggge, silent since the days of Edward, now gave two editions of the New Testament, one of Tyndale's, and, it has been affirmed, one of Coverdale's. Richard Harrison, too, though *not* printer to her Majesty, having obtained license, had printed an edition of Cranmer's Testament.¹¹ Thus, and before the year 1561 had expired, it is curious enough, the people had Tyndale and Coverdale, Cranmer and the Geneva version all before them. Seven

¹¹ Whoever printed, it was necessary to obtain a license, of which, however, he it observed, there were at present two descriptions, viz., one from the Crown, another from the Stationers' Company. Harrison, in 1562, printing a second Testament, had disregarded even the latter. "Hence," says Herbert, "it appears that he printed two editions at least of the *New Testament*. But doing this without license, he was fined *viii. s.*"

years must pass away before another competitor appears; but this will be no other than Parker's or the Bishops' Bible, and the result remains to be seen. These, even including Parker's Bible, it must be borne in mind, were, without exception, personal undertakings, or affairs managed with certain *stationers*—that is, printers or booksellers for the time being, the license granted for every single edition being applied for to secure the parties against loss by their outlay of capital. The different *versions* were like so many candidates for public choice, or so many feelers, put forth through an all-wise, overruling Providence, leaving time to discover *which* was to prevail, as esteemed by the readers to be the best, or nearest to the Divine original.

But before referring to the Bible of Parker in 1568, there were intervening events not unworthy of notice. In the year 1562, an edition of Cranmer's Bible appeared, the first in *folio* under Elizabeth: and it is worthy of notice, that this came from *neither* of her Majesty's printers, but from the press of Richard Harrison, already mentioned.¹²

A pause of four years succeeded, before any other Bible appeared, when Mr. Bodley comes before us, and once more calling attention to the subject. The Geneva Bible, it must be remembered, was not much read in public assemblies, or at least not understood to be so, so that there could be but little demand from them; but it had proved such a favourite in *family* reading, that the two editions, already noticed, had been exhausted. In 1565 Bodley was preparing for a new impression; and by March the next year, a careful review and correction being finished, this zealous man, anxious to print upon English ground, wished to *renew* his privilege beyond the seven years first granted. With this view he applied to Sir William Cecil; but Parker's Bible being already in hands, the cautious Secretary suspended all reply, till

¹² Lewis has led to a mistake sometimes made, that there were *two* editions of *this* year. Dr. Gifford upon his copy now in the Bristol Museum, had written as follows:—"This seems to have been the first Bible printed in folio, in Q. Elizabeth's reign, and agrees with that edition of the Great Bible printed in 1541, overseen by the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, which I call the sixth, seventh, or eighth edition. Though it is the same date at the beginning and end, and the same printer, and has the same title-page, and has both the callender and prologue with that described by Lewis, p. 213, yet it is doubtless a *different* edition—from its having quite a different title-page in the *New Testament*." The title, says Lewis, of the *New Testament* runs thus:—"The New Testament in English after the last recognition and setting forth of Erasmus;" that in Dr. Gifford's Bible being "The New Testament in English translated after the Greek." But, says an intelligent correspondent of the author—"I have no doubt that the copy from which Lewis took his description, had been made up with a *New Testament* title, or perhaps more, from the Cranmer's Bible printed by Petyt and Redman for Berthelet, 1540,—the title of which is the same with that which he quotes. Singularly enough, when I bought my copy of Berthelet, 1540, the first leaf of Matthew was from 'the edition of Harrison, 1562, with which it reads word for word.'" After this there can be no question that there was only *one* edition of the BIBLE, though apparently two of the *New Testament*.

he had consulted the Archbishop, and Grindal, Bishop of London. They both replied ; Parker himself writing to the Secretary, that—

“ He and the Bishop of London thought so well of the first impression of this Bible, and the review of those who had since travelled therein, that they wished it would please him to be a means, that *twelve* years' longer term, might be by special privilege granted to Bodleigh, in consideration of the charges sustained by him and his associates in the *first* impression, and the review since : that though another special Bible for the *Churches* were meant by them to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure hereafter should permit ; yet should it nothing hinder, but rather do much good to have diversity of translations and readings. And that if the license hereafter to be made went simply forth, *without proviso of their oversight*, as they thought it might so pass well enough ; (and as it will be remembered every license had so done,) yet they told the Secretary, that *they* would take such order with the party, *in writing under his hand*, that *no impression should pass, but by their direction, consent, and advice!* Dated ‘ Lambeth, 9th March 1565,’ i. e. 1566.”¹³

The condition here proposed, was exactly the same for which the Bishops as a body had panted all along. It was this “ direction or control” which they had been aiming at, ever and anon, from the beginning, though never permitted to enjoy it. As now offered for acceptance, and in such a singular style by PARKER ; in the page of history it serves for a striking contrast to the *non-interference* of CRANMER, throughout the entire reign of Edward, when he possessed double the power which Parker ever did. But if the condition or proviso itself excites notice, how much more the manner in which he proposed to enforce it ? The Queen is here understood to act, precisely as she had done before, nay, as *likely* to do so. Suppose then, that, without reference to any Bishop, or any restriction whatever, Elizabeth, under her sign-manual, granted the privilege requested. Then was to come the Archbishop, and stepping between her Majesty and her patentee, he proposes to “ take order from Mr. Bodley, *in writing*,” that *no impression shall pass, but by “ the direction, consent, and advice ”* of himself and his brethren ! Where, then, lay any advantage in applying to her Majesty ? Was the Archbishop about to make so little account as this of the royal authority ? Or did he not perceive the illegality of his proposed step ? Under a Sovereign so alive to her supremacy, he might have found the course proposed, to have been rather dangerous—only he was now saved all farther trouble. The idea of such a rider on his royal privilege, once communicated to Bodley, seems to have been quite sufficient, for after this date, we hear not one word more of the patent ; and the Geneva translation must be printed again and again, without one being either *asked* or *granted!* After all that had passed in England, the proviso specified was one, to which subjection could be yielded,

¹³ Strype's Life of Parker.

no, not for an hour. Neither Matthew's Bible, when first imported, nor Taverner's, or Cranmer's afterwards, when first printed, had ever been subjected to the "direction, consent, and advice of the Bishops;" and Mr. Bodley, however zealous, had no idea of the Geneva version being made an exception. By Cecil's caution, indeed, most cordial approbation of the translation itself, as well as of the present "review," had been drawn forth in writing, under the hand of both Parker and Grindal, and so far all was well; but if their "direction, consent, and advice" are to be imposed, then the "review," as it stood, must be sent as far distant as Geneva, and the Bible be printed in the city from whence it first issued. There was an ingenious and learned printer, John Crespin or Crispin, who still lingered behind, and printed there from 1556 to 1570.¹⁴ Accordingly, as soon as Archbishop Parker was ready with his Bible in 1568, if not before, another edition of the Geneva Bible, from the press of this man, was finished, as well as an additional impression of the New Testament, both in quarto.

This, however, was not for more than two years to come; and the printing of the Scriptures must not be suspended, no, not for one day. Already indeed two printing presses were fully occupied. An edition of Cranmer, in folio, for public reading was wanted, and it was time for the Book to be brought into a more portable shape. Accordingly, we have two other fine instances of individual enterprise, one even in France, the other in London, and both of them equally independent of the Archbishop, or either of her Majesty's printers.

About twenty-eight years ago, or in 1538, the reader cannot fail to remember an edition of Matthew's Bible being commenced under Coverdale's inspection at Paris, which however had to be finished in London. But if the state of France was unpropitious to such an attempt then, it seemed to have been much more so now. There happened, however, to be a short pause in the civil wars which for forty years had desolated that fine country. The King of Navarre had been killed at a siege, the Duke of Guise assassinated, and fifty thousand Hugonots already slain. Elizabeth, for her own safety's sake, had aided this people; and in 1563 a peace was concluded which lasted till 1567. A gentleman, then living at Rouen in Normandy, belonging to the customs, and of good repute, resolved to seize the opportunity here presented him; and *at*

¹⁴ Crispin, a native of Arras in France, originally clerk to Charles du Moulin, and admitted advocate to the parliament of Paris, having formed a friendship with Beza, retired to Geneva, where he gained reputation by his printing, till his death by the plague in 1572. He was author of a Greek Lexicon, Geneva 1571, reprinted in London 1581, &c.

his own cost and charges, committed to the press an edition of Cranmer's Bible in folio. This is a very fine book, on royal paper, printed "at Rouen by C. Hamilton, *cum privilegio*, 1566." This gentleman, Richard Carmarden, the frequent correspondent of Cecil, as in the Lansdowne manuscripts, was afterwards in the London Custom House, and living as late as the year 1599.¹⁵

The other instance referred to, at home, was no other than the last edition printed by the same man, who in the midst of actual pestilence, and with but doubtful prospect of success, *first* brought the Bible of 1537 into England, Richard Grafton. He had weathered the storm in Mary's reign, and now saw his old virulent enemy, Bonner, still living, but under general contempt, and in prison. Though advanced in life, Grafton ventured on an edition of Cranmer's Bible, evidently intended for family use. It was the *first* edition of the English Bible in *one volume octavo*; and seems to have been a very large impression. At least there is a passage in the annals of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir James Ware, the Irish Camden, which, if correct, could bear upon no other than the present octavo Bible. "In the year 1566," says he, "John Dale, a bookseller, imported seven thousand copies of the Bible from London, and sold the whole, in Ireland, within two years." What a singular contrast to so many succeeding years! But it would be a circumstance no less memorable, if the very same individual who first brought the Sacred Volume into *England* in 1537, should, before his death, have been the first employed in printing it even for *Ireland* itself. Accordingly, there does not appear to be one copy left in the possession of any private collector, or public library, on this side of the channel, nor have we heard, whether there be one left in Ireland.¹⁶

At last, in 1568, or the tenth year after Elizabeth had

¹⁵ In the Bibl. Harl. No. 172, there is an edition of this Bible dated 1562, which has been inserted by Herbert; but this appears to be a clerical error for 1566, or it may have been *pre-ssumed* from a copy without the title, as the *Almanac* prefixed, begins at 1561.

¹⁶ This eminent printer, GRAFTON, as the first who brought the Bible into England, is never to be forgotten. After which he continued to employ the press in London, at intervals, for nearly thirty-five years. His fine printing may be traced on nearly 150 distinct pieces; of which about 65 were the chief, and of these the Bible in folio was the *first*, and the Bible in octavo the *last*. By a fall, when far advanced in life, he had his leg broken in two places, which ever after lamed him. Of his sickness, death, and burial no account is left, nor is there any notice of him later than the year 1572. EDWARD WILKINSON, his partner from 1537 to 1541, who afterwards printed separately, is said to have married the widow of Cranmer: but he is not to be traced later than 1569.

ascended the throne, the first edition of the Bible, superintended by Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was published. Great care had been taken in this revision of the text, by more than fifteen learned men, Greek and Hebrew scholars, besides Parker himself, who superintended the several portions, as they came from the hands of those to whom he had committed them.

The *Pentateuch* was consigned to W. E. or William Alley, Bishop of Exeter; *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, to R. M. or Richard Davies of St. Davids, who had previously been engaged in translating the Bible into Welsh; *Samuel, the Kings and Chronicles* were assigned to Edwyn Sandys of Worcester; *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther and Job*, to A. P. C. or Andrew Pearson, Prebendary of Canterbury; the *Psalms* to T. B. or Thomas Bentham of Litchfield and Coventry; the *Proverbs* to A. P. C.; *Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song*, to A. P. E. or Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely; *Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations* to R. W. or Robert Horn of Winchester; *Ezekiel and Daniel* to T. C. L. or Thomas Cole, once at Geneva, afterwards Dean of Lincoln; the *minor Prophets* to E. L. or Edmunde Grindel of London; the *Apocrypha* to J. N. or John Parkhurst of Norwich; the *four Gospels and the Acts*, to R. E. or Richard Cox of Ely; the *Romans* to Edmund Guest of Rochester; the *Corinthians* to G. G. or Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster. Mr. Laurence, a learned Grecian, was also engaged, with one or two other individuals. From the majority of these men being on the Bench, this translation has been styled "the Bishops' Bible," the initials above mentioned, being printed at the end of their respective parts.

Parker had now at last accomplished that which Cranmer had attempted in vain, or a version of the English Bible, generally revised from the preceding, in conjunction with certain brethren on the Bench, and other scholars. It was a decided improvement on the whole. They had watched Cranmer's or Coverdale's leaning to the Vulgate; they expunged the three verses from the fourteenth Psalm, which the latter first inserted at Paris, and in Timothy, they altered Cranmer's rendering "by authority of *the priesthood*" to that of "the eldership," besides other amendments of the text.

This Bible, as presented to the Queen, was by far the most splendid that had ever been printed, containing not fewer than 143 engravings in copper or wood, of maps, portraits, and coats of arms. The portraits include one of Elizabeth on the title; one of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at the beginning of Joshua; and one of Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, at the Psalms. In short, Parker had left nothing undone to secure the favour of his royal mistress; and yet one is immediately struck with several points of contrast between this book, and those large Bibles put forth under Elizabeth's father. Parker had certainly paid far more attention to this edition, than Cranmer had ever done to any, or to all of

his put together ; but whether it arose from jealousy of prelatic authority in the reigning Princess, or any other cause, his name must not be emblazoned on the title-page like Cranmer's, nor indeed anywhere else, throughout the volume. The primate, indeed, had slipped his paternal arms, empaled with those of Christ Church, Canterbury, into an initial letter T at the genealogical table in the Old Testament, and at the preface to the New ; and his brethren, by his orders, had placed their initials only, at the end of their several parts, as already noted, but there must be nothing more. The book was beautifully executed by Richard Jugge, with the customary addition to his colophon—"Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis," but without any token whatever of Elizabeth's peculiar preference. There is here no dedication to the Queen Regnant, and to crown all, the simplicity of the titles is a very marked feature of the book. They are—"THE HOLIE BIBLE, conteyning the Olde Testament and the New." "*The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christe,*"—nothing more. In short, so far from the royal smile having been already obtained, some protection must be implored for Jugge, lest any one else should print the version ! These circumstances only invite farther explanation.

It has been long erroneously supposed that this revision was UNDERTAKEN *by Royal command*. Le Long had said as much, (and others have blindly followed him), but it was on no higher authority than the mere assertion of Arnold Boot, the Dutch physician. There is not only no direct proof, but the evidence presented forbids any such idea. When the book was finished in the autumn of 1568, Parker was in such poor health, that he "dared not adventure" to wait upon the Queen personally. He therefore addressed her by an inclosure, on the 5th of October, directed under cover to Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, &c., when, if Elizabeth had ever laid her commands upon him, he could not have so expressed himself. He prays, through Cecil, that her Majesty's "gracious favour, license, and protection to be communicated abroad," may be extended to this "recognition of the Bible,"—"not varying much from that translation which was commonly used by public order, except where the verity of the Hebrew and Greek moved alteration, or where the text was, by some negligence, mutilated from the original." He begs this gracious favour of her Majesty, "not only as many churches want their books, as that in certain places be *publicly used* some translations *which have not been laboured in her realm;*" plainly alluding to the Geneva book, now being read, not only in private but in public. When presenting this Bible, here bound in a style fit for Royalty to accept, Parker intreats that Cecil will apologise to the Queen for his "disability in not coming himself ;" informing him that the *initials* of the assistants concerned was a policy of *his own*, to make the parties "more diligent, as answerable for their doings." He

intreats his honour to obtain of the Queen's Highness a license for this version, "to be *only* commended in public reading in churches, to draw to one uniformity," and "that Jugge, only, may have the preferment of this edition; for if any other should *turcke* him, to steal from him these copies, he were a great loser in this first doing."¹⁷

Such were the letters of Parker, to which there seems to have been no written reply, at least there is none extant; while subsequent events prove that the requests as preferred were *not* granted. At the very moment in which the requests were made, the same printer was issuing Cranmer's version as "The Bible in English," having the words—"according to the translation appointed to be read in the churches," on its title, and his fellow printer Cawood did the same thing next year. While, on the other hand, the same simplicity of title-page, as that which we have quoted, continued on all the editions of Parker as long as he lived. He expired on the 17th of May 1575, but on the editions of 1569, 1570, 1572, or the second folio with only 30 engravings; on that of 1573 in quarto, of which there is a splendid presentation copy in Lambeth Library, painted and richly bound in five volumes;¹⁸ and finally in the third folio of 1574 without engravings, there is no indication of any advance in point of royal privilege or authority. Cranmer's version had been long pointed out in the title-page as "appointed to be read" in public, but Parker's version never as yet. Moreover, in this the very year of that primate's death, we have the decided evidence that no exclusive privilege had been granted to the printer for whom he had interceded. Jugge, it may be remembered, had been aiming after a monopoly for printing the New Testament, under Edward, but failed in it.¹⁹ Now, however, he was actually "printer to the Queen's Majesty," and that since 1560; but this, then, as ever before, lent to him no exclusive privilege, and hence the application of Parker through Cecil.²⁰ But if the Archbishop had failed in obtaining the royal authority for his revision of the Bible to be the only one used in public worship; so neither had he succeeded in obtaining his request on behalf of Mr. Jugge. The proof of this is to be seen in the edition of Parker's version, printing at the season of the primate's death.

This Bible deserves particular notice, otherwise the book may be mis-

¹⁷ See the letters by Parker, among the collection of Eccles. Papers in the State Paper Office. They have been printed by Mr. Pettigrew in the Sussex Descriptive Catalogue.

¹⁸ The author is not aware whether the Bible first sent to Elizabeth be in existence; but after examining these volumes in the Lambeth Library, they seemed to almost warrant the supposition of another effort on the part of the Archbishop. The book has been mistaken for an edition of Cranmer.

¹⁹ See before, page 242, note.

²⁰ To Cecil's *prudence* indeed, he left the whole affair. "I have caused one booke to be bound, as ye see, which I heartily pray you to present favourably to the Queen's Majesty, with your friendly excuse of my disability, in not coming myself. I have also written to the Queen's Majesty, the copy whereof I have sent you, the rather to use *your opportunity* of delivery, if your prudence shall *not think them tolerable*." After such language, it is certain that there had been no royal command on the subject.

taken, as it actually has been, for so many as six separate editions, in the same year. It is a very pretty volume, in small folio. On certain titles will be found "Printed by Richard Jugge," but on others "*printed by Richard Kele,*"—*by John Walley, by Lucas Harrison, by John Judson, or by William Norton.* It was evidently a joint undertaking, Jugge being able to bear nothing more than his own share, though most probably the printer of the whole impression. They are, without exception, the same book, having only different titles, and the last leaf answers equally for them all. Here, it is curious enough, were printers or booksellers, who had lived under four successive Sovereigns, all grouped together. Kele, if not Walley, under *Henry VIII*; Jugge, under *Edward*; Judson, under *Mary*; Harrison and Norton, under *Elizabeth*, and all equally concerned in *one* book, *one BIBLE.* This edition, in short, was analogous to that of 1551, under Edward. These five men had borne their proportions, along with Jugge, in the expense or cost of this large impression, and their names, therefore, *must be so* inserted in the title. At this moment a more striking instance could not have occurred in proof, that, as yet, *the printing of the Sacred Volume was no EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE OF THE CROWN PRINTER FOR THE TIME BEING, OR OF ANY OTHER.*

As far, however, as printing editions could carry it, all justice had now been done to the Bishops' Bible; and backed by the influence of so many men on the Bench, personally interested, it must have been presumed that this book would at last carry the *palm* of superiority, and put not only Cranmer's version out of sight and out of mind, but the Geneva Bible also. Had not Parker completed his task, and even his final corrections? He was now deceased, a circumstance which might be supposed to lend additional interest to his labours; and he had been succeeded by Edmund Grindal, one of the translators actually engaged in the work. The Queen, therefore, if she had any zeal, such as the Bishops desired, seemed to owe it to the Primate's *memory*, that this, and this *alone*, should be the Bible in general use; and so, it may be supposed, certain parties anticipated. Besides, to make this the more probable, there had evidently been some hindrance, if not demur, about allowing the Geneva Bible to be printed at all. We know not whether it was owing to Archbishop Parker's fixed determination to have it under *his* control; but it is certain that while he lived, no edition was printed upon English ground. After Mr. Bodley's attempt, there had, it is true, been three impressions, dated in 1568,

1569, and 1570 ; but all these had been printed at Geneva. Since 1570 there had been no reprint, and in 1575, the sixteenth year of the reigning Queen had come. By this time, complaint as to the long delay in printing it at home, had been publicly and strongly expressed. "If that Bible," it was said, "be such, as no enemy of God could justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour as not to be printed again."²¹

Such was the state of things in the year when Archbishop Parker expired. With regard to that version of the Bible frequently distinguished by his name, and that which had been accomplished by his expatriated countrymen, matters now stood very much in the same position, as they had done in the days of Henry and Edward, when Tyndale's and Cranmer's versions were before the people of England. The reader, therefore, may be the more curious to inquire, whether the present course of events bore any resemblance to the preceding. The former result under Edward's reign, as to the public choice, we have seen ; and seen also Cranmer's memorable non-interference with the public press as to the Scriptures : but Parker, as already witnessed, was a different man. He had indeed very cordially expressed his approbation of the foreign or Geneva production ; but this proposal of his, to have every edition under his own "direction, consent, and advice," had formed the boldest possible contrast to his predecessor in the same chair. If, therefore, this "direction and advice" were not now, or rather never to be, conceded, where was there any prospect of the Geneva circulating far and wide, compared with the Bishops' Bible ? Besides, though Cranmer had chosen to act with such superiority to all personal prejudice, the slightly altered version was only his own, with Coverdale to assist ; so that he had no other man's feelings to consult on the subject ; but in the present case, though Parker, the superintendent, be gone, here were at least seven Bishops, and other learned men, possessing the feelings at least of *correctorship*, and living in the favour of their Sovereign. On the other hand, the version imported from abroad, was the production of merely three or four

²¹ See "The Troubles of Frankfort."

exiles, by no means ever popular with Government, after their return home. Where then was even the shadow of success for the latter, in comparison with the former? Was Queen Elizabeth, so resolute and so imperative on every other subject, down to the merest trifle, to give way here, and on a subject of such magnitude? Was a sceptre so potent in general, to be powerless here? To these queries, we merely reply—We shall see, presently, and for more than a generation to come.

In the meanwhile, let it be observed, that her Majesty was never applied to again, to license by patent the Geneva Bible. Mr. Bodley's, of course, had expired in 1568; and it may have been on the strength of his expiring patent that the book was edged into England, as it was also into Scotland. If it was now to be printed in London, and far more frequently than any other version; if, after it begins to be so, scarcely a year is to pass without one, or two, or three editions issuing from the press, then this must be brought about in some other way. But if under a government so rigid, so intermeddling, so imperative, there is to be one palpable deviation from all other affairs, throughout the entire reign and beyond it; and one with which neither her Majesty, the Parliament, or Convocation, must ever interfere; it will only confirm what has been so frequently pressed upon our notice—that the history of the Bible had a character of its own, or one by itself, which it steadily retained. Of this before long, the reader will be able to judge for himself; but in such a history as the present, of all the events of the time, whether civil or religious, we know not one that is more worthy of consideration. However imperative in a thousand other things, great and small, there was to be no force applied here. So far as the Queen was concerned, and her authority was paramount to all other, there were to be no "injunctions" that Parker's Bible was to be received into families, or alone read under the domestic roof.²² Nay, there had positively been none whatever *as yet*, as to its being read in public assembly. The man too, styled "her Majesty's printer," and now, moreover,

²² The only approach to the *domestic* circle was a curious one. It pointed only at the *dignitaries*, and their own Bible, *three* years after its first appearance. In the Convocation of 1571, it was ordered, for it required to be *ordered*, that copies should be provided by all *dignitaries* for their private houses. *Wilkins' Conc.* iv., p. 263.

ho *alone*, shall continue, from year to year, to meet the choice and wishes of the people: and though in many other things, connected with their ideas as to the supposed *form* of religion, Elizabeth be determined to have her own way, and so to *cross* their will; one whisper of disapprobation as to *the people's* BIBLE, or its domestic use, and almost universal perusal, shall never be recorded to have escaped from her lips! If the silence of her sister Mary, in issuing no denunciation of the English Bible by name, was remarkable, considering the general tone of Elizabeth's character, *her* silence was far more so: for let it only be remembered that after Parker's decease in 1575, Elizabeth had yet twenty-eight years to reign, yet this shall not prevent the Geneva Version from being now printed either in folio or quarto, and being read in churches also. Parker has already told us, that they were so read in his days, and twelve years afterwards, we know they were. For the proof of this fact we are indebted to the best of all witnesses, then living in the kingdom, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, himself. "Divers," says he in the year 1587, "Divers, as well Parish Churches, as Chapels of Ease, are not sufficiently furnished with Bibles, but some have either none at all," (observe still!) "or such as be torn and defaced, and yet *not of the translation authorised by the synons of Bishops.*"²³ But the preference shewn, both before the sway of Whitgift, as well as under it, survived him for years. If the Queen knew any difference between the two versions, it must have frequently met her Majesty's ear, when present at sermons before the Court; and it might have met her eye, if she deigned to look into what was printed around her. Thus Gervase Babington, a pupil of Whitgift's, who preached his funeral sermon, and had been successively Bishop of Llandaff, Exeter and Worcester; if we turn to his "comfortable notes on the Pentateuch," to his other expositions, or his sermons preached before the Court at Greenwich, or at Paul's Cross in 1591, we find him uniformly quote the *Geneva* Bible, as well as read his text from it. Thus George Abbot, the successor of Bancroft, and predecessor of Laud, when Master of University College, Oxford, under Elizabeth and Whitgift, not only preached, but published in 1600, his sermons upon Jonah,

²³ Cardwell's Documentary Annals, ii. p. 11. This, however, was not *Royal* authority.

and throughout he used the *same* version. Other instances might be adduced, but however striking, they would, taken altogether, prove but a feeble indication of that decided preference which began to be shewn by the people at large, from the year immediately after Parker's death.

Here then we are met by a course of events, and the moving cause of that course, or two indelible, if not the most signal features of Elizabeth's reign, which after all that has been written, have been passed over by most historians, and never fully explained by any. But are they, on this account, of but inferior moment? An *extraordinary demand* for the Sacred Volume, and supplied by means not less extraordinary, can never be unimportant in the estimation of many; while at the same time the *cause of this demand* was of such a character, as to form, in the history of the English Bible, one of its brightest pages. To each of these in turn, therefore, the attention of the reader is now solicited.

This eager desire for the word of life, and decided preference for it, in the Geneva Version, were simultaneous, in the year 1575. There are therefore several circumstances connected with the times, as well as the character of Elizabeth's sway, which here invite notice, and will reward it. If the reader, however, will first turn for a moment to our List of Bibles at the close of this work, he cannot fail to be struck with one peculiarity in its appearance. For a period extending to fifty years, or from 1525 to 1575, he may observe what a number of *different* men had been engaged in printing the Scriptures; after which, or from 1577, *one* name alone meets his eye, from year to year. That name is *Barker*, and since the change, or rather the origin of the change, has never been explained, so that great confusion still prevails on the subject, it becomes of no little importance to understand it now.

Had the government of Elizabeth not been distinguished for economy, and at the same time the advancement of several great national objects, it could never have been endured. Frugal in her own expenditure, she could carry measures in Parliament, with a higher hand than her father; and far from resembling him, in perpetually craving money from the senate, she could there assume even a loftier tone of language. Her unbending sway must be traced, in part, to her superiority to all extravagance, as this alone lent her not a little power. Instead of contracting debt, she discharged that of her deceased brother and sister, both

principal and interest. She restored the debased coin to its former purity; and so far from receiving any pension from France, like her predecessors, or from any foreign power, she controlled foreign politics by the money of England. But then, on the other hand, this determination of Elizabeth's to economise, led to different modes of procuring supplies; and among these, to one, which it might have been supposed such a Queen could never have deigned to stoop—moneys received for granting *monopolies* to her subjects.²⁴

For the word *patent*, as an adjective, or free to all, her Majesty seemed as though she had entertained an instinctive dread; but upon the same term, as a noun substantive, or exclusive privilege, she almost doated, for the better part of thirty years. The truth seems to be, that up to this period Elizabeth had entertained no idea of granting patents for *nothing* in return, even at the request of a Bishop, and he might be her Primate; but now, at last, if any thing may be gained, any debt or obligation discharged, merely by her royal seal and signature, it became by no means difficult to gain the royal ear. Her's, in short, by way of eminence, became the age of patents. In such a course she must have been encouraged by her advisers, several of whom very largely shared in the spoil; but jealous to a proverb of her prerogative, the granting of patents became one of the most cherished modes of displaying it.

Since, however, this potent Prince is about to lead the way in granting a patent such as will now be described, we have only to request the reader's attention to the manner of its operation, not only at this crisis, but during all the days of her mortal existence. Every one knows with what a watchful eye Elizabeth regarded all the prelates in her kingdom—that she was, with a high hand too, her own Vicar-General, maintaining throughout life, both a tight and a steady rein; nay, by this moment even her Primate, Edmund Grindal, was in disgrace;²⁵ and yet this very year, 1577, as if in marked contrast to her rigidity in all such matters, if any exclusive privilege be put forth with reference to the Scriptures, the Queen will be *no party to any one version in PREFERENCE to another*.

This, it is freely granted, could not justify the interference, and such

²⁴ There was still another mode. So early as 1567, the Queen, borrowing a hint from some of the continental governments, had recourse to the expedient of a STATE LOTTERY, the *first* ever known in England. In the absence of modern puffing, she adopted the mode of personal application, through the Lords of the Privy Council, in her Grace's name! The prizes were tardily paid, if paid at all! Elizabeth had recourse to a second in 1585. The contrast to all this, under her sister Queen Mary, only twenty years before, cannot fail to strike many readers. See before, p. 272. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that Mary had her compulsory loans and arbitrary exactions; that she had borrowed large sums of money, and died deep in debt, leaving her sister to discharge it.

²⁵ The shameful treatment of this excellent man will come before us before long. But it may be stated here that Grindal had condemned the wicked and disgusting marriage of Julio Bernarucci, an Italian physician, to the wife of another man. Julio was a great favourite of the Earl of Leicester's. That nobleman interfered, and Grindal lost the Queen's favour for ever. See Lodge's illustrations, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 113.

a step as a patent or monopoly applicable to the Sacred Volume, ought to have received far more deliberate and serious reflection. To many, no doubt, it might appear as nothing different from any other commercial transaction, though upon second consideration, there was a distinction, demanding, before such a step, the deepest cogitation from any Monarch, as well as in every age.

“ The question itself,” said the late Robert Hall one day, at Leicester, “ whether the Sacred Volume was designed to be communicated to mankind at large without distinction, or to a particular class, with a discretionary power of communicating it at such times, and in such proportions as they may deem fit, can only be determined by itself. If it bear decisive indications of its being intended for private custody ; if it be found to affirm, or even to insinuate, that it is not meant for universal circulation ; we must submit to hold it at the discretion of its legitimate guardians, and to accept, with becoming gratitude, such portions as they are pleased to bestow. From the Word of God there can be no appeal : it must decide its own character, and determine its own pretensions. Thus much we must be allowed to assume ; that if it was originally given to mankind indiscriminately, no power upon earth is entitled to restrict it ; because, on the supposition which we are now making, since every man’s original right in it was equal, that right can be cancelled by no authority but that which bestowed it. If it was at first promulgated under the character of a universal standard of faith and practice, we are bound to recognise it in that character : and every attempt to alter it, to convert into private what was originally public property, or to make a *monopoly* of a *universal grant*, is an act of extreme presumption and impiety. It is to assume a superiority over revelation itself.”²⁶

Whether the “ patent of privilege ” first granted by Queen Elizabeth, including as it did, the Holy Scriptures, did not come within the sweep of this pointed and solemn language, we shall leave the reader to determine, after he has read a few pages farther. But, in the meanwhile, her Majesty began and continued to abound in granting patents of various descriptions, to the close of her career. After pursuing this course for more than twenty years, we find the Lord-Keeper standing up in Parliament, in reply to the Speaker, when the subject was introduced. He said—

“ The Queen hoped her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which was the choicest flower in her garden, the principal and head *pearl* in her crown and diadem ; but would rather leave that to her disposition ; promising to examine *all patents*, and ABIDE THE TOUCHSTONE OF THE LAW.”

But were they examined ? Nothing of the kind. Her Majesty had, in four years more, increased the number of such grievances, so that in the Parliament of 1601, at the close of the session, a debate ensued, and such confusion as the Secretary of State had never before witnessed. A list, though imperfect, of such commodities, for the exclusive traffic in

²⁶ Spoken at the Leicester Bible Society Anniversary, 13th April 1812.

which, patents had been granted, was read to the House by Sir Robert Wroth. These had been given away in certain cases, as rewards for service done, or to be done—not a very princely mode of payment ; but, in general, they had been *sold* to the parties concerned. This list comprehended not only such important necessities of life as *salt and coal, leather and cloth, but steel and lead, tin and glass, Spanish wool and Irish yarn* ; or, in short, above forty different articles, and certainly a sufficient proof of the extent to which the evil had gone.²⁷ After the list was finished, a member of the House, and of considerable celebrity, Mr. Hakewil, of Lincoln's Inn, rose and inquired—Is not bread there ? “ *Bread,*” said one,—“ *BREAD,*” said another, “ this voice seems strange.” “ *Nay,*” said he, “ if no remedy be found for *these*, *BREAD* will be there, before the next Parliament.” After four days of warm debate, the Queen and Council at last taking alarm, a gracious message from the throne was sent down to the House, which the Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, improved by an assurance that the existing patents should be repealed, and no more granted. The language in which the Secretary insulted the House is worth quoting :—

“ And because you may eat your meat more savoury than you have done, every man shall have *salt* as good and cheap as he can buy it, or make it, freely, without danger of that patent, which shall be presently revoked. The same benefit shall they have which have cold stomachs both for *aquarita* and *aqua composita*, and the like : and they that have weak stomachs, for their satisfaction shall have *vinegar* and *alegar* and the like, set at liberty. *Train oil* shall go the same way ; *oil of blubber* shall march in equal rank ; *brushes* and *bottles* endure the like judgment. Those that desire to go spruce in their ruffs, may, at less charge than accustomed, obtain their wish ; for the patent for *starch*, which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now be repealed.”

Nine other articles he enumerated which were to be tried at law. The complaints of many years seemed as though they were to be immediately redressed ; while her Majesty, who was never at a loss for choice expression, now appeared as if to render assurance doubly sure.

“ *GENTLEMEN,*” said the Queen, addressing the deputies of the Commons, “ I owe you hearty thanks and commendations for your singular goodwill towards me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an *error*, proceeding from my ignorance, not my will. These things had undeservedly turned to my disgrace, to whom nothing is more dear than the safety and love of my people, had not such harpies and horse-leeches as these been made known and discovered to me by you. *I had rather my heart or hand should perish than that either my heart or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists as may be prejudicial to my people.* The splendour of regal majesty hath not so blinded mine eyes that *licentious* power should prevail with me more than justice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive princes that know not how to rule, as gilded pills

²⁷ See Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, vol. i., pp. 152-153.

may deceive a sick patient. But I am none of those princes ; for *I know* that the commonwealth is to be governed *for the good and advantage of those that are committed to me, not of myself*, to whom it is intrusted ; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment-seat.”—“ I beseech you, that, whatever misdemeanours and miscarriages others are guilty of by their false suggestions may not be imputed to me : let the testimony of a clear conscience in all respects excuse me.”

The subdued tone of this language from the lips of this sagacious and imperative monarch is remarkable, and it becomes more impressive from its being addressed to her *last* Parliament. The sentiments, so well expressed, may have been of value to posterity ; and they possess the advantage of *never* being unimportant as out of date. The only regret left is, that the speech itself, in one point of view, bears so strong an analogy to the extraordinary address of Henry VIII., the Queen's father, to *his* last Parliament ; and that the fine language now employed must be taken for no more than it was worth *afterwards*. These grievances had been complained of and reprobated for many years ; and ignorance of almost any subject, much less of this, was not one of Elizabeth's infirmities. Was her Majesty ignorant also of her message in 1597, just quoted, and as delivered by the Lord-Keeper to the House when the debate on monopolies ran not so high ? When redress was promised, and, so far from being performed, the evil increased ? But, after all these last smooth, yet pointed expressions, was relief at hand now ? *Certainly not* to any degree worth notice, and that is but vague conjecture. With *salt*, perhaps, something was done, as Sir Edward Hoby had asserted in the House that it had been raised by the patent from 16d. to 15s. a bushel ! But still a list of these very monopolies granted by Elizabeth, indorsed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, is to be found *unrepealed* under the next reign. It is dated 25th May 1603, or two months after the Queen had ceased to live, and they were still about forty in number !²⁸

Among these patents, however, there was one class, styled, by way of eminence or distinction, PATENTS OF PRIVILEGE—the privilege of some one man selling a license, or licenses, to the highest bidder ; and these, as affecting, not only the Livery Companies, but the *Stationers' Company*, had produced great discontent. These were given to gentlemen or courtiers, either as rewards or under the *pretence* of at once benefiting the public and filling the coffers of her Majesty. What then, meant the poor old subdued Queen's plea of *ignorance* in 1601 ? Thus Lord Mountjoy, in 1565, had a patent for copperas ore. Thus Sir Thomas Gorges, in 1580, eager to be appointed “ Gauger of Beer,” brought the wrath of the Brewers' Company upon himself. He was to put £200 a-year into the Treasury ; but the Company proving that he would make

²⁸ See the list in Lodge's Illustrations, 8vo, vol. iii., p. 6-10.

£10,000 annually to himself, and the Queen nothing, no patent was granted. Thus Sir Walter Raleigh had a patent, in 1588, to make licenses for keeping of taverns and retailing of wines throughout *all England*! He is said to have blushed in the House, under the debate on monopolies; but his patent was left unrepealed by Elizabeth. Edward Darcy, Esq., a courtier, in 1590, succeeded, but for little more than a year, in reference to *leather*; as his privilege, brought up, in formidable array, a swarm of more than thirteen dealers in the article, and his patent was revoked. Even an Italian had a license granted to him by the Queen, and no doubt for some consideration, that *he* only should bring into England "common and sallad oil," and to sell the same at *his own beam*; against which the Grocers' Company remonstrated. After the same mode we find one man dealing largely in tin, and Sir Thomas Wilkes, about to be mentioned, in *white salt*. Nor should the Earl of Oxford's case be overlooked, of which her Majesty could not plead ignorance. He attempted an excise patent against the Pewterers' Company: but the Privy Council, aware of the general discontent against those "*patents of privilege*," submitted the proposal to the Attorney-General; and what was the result? The question was—"Whether such patent might stand with the laws and statutes of the realm, or not?" He NEGATIVED the application, when the Queen conferred the privilege on the Company itself.²⁹ In short, it was the age of patent-hunting; and we have now to see how far the Stationers' Company had been affected.

To all who have only glanced at the history of patents it is well known that the noble art of printing did not escape. On the contrary, it was about the earliest of the arts which came under their power, whether direct or indirect.

Under the reign of Elizabeth there were two gentlemen, FRANCIS FLOWER, Esq., a Justice of the Peace, afterwards in the service of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton;³⁰ and Thomas, afterwards SIR THOMAS WILKES, well known as Clerk to the Privy Council, as an Ambassador of Elizabeth's to France, Holland, and Germany, and who, but for Lord Burleigh's influence, would have succeeded Sir Francis Walsingham as Secretary of State.³¹ To the former was granted, in 1573, one of those "*Patents of Privilege*," as "her Majesty's printer of the Latin;" and to Sir Thomas, about 1575, *another as her printer of the English tongue*. The former, of inferior value, was forthwith *farmed out* to more assignees than one, Thomas Vautrollier, a Frenchman, being one, if not the chief.

WILKES, immediately after obtaining his patent, first bestowed the

²⁹ Herbert's History of the Livery Companies, i., p. 156. Strype's Stow, ii., 294.

³⁰ Lansdowne MS., 68, no. 105. He is petitioning Burleigh that he may continue, after Hatton's death, to enjoy his profits in the First Fruits Office, 1591.

³¹ See Colton MSS., *passim*; and Lodge's Illustrations of British History, 8vo, ii., p. 42C.

chief part of it on *John Jugge*, son of Richard the printer, with whose name we are already familiar. The evidence on which this fact is founded is no other than a formal complaint, addressed to the authorities, and subscribed by twenty-five stationers and printers, in the name of one hundred and seventy-five, all members of the Stationers' Company. To this are adhibited the names of *all* in London who lived by bookselling, being free of other Companies, but "also hindered by the said privileges." This document, subscribed by forty-five men, in name of not fewer than one hundred and eighty-five, being the *first* formal voice raised in England, upon record, against what they conceived to be the injurious operation of such privileges, is not only curious in itself, but entitled to special notice by any who wish to understand a subject hitherto involved in obscurity. Though it be above two hundred and sixty years since these persons came forward in a body, as one man, and subscribed their names, the ground of their complaint and their main grievance cannot be uninteresting or of little moment even at the present hour, since, in the united apprehension of the entire craft, *accuracy in printing*, and the *price of books* were alike in jeopardy. Thus they expressed themselves:—

"The privileges lately granted by her Majesty, under her Highness's Great Seal of England, to the persons underwritten, concerning the art of printing books, hath and will be the OVERTHROW of the printers and stationers within this city, being in number 175, besides their wives, children, apprentices, and families, and thereby the EXCESSIVE PRICES of books, prejudicial to the state of the whole realm, besides the FALSE PRINTING of the same.

"1. JOHN JUGGE, besides the being her Majesty's printer, hath gotten the privilege for the printing of Bibles and Testaments, THE WHICH WAS COMMON TO ALL THE PRINTERS.³²

Thus, whatever may be said of this unanimous opinion, the language of the complaint establishes two historical facts. *First*, That for a period of about forty years, or from 1536, when the New Testament first began to be printed in London, up to the present moment in 1576, the printing of the Sacred Scriptures in England had been *common to all printers*—that is, to any printer who applied and secured a license for the edition, or to any gentleman, such as Marler and Bodley, both of whom had obtained one. *Second*, That the printing of the Sacred Volume had never, all along, been regarded, as in *any* sense or degree attached to the office or title of the King's or Queen's printer. The previous history, indeed, as well as our list of editions at the end, alike demonstrate this; but still it is satisfactory to have it from the pen of the craft as a body.

Of the complaint recorded in the authentic manuscript now quoted, we have here only to remark that, among the names subjoined to it, there is that of one man, then a member of the "worshipful Company of *Drapers*," and not as yet of the Stationers' Company, but, living as he did by bookselling, he subscribed

³² Lansdowne MS., 48, no. 78 This is dated, externally, by some person in 1582, confounding it with a following document of *that* date, though it has been taken for correct in the *Archæologia*, xxv., p. 101. It is printed in Strype's *Stow*, ii., p. 222, anno 1575; and this we believe to be correct, only recollecting that such was *their* year till the 25th March 1576. Besides these 175, ten more subscribed who lived by bookselling, or 185 in all.

accordingly ; and this is no other than *Christopher Barker*, a name which the reader may bear in mind till he see what followed.

John Cawood and Richard Jugge, it will be recollected, had been her Majesty's printers. The former died on the 1st of April 1572, and the latter, soon after printing his last edition of the Bishops' Bible, in 1577. *John Jugge*, of whom all the stationers, including *Barker*, here complained, lived but a very short time, and, in fact, never *once* exercised the privilege held up as so injurious. He never printed either a Bible or even a New Testament. On the contrary, from what soon followed, or so early as September 1577, it is almost evident that he must have been dead before then. At all events, the consequences deprecated by the printers and booksellers commenced *not* with him.

It was on the 28th September 1577 that an exclusive patent was purchased, *not from her Majesty* for this time, as has been all along supposed, but from MR. WILKES, and of a far more extensive character than that of which complaint had been made, but very specially including *the Old and New Testament* in the *English* language ; nay, and of *whatever* translation, *with notes*, or *without* them !!

In these circumstances, it is very curious to observe the last expiring effort of Richard Jugge, and it may be seen now in his final edition of the Bishops' Bible this year. He was still "Printer to her Majesty," and though possessing no exclusive privilege on that account, he had printed this version all along, no one else interposing. Probably, after Parker's decease, Jugge had not the means or the spirit to bring out a *folio*, but, at all events, the present Bible was only in large *octavo*. To the simple title of all previous editions, however, he now added the words—"Set forth by authority." What he meant to convey by this, more than his customary "cum privilegio," it is difficult, if not impossible, to divine. If it was merely some limited authority from Primate Grindal or his brethren, *he* was entirely out of royal favour by the month of June this year. But, at all events, it was no direct authority from her Majesty, for that was already given away to Mr. Wilkes ; nay, nearly at the very moment when Jugge was printing his Bible, *another man* was negotiating with Wilkes as to the very extensive patent to which we have alluded. Moreover, as if to crown all, Elizabeth at this moment actually appears as if she had entertained no more taste or preference for the Bishops' version than she had discovered for the head of the Bench. Certainly the Geneva version, in *folio*, of this very year, 1577, had been presented to her, and as certainly *the covers were embroidered by her Majesty's own hand*. This identical book was formerly in the Duchess of Portland's museum, and it is now in the *Sussex Library*, never, it is to be hoped, to leave this kingdom.

But to proceed.—By whom was the purchase of this unwonted patent from WILKES secured ? By no other than one of the men who had complained so lately and so loud—Christopher Barker ! This was certainly not a very honourable commencement of such business ; and the fact might have been questioned, had we not Barker's own evidence at hand—for a few months only had served to change his tone. When protesting against a grievance likely to produce "the overthrow of many entire families," he could speak as already expressed ; but when once enjoying the fruits of that grievance, he will express himself in very different terms.

It so happened, that, in the end of 1582, or about six years after his complaint, Barker addressed Lord Burleigh, whether of his own accord or by request, does not appear. He gives, however, a "Note of the offices, and special licenses for printing, granted by her Majesty to divers persons," with his own conjecture of their value. The selfish special pleading by which the whole do-

cument is distinguished, cannot fail to amuse the gentlemen printers of the present day throughout the kingdom.³³ But part of it, in relation to himself, is essential to our present narrative, and must not here be omitted. He had spoken of Mr. Flower, already referred to, and then he comes to himself.

“CHRISTOPHER BARKER.—Mine own office of her Majesty’s printer, *given* to MR. WILKES, is abridged of the chiefest commodities belonging to the office, as shall hereafter appear in the patents of Mr. Seres and Mr. Daye; but as it is, I have the printing of *the Old and New Testament*, the Statutes of the realm, Proclamations, and the Book of Common Prayer by name, and, in general words, all matters for the Church.” After complaining of inferior existing patents as preventing his gains, and speaking lightly of other privileges included in his own, he comes to the SCRIPTURES. “Testaments *alone* are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely bear the charges! The whole Bible together requireth so great a sum of money to be employed in the imprinting thereof, as Mr. Jugge kept the realm twelve years without before he durst adventure to print one impression.³⁴ But I, considering *the great sum I paid to Mr. Wilkes*, did, as some have termed it since, give a desperate adventure to imprint four sundry impressions for all ages; wherein I employed to the value of three thousand pounds in the term of one year and a half, or thereabout; in which time, if I had died, my wife and children had been utterly undone, and many of my friends greatly hindered by disbursing round sums of money for me, by suretyship and other means, as my late good Mr. *Master Secretary for ONE*. So that now, this gap being stopped, I have little or nothing to do but adventure a needless charge, to keep many journeymen in work, most of them servants to my predecessors.”³⁵

The reader may be ready to suspect that this man was now about to throw up his monopoly as a losing concern; but he indulged in no such dream. He well knew what he was about, when he paid “the great sum” to Mr. Wilkes, and as well, when he “gave a desperate adventure” to the public. He saw clearly that whatever the Bishops thought of *their* Bible, it was never likely to afford *him* any magnificent return in the way of business, and, therefore, he had taken special care in 1577, or five years before this, that the *Geneva* version should be fully embraced by his patent. What is still more curious, the

³³ For example, he says to the Lord Treasurer—“There are 22 printing-houses in London, where eight or ten at the most would suffice for all England; yea, and Scotland too! But if no man were allowed to be a Mr. printer but such whose behaviour were well known and auto-rised by warrant from her Majesty, the art would be most excellently executed in England, and many frivolous and unfruitful copies kept back which are daily thrust out in print, greatly corrupting the youth, and prejudicial to the commonwealth many ways.” Such was the magnanimous proposal, and such the language of Christopher Barker, our first monopolist.

³⁴ This inuendo was very unfair, to say the least. Richard Jugge had no exclusive patent, as Barker had attested with his own pen; and John, the son, against whom he had protested, soon died. Why, then, could not Barker have left the grievance to die also, at least for consistency’s sake, so far as he was concerned.

³⁵ MS. Lansdowne, 48, No. 82, and indorsed “December 1562. Writt by Christopher Barker to the Lord Treasurer.” We know not why, but before he got his patent, this man spelt and printed his name *Barkar*; after that, *Barker*. He is understood to have been related to Sir Christopher Barker, Garter King-at-Arms; but, at all events, it is evident that he had been in circumstances which may account for his having not barked in vain. He had once been in the service of Sir Francis Walsingham.

Such was by far the largest slice of Wilke’s “patent of privilege;” but this was not the amount of his gains. To JOHN DAY, who must no more print Bibles as in young Edward’s reign, Wilkes sold a patent for printing “the Psalms set to Music,” “the Catechism,”—and this at the suit of the Earl of Leicester. To WILLIAM SERES, a patent for printing the Psalter, the Primer for children, besides several others, which it is too tedious to enumerate.

Bishops' Bible, though published nine years before, was not there in his patent, specified even by name, nor indeed *ever was* throughout the entire reign! The terms of the patent, therefore, were—"All Bibles and Testaments, in the English language, of *whatever* translation, *with notes, or without them.*" Thus, however unceremoniously, the Bishops' version was safely included, but the Geneva also, and on the *same* footing, as well as another, Tomson's, about to be mentioned.³⁶

By Barker himself, therefore, we are now furnished with a key to the change which took place in printing the Scriptures, even from the year 1575. There was then, it is true, another Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, and certainly he had no objections to the foreign version, nor had he now expressed any desire, like his predecessor, that it should be subjected either to his "consent or direction." But though he had done so, this could not have accounted for any change whatever, as he had already fallen under the displeasure of his royal Mistress, Primate though he was, and his influence cannot be estimated at anything more than that of a neutral party. Here, however, was Barker's "good Master," Mr. Secretary, *Sir Francis Walsingham*, so far concerned in the business. "Round sums" and "surety-ship" were at stake, while Sir Francis was only one of "many friends," all alike alive to the success of the new and unvouted patent.

On the road to favour, therefore, and *before* the patent was secured, Parker being once out of the way, and Sir Francis, Secretary of State, Barker had commenced in 1575, by employing Vautrollier to print the Geneva Testament. This was followed by editions of that Bible, both in quarto and octavo, in 1575, and again in quarto in 1576. More than this, as the Scriptures had hitherto, in England, been printed only in the black or German type, Barker had now the credit of introducing the *Roman* letter; an improvement which had commenced at Geneva. But in 1576 Barker brought out a beautiful edition of the Geneva Bible, in *folio*; the text being in *Roman*, and the arguments in *italic* type. This year, also, the under-Secretary of Sir Francis, Laurence Tomson, had finished a translation of the New Testament, with Beza's *notes*; the first edition of which was now also printed "by Christopher Barker—at the sign of the Tiger's Head, cum privilegio." And well might he fix the sign of the Tiger's head above his shop door in St. Paul's Church-yard: it was the *crest* of Walsingham, to whom also the book was dedicated, in a long epistle.

Now all this, as already explained, was done in the face of Richard Jugge, her Majesty's printer for the time being, because no *exclusive* privilege belonged to him, more than to his predecessors. Nay, it was also in the face of

³⁶ Barker, it is known to all, stands at the head of a long list; but since he chose to commit himself even in addressing the Lord Treasurer, in common justice to the memory of RICHARD JUGGE, his language and conduct ought to be understood. With the contemptible view of exalting himself in the eyes of Lord Burleigh, he had basely affirmed that Jugge "had kept the realm *twelve* years before he durst adventure to print one impression of the whole Bible together." This, to say the least, was a notorious falsehood. By the *twelfth* year of Elizabeth, Jugge had printed *four* Bibles, though even this is not a sufficient answer. R. Jugge, though Queen's printer, never had an exclusive patent, much less an exclusive round and roving one, such as that in which Barker now gloried, without his yet being satisfied; but even in the *third* year of Elizabeth, Jugge's copartner, Cawood, had printed Cranmer's Bible, and Jugge could not print the Bishops' version till it was ready in the ninth and tenth year of the reign. And how did he proceed then? After the splendid folio of 1568, he repeated the version in 1569, 1570, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, and then he died. While Barker was thus defaming a preceding printer *five* years after his death, he had printed this version, and that by assignment, how often? Only *once*? Of the Geneva version, however, he had given four editions, for a reason sufficiently obvious—the demand.

John Juggé's exclusive patent, of which Barker, among his brethren, was *then* complaining to the authorities ! To the other printers and booksellers at that moment, Barker must have appeared to be fighting manfully in their favour. But September 1577 arrived, and though, according to the document he had subscribed, not fewer than 175 families might be "overthrown," to say nothing of the price of books, or incorrect printing, he had altered his opinion ! No more sympathy was to be either felt or expressed now, for the "overthrow of other printers, their wives and children," within this city of London ! Pity of another character had taken full possession of the patentee. He now speaks only of *his own* wife and children. A change had come over the spirit of the man, and such as may remind some readers of the language which Cowper has put into the mouth of his "Trader to the African shore,"—

This pity, which some people self-pity call,
Is sure the most heart-piercing pity of all—Which nobody can deny.

Thus, however, it was that Mr. C. Barker, for "a *great sum* paid to Mr. Wilkes," secured his exclusive privilege. It included every version, whether the Bishops', the Geneva, or Tomson's Testament, and whether with or without notes,—a sweeping *grievance*, as he had expressed it in 1576, or six years ago.

Barker then went on, and confessedly with great spirit, printing both versions of the Sacred Volume ; and for the best of all reasons, because there was such an eager demand, especially for the Geneva. Had the patentee himself evinced any prejudice in favour of one version more than the other, it might have so far accounted for what ensued ; but he was influenced by no such partiality. According to his own shewing, he was regulated solely by the popular taste, or the prospect of remuneration. He, as we have heard from himself, soon, and within the short compass of about eighteen months, advanced not less than three thousand pounds in printing the Sacred Scriptures, an amount but little short of *thirty thousand* of the present day ! In the entire range of English literature at that period, there was nothing once to be compared to this ; and yet the demand under this reign was but *begun* ; it will be long before it is satisfied.

Notwithstanding his artful grumbling to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in 1582, the occupation of the patentee growing under the privilege he had bought ; a crisis arrived, of which he was not slow to avail himself most fully. If his patent had proved only a poor affair, he had now a fine opportunity of *throwing it up*, only he may have changed his mind, as he had done before. Exclusive patents for *life* having been introduced, in several inferior cases, it will be Barker's object to secure one ; but as it is of the nature of all injurious desire to rise in its demands, perhaps there may be something *more* obtained, than a patent extending only to the day of his *own* decease !

Mr. Wilkes, the gentleman to whom Barker owed his license, had gradually become a man of greater importance. As early as 1575, we observe he was at Strasburg, and corresponding with the Earl of Leicester ; but in 1586, when in Holland, he was writing not to Lord Burleigh only, but to the Privy Council as a body, if not to the Queen herself. Having returned home, not satisfied with Barker's "great sum," and wishing to resemble some others, he longed for another monopoly, and began to dabble in one of the most important necessities of life. One "patent of privilege" was not sufficient. Perhaps it was in consideration of service done ; but on the 24th of February 1587, Wilkes had obtained *another*, for making *white salt* at Hull, Boston, and Lynn. From some cause, however, he got himself involved in trouble, and falling under the displeasure of his Royal Mistress, it cost him nearly two years to weather the

storm. *This* was Barker's opportunity. Her Majesty's Printer of the English tongue, by *title*, being in durance, it was time for the *actual* printer to look out for himself. A license from a man now in Fleet prison was worth little or nothing.³⁷ Accordingly, well known to Cecil, and patronised by Walsingham, his old master, if not also his supporter in business, he applied and obtained a patent from the *Queen direct*. Notwithstanding the great sum paid to Wilkes, in September 1577, Barker was now ready, no doubt, to pay *another*, if not a greater; but at all events he will contrive to secure a longer privilege.

He had an only son, named Robert, then comparatively but a young man. However, he was successful in getting him included in this new patent, dated 8th August 1589; the extensive range of which was to continue for both lives.³⁸ The father died on the 29th of November 1599, but the son survived him, for the long period of forty-six years; so that the interest now acquired was not extinct till the twentieth year of Charles the First, or 1645! This, however carrying us far beyond the boundaries of Elizabeth's reign, as the Barker family will come before us again, we now return to the moment of the father's success.

The extensive patent of Christopher and Robert Barker once secured, in regard to the Scriptures. it embraced "all Bibles and Testaments whatsoever, in the English language, of whatever translation, with notes, or without notes, printed

³⁷ In July of this year, 1587, Wilkes landed in Fleet prison, from whence, on the 22d, he was writing to Cecil for his enlargement, and more earnestly on the 22d of September. "I trust," he says, "in respect that my case is no more heinous than that of others, who are in the like predicament, *though my betters*. I shall not be refused. after two months' imprisonment, to stand in like terms for my liberty as they do." It was not, however, till 1592, that he was presenting his reasons for his patent being continued, as involving "the best and chiefest stay of his maintenance." So capricious, however, was the royal favour, that before the end of next year, after Walsingham's death, Wilkes had risen higher than ever. "The resolution for secretaries," says Mr. Francis Needham to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1590, "lieth between Mr. Robert Cecil and Mr. Wilkes. Your Lordship can easily judge whose creatures they are, and the choice were happy if they happen to run in one course; the one in respect of the great helps he shall have from his father; the other a well experimental gentleman, of good understanding, and great despatch, and no less courage." The place of Secretary of State was, however, kept vacant for six years after Walsingham's death, by the Earl of Essex's ineffectual efforts to procure the restoration of the unfortunate Davison. Sir Robert Cecil, who in the meantime conducted official business, was at length appointed in July 1596. From 1590 Mr. Wilkes was frequently employed on foreign embassies, on one of which he was *knighthood*, but by the King of France, in return for kindness shewn to him, when King of Navarre. At last, in March 1598, Cecil, the Secretary, and Herbert, Master of Requests, having accompanied him to France, Sir Thomas died there, as soon as he lauded. See Lansdowne MS. 54, art. 54. and 71. Idem 59, art. 66, 68, 69. Lodge's Illustrations, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 426. Cotton MS., Julius F. vi., fol. 94; and Wood's Fasti, anno 1572. Mr. Wilkes, however, was not the only ambassador whom Elizabeth paid with *salt*. There was another patent. And hence Wilkes had pled in 1589, "If the grant shall be thought *unlawful*, because it seemeth a *monopoly*, I beseech their Lordships to remember that her Majesty hath granted others of the like nature: as that for the bringing in of *sweet wines, currants, cochineal, caviars, making of starch, printing of the common lawes, grammars, and such like*—and of the same nature, viz., *salt*, one to Mr. Harbourn of Yarmouth," &c., once ambassador to Constantinople. All these facts give a most melancholy character to her Majesty's *last speech*. Uttered as it was within fifteen months of her death, the finely turned expressions will not allow us to forget the deliberate falsehood contained in them.

³⁸ It is quoted at length by *Auxes*, p. 357. This patent, it is now of some importance to observe, commences with *recognising the former one*, dated 28th September 1577. That, however, it will be recollected, was nothing higher than a *branch of a PATENT OF PRIVILEGE*. We have already seen what was already judged of such privileges as being illegal, nor can the reader forget the terms in which Elizabeth had pledged *her heart and hand* to Parliament on the subject; and yet all subsequent patents in relation to the English Scriptures, take their rise from Barker's *first*.

before then, or afterwards to be printed by our command." The privileges are granted, professedly, in consideration of Mr. Barker's great improvement in the art of printing.³⁹ But the most singular feature of the document at such a crisis, is this, that no notice whatever is taken of any *one* translation, as preferable to another, no, nor of any one as having been either ordered or sanctioned by the *Queen*. This too becomes more remarkable, when it is observed that the patent was granted under the sway of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, the strenuous promoter of *uniformity* in every thing else, and whose decided preference of the Bishops' version, had only the year before been strongly marked and enforced. Burleigh, indeed, and Sir Francis Walsingham, may be presumed to have acquiesced in a license so broad; but at all events, here, under one of the most powerful Monarchs that had ever held the English sceptre, and as rigid a Primate as had occupied the See of Canterbury, since the invention of printing, if we look to what followed, it is not difficult to see there, an overruling hand once more. Whatever may be said of Queen Elizabeth, assuredly Archbishop Whitgift did not intend to promote the perusal throughout all England of any version of the Scriptures, save one, now sanctioned by "the Synod of Bishops;" but then here comes her Majesty, with open eyes, and by her sign manual, she has left the people free to choose, *in the highest sense*, when, so far as her power extended, she would on no account allow it, in *any* other.

No one will stand up now, to justify the course pursued by Barker from the beginning. It was a most mercenary affair from first to last; and yet even when a man is so influenced, the consequences, whether immediate or remote, by the hand of God may easily be overruled for good. One consequence, at all events, is here worthy of special observation. Even under an exclusive patent, granted by a Queen imperative even to trifles, since the supply was after all regulated solely by the *demand*, and only the sordid prospect of *remuneration*, we are able to see, and as clearly as we did under Edward the Sixth, what was the taste or choice of the great body of English readers.

³⁹ This was little else than a mere flourish, as there were equal, nay, superior printers. But at all events, Barker, from this date, actually printed only by *deputy*, the father retiring to his country house at Datchet, near Windsor, at the age of sixty.

In contemplating this long and powerful reign, with immediate reference to the Sacred Volume, there are three distinct points alike worthy of notice and recollection. The *first* is, the number of editions on the whole, so very far beyond that which has ever been observed. A *second* peculiarity is very manifest, or the number of impressions in what is usually styled the Geneva version, in comparison with others, or with Cranmer's and Parker's versions taken together. But the *third* point, as soon as our list at the close is glanced at, cannot escape notice—the large number of *Bibles*, as compared with the editions of the *New Testament* separately.

Apprehension, approaching nearly to horror, had been expressed in Parliament, at the very idea of a patent for *bread*; but here was a commodity infinitely above it, in point of importance and value—the *bread of Life*; and since it had been delivered into the hands of one man, to deal it out in conformity to privilege granted; this being the first movement of the kind, every reader must be curious to observe the experiment in its first operation and consequences. Here, then, he may now do so, at the distance of two hundred and forty years, and for a space of time equal to that of the entire generation first so circumstanced.

The supply on the *whole*, cannot fail to occasion delightful surprise, even in those who have been long, to the usual extent, acquainted with the subject, as it so far exceeds what has ever been pointed out in history. Speaking of the Geneva version only, Lewis conjectured that there had been “above *thirty* editions in folio, quarto, and octavo, printed from the year 1560 to the year 1616.” And so very loosely has the history of our Bible been regarded, that, although the editions of Shakspeare have been scanned and counted with the most vigilant scrupulosity, this vague estimate of the Scriptures has been repeated in print, by Newcome and many others, down to the present hour! Lewis took great pains in his day, and then spoke according to the extent of his research; but had he multiplied by three, and said *ninety* editions, instead of *thirty*, and added *thirty* editions more of the *New Testament* separately, he would have been not far from the truth. We are here, however, confined to the reign of Elizabeth terminating in 1603, or thirteen years before the esti-

mate of Lewis ; and, referring to our list at the end for particulars, we can now speak only in round numbers.

From the year 1560 to that of 1603 inclusive, there had been certainly not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct issues of Bibles and Testaments, or about eighty-five of the former and forty-five of the latter, which presents an average of three issues *annually* throughout the entire reign ; and notwithstanding all the caution exercised for the first sixteen years. With reference to the Geneva version, out of the gross issues now stated, the number approaches to ninety editions, thus leaving only forty for all others. Or if we speak of Bibles alone, while the number of Cranmer's and Parker's version put together, we state as *twenty-five*, that of the Geneva Bible had amounted at least to *sixty* editions. The very remarkable disproportion, however, between the New Testaments issued as compared with the Bible entire, demands more particular observation, and it will come before us presently.

Here, it is granted, we have a subject which previous historians have overlooked, as either below their notice, or unworthy of investigation. The imprisonment and death of Mary Queen of Scots, the invincible Spanish Armada, and the dominant power of Elizabeth, on the one hand ; or the life and actions of Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, of Bacon and Leicester, Cecil and Walsingham, on the other, have so engrossed the mind, that history on this subject has been cold, nay, silent. But may we not leave it to the judgment of every unbiassed reader, whether there was any movement of the passing day to be compared to this, either in itself, or in its consequences ? What are the footsteps of men or monarchs, moving like shadows o'er the plain, when compared with the progress of Divine Truth in any nation ? Editions of the Sacred Volume, at any given time, rise in importance infinitely above those of any human composition ; but at this period especially, owing to peculiar circumstances, they formed the only unerring index to the thirst for Divine revelation, or the actual progress in Christian knowledge. This, it will be granted, is a state of mind the most vital of all others, so far as Christianity in its proper sense is concerned ; while, far from being a transitory ebullition, it extended over a space of time equal to more than a generation. This was a growing and pro-

digious *purchase* of the Sacred Scriptures, for they were neither given away, nor sold at *reduced* prices, as in modern times. In short, justice has never been done either to the period as such, or to the people of the day, whether in England or Scotland, who *purchased* all they read, nay, and paid *ten* times the value of the present prices.

The *cause*, therefore, of this remarkable demand for the Word of Life, at such a time, is the problem to be solved: and in the page of history, this is of equal, if not of greater, importance to us, than the demand itself. There are *two* agencies, to which, in other circumstances, such a result might have been ascribed; more especially as either of them, at another time, would have been equal to the effect produced. We refer to the influence of the people themselves, providing for their own wants; or to the ministry of the Word, in the hands of God, exciting in them such desire: in other words, the power of *party*, or the power of *preaching*. Both of these may now be tried, by any who are best acquainted with the times, to account for what we at present contemplate; but they will be tried in vain. Neither the one nor the other, nor both together, can correctly be assigned as the cause of such a glorious result, at this particular period of English history. If, therefore, we look at each of these in order, it may afford another view of this reign, than that which has perhaps ever before been presented.

In the days of Edward the Sixth, we have already witnessed an extraordinary demand for the Sacred Scriptures, and now, under his sister's reign, a second; but there is a material difference between the two cases. In the time of that youthful monarch, there came before us only *two* great parties, often styled the "Friends of the *Old Learning*" and "Friends of the *New*." Under Elizabeth, on the contrary, and more especially from the moment when Barker began to print the Scriptures, the last of these were divided in opinion. The country, it is notorious, was divided into *three* great parties; and this occasioned all the restless uneasiness of that, in other respects, powerful reign. Now, it is in these new, or altered, circumstances, that we are called to observe the History of the English Bible, and to observe it, as steadily maintaining *its own high ground*, that is, ground far above that of *any party*, whether in power or out of it. Under the reign of Edward, not fewer than thirty men in business were engaged in supplying the thirst of the people for the Sacred Word—a noble and animating proof of activity in the Friends of the *New Learning*; and had the same number been employed at present, these editions of the Geneva version might have been, and *would have been*, at once ascribed merely to *party zeal*. Here, however, now, her Majesty's own patent printer stands in the way, and he will at once effectually prevent any such misconception. When parties have waxed

warm, or party spirit run high in a country, should there be any one thing proceeding at the same time as an index to the state of the people, which cannot, with truth and accuracy, be ascribed to any party as such, because not within its power, that very thing may prove by far the most important object for consideration by posterity. The doings of Christopher Barker, then, shall now serve for such an index. He, and no one else, is to satisfy the desire of the people for the Sacred Scriptures; and he is so far from being even tinged with zeal for a party, that only one prospect regulates all his movements, and that is the prospect of sale and remuneration. The sheets of both versions, whether the Bishops' or the Geneva, must issue, indeed, from his press *alone*; but he will not wet a sheet of either, except simply as they are demanded.⁴⁰ Now, had this man been a partizan in favour of the Bishops' version, or the fine book presented to the Queen, from whom he had received or purchased his patent, it must have been more frequently printed; but if *she* should never interfere, as she never did, then *he* would go with the stream, that is, wherever the prospect of gain may carry him. On the other hand, the readers of the Geneva Bible, as a body, cannot be distinguished by any opprobrious party epithet of the day, for that version was to be found in *ALL the families of England* where the Scriptures were read at all. In running down the list of Editions, it is one of the most pleasing of all associations, that all these were *family Bibles*; and in the eye of impartial posterity these people can be no otherwise now designated than simply as "the readers of the Bible." But then, to supply their own necessities was *not within their power*. Call them a party, and as such they were the noblest of their time; yet, as a party, they could not help themselves. They might besiege the door of Barker, and to this he had no objections, but then he *would not work* as the readers could have wished, of which he has left behind him most notable evidence. Finding the desire of the people to be so strong, at a very early period he had firmly made up his mind as to the most *gainful* way of gratifying it. This he had done before 1582, or above seventeen years before his death,—a lucrative business being the man's sole object. "*Testaments ALONE,*" said the poor mercenary monopolist, "*Testaments ALONE, are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely bear the charges!*"⁴¹ Passing strange! After they had been so *commodious* in the days of Edward that so many different men had embarked in printing them! But it is curious enough that we should now, in any degree, be obliged to this man for his complaint. It was, indeed, never heard from the lips of any printer before the run of an *exclusive* patent, yet it enables us to account for a very glaring ano-

⁴⁰ Whatever English Bibles were printed in Holland will not affect our subsequent statement, as the foreigners were working under his sanction or control.

⁴¹ As quoted before, see page 347.

maly in our list of editions, which cannot fail to strike as soon as it is pointed out, and one which, whenever observed before, could *never have been explained*. We allude to the number of editions of the New Testament under *Edward*, compared with that under *Elizabeth*. In the *five* years of Edward there were above *thirty* editions. According to the same proportion, under Elizabeth, there might have been nearly nine times more, or approaching to three hundred editions. There were, however, only about forty-five ! However hard, therefore, this may now bear on the patentee from 1577, one thing is clear : Barker himself had stood in the way, preventing any man, however biassed, from ascribing those numerous editions of the entire Scriptures to the energy of a PARTY ; and we are now as effectually prevented from such a supposition. This is not the way in which such energy would have wrought. All we can say, therefore, is,—such was the will of Providence at this period, that they who desired to see *a part*, must, in many instances, pay for their curiosity, and purchase the *entire* volume ; and so they did, though generally in *quarto*, and to this most remarkable extent. It was an ardent desire, and to be gratified only at great personal expense.

In answering this demand, however, another singular circumstance occurred ; and since the *reverse* of the truth has been generally stated, and therefore believed, it must not be passed over. We have already stated that the Geneva Bible was *dedicated* to Queen Elizabeth, with an *epistle* prefixed, and one, in its title, certainly rising far, far above all party spirit—“ *To our Beloved in the Lord, the Brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*” This was in the spring of 1560, soon after the storm in England had drifted to leeward. Such a style of address was the first flight of its kind that had ever occurred, holding out the same *olive branch* to the *three* kingdoms ; and well would it have been for them all could they have only *accepted, retained, and cherished* the spirit expressed by it, up to the present hour. The title had at least this advantage—that every Christian must or ought to approve of it, if any prefix whatever be necessary for the Sacred Volume. Like a foreign plant, brought home into their native land by these exiles, if it should afterwards there droop or be crushed, let not the “ readers of the Bible ” be charged with the violence done. The Bible itself, as we have seen, was abundantly printed in England ; but it may very naturally be inquired how it fared with each of these prefixes ? The DEDICATION to Elizabeth, far from being suppressed immediately, as it has been often erroneously stated, was reprinted in every edition, up to the twenty-fifth year of her reign—that is, to 1583, or in twelve editions, including that of 1560, seven of which were printed in London. It was then withdrawn, and the time will strike certain readers, as it was the first year of Whitgift’s orimacy. Whether this was done through his influence or not, to every unsophisticated mind it will now appear to have been an improvement,

for the Bible was better without it, while the omission had not the slightest effect in checking the sale. After this, and while the Queen reigned, many more editions were printed, and, of course, by her own patentee, without any dedication. As for the "EPISTLE," with its original TITLE, it passed through *ten* editions up to nearly the same period, or 1582, that being the last Bible in which it is found.⁴² In the edition of 1579, however, while the epistle itself remained, down to the period of our present version and beyond it, by some cold and narrow-minded spirit the *title* was altered to the following terms:—"To the diligent and Christian Reader;" and then simply "To the Christian Reader." A change from the *social* to the *personal*—from a breathing of love intended to cheer three kingdoms, to the *solitary* reader, wherever he might be found, was certainly no improvement; but again, if there was *party spirit* here, let not these purchasers and readers of the Bible itself be charged with this spirit. If the olive branch was *crushed*, it was not them that crushed it; though neither had this any effect on the circulation. In the present day there are those who may remark, that, if there had been no monopoly, the unobjectionable and expansive title would have survived; but, at all events, even incidents such as these throw light on the times, as well as relieve the numerous readers of the Scriptures from the charge of a narrow spirit. It must now, then, be apparent that we are constrained to look for some higher cause than mere party zeal. To the human eye all this was nothing more than one man employed, under the royal sanction, to meet a desire which her Majesty had no power, perhaps no disposition, to control. It was, however, a current too strong even for Elizabeth, while her own printer must stand by, to satisfy the demand.

But since the people were so eager for the Geneva version, as the printer has proved, it may now be asked—Were they not excited by addresses from the *pulpit*? They might have been, and the ministry of the Word would have accounted for all that had occurred. No doubt they who feared God then spake often one to another, and met as they might; but will any man, acquainted with the times, venture to trace the growing desire of this people to the energy, or the growing energy of *preaching*? To the living voice of such a man as Luther, or such a chosen band as his coadjutors? No; Britain, surrounded by her own sea, is little to be associated with Germany, from first to last. From her own Wickliffe until now, she has had a case of her own to be traced out, and the direct dealing of the Almighty with this nation is yet to be more

⁴² For more than a century it has been said that the dedication and preface were *both immediately* suppressed, or that, after the first edition of 1580, they were left out in *all* the subsequent editions! But there was more than enough, for which her Majesty was responsible, and let not the slightest injustice be done to her memory. The statement now made may be relied on, as it has been verified by comparison with all the Bibles themselves.

carefully studied. Where, then, was there, throughout this long reign, extolled as so glorious, even one Apollos or Boanerges permitted to raise his voice across the kingdom, and excite the people to read and live ! Or one Latimer in all England ? As for Bernard Gilpin, the Apostle of the North and Friend of the Poor, to say nothing of his having been once on the road to martyrdom under Bonner, and often thwarted since, he had died out of the way as early as the year 1584. Even in London, where these Bibles were perpetually printing, what say the petitioners to Parliament ?

“ There are in this City a great number of churches, but the *one half* of them, at the least, are utterly unfurnished with preaching ministers. The other half, partly by means of non-residents, which are very many, partly through the poverty of many meanly qualified, there is scarce the *tenth* man to be found that maketh any conscience carefully to wait upon his charge, whereby the Lord's Sabbath is often wholly neglected, and, for the most part, miserably mangled.”

In one word, it is undeniable that, as far as intelligible preaching of the Truth was concerned, generally speaking, the entire country was deplorably destitute. The people at large were living under a Sovereign, who, throughout her entire reign, could never divest herself of apprehension from two sources—the liberty of *preaching*, and the freedom of the *press*—both of which were under restraint, as far as her power could extend. As for the press, one requires to look no farther than the decrees of the Star Chamber ; and, with regard to preaching, though historians of the most opposite sentiments had not conceded the point, the Queen herself has not left them to inform us what were her sentiments—for as to hearing a sermon of any kind, she but seldom did so. In the course of her reign she had three primates in succession, Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift ; one of whom conscientiously dared to speak out on this very subject. No language could be more respectful than that with which Grindal approached her Majesty—none required to be more argumentative—nor, in the conclusion, more solemn. After warning the Queen, by the authority of Scripture itself, he did so by her own mortality, the judgment-seat of the Crucified—by Him who dwelleth in Heaven, who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible above all the kings of the earth—at the same time tendering his resignation.

“ Alas, Madam ! ” said he, “ is the Scripture more plain in any one thing than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers should be sent unto the Lord's harvest, which, being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but many workmen. There was appointed to the building of Solomon's material temple a hundred and fifty thousand artificers and labourers, besides three thousand three hundred overseers ; and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to build and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is his Church ? ” —“ Public and continual preaching of God's

Word is the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind. Paul calleth it the *ministry of reconciliation* of man unto God. By preaching of God's Word the glory of God is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity increased. By it the ignorant is instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness the wrath of God is threatened. By it also due obedience to Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects."

But the Archbishop, though he manfully discharged his conscience, might have saved himself the trouble of writing, and especially so long a letter, with his *own* hand that she *alone* might read it. In language, at once daring and presumptuous, because arraigning the appointment of God himself, the Queen had already told him, "that it was good for the Church to have *few* preachers; that three or four might suffice for a *county*; and that the *reading* of the Homilies to the people was sufficient!" Nor was this merely "a sudden sally," as, too much in the spirit of sycophancy, it has been represented. Firm as a rock, Elizabeth never relented. Too like her father, above all things else she could not bear to be told the truth, however confidentially, by any man. It is, indeed, very observable, that, near the throne, in both courts, there seems to have been a *Micaiah*, and in both instances he met with similar treatment. The first referred especially to *the Word of God itself*; the second to the *ministry of that Word*; and no unbiassed writer, when estimating the character of either monarch, is likely to forget the long imprisonment of Latimer under Henry, or the lengthened disgrace of Grindal under Elizabeth. These were two palpable facts, evincing a disposition which lasted from year to year, and which by no sophistry can be softened down. As for Grindal, after this, if not for this alone, he enjoyed the honour of never being admitted to the Privy Council, so that he *never was* a member; and though the Convocation entire petitioned for his restoration to freedom and favour, the Queen remained inexorable, with her primate in disgrace, and reigning, as Henry the Eighth never did, so unquestioned and so alone.

Now, all this happened just *before* Barker obtained his first license to print the Scriptures. In June, the Archbishop was sequestered from his office, and confined to his house, by an order from the Star Chamber; and Barker got his license in September. Grindal, therefore, could have had *no* influence whatever in promoting the sale, much less in creating the thirst.⁴³ But, again, the patent was renewed, and verbally the same in August 1559, at the very moment when Whitgift was at the height of his power; pleasing the Queen too, in spite of some others who were in her confidence, and at her Council board. But it was, indeed, of but

⁴³ No doubt, not aware of these circumstances, or not observing dates, the sale, or popularity of the version, has been ascribed to Grindal by Dr. Cardwell, in his DOCUMENTARY ANNALS.

little moment who was in disgrace at that court, or who in power. In the midst of many conflicting interests and opinions, and much to do, those numerous editions of the Divine Word were printing throughout the four seasons of the year, and the demand was rising progressively to the glory of Him who so signally gave that Word, and at such a time,—the Governor *among* the nations.

In conclusion, and on the whole, we enter not here into the comparative merits of the Bishops' and the Geneva versions, nor should the attention at present be diverted to any such point. Both went on to be printed, and they will, therefore, come before us under the next reign. Suffice it to say, that, as translations,—as instruments in the hand of God, both were all-sufficient for His purpose; but it is of more immediate consequence, that the mind should rest on the remarkable fact, that under the reign of Elizabeth not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct publications of the Divine Word passed through the press, mainly to meet the desires of the people; while the disposition thus to purchase and to read must have had a *cause*.

Unable, therefore, to point out any adequate instrumental cause upon earth, why should there now be any hesitation in all England, to refer immediately to Him “from whom all good counsels and all such desires proceed?” Considering the people *as a people*, far from being any disadvantage or discredit to them, that God himself should thus speak to them more *directly* than usual, and by his own Word, it only placed them in a higher state of responsibility. The number of its editions has shed quite a new light, and in reference to the period itself, it is questionable whether any people in Europe can now produce a parallel; but certainly there was, at that period, no similar proceeding in any nation.

The Queen upon the throne might cast indignity upon the ordinance of Heaven for saving the souls of men, or care not for it. For this the primate of all England, being of another mind, might pine for years under her frown; or, as ever after, his successor, Whitgift, might carry every thing before him. The Commons' House of Parliament itself might propose to meet for prayer, and to hear a sermon; when being rebuked by her Majesty for their presumption in not first asking counsel of *her*, to obtain her sanction, they gave up the intention, and never heard one. One half of the buildings called

churches in the capital might stand there, and no one faithful voice be heard within their walls, while only the tenth man of the remaining half possessed any conscience. All this, and more might be, but the Word of Jehovah must not be bound.

Nor was it that the Almighty Redeemer undervalued the ministry of his own appointment. Far from any mind be such a thought. But HE is a sovereign, "having no need either of his own works or of man's gifts," and for a season might suspend their operation for a higher end, even the glory and power of his *Revealed Word*. True religion revived in Babylon, when Jerusalem lay in ruins, as it had prospered in the wilderness, before the temple was built; and of that favoured people, as the depositaries of the truth, it was once said, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead,"—but a greater than Moses was here.

All this while, the nation was seen rising, confessedly, into far greater power, though often agitated; and if without were fightings, within were fears. The reign had been stained by the blood of persecution; and as liberty of conscience was understood by no party, instances of oppression occurred with a frequency which cannot be explained fully, till the State Paper Commission has done the same justice to Elizabeth which it has done to her father. But throughout all the tumultuous scene—the zeal for what was styled uniformity—the decrees of the Star Chamber, and the restrictions of the press, the "still small voice" was there. In other words, from year to year, and as with pointing finger, a benignant Providence stood above the nation, directing it to the Bible alone, as its only charter to the skies; or God's own divine grant, in the language of the people, to all the glories of life eternal.

When the general character and proceedings, not to say the superior acquirements or talents of her Majesty are calmly reviewed; since, officially, she never appears to have much, if at all, concerned herself with one translation more than another; perhaps one of the most melancholy circumstances of the time was this, that Elizabeth never seems to have understood or felt, that *the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures*, was by far the most important feature of her entire reign.

We are now, however, on the borders, not only of another

reign, but of a new dynasty, when our own venerated version of the Bible will engage notice; but as all that has been recorded had taken place before it was commenced, one parting glance is due to the past, before bidding adieu to the princes of the house of Tudor.

To every unprejudiced mind, the high purpose of the Almighty with regard to this nation had now become very apparent. And may we not inquire, whether, throughout the compass of four successive reigns, a period of seventy-seven years, any other movement is to be discovered, which can be either confounded with this extraordinary procedure, or once compared with it, in point of importance? To convey His own Blessed Word to this island, now appears to have been God's one fixed purpose, but such a path had been chosen as for ever to defy any impartial pen from being able to identify the design with any *mere party*—with any peculiar or any private interest, within its shores. And precisely the same path we shall find to have been pursued in Scotland. We have mingled with the men, and with the rulers of successive governments. There had been different opinions throughout the land, and the volumes since written respecting these, cannot be numbered. Mental friction, in abundance, there had been, and so there was still: but in regard to *the Sacred Scriptures in our native tongue, and the possession of them by the people, all along*, if any mere circle, or any section of men, however privileged, or of whatever name, had put in its claim for exclusive, or even eminent honour and renown; we can see now that it might with equal propriety have arrogated credit to itself, for the rain that came down, or the snow from heaven.

There had indeed been many changes, and there will be many more: but throughout all we have yet beheld, a contrast, by way of relief, has been presented to the eye of posterity. It has been *one continuous or unbroken design*, nor is there one other vein of English history, of which, on the whole, as much can be said. Elizabeth is dead; but from the days of her father down to the close of her long reign, “the trumpet has given a certain sound.” If Providence had spoken at all, or rather had done so, from year to year, and to more than two successive generations, has not the voice been unambiguous? the purpose invariable? the object one? Such was the self-moved and unmerited favour of God.

The extraordinary number of the editions of the Sacred Volume, in whole or in part, having never before been marked or known, one is called away from every thing else, as of far inferior moment to us now. What signify to the present age, many other events, which have long since spent all their force or influence on posterity? But there is a voice here, which has never died away in the ear of this country, nay, and one that is sounding louder than ever at the present hour. Apart, then, from all the turmoil of these successive reigns, let the eye only *now* be turned to those venerated monuments of the entire period; for it is not the least remarkable feature in these volumes as a whole, that there should be copies still in existence, and, perhaps, without one exception, from the first edition to the last! At least we have no account to present of editions now no more. Now in such peculiar times as those of which we have read, for more than seventy-five years past, every fresh *issue* must be regarded as an *event*, while, upon an average, more than *three times every year*, the same event had occurred—the same voice was heard. And is there then no conclusion to be drawn from such a series of volumes? A series, printed and published amidst contradiction and blasphemy; preserved and read in the face of denunciation and the flames: a series, demanded and perused ever after, not by the voice, or through the encouragement, of human authority; for, generally speaking, they were read, as we have witnessed, independently of all such influence: a series, not given away, or sold at *reduced* prices, as in modern times, but purchased by the people, and at such rates as at first remunerated the bookseller, and then the monopolist. When the eye thus runs over the general current of these numerous editions, and sees them now occupy in the record of impartial history, a place so sacred and so high; we need not ask whether any thing else of *human* composition, is to be mentioned with decorum, at the same moment, much less placed by their side. This, it is presumed, would now appear to be profane. But the entire range, and especially in its historical character, puts the same inquiry to every reader—“Whether there could have been given at the time, or left for the grave consideration of posterity now, a more pointed testimony to this one all-important truth—“*The ALL-SUFFICIENCY of the Scriptures.*”

Christianity, not an outward conventional form, being essentially a mental subject, addressing the heart and soul of man, this first and fundamental truth—"the *all-sufficiency* of the Divine record,"—it was worthy of its Divine Author to repeat, so emphatically, in the ear of the people, from month to month, and from year to year, amidst all their wild confusion and the strife of tongues. This was a consideration, which, *historically*, had taken *precedence* of every thing else, whether of the *Ministry* itself, or the *form* of godliness. Nay, and it is a truth still, which if the heart and conscience of this nation were once fixed upon it, the consequences would surpass human foresight: Meanwhile this, and by way of eminence, seems to be one main instruction to be drawn from all that had yet occurred. By the man of mere party, it is true, of whatever class throughout the kingdom, from Oxford all round to the sea, the monition may not even yet be heard; and that simply because the subject is one which happens to be above his customary sphere of judgment. But should the slightest hesitation remain in the mind of any reader, let him read on. Upon this subject there is no ambiguity awaiting him, in the sequel.

SECTION IV.

JAMES I. TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

ACCESSION OF JAMES—HIS JOURNEY TO LONDON—HIS STRANGE PROGRESS THROUGH THE COUNTRY—HIS HEEDLESS PROFUSION—CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT EXPLAINED—REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES—OUR PRESENT VERSION—CONSEQUENT LETTERS—THE REVISORS—INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN—PROGRESS MADE—REVISION OF THE WHOLE—MONEY PAID, BUT NOT BY HIS MAJESTY, NOR BY ANY BISHOP, AFTER THE KING'S APPLICATION, BUT BY THE PATENTEE—THE PRESENT VERSION PUBLISHED—NO PROCLAMATION, NO ORDER OF PRIVY COUNCIL, OR ANY ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE UPON RECORD, ON THE SUBJECT—DID NOT BECOME THE VERSION GENERALLY RECEIVED THROUGHOUT ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, TILL ABOUT FORTY YEARS AFTERWARDS—THE LONDON POLYGLOT BIBLE PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE—