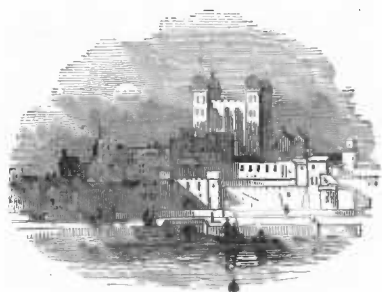


ENGLAND
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY;
OR,
A HISTORY OF
THE REIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF
TUDOR.



LONDON:
THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY;
Instituted 1799.

SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORY, 56, PATERNOSTER ROW, AND 65,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD; AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

1841.

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ENGLAND
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY;
OR, A HISTORY OF THE
REIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.



THE CHILDREN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.

HENRY VII.

REIGNED TWENTY-THREE YEARS AND EIGHT MONTHS.

From 22nd of August, 1485, to 21st of April, 1509.

HENRY VII. was proclaimed king of England on the battle-field of Bosworth. After resting two days, he proceeded towards London, which he entered August 28, 1485, when he offered his three principal standards at St. Paul's church.

Though Henry entered London in a closed car, probably as a measure of precaution, he was received with much applause; for the popular hope was, that the rival claims of York and Lancaster would now be ended by a union of the two houses. Pageants were exhibited before the coronation, which was deferred till October 30th, on account of the sweating sickness, which then first visited England. This disease was especially fatal in London, where two mayors and six aldermen died in eight days.

The title of Henry VII. to the throne was very defective. Supposing Edward v. and his brother were both dead, the right of succession remained in the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward iv. Next to her and her sister, was the earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarence, a youth of fifteen. One of the first cares of Henry was to send orders from Leicester, that this young earl should be conveyed from Yorkshire to the Tower of London.

Nor was Henry's title from the house of Lancaster a valid one. Catherine, the widowed queen of Henry v., married Owen Tudor, a private gentleman of Wales. Their son was created earl of Richmond, and married the heiress of Somerset, a branch of the Lancastrian family, by an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt. The earl died soon after his marriage, leaving an orphan son, afterwards Henry VII. In 1470, Henry VI., during his short restoration, seeing young Richmond, then a lad about fourteen, is said to have pointed him out as likely to have the crown. The attention of both parties was thus drawn to young Richmond. After the battle of Tewkesbury his uncle thought it necessary to convey him to France for safety; but being driven to Bretagne by a storm, they were detained there in a sort of honourable captivity during twelve years; when the nobles who combined against Richard called Richmond to England, and placed him on the throne. His accession was, in reality, the act of these leaders; his title was confirmed by marriage with Elizabeth of

York, the true heiress, but Henry chose to rest it on his Lancastrian descent, which, if it had been valid, would have placed his mother, then living, on the throne before him, as the immediate descendant of the Somersets. She was an exemplary character; and the universities were indebted to her for considerable benefactions; but her family had been excluded from the throne, on account of their illegitimate descent.

According to these views, a declaration was procured from the parliament, which met directly after the coronation, setting forth that the inheritance of the throne was in Henry VII. and his heirs: it was also declared, that all attainders, or corruption of blood, which might be pleaded against a king, ceased immediately he assumed the crown. The results of the civil wars appeared in the small number of the lay peers; only twenty-nine assembled in parliament on this occasion.

Henry, for a time, seems to have desired to avoid the marriage with Elizabeth, but finding the popular feeling was in her favour, and the Commons having urged this alliance, he caused the marriage to be solemnized in January, 1486. Although she was an amiable and beautiful princess, Henry always treated her with indifference, or even aversion, perhaps, because she was a favourite with the nation, by whom her title to the throne was deemed preferable to his own.

Among the early proceedings of Henry was an act of attainder against some of the Yorkists. By a fiction of law, his reign was declared to have begun the day before the battle of Bosworth; thereby the duke of Norfolk, lord Lovel, and some other leading supporters of Richard were declared to have forfeited their estates to the crown. He selected his own earliest adherents to be his confidential ministers, rewarding those who deserted Richard's party, but not placing much trust in them. He consulted his personal safety by appointing a body-guard of fifty men: this is continued under the title of "Yeomen of the guard;" their dress has been the same from the first formation

of this body. In all his proceedings, Henry displayed much caution and prudence, showing himself really anxious to promote the national welfare. He was twenty-nine years old when he obtained the crown : fourteen years spent in adversity had taught him wisdom, at least in worldly matters.

In the spring of 1486, Henry made a progress through the northern counties, which afforded an opportunity for lord Lovel, an adherent of Richard, to withdraw from the sanctuary at Colchester, where he had taken refuge. He planned an attack upon the king on his way to York. Lovel's force appeared ; it had nearly intercepted Henry, when the earl of Northumberland joined the royal train with a large body of supporters. An offer of pardon being made, Lovel withdrew to the continent, leaving his followers, who dispersed.

Soon after the king's return from his progress, a prince was born at Winchester, and named Arthur. This event occasioned general rejoicings, an undoubted heir to the throne being now declared. But the position of Henry was still insecure. Like all others who obtain power by force, he could not confide in those to whom he owed his elevation. His chief safety arose from the non-appearance of any opponent.

Early in 1487, an opponent was produced. A report was spread that the young duke of York was alive in Ireland. This rumour was soon corrected, and the lad in question was said to be the earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarence, whose memory, as their governor, was still cherished by the Irish people. They were attached to the York family, the first claimant to the throne having been their ruler. This youth was said to have escaped from the Tower. Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward iv. who deeply hated Henry, promised her assistance ; the Irish nobles gave their support to the pretender. Henry caused the real earl of Warwick, (the son of Clarence, and grandson to the king-making earl,) to be

carried in procession through the streets of London, convincing the people in general that he was still alive, and a prisoner, so that the claimant of his name must be an impostor. He was, in fact, a youth named Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, at Oxford, instructed by a priest named John Simon, to assume and act this part. Lovel and the earl of Lincoln, the nephew of Edward iv., the leaders among the Yorkists, were convinced of the deception, but resolved to avail themselves of the popular feelings, and to support the impostor for a time, till they could release the real Warwick. They proceeded with 2,000 German soldiers from the continent to Dublin, where the youth was proclaimed king. The earl of Kildare, the governor of Ireland, was a Yorkist; expecting to be displaced by the reigning monarch, he was inclined to support any claimant of the throne.

Henry was not careless; he caused the widowed queen of Edward iv. to be confined in Bermondsey Abbey: the ports were guarded, and he assembled an army at Kenilworth, on hearing that his opponents had disembarked in Lancashire. The armies met at Stoke, near Newark. The earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, and Martin Swart, a German commander of note, who was the leader of the invading troops, all fell in the conflict, unless, as was reported, Lovel escaped, and remained concealed in one of his own houses, where, many years afterwards, a skeleton was discovered in a secret apartment, the head reclining on a table. Lambert and his tutor were taken, his adherents having been entirely defeated, after a severe struggle. Henry wisely treated his captive with contempt, making him a scullion, but afterwards promoting him to the office of under falconer. Warned by this insurrection, the king caused the queen to be crowned, knowing that it would be a popular measure.

The king of France, at this period, invaded Bretagne. The popular voice called upon Henry to prevent the accession of power to the French monarchy :

he was also from gratitude bound to protect that country ; but averse to war, he entered into a secret treaty with Charles. Though compelled to send a body of troops to the continent, Henry soon withdrew them, and assented to the marriage of the French king with the heiress of Bretagne, a new course which that monarch adopted, as best calculated to secure his object. Meanwhile Henry raised large sums from his subjects, on the pretext of a war with France, chiefly by what were called benevolences, a sort of forced gift. This plan was promoted by archbishop Morton, the chancellor, who used a double argument, urging that those who lived frugally could the better spare something for the king, while those who lived expensively ought not to expend all upon themselves, forgetful of the claims of their monarch. The collection of these imposts created great discontents, especially in the north, where the earl of Northumberland was killed in a popular tumult.

Henry was, at length, obliged to engage in war with France, but after undertaking the siege of Boulogne, in 1492, he allowed the French king to purchase a peace. In the same year, a second prince, afterwards Henry VIII., was born. During this interval, another more carefully matured plot had been carried forward. Reports were circulated that the duke of York had been spared by those who engaged to murder his brother and himself. In 1492, a young man came from Portugal, and suddenly appeared at Cork, in Ireland, who declared himself to be the individual in question. He was welcomed as such by the Irish, or rather by the inhabitants of the limited eastern district in that country, then acknowledging the authority of the English monarch. From thence he soon proceeded to France, where he was encouraged by Charles, and joined by many English exiles. Peace being made, he was obliged to withdraw from France, when he visited the duchess of Burgundy, who received him with many honours, publicly acknowledging him as her

nephew, but not without an appearance of doubting his claim, that she might pretend to make a public investigation of his pretensions. His behaviour was consistent with the character he assumed; he resembled Edward iv., and gave a plausible account of his escape, with many minute circumstances respecting the court of England during his early years, such as the young duke of York might be supposed to remember.

These particulars were industriously circulated in England, where they were readily credited by many persons of station and influence. Henry, therefore, imprisoned Tyrrel and Dighton, the surviving murderers, and published a statement of their confessions. The exact declarations were not given to the public: the death of Forrest, the most hardened of the three, probably left some deficiency in their depositions, which rendered it unadvisable to submit them to the remarks likely to be made, though they spoke decidedly as to the actual murder of the princes. The king made preparations to resist invaders, and employed agents to discover who the claimant of the throne really was. The result of this inquiry was a statement, that he was one Perkin Warbeck, or Osbeck, supposed to be the son of a Flemish Jew, but who asserted himself to be the son of Edward iv., to whom he bore considerable personal resemblance. Some persons said, that monarch was his godfather; while others looked upon him as an illegitimate son of Edward. The agents who gave this account, also induced sir Robert Clifford to purchase his own pardon by disclosing the plans of the Yorkists, several of whom were immediately arrested.

The precautionary measures of Henry were characterized by firmness. Being informed that sir William Stanley secretly countenanced the pretender, the king caused him to be arraigned and executed in February, 1494. When we consider that Henry owed his crown to Stanley, this is an instance of the ingratitude of princes, and it warns all who act treacherously towards others, that they may expect to be entangled in their

own devices. The wealth of Stanley was probably one cause why the avaricious monarch availed himself of the opportunity for murder and confiscation. Covetousness is indeed the root of all evil, hardening the heart, and inclining it to deeds of blood. Other severe proceedings were resorted to about this time.

In July, 1495, the claimant appeared on the coast of Kent; his supporters were few; about a hundred and fifty who landed, were seized, and put to death. Their leader returned to Flanders, from whence he proceeded to Ireland; but Poynings, sent thither by Henry, had secured that country. He then went on to Scotland; James iv. received him as the duke of York, and married him to the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley.

Early in 1496, a Scottish army entered England with the pretender, but not being joined by the English, they returned after ravaging Northumberland. This invasion gave Henry a pretext for farther taxation, which was very unpopular. The people of Cornwall rose, and headed by lord Audley, marched towards London, passing on to Blackheath, where they encamped. In this position they were attacked by the royal forces, on June 22. The rebels were defeated and dispersed; lord Audley was beheaded, and the leaders, Joseph, a farrier, and Flammock, an attorney, were hanged.

Scotland was in its turn invaded by the earl of Surrey, when king James consented to terms of peace, and engaged to send Perkin away. The pretender, after visiting Ireland, landed in Cornwall, assuming the title of Richard iv. Having made vain attempts upon Exeter and Taunton, where he was met by the forces of Henry, he left his followers, and took shelter in Beaulieu Abbey, in Hampshire. Upon promise of pardon, he submitted to be taken to London. After some time he fled to the sea coast, but being unable to escape, returned to Sheen Priory. He was led from thence, and placed in the stocks before Westminster

Hall, where he read a confession that he was an impostor, after which he was sent to the Tower. His wife had been taken in the fortress of St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, but was treated with kindness, being made an attendant on the English queen. There appears no cause to doubt his being a mere pretender, or to suppose that the real duke of York did not perish with his brother. The subject, however, has been discussed with much plausibility of argument in favour of Warbeck. It is remarkable, that in several instances, where personages of note have disappeared by violence, their titles have been assumed by others. Thus it was with the famous don Sebastian, of Portugal, in the sixteenth century; while the example of Perkin has been recently followed by persons who have pretended to be the unfortunate Louis xvii.

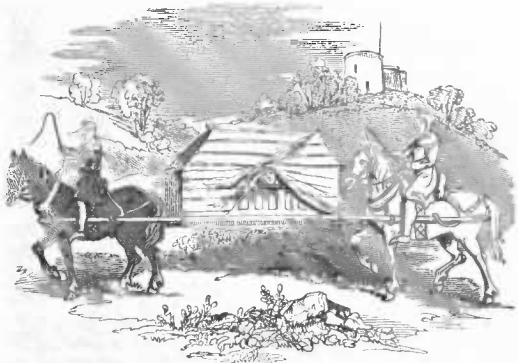
Another pretender arose shortly after; one Ralph Wilford, a Kentish youth, who, at the instigation of an Augustine friar, personated the earl of Warwick. This shallow device was soon brought to an end; the poor lad was hanged, and the friar condemned to imprisonment for life.

By some proceedings, which are not clearly explained, Perkin was enabled to escape from the Tower, in company with the real earl of Warwick, an ignorant and half-witted character. They were soon retaken; Perkin was hanged at Tyburn, the son of Clarence was beheaded. There is reason to believe that the whole was a device of Henry, who planned that these wretched prisoners might by their conduct afford a pretext for violent measures against themselves. He succeeded; but "woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness." "Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the power of evil! Thou hast consulted shame to thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul," Jer. xxii. 13; Hab. ii. 9, 10.

From the time of these murders, for such they were,

the success and comfort of Henry began to decline, although his situation had much that appeared prosperous. The king of Spain sought his alliance, while other continental princes showed him honour and attention, inducing him to take part in their affairs. In the year 1500 another pestilence visited the land; twenty thousand inhabitants of London are said to have died. Henry removed his court to Calais for a short time.

In the first year of the sixteenth century, two royal marriages were solemnized, the results of which were most important to England. Catherine, princess of Aragon, was united to the English prince Arthur. He died in the following year; but Henry VII., unwilling to restore the dowry of the Spanish princess, amounting to 60,000*l.*, caused her to be affianced to his younger son, prince Henry, having obtained a dispensation from the pope, who claimed power to do away with the laws of God and man, and to allow prince Henry to marry his brother's widow. The actual celebration of the marriage was deferred, on account of prince Henry's youth. But the results of this inauspicious union were overruled to prove most beneficial to England. It produced the Reformation, which freed the nation from the tyranny and yoke of Rome. The other marriage was that of the princess Margaret to James IV., king of Scotland; this led to the union of the two kingdoms, a measure advantageous to both countries. One of Henry's counsellors advised against the connexion, lest it should place a Scottish king on the throne of England; but Henry, with wiser views, said that was not a matter of importance, England was the largest kingdom, and would be the seat of government. In 1503, the princess, then fourteen years of age, was forwarded to Scotland. She had to perform this long journey on horseback, except being occasionally carried in a litter when passing through any large town. She entered Edinburgh sitting on a pillion, behind the Scottish monarch, her husband.



In 1502, cardinal Morton died, to whom Henry was mainly indebted for the throne; this death was followed in the next year by that of the queen, to whom he owed his securing it. The king was now become more eager than ever to accumulate wealth. Empson and Dudley, his two ministers, used every means of extortion; by fines, the revival of antiquated claims, the exactions of wardship, and false accusations, as well as by direct taxation. Among other instances of severity, was the laying a fine of 10,000*l.* on the earl of Oxford, for clothing his neighbours and tenants in livery when visited by the king, who thanked the earl for his good cheer, but said he would not allow the laws to be broken in his sight. The fine, however, was exorbitant. A salutary law had lately been passed, forbidding to clothe any in the livery of a noble family who were not regular house servants, which diminished the power of the nobility, by not allowing them to keep large bodies of idle retainers. Such enactments, though severe, were reconcileable with the main principles of

justice. In 1503, the chancellor, in his speech to the parliament, urged that justice, with due execution of the laws, was the great support of kingdoms, which without it were but dens of robbers. This is true: still, law is a dangerous weapon, and too often misused.

The earl of Suffolk, nephew of Edward iv., fell under suspicion of plotting against the king; he escaped to the continent, but was secured in 1506. The archduke of Austria, who had been driven into Weymouth by a storm, when on a voyage to Spain with his wife, the queen of Castile, being detained till Suffolk had been induced to come over. The earl was then imprisoned, Henry undertaking to bear all the dishonour of the transaction. Tyrrel, the murderer of Edward v., being implicated in this plot, was executed.

The archduke was also obliged to consent to a marriage between the king and the duchess of Savoy, his sister, who had a large dowry. Philip proceeded to Spain, where he was acknowledged king of Castile, but died in a few months, when Henry gave up his claim upon the duchess of Savoy, and sought the widowed queen. This plan could not be carried into effect, as her reason gave way under her loss.

In 1505, Henry thought of marrying the dowager queen of Naples, but finding she had no jointure, he relinquished his intention. Gold ever was his idol. He continued his accumulations, even after he had stored in his coffers 1,800,000*l.* sterling, equal in value to about 25,000,000*l.* at the present day. Some portion of these treasures he increased by lending on usurious terms; but occasionally he made loans for commercial purposes, free of any charge of interest, knowing that in the end his resources would be benefited thereby.

Henry's health gave way; at fifty-two he was sinking into the grave. Then he thought to purchase heaven with part of his ill-gotten wealth. He caused all debtors imprisoned in London for small amounts to be set at liberty. In 1502, he founded a noble addition

to Westminster Abbey. The part of the structure known as Henry the Seventh's chapel, forms the most beautiful portion of that venerable pile. It was not completed till about twelve years afterwards, and at an expense of about fourteen thousand pounds. He largely contributed to other ecclesiastical edifices. A gilt silver box was also to be presented to every church in England which did not already possess a repository for the host, or consecrated wafer. He ordered his son to make restitution of the sums his hateful ministers had unjustly extorted, and declared that if his life were prolonged he would be a changed man; but his chief reliance was placed on the penances enjoined by the church of Rome. After twenty-seven hours of fierce agony, during which he called upon the Saviour for deliverance, he expired on April 21, 1509. Henry VII. had pierced himself through with many sorrows, in common with all who make undue haste to be rich. His call for deliverance reminds of the words of Scripture; "When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me: for that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices," Prov. i. 27—31. Still we should be thankful that we are not required to pronounce judgment upon the final state of any fellow mortal, though the awful declarations of the Divine word against the ungodly and covetous must not be trifled with.

The reign of Henry VII. was useful to England. He succeeded in staying the rage of civil discord, and breaking down the power of the nobles, or rather he prevented it from regaining its former extent, after the civil wars. He chose his chief ministers from the ecclesiastics, but was not disposed to admit the continuance of the unbridled licentiousness of the clergy.

He also found many of them disaffected to his government: it is remarked, that each of the three leading plots against him, was promoted, if not formed, by a priest. He, therefore, set forth severe declarations against the luxurious and vicious lives of the clergy, strenuously contending against their being independent of the civil power. Still they secured themselves from suffering death for any offence, even for murder. Another proceeding, the diminution of the idle retainers of the nobles, induced many persons to turn their hands to the pursuits of industry, while it left the nobility money to spare for the encouragement of manufactures. Thereby much was done to lessen the paramount power of the nobility, while the commons rose in proportion. Henry saw the necessity of freeing the royal power from the domination of the nobles and ecclesiastics, and of resting it on the interests of the community at large. To effect this, he endeavoured to maintain peace, being well aware how much the interests of a nation are promoted by freedom from warfare. Fines and exactions also were means which he used to depress the power of the nobles.

Henry encouraged commerce, though the laws enacted, through the mistaken policy of the age, often encumbered the efforts they were designed to promote. He agreed with the brother of Columbus, the discoverer of America, to furnish the requisite means for his voyage of discovery to the west; but the detention of Bartholomew by pirates delayed his return from England, till Christopher had made those final arrangements with the king of Spain, which gave Spain the empire of the west. After this, Henry sent out John Cabot, and his sons Sebastian and Sancho, with letters patent, "to sail to all parts of the world, under his flag, with five ships, to discover new countries, and to take possession of them as his governors and deputies, paying him one-fifth of the profits; and to import their merchandize free of all custom duties." They discovered

Newfoundland, and the main coast of North America. We may rejoice that England did not incur the guilt that brought reproach on Spain for her acts in her western empire, which have proved a bitter curse upon that kingdom. Far better were the commercial advantages which eventually accrued to England, from the discoveries of Cabot.

"'Tis thus the band of commerce was designed
To' associate all the branches of mankind;
And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
Wise to promote whatever end he means,
God opens fruitful nature's various scenes;
Each climate needs what other climes produce,
And offers something to the general use.
No land but listens to the common call,
And in return receives supply from all."

Henry obtained a bull from the pope, authorizing the reformation of the monasteries. In 1490, Morton put this into effect with regard to the abbey of St. Alban's: the result of the inquiry proved that the abbot, and many of his monks, were guilty of the vilest profligacies. Even murders were frequently committed by the ecclesiastics. The depraved state of the clergy appeared also from the monitions issued by the archbishop Morton, who rebuked the clergy for spending their time in alehouses, laying aside the dress of their order, and wearing swords and daggers, which they were at all times ready to use. Yet, the king gave countenance to persecutions for religion, and thus brought himself into the same condemnation as his predecessors. His devotion to the church of Rome was manifest, though he was not ignorant of its errors. He complied with the religious fashions of that day, and in several years, about Lent, paid for ten thousand masses to be performed for his benefit. This engraving from an ancient drawing, represents the king giving a book to John Islip, the abbot of Westminster, specifying the number of masses, and services to be said for the departed souls of the king's father, wife, and other

relations, in consideration of grants bestowed on that monastic establishment; directing, also, a provision for thirteen poor men.

Some were burned for heresy in this reign; among them, in 1494, was a widow of eighty, named Joan Boughton. She was enabled to declare that she thought but little of the fire, since it would but take her to the presence of Him who loved her. But the most atrocious act of papal cruelty was the burning of Tylsworth, at Amersham, in 1506, when his own daughter was dragged to the pile, and compelled to set fire to it by a torch held in her hand. The spot is still pointed out, where this dreadful atrocity was perpetrated by the persecuting church of Rome.

Upon the whole, Henry VII. possessed many commendable qualities; he showed much wisdom in promoting whatever he considered would be for the welfare of his people. The adversities of his early years much improved his character, though the original defect of obtaining the crown by force, with his constitutional avarice, led to many acts of severity and oppression which rendered him unpopular, and brought down trials upon himself. This unpopularity was increased by the crafty and treacherous conduct Henry VII. displayed. Sir Thomas More states, that his proceedings were carried on so covertly, one thing pretended, and another meant, that when matters were most plain and open, some secret design was ever suspected.

Among the legislative enactments of this reign was the important law, making the alienation of landed property effectual by the legal process called levying fines. This tended much to break the power of the nobility, by affording facilities to the sale of their landed estates, while the giving security to purchasers, encouraged buyers, and led many persons to invest in land the profits of increasing commerce. Other laws, with reference to legal proceedings, the encouragement of trade, and the prevention of frauds might be

mentioned. Though some were founded on principles since found to be mistaken, by limiting the exertions of industry, and fixing the price of commodities, yet Henry should be commended for having acted according to the best of his abilities; he certainly perceived that a free interchange of commodities was for the advantage of all parties concerned. One establishment of this reign was the Star Chamber; so called from the stars on the roof of the apartment where the judges sat. This was a summary court of judicature, which assisted the royal power by its course of proceedings; but these were subsequently abused, so as to become tyrannical and oppressive.

The depopulation caused by the civil wars and by pestilence, was shown by various enactments to restrain the extent of sheep-walks, then found more profitable to the agriculturist than the raising of corn. So low was the price of wheat, that at the commencement of this reign, ten days' labour would purchase a quarter of corn.

The engraving inserted in page 1, is from an old painting, representing the three children of Henry VII.: Arthur, who died before his father; Henry, afterwards the eighth monarch of that name; and Margaret, subsequently queen of Scotland, great grandmother of James, in whom the kingdoms were united. From this highly important circumstance, the daughter of Henry VII. becomes a very interesting character in English history.

A portion of the reign of Henry VII. belongs to the fifteenth century, but, it is included in the present volume, to give a complete view of the reigns of the house of Tudor, a period of the greatest importance in the history of England.



HENRY THE EIGHTH.

HENRY VIII.

REIGNED THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS AND NINE MONTHS.

From 22nd of April, 1509, to 28th of January, 1547.

THE reign of Henry VIII. is the most important in the British annals, both with reference to the events that occurred therein, and to the result of those events. This remark is applicable not only to the English nation, but also to the world at large. The proceedings have been differently represented, and are spoken of in very opposite terms, according to the feelings of speakers or writers, rather than from the effects of patient and impartial consideration. But the particulars concerning the history of this reign are now fully unfolded to the world, from original public and private documents. In the following pages, only brief, and for the most part, only general, notices of this eventful period can be given: but they are the results of the examination of many volumes; it is trusted with a desire for impartial research.

The events of this reign may be divided into three periods. 1. The early transactions previous to Henry's desire to be divorced from Catherine of Arragon. 2. The king's contest with the pope, and the reformation which followed the casting off of the papal supremacy. 3. The stormy latter years of this monarch.

PART I.

FROM A.D. 1509, TO A.D. 1527.

The accession of Henry VIII. at the age of eighteen, was hailed by his subjects with much joy. His father, though he sought in many respects the welfare of the people, was very unpopular during his latter years, chiefly from the excessive pecuniary exactions he levied, but also from his severe measures in other respects. Under these circumstances the young king was highly popular, possessing many advantages, both natural and acquired, and having an undoubted title to the throne by descent, as well as by the voice of the nation. Being the second son, his father had destined him for the church; therefore, at an early age his attention was directed to literary pursuits. The seed fell into a favourable soil; though at twelve years of age he became heir to the throne, yet the young Henry had imbibed a taste for learning, which he cultivated even beyond the average of the leading scholars of that day. His person was healthy and well-formed, such as to command admiration, and to enable him to take part in all the active sports then practised. His temper and disposition were frank, courteous, amiable, condescending; he was inclined to promote the enjoyments of those around him, while his habits of application qualified him to conduct state affairs. In directing these, he at first attended to the advice of the able ministers whom he collected about him. He engaged in pastimes and recreations, yet did not suffer himself to be wholly engrossed by them.

Such was Henry VIII. during the early years of his

reign, as described by contemporary writers, some of whom openly opposed his proceedings in more advanced life. Those who only know Henry through the writings of controversialists, are unacquainted with his early character as described by Erasmus, Pace, and other Romanists, who cannot be considered merely as personal flatterers.

Henry VIII. was proclaimed king, April 23, 1509, the day after his father's decease. One of the first acts of the new monarch and his council was, to carry into effect the desire of the late king, by remitting the outstanding demands against many individuals, and returning the amount of numerous fines which had been unjustly levied; but the claims for restitution were so numerous and so large, that few were satisfied. The popular outcry against Empson and Dudley, the ministers by whose instrumentality fines had been levied, was great, and they were sacrificed to the displeasure of the nation. They were imprisoned; but no just ground of accusation could be found, for they had acted in obedience to the commands of the late king. Yet, in the following year they were found guilty, and executed for high treason, on an absurd charge that they had conspired against Henry VII. The king probably acted contrary to his better judgment, to satisfy the public outcry against these unhappy agents of his father.

The new ministers of state were chosen by the advice of the countess of Richmond, the venerable grandmother of the king. She became a wife and mother at a very early age, and was shortly afterwards left a widow, but she acted, during a long life, with singular wisdom and prudence. Archbishop Warham, and bishop Fox, were skilful administrators of public affairs when matters of religion were not concerned; the latter had been much employed in foreign negotiations. The earl of Surrey and others, were able conductors of military affairs, according to the views of that day. Attention was immediately directed to the princess Catherine of Arragon. She had been for a few months

the wife of prince Arthur. On his death, the late king detained her in England : at first to clear any question as to her having children, and then that she might become the wife of prince Henry, when he should be of sufficient age, lest the pecuniary and political advantages of the union should be lost. Her father, Ferdinand, king of Spain, consented to this marriage, which the pope Julius III. authorized by a bull, or decree, in which, as is usual in those instruments, he assumed power to dispense with the laws both of God and of man. The princess was not averse to the marriage, though it was not liked by the youthful Henry, then twelve years old. Henry VII. was at first eager for the union, but afterwards disinclined to it, when age and infirmities turned his thoughts to matters beyond mere worldly policy. He was advised against the marriage by archbishop Warham and others, but his proceedings were irresolute and vacillating. In June, 1505, when prince Henry attained his fourteenth year, his father caused him to sign and read before the council a declaration that he would not fulfil the contract with Catherine; but this proceeding was concealed from Ferdinand, and the princess continued to reside in England. Fox, bishop of Winchester, one of the chief counsellors, states, that notwithstanding the protestation and the delay, the union was still contemplated by Henry VII.

During this interval, the young king's mind became more favourably disposed towards Catherine; there were also some apprehensions, lest her marriage with any one else might tend to disturb him on the throne; one ground of the claim urged by Henry VII. had been his descent from the widow of Henry V. It is probable that various considerations rendered this union desirable; therefore the bull of Julius III. was considered a sufficient dispensation. The marriage was solemnized on June 3, six weeks after the king's accession; it was followed by a coronation on the 24th, unusually splendid. The queen was pleasing in her person,

"beautiful and goodly to behold." She was several years older than the king, learned beyond what was usual for females, dignified in her manners, and attached to the ceremonials of the Romish church, to an extent which rendered her superstitious and bigoted. She possessed the affections of her husband, and amidst all the gaities of the court, he treated her with kindness and respect. They lived for several years in domestic harmony. Whatever may be supposed by some, the early court of Henry VIII. was comparatively correct, amidst all the rudeness and grossness of the age. Even Erasmus, ten years afterwards, speaks of the king and queen as affording an example of "chaste and concordant wedlock." The encouragement of learned men, and of the polite arts, is frequently noticed. There was, however, a turn for showy pastimes, especially the expensive pageants then common, which rapidly diminished the royal treasures. Part of these were also lavished upon a costly troop of horse-guards, and part upon the continual celebration of jousts and tournaments, of which Henry was very fond, while his health and strength allowed him to join in them. His muscular frame, and well exercised strength, made him usually the most distinguished in these mimic combats, even more than any inclination of his opponents to submit to their king. The royal taste for these pleasures, and for convivial enjoyments, was speedily carried to excess, being encouraged by Thomas Wolsey, who, as the royal almoner, had constant access to the king, whereby he soon acquired great influence over him.

Wolsey, the son of a butcher, was born at Ipswich, in 1471. He was early a student at Oxford. Being admitted to the clerical order, he showed himself a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God: while priest of a country parish, he was set publicly in the stocks, for taking part in a drunken riot; but such was the degraded conduct of ecclesiastics in those days, that this did not prevent his subsequent preferment. Having become tutor to the sons of the mar-

quis of Dorset, he obtained the patronage of that nobleman, and a benefice; afterwards he was placed upon the list of royal chaplains. An opportunity for showing great promptness and ability during a negotiation between Henry VII. and the emperor Maximilian, led to his appointment to the deanery of Lincoln, which was followed by further rewards and offices in the church. At that time it was not uncommon for ecclesiastics to be employed in secular affairs. Such proceedings have ever been hurtful to the church and the country in which they occur. Bishop Fox, observing Wolsey's pleasant qualities as a companion, and the suppleness of his behaviour, recommended him to the notice of Henry VIII., thinking thereby to supplant the earl of Surrey, to whom the king was much attached, from his readiness to comply with his expensive and prodigal turn. Thus Wolsey was brought into the royal council, where he soon established himself as chief minister.

Europe was then in a peculiarly critical situation; this caused Henry to be courted by all the leading powers. The rivalry between France and Spain, which continued to agitate the continent during the succeeding century, had begun to appear. France was strengthened by recent accessions to her dominions; while the treasures of the new world poured into Spain, where Ferdinand had united several petty kingdoms: the union gave increased weight and influence to that monarch and his successors. The popedom, under its successive rulers, had for some time taken an active part in the political proceedings of the times. The empire of Germany, in alliance with Spain, was threatened from the east by the Turks. Such was the aspect which a few years openly brought forward; but for a time the warfare consequent on these political proceedings, was carried on in a desultory, inefficient manner.

The pope, Julius III., was one of the foremost in stirring up Henry to engage in warfare. He sent him a golden bauble in the form of a rose, perfumed with

musk, and greased with consecrated oil, considered an honourable gift from a pope to a king! The pontiff also saluted Henry as head of the Italian league. He was elated by the papal flattery, which at that period had a powerful influence over the minds of European monarchs, according to the declaration contained in Scripture: "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad," Jer. li. 7, 9: see also Rev. xviii. 2. Hoping to recover Guienne and the neighbouring provinces, Henry declared his readiness to interfere in the affairs of the continent, against the advice of some of his ablest counsellors, who urged, that if the nation took part in foreign affairs, it should rather be by claiming a participation in the lately discovered regions of the east and west.

An expedition was undertaken against France in 1512, but returned without the expected success, having been employed by the Spanish monarch to protect his proceedings, while he pursued his own designs on Navarre. A struggle for the mastery of the sea between England and France ended to the advantage of the former; but the lord admiral, Sir Edward Howard, perished in a rash attack upon the French fleet in Brest harbour.

In the following year, Henry headed an army, and landed at Calais, to act in alliance with the emperor of Germany, who by flattery succeeded in obtaining aid and large pecuniary supplies from Henry. After an expensive campaign, he besieged and took Terouenne and Tournay. This expedition effected nothing of importance, though at one time the French monarchy was in great peril. Henry was successful in a skirmish, called the battle of the Spurs; had the victory been followed up, the main French army would, in all probability, have given way. The French king expected this, and was prepared to flee from Paris.

Meanwhile, James iv., king of Scotland, was in-

duced to declare war against his brother-in-law, and to invade England, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of queen Margaret, aided by his best counsellors. The earl of Surrey, with an equal English force, encountered the Scots at Flodden, September the 9th, 1513, when James fell with most of his nobles, among whom was an archbishop and three bishops. This defeat was most disastrous to the power of Scotland. The earl of Surrey was created duke of Norfolk in consequence of his success.

The state of affairs on the continent changed: but there is no need to go into detail; while the objects immediately in dispute were insignificant, the results obtained were unimportant. Henry found that his allies, when they had gained their own ends, ceased to prosecute the war; the archduke Charles declined to marry Henry's sister Mary, and the popedom had passed into other hands. Henry, therefore, made peace with Lewis; a marriage between the princess Mary and the French king was planned and carried into effect, in the autumn of 1514; but that sickly aged monarch died within three months, on January 1, 1515; and was succeeded on the throne by his kinsman, Francis I. His widow, in a few weeks, gave her hand to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had been sent to conduct her to England. Anne Boleyn was one of her attendants, then merely a child; she remained at the French court. The indiscreet second marriage of his sister much displeased Henry, for she would have been sought after by other monarchs: but the princess resolved not to be again sacrificed to political interests; and her brother was reconciled, after a short interval of resentment. Suffolk enjoyed the royal favour till his decease, shortly before the death of Henry. The new king of France gladly remained at peace with England, as it left him at liberty to invade Italy, where he gained a most obstinately disputed victory at Marignan, and took possession of the duchy of Milan for a time.

Wolsey had by this time established his power. He encouraged the king in scholastic studies, and engaged him in showy and expensive pleasures, himself undertaking all the cares of government. The king gladly adopted this course, believing that all matters of moment would be brought before him for final decision, so as to remain under his own direction. In 1513, Wolsey was appointed bishop of Tournay, in the following year bishop of Lincoln, and soon after archbishop of York. He rapidly ascended the pinnacle of human greatness. The king and queen wrote to him, using confidential terms; every affair of importance was referred to him. He grasped at universal control, and accumulated wealth with an unsparing hand. Ambition, with thirst for power and flattery, were Wolsey's ruling passions; these were gratified by his influence over the king, which was so great, that some contemporaries ascribed it to the power of Satan. There can be no doubt that it was promoted by Satanic principles, but it was the immediate result of the efforts of a mind at once supple and resolute. He ruled the king by humouring his views and feelings, whether praiseworthy or evil. Wolsey avoided the error into which Becket fell; he defied not the power of the king; but by submitting to his caprices, he obtained direct mastery over all others, in reality controlling the king himself. Wolsey also possessed a master mind; he had access to the various means most influential over the different classes of that day, and availed himself of them. Fox, bishop of Winchester, archbishop Warham, the duke of Norfolk, even the personal favourite, the duke of Suffolk, all retired before him, losing their political power. In 1515, Wolsey obtained the dignity of cardinal, which placed him above every other subject in the realm. In the following year he reached the summit of grandeur, both civil and ecclesiastical: the former by taking the office of lord chancellor, which Warham resigned, disgusted at the arrogance of the new favourite; the latter, by obtaining from the pope

the appointment of legate in England. Other bishoprics and abbeys were added to his benefices, to increase his wealth. He now sat at the right hand of the king, and claimed the honours due to royalty alone. He assumed a state and pomp which excited the wonder and displeasure of the nobility and gentry, but they dazzled the populace for a time: his power was increased, while his vanity was gratified; but his downfall was hastened thereby. At first this new title strengthened his influence over Henry, who gratified his taste for display and showy amusements, by beholding the state of the cardinal, and partaking of the entertainments Wolsey provided or suggested.

Hall, in his *Chronicles*, minutely describes several of these shows: one extract may be given as a specimen; the scene was at Greenwich, at Christmas, in the year 1516. "There entered into the hall an artificial garden, called the Garden of Esperance. This garden was towered at every corner, and railed with gilt rails. All the banks were set with artificial flowers of silk and gold, the leaves cut of green satin, so that they seemed real flowers. In the midst of this garden was a pillar of antique work, all gold, set with pearls and stones; and on the top of this pillar, which was six square, was an arch embowed around with gold; within which stood a bush of red and white roses, all of silk and gold, and a bush of pomegranates of like stuff. In this garden walked six knights, and six ladies, richly apparelled; and then they descended and danced many goodly dances, and so ascended the garden again, and were conveyed out of the hall; and then the king was served with a great banquet." It seems to have been much such a show, except as to the expense, as might now be got up to amuse a party of children. A cart decked out with artificial flowers of satin and gold, was drawn into the hall, with twelve people standing in it: after they had got down, and jumped about the hall for a time, they climbed up into the cart, and it was drawn out again!

Yet, in many respects, Wolsey benefited his country ; he often restrained the wealthy and powerful from acts of violence towards the lower classes ; he collected around him men of ability, whom he placed in various offices of power and business ; he encouraged literature —no trifling benefit in an age when a nobleman maintained to the royal secretary Pace, that it was enough for noblemen's sons to sound their hunting horns well, and carry their hawks, while study and learning might be left to the children of labourers. In many respects, Wolsey thus unconsciously prepared the way for the beneficial changes that followed.

Coming events cast their shadows before ; the first direct indications of the approaching storm which overthrew the usurpations of the Romish clergy, appeared in 1515. It arose from what appeared a trifling matter. Richard Hunne, a citizen of London, refused to pay an extortionate fee claimed by a priest, on account of the death of his child : for this he was prosecuted in an ecclesiastical court, but he retorted by suing the priest in the King's Bench. A charge of heresy was then brought against Hunne, which enabled the ecclesiastics to imprison him in the Lollards' Tower, the bishops' prison for heretics, adjoining the cathedral of St. Paul. Here he was found hanging ; the priests affirmed that he had committed self-murder, but a coroner's inquest being held, it was proved that Hunne had been murdered by Dr. Horsey, the chancellor of the diocese, with two assistants, one of whom afterwards confessed his guilt ; and that they had hung up the body after death, to make it pass for an act of self-destruction. The popular indignation was roused. Bishop Fitzjames thought to stop it by pronouncing the deceased to have been guilty of heresy, merely because a copy of the English Bible was found among his effects. The body was sentenced to be dug up, and to be burned !

This proceeding only increased the popular feeling against the priests. The House of Commons restored

the property of Hunne to his children, and brought forward a bill against the assassins, which was strenuously opposed by the bishop of London. The contest took an important form. It was assumed by the clergy, that for all offences, even the most heinous, they were amenable only to their own courts, where they could only be tried by prelates and ecclesiastical officers. The king, with the nation at large, would not submit to this iniquitous claim of privilege, which had enabled many ecclesiastics to commit the vilest crimes with impunity. A compromise was effected. The murderers of Hunne submitted to the civil power; it being privately arranged that the prosecution should be dropped. Thus the clergy escaped the disgrace incurred by one of their order, but were compelled to give way to the royal prerogative. The citizens of London were fully convinced of the evil principles and practices of the Romish ecclesiastics. From that time an increasing number in the metropolis were disposed to forward the Reformation. The clergy were also compelled to drop proceedings against Dr. Standish, the king's counsel, who vehemently opposed their usurpations, and was bitterly persecuted by his brethren. All this gave Henry an advantage which he soon pressed farther.

Wolsey saw that his master was decidedly bent upon hindering the ecclesiastics from making themselves independent of the other orders of society. He did not oppose the royal will, though he desired that the ecclesiastical order should be pre-eminent. The details thus given show that the awful proceedings of the priesthood in that day, required very high authority, and strong power, to keep these persecutors of God's heritage from assuming absolute sway. We need scarcely advert to the unholy and licentious lives of many of the leading clergy. Wolsey himself did not hesitate to procure appointments and honours for his own illegitimate children.

The principal event in the year 1516 was closely connected with the subject just adverted to, the supre-

macy of Rome. A princess was born, afterwards queen Mary, whose bigoted cruelty completed the downfall of popery in England, by inspiring a horror of the principles of that persecuting faith. This impression kept the country exclusively protestant for more than two centuries and a half, and is not yet entirely forgotten.

In this year, also, the great apostle of the Reformation in Germany, began to devote his attention to the errors and usurpations of popery ; against these, in the year following, he stood forth an open opposer. From his letters, it appears that Luther had now advanced so far as to discern that the righteousness of Christ, freely imputed to the believer, is the only ground for a sinner's acceptance with God. When the mind is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, thus to discern the truth as it is in Jesus, it will not long remain in bondage to the spirit of antichrist, the man of sin, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, 2 Thess. ii.

The intercourse between England and the continent, was still actively carried forward by negotiations and treaties. Henry's jealousy was excited by the French successes in Italy. He listened to the overtures of the emperor Maximilian, who influenced Wolsey to promote his views. But the insincerity of the German potentate being ascertained, Wolsey listened to Francis, who bribed him to become his friend. Alliances were planned, and a conditional marriage between the English princess and the French prince projected, even before the birth of the latter. A few months after that event, a regular treaty was entered into, which like the generality of such arrangements, never was acted upon. But Francis gained his immediate object, the restitution of Tournay, by the influence of Wolsey, who accepted large sums from the French king, and would have given up Calais, had he not feared the national indignation. The great object of the cardinal's diplomatic ingenuity, was to obtain money for himself

from the different potentates of Europe. In this he was successful ; but his income, however considerable, was absorbed by the style he maintained, and the large bribes he gave to forward his ardent desire to be elevated to the popedom. To promote these selfish views, he frequently sent his own emissaries with the king's ambassadors to foreign courts, who gave him private reports of what passed, and even interfered with the public negotiations. Some of these reports still remain among the public collections of letters, and other documents of those times.

The French king having succeeded in getting the English troops withdrawn from France, the common soldiers were disbanded ; many of them became robbers, while the officers brought home the luxurious and vicious habits they had formed on the continent. The displeasure of the Londoners against foreigners, was excited at this time by various circumstances, till a tumult arose on May day, 1517 : it was put down by an armed force, and several of the ringleaders were executed.

One circumstance peculiar to the sixteenth century was a well-founded apprehension of the Turkish power, then threatening Christendom. Constantinople had been taken by the Turks in 1453 ; after which, the followers of the false prophet Mohammed pressed hard upon the eastern countries of Europe. A mutual league was entered into by the leading European powers ; but the principal result of this treaty was a vain display of expensive magnificence, in the embassies between the different countries, particularly England and France. These expensive shows were one principal means by which the accumulated treasures inherited by Henry were dispersed.

The pope, as usual, availed himself of the prevailing apprehension, to further his own selfish ends. He urged a crusade against the Turks : to promote this, he sent Campeggio to be his legate in England ; but Henry could not be induced to take measures of which

the pope would have made use to supply his own coffers. Wolsey, however, increased his own power by the establishment of a Legantine court, which exercised inquisitorial control over both laity and clergy. The entry of the Italian prelate into London was delayed, till some additions were made to his retinue by order of the cardinal; but the derision of the spectators was excited by an incident that occurred as the procession passed through London. One of the sumpter mules falling, its burden was exposed to view, and proved to be a collection of rubbish covered with a cloth of state, to make a show.

The death of Maximilian, emperor of Germany, in 1519, did away the results expected from the preceding treaties. The leading monarchs of Europe became candidates for the succession; it rested in the choice of seven electoral princes. Wolsey, equally ambitious with the king, was planning to obtain the papacy, expected soon to become vacant; to this object he directed his strongest efforts. An immense number of official letters and other public documents of this period yet remain, showing the earnestness with which the great men, as they were called, of this age, contended for empty earthly honours. Francis made strenuous efforts to obtain the dignity of emperor; for this Henry also declared himself a candidate; but both kings were unsuccessful. The Spanish monarch Charles v., who was grandson to the late emperor, supported his claim by large pecuniary bribes. He obtained the imperial crown after it had been declined by Frederick of Saxony, who was the great friend and protector of Luther.

While the most powerful ecclesiastic in Britain was engaged in the vain pursuit of earthly honours, he promoted, rather than hindered, the persecutions urged by other prelates. The records of their dioceses present melancholy instances of the extent of persecution: parents and children, brothers and sisters, masters and servants, were encouraged and compelled to ac-

cuse each other.* One remarkable instance must not be passed by. In the year 1519, six men and one woman were burned together in the same fire at Coventry. The only accusation against them was, their having taught their children the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English. While the nobles and prelates occupied themselves in the empty shows and vain strifes of this world, many of the middle and lower classes of the people were listening to the word of life, and profiting thereby. Some preachers of the gospel went about the country, attired in humble garb, instructing from cottage to cottage; assembling a few peasants in the dead of the night, or venturing to teach by day in a secluded wood or on a village green, while the emissaries of the Romish clergy, thirsting for their blood, tracked them from place to place, nor stayed till they brought them to the dungeon or the fiery pile. Such were Mann, Tybalt, Maxwell, and Stacy: characters despised of men, but who, doubtless, now enjoy the fulfilment of the declaration by the prophet Daniel, "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever;" though Wolsey and his coadjutors, who shone like meteors in their day, it is to be feared, are now in "the blackness of darkness for ever."

Adrian, the tutor of the new emperor, was elected pope, after a political struggle of fourteen days. It is to the credit of Wolsey, that one objection against him was, a fear that he would reform the papal court; though probably such a proceeding would only have resulted from his attachment to external show and vain display.

Francis I., king of France, and Charles, emperor of Germany, now constantly opposed each other. The balance was thought to rest with England. This was what Wolsey desired; he, therefore, refrained for a

* The reader will find some particulars in "The Lollards," published by the Religious Tract Society; also in the first volume of "The British Reformers."

time from absolutely committing himself to either power; but he acted in a crooked and deceitful manner: the means he used were dishonourable, and not likely to be of lasting benefit. Thus the opportunity which Henry then possessed, of using the influence given him by his position, was lost.

To promote the views of Wolsey, and to gratify the fondness of Henry for pomp and show, a personal interview between the monarchs of France and England was arranged. The new emperor, fearful of a league against his newly-acquired power, arranged to visit England on his way from Spain to Flanders, just before Henry proceeded to the continent. He was received with due honours by the king of England, and succeeded in obtaining the support of Wolsey, with whom he had already secretly negotiated. Henry afterwards embarked at Dover, and the interview with Francis took place at Ardres, in June, 1520. The costly display of the kings and their nobles on this occasion, was excessive, as appears from the name given to the conference, "The field of the cloth of gold." Besides the gratification of the vanity of Henry and his minister by this display, they thereby lowered the power of many proud nobles and gentry, whose expenditure while attending the king severely affected their property, so as greatly to lessen their influence and power. Many appeared in the royal train, as a contemporary observed, "carrying their estates, fields, houses, and woods, upon their backs." It was one of the last public displays of chivalric pomp on a large scale. The two monarchs exhibited their skill and agility in tilting-matches, while each in turn showed knightly courtesy and confidence, by visiting the other's quarters without attendance. Francis set the example; one morning he rode alone to the English royal residence, where finding Henry in bed, he assisted him to rise, and acted as his valet. Henry returned the compliment on a future day. On some occasions each monarch was attended by the guards of the other.

One day, Henry challenged Francis to wrestle, when he was thrown by the superior adroitness of the French king. All appeared fair and friendly; and the monarchs separated with mutual professions of regard; but in a few weeks very different proceedings were planned. Henry proceeded to visit the emperor Charles, at Gravelines, when Wolsey secretly negotiated an alliance against France; but this remained a profound secret.

Soon after the return of Henry from France, the duke of Buckingham was disgraced, tried, and executed. He was one of the chief English nobles, and exercised the office of high constable. Haughty and independent, he could not brook the arrogance of Wolsey; he vainly trusted to personal favour with the king, but having given offence to Henry, his destruction was resolved on; he was ordered to attend at court, and on his arrival was imprisoned in the Tower. About a month afterwards, he was tried by seventeen peers selected to be his judges, found guilty of high treason, and executed in May, 1521. His real offence seems to have been his opposition to Wolsey, and his being descended from Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III., which gave him some faint hopes of succeeding to the throne, if Henry died childless. Under a monarch so jealous of every branch of royalty, and a prime minister so proud and unscrupulous, Buckingham suffered for accusations, which, under other circumstances, would not have been regarded. He was the fifth, in the direct line of father and son, who during less than one hundred and twenty years, suffered violent deaths, either in battle, or by the hand of the executioner! His fate made the nobles fearful of incurring the displeasure of the king and his favourite.

Francis and Charles agreed to refer their differences to Henry. It was arranged that the chancellors of the contending monarchs should meet Wolsey at Calais, whither he proceeded with his train, thinking himself to be the arbiter of Europe. In this conference all was

hollow, for Wolsey had previously resolved to support Charles against Francis. The latter was the only party who acted with any degree of openness and candour; he remained on his guard, and prepared for war.

From Calais, Wolsey proceeded to Bruges; there, under the guise of farther mediation, he concluded a secret treaty for the invasion of France by Spain and England, in 1523, till which time this purpose was to be concealed. To secure the pope's concurrence, both monarchs pledged themselves to violent measures against the opponents of popery. In May, 1521, a violent proclamation had already issued, commanding all persons having Luther's books, or any others containing what were called heretical errors, to give them up on pain of excommunication. Still further to please the pope, and to promote his own endeavours for obtaining the papal chair, Wolsey flattered his master's conceit of scholarship, by inducing him to write a book against Luther, in which he maintained the supremacy of the pope. This was against the advice of sir Thomas More, who foresaw the possibility of a future collision with the papal see. Luther speedily replied to this book in strong terms, using language which excited Henry's personal displeasure. These royal efforts were rewarded by the pope's conferring upon him the empty title of "Defender of the Faith," still retained by protestant monarchs, though applied in another sense. The conferences at Calais were interrupted by the partial success of the imperial forces: but the military events of this warfare need not be pursued; the interposition of England checked the success of Francis.

Pope Leo x. died in December, 1421, just after he succeeded in establishing his power and policy; but Wolsey found himself again disappointed of his hopes of the papacy; Adrian, who was one of the emperor's ministers, being elected to that dignity. This event rendered the cardinal less anxious to assist Charles, whose duplicity could no longer be hidden; but that emperor visited London in June, and by promising a

pension to Wolsey, and renewing his promise to marry the princess Mary when of a proper age, he again procured the support of England. Charles was received with much pomp; a long series of pageants exhibited the taste of Henry for childish shows, in accordance with the predilections of the age.

An expedition was sent to invade France: part of Normandy was ravaged by the earl of Surrey; but it was one of those wretched proceedings in war, by which the people suffer, while neither party obtains any material advantage. One effect, however, appeared. The expenses of this warfare embarrassed the government; one of Wolsey's financial measures was a forced loan, which excited many murmurs, though it failed to produce the required amount. The citizens of London, with much difficulty, avoided the necessity for each one openly declaring the amount he was worth, by consenting to attend Dr. Tonnys, an ecclesiastic employed by the cardinal to receive their own statements, privately handed to him at the chapter-house of St. Paul's, paying him, at the same time, a tenth part of the principal. What would be said now of such a measure?

The affairs of Scotland, subsequent to the battle of Flodden, require notice. Soon after that event, queen Margaret gave birth to a second son, which event was shortly after followed by her marrying the earl of Angus. The French monarch obtained considerable influence in Scotland. The duke of Albany, who was attached to that interest, became regent; troubles followed, and, in 1516, Margaret took refuge in her brother's dominions, leaving her sons in Scotland. The interference of France in Scottish affairs stimulated that of England. Margaret returned, and after some commotions and changes, she discarded her husband, the earl of Angus, and formed a criminal intimacy with Albany. This led to a quarrel with her brother; hostilities with England followed; Margaret discarded Albany, the French were compelled to leave Scotland, but she lost all influence by continued bad conduct. In July, 1538, the young king, James v., then in his seventeenth year,

escaped from the Douglas family, who had held him in restraint. Many powerful nobles rallied round him. He proceeded to exercise kingly power, and sought to strengthen himself against England, by an alliance with the emperor and king of France.

To return to English affairs. In April, 1523, a parliament was called, after an interval of eight years, but the members were very unwilling to give the required supplies. Wolsey desired permission to be present, that he might "reason" with the members. By the advice of sir Thomas More, then speaker, the cardinal was allowed to enter with all his pomp, when he urged that the sum of 1,200,000*l.* should be granted, to enable the king to make war against France. But it was previously arranged, that no debate should take place in his presence. In vain the cardinal called upon one and another of the members to speak; finding all obstinately silent, he was obliged to accept the ironical excuse of the speaker, that they felt abashed at his presence. He departed in much displeasure. The king was induced to interfere, with a display of that prerogative which he estimated so highly. He sent for an active member, and threatened that his head should be cut off, if the bill did not pass the next day. A considerable subsidy was then granted; but the money so obtained was only half the original demand of Wolsey, and was raised with much difficulty. This circumstance proves Henry's high estimate of kingly power, under the guidance of Wolsey, before he thought of dissolving his compact with Rome.

It is amusing to notice one complaint Wolsey alleged against parliaments, that any thing said or done in them, was immediately made known in every alehouse. What would he have said to the newspaper reports of the present day, by which speeches delivered in the House of Commons in the early part of the evening, are read in print the next morning in the public rooms of the most populous parts of the kingdom, two hundred miles from the metropolis!

An invasion of France under the duke of Suffolk, in the following year, had but insignificant results, though at one time the English army advanced within thirty miles of Paris.

Another vacancy in the popedom occurred in 1523, when Wolsey was again disappointed. The new pope, Clement vii., sought to appease Wolsey, by giving him the appointment of legate during his life, which rendered him still more vainglorious. Clement also granted to Wolsey power to suppress some monasteries: this is worthy of special remark, as it was followed by results very different from the anticipations of the pope.

The immediate object was to enable Wolsey to found colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, for the advancement of learning, by applying the revenues of some religious establishments of monks for that purpose. The Romish church thought to increase the number of its learned supporters; but it gave a precedent for that spoliation which the king afterwards carried forward.

Henry was gifted with another consecrated rose by the new pope; a splendid toy, with branches a foot broad, and a foot and a half in height! It was placed in a golden vase, filled with gold dust; some of the flowers were represented by jewels. Thus the strictest amity appeared to prevail between the king and the pope; but friendships based on earthly and criminal grounds are fleeting, and soon pass away. The prophet warned the ungodly in his day: "Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought," Isaiah viii. 9, 10.

The campaigns of 1524 were distinguished by an important event. The duke of Bourbon, constable of France, the ablest general of that nation, after rebelling against Francis, was appointed commander of the imperial army. His defection proceeded from discontent that the command of the van of the French army, when pursuing Charles in October, 1521, had been given to

the duke of Alençon; and from the estates of his deceased wife being claimed by the queen-mother of France, Louise of Savoy. At the age of forty-two, she desired to become the second wife of Bourbon, who was twelve years younger than herself. Her hand being refused, she became his decided enemy, and the king, at her instigation, treated him with neglect and injustice. Momentous results attended the revolt of Bourbon. It was followed by large projects and combined efforts against France, by Henry of England and the emperor Charles. These were ably planned; but Turner well remarks, that "as nations arise not, neither do they fall by human contrivances. It might amuse the infidel Frederic II. of Prussia to say that 'Heaven always befriends large battalions;' but no remark has been oftener confuted by both ancient and modern history, and even by his own. Something more than numbers or skill, or both united, are requisite for success." This observation is fully in accordance with the declarations of Scripture, and may remind of the words of the shepherd David to the armed Philistine:—"All this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hands," 1 Sam. xvii. 47. According to human calculations, France appeared during many years on the point of being overwhelmed, conquered and divided: but in the decrees of Providence, that nation had a mighty part to perform during subsequent years; therefore the machinations of its enemies were disappointed. Seemingly casual circumstances can now be referred to as often disconcerting the best laid devices of man; this we shall continually have to remark in the eventful period under notice. In the first instance, an apparently unimportant detention of the French king for a few days, on his way to Lyons, disconcerted the schemes of Bourbon and the confederate princes. It led them to make efforts against the French forces in Italy, and to attempt an invasion of France from thence by Bourbon, while an English army

acted on the north; but this plan was also unsuccessful. Francis drove back Bourbon, while Wolsey seems to have given temporizing orders, which rendered the proceedings of the English inefficient.

Bourbon was still influenced by the desire for revenge, embittered by feelings of disappointed pride. Francis carried the war into Italy, where the contest was waged with renewed vigour. The pope favoured the French. For a short time brilliant success seemed to attend the ambitious schemes of the worldly-minded pontiff. An involved series of negotiations followed, during which, Wolsey again played his usual double part, till the English ambassador plainly told him that no reliance was placed on any statement he might make. But all these plans were soon brought to a pause. The duke of Bourbon, at the head of the imperial army, fought, and entirely defeated the French at Pavia, on February 24, 1525, when Francis was taken prisoner. He found himself captive to one of his own servants, whom he had treated with injustice, despised, and driven into exile! Such is the uncertainty of human affairs; such are the bitter lessons that kings and mighty men of renown often have to learn. The slaughter on both sides was considerable; not only the commonalty, but the higher ranks had to deplore the proud and angry proceedings of their leaders. Among those who fell in this battle, or rather in the flight, was Pole, called the White Rose, the eldest surviving representative of the house of York, whose brother was afterwards distinguished as cardinal Pole.

New plans against France were speedily devised; but new intrigues also arose to prevent the emperor and the king of England from subjugating that nation. These two powers were jealous of each other. However, they planned an immediate invasion of France, for which a large sum was attempted to be levied in England. As direct taxation by parliament was no longer practicable, it was necessary to endeavour to raise it by the arbitrary requirements of commissioners. Warham remon-

strated with Wolsey at the expenditure vainly lavished; he urged the discontent excited by these proceedings, which was very general. There is a specimen of these complaints written by a contemporary, in the following extract from Hall's Chronicles.

“The clergy said, that never king of England did ask any man's goods, but by an order of the law, and this commission is not by the order of the law; wherefore they said, that the cardinal and all the doers thereof were enemies to the king, and to the commonwealth. This infamy was spoken in preachings and everywhere. When this matter was opened through England, 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 subverters of the laws and liberties of England.”

Wolsey strengthened this opposition by his insolence. He openly cautioned the Londoners not to resist, lest it should cost several their heads; and told them it was better that some of them should suffer from indigence, than that the king should not be supplied. Failing in the direct course, efforts were made to raise money by forced loans. In Suffolk and Norfolk the people arose in rebellion. The names of their leaders being demanded, the emphatic reply was, “Captain Poverty,” and “that he and his cousin Necessity had brought them to that pass!” The subject was fully discussed at the royal council. The king openly declared he would never ask anything which might be to his dishonour, at once directing that a general pardon should be issued, and the exactions discontinued. He saw the extent of the threatening danger, and wisely withdrew before he was irrecoverably committed with his people. Henry threw the blame upon Wolsey; but the wily cardinal sought to have it believed, that he had been the intercessor with the king in this matter, while by means of flatterers, and the devising of amusements, he contrived to keep on good terms with his monarch. The result of this affair was to hinder Henry from active warfare on the continent.

The captivity of the French king united the efforts of his people, while the successes of their confederates led to their disunion. Their plans and negotiations ended without any important results, except a growing dissatisfaction between the emperor and Wolsey; the former not hesitating to speak openly against the latter. It was followed by a mutual consent to annul the treaty, whereby Charles was engaged to marry the princess Mary, still a child. This state of affairs seems to account for a separate treaty of peace between England and France, stipulating for large pecuniary payments from the latter, but not requiring the territorial concessions previously demanded. To these terms Francis assented, without any intention of fulfilling them; a secret protest was made against the whole transaction, and privately entered on the state records. Such is the duplicity of worldly men, even in the highest stations. Henry was equally guilty of duplicity, when he afterwards sent ambassadors to congratulate Francis on gaining his liberty, but instructed them privately to urge him to break his treaty with the emperor, on the faith of which he had been liberated.

The crooked policy of Wolsey, with the difficulty of raising money, were not the only causes of this conduct. The disposition of Henry, though courageous, was not warlike. He had been trained in the arts of peace; his delights were in festive displays and literary pursuits. He was not one of those princes

“Who, for the sake of filling with one blast
The post-horns of all Europe, lays her waste.”

In his early days, however misled by surrounding courtiers and statesmen, Henry evinced a delight in the occupations of peace, then very unusual in princes. Yet this did not arise from pusillanimity, or any aversion to martial exercises. He ever showed personal courage, and excelled in active and dangerous sports. The first literary characters of that day have left full testimony to this, in their repeated praises of his pacific spirit.

Though the defects in Henry's character were neither few nor small, his mind was above the belief that there is real glory, or substantial pleasure, from engaging thousands in mutual slaughter. With the stern ferocity of that age, he could issue mandates which caused much individual suffering, but he did not take delight in causing public troubles from the cruel results of warfare.

The terms imposed upon Francis by the emperor, by which the French king obtained his liberty in March, 1526, were severe. Wolsey then entered upon another series of negotiations, to renew the warfare between the two princes. His aim was, that Henry should hold the balance of power, without enabling either of the contending monarchs fully to overcome the other. The pope was the great instigator of this renewal of hostilities, though he had previously expressed his decided belief, that a new war would seriously injure the papal power; and this proved another circumstance in the series of events by which a large part of Europe was freed from the bonds of the papacy. Both Clement and Wolsey now thought that their own objects would be better promoted by war than by peace: therefore, although professed ministers of the Prince of Peace, they did not hesitate to excite the nations to mutual slaughter. Thereby they brought down ruin upon themselves!

The emperor appointed Bourbon to command the army that advanced into Italy. Each of the three monarchs continued his intrigues and negotiations; but in the autumn of 1526, Bourbon marched southwards; his progress was slow, but the pope continued to urge the confederation against the emperor. In the ensuing spring, the imperial army being clamorous for spoil, Bourbon marched his army to Rome, and took it by assault on Easter Sunday, May 5, 1527. He perished in storming the walls; but the city was sacked, and all the inhabitants experienced the most cruel and atrocious sufferings. Pope Clement was taken prisoner,

and insulted both by the reformed Germans and the irreligious Spaniards, exhibiting to all Europe a pope subjected to the common lot of conquered monarchs. The sufferings of the Roman citizens were unexampled ; they continued for several months : thus this corrupt and depraved city suffered deeply in its turn. By this event, the papal power received a shock which it has not been permitted to recover, and this by the policy of monarchs devoted to its faith. Never since that day has the pope been enabled to support his fulminations efficiently by the strong arm of military force ; he has been little more than a tool in the hand of one or other of the monarchs of the day, so far as temporal affairs are concerned, although at times the court of Rome has thrown the nations of Europe into confusion by its political intrigues. Politics have for several centuries chiefly engrossed the attention of the pope and his cardinals, as the most efficient means to strengthen the power of the papacy, and to maintain the spiritual usurpations of the church of Rome.

Double negotiations were still carried on by England, or rather by Wolsey, with France and Spain, though both were aware of his duplicity. The events passing at Rome, induced him to declare against the emperor, and he prepared for a personal visit to France. He neglected not the opportunity for displaying his state. His setting off is thus described :—"Then marched he forward from his own house at Westminster through all London, over London Bridge, having before him a great number of gentlemen, three in rank, with velvet coats, and the most part of them with chains of gold about their necks ; and all his yeomen followed him with noblemen's and gentlemen's servants, all in orange tawny coats, with the cardinal's hat, and a T and a C, for Thomas Cardinal, embroidered upon all the coats, as well of his own servants as all the rest of the gentlemen's servants : and his sumpter mules, which were twenty or more in number. And when all his carriages and carts, and other of his train were passed before, he

rode like a cardinal very sumptuously with the rest of his train, on his own mule, with a spare mule and a spare horse, trapped in crimson, following him. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, his two great pillars of silver, the king's broad seal of England, and his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his cloak-bag, which was made of scarlet, embroidered with gold. Thus passed he forth through London; and every day on his journey he was thus furnished, having his harbingers in every place before, which prepared lodgings for him and his train." All this was not much beyond the state ordinarily assumed by the proud cardinal.

A treaty was soon concluded, which arranged a marriage between the princess Mary and the duke of Orleans, with other articles, intended to limit the influence of the pope, then still a prisoner in the emperor's power, and to constitute Wolsey the regulator of all ecclesiastical affairs in the countries under the dominion of Henry. But Wolsey carried his diplomatic artifices too far: he was subjected to the same secret negotiations he had employed against others. The Spanish monarch even caused him to be warned that the king of France was at this time negotiating secretly with Spain.

Turner says without hesitation, that ancient history, in all its details of dissimulation and falsehood, does not present any thing equal to the state transactions of the first kingdoms in Europe at that period. Let it be remembered, that the popes were concerned in all these transactions; that it was under the sanction and tuition of the church of Rome, and in accordance with the principles it taught; and that the agents employed on all sides were usually Romish ecclesiastics! The particulars of the events briefly noticed in the preceding pages fully show this. It will hereafter be shown how different were the proceedings of the statesmen of Protestant England later in the same century. Here then we behold Wolsey at the summit of his power, for some

differences with the king, excited by his arbitrary conduct in 1525, were soon made up. The cardinal was arbiter, as he fondly imagined, of the destinies of Europe; yet he indulged in a show of childish pomp and display which could only bring down public scorn; and we cannot wonder that a man of his character should afterwards be entangled in his own devices. Of such it is written: "They encourage themselves in an evil matter: they commune of laying snares privily; they say, Who shall see them? They search out iniquities; they accomplish a diligent search: both the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart, is deep. But God shall shoot at them with an arrow; suddenly shall they be wounded. And all men shall fear, and shall declare the work of God," Psalm lxiv. 5—7, 9.

Yet even at that very time there were some who did not hesitate to speak plainly of Wolsey's pomp, tyranny, and licentiousness. Thus Roy, in a poem written and printed in 1526, or soon afterwards, says:—

"None is faulty but the butcher,
Whom Almyghty God doth suffer
To scourge the people's offence;
Unto God he is so odious,
That nothyng can be prosperous
Where as he hath governaunce.

Sens that he cam fyrst forwarde,
All thynges have gone backwarde,
With moche myschefe and mischaunce.
No yerly purpose he doeth iutende,
That ever commeth to a goode ende,
But damage and tribulacion."

The greater part of this severe satire is too coarse to allow of extracts being here given.

HENRY VIII.

PART II.

FROM A.D. 1527 TO A.D. 1535.

THE year 1527 may be considered as commencing the second period of the reign of Henry VIII. It found that monarch altered for the worse in many respects, since his accession to the throne. His arbitrary temper was strengthened by the flattery and obsequiousness of those about him: while the round of pleasures in which Wolsey encouraged Henry, rendered him more selfish and eager for licentious gratifications, wherein he freely indulged. His turn for literary pursuits was abated by the habits of a courtly life; his domestic felicity was lessened by the advancing age and infirmities of his queen. Henry VIII. was now more than thirty-five, and had reigned eighteen years. He had seen enough of Wolsey to be convinced of the ambition and duplicity of the minister who engrossed the power of government, openly using the expression, *Ego et rex meus*, (I and my king,) in various public documents. The succession to the throne also caused considerable anxiety: his sons had died in infancy, leaving the father under the curse pronounced in the book of Deuteronomy, against the man that should marry a brother's widow; while the state of the queen's health was such, that he could not expect other children to supply their places.

Among all the causes which concurred to render Henry discontented with his situation at this period of

his reign, and desirous of procuring that change which could only be effected by a divorce from Catherine, the most active and efficient was probably his own self-will, strengthened by the indulgence of so many years. But in addition thereto, attachment to casuistical divinity rendered his mind very susceptible of scruples, as to the lawfulness of the union. No one who looks into the mazes of those writings, can wonder that Henry was led onward in a course of proceedings, very different in their results from what he first contemplated. His scruples seem to have been both excited and strengthened by doubts respecting the lawfulness of the marriage, thrown out by the bishop of Tarbes, who was appointed by the French court to treat respecting a union between the duke of Orleans, and Henry's only daughter, the princess Mary. These doubts were founded on the view, that the pope had not authority to dispense with any direct command of Scripture. The usual course then adopted in all cases of difficulty, was to consult Aquinas and the school divines.

There appears full reason to believe that Wolsey originated the idea of a separation from Catherine, and that he suggested to the bishop of Tarbes to put the question. He saw that the queen was losing the affection of Henry, and acted upon the king's feelings of superstition, using the king's confessor, bishop Longland, as an instrument to infuse doubts. Wolsey had at this period been deceived by the emperor, and now desired to promote the interests of the French king; this could not be done better than by removing the emperor's aunt from her station as queen, which enabled her to exert some influence in favour of her nephew. If that could be done, the cardinal's desire for revenge, and the political interests influencing him at that period, would be promoted, while his interest would be strengthened by the favour of a new queen, mainly indebted to him for her elevation. If Henry could be induced to desire this course, there was no reason to doubt the pope's readiness to sanction the divorce, when plausible

grounds were assigned ; and the whole affair might have been easily effected, had not other circumstances arisen. Catherine herself openly charged Wolsey with being the originator of the separation ; the emperor, and a historian who was intimate with the pope, did the same. De Bellay, the French ambassador, wrote to his court that Wolsey avowed to him that he had suggested the subject, to break the union with the emperor. The precise date of these occurrences is not known ; probably they belong to the year 1526, at which time the cardinal instructed the English ambassador to pay particular attention to the duchess of Alençon. Early in 1527, the bishop of Tarbes openly stated the above-mentioned difficulty. One subject of Wolsey's negotiations when in France, in July, 1527, appears to have been a marriage with Renee, another French princess ; the sister of Francis having refused a union, which, however gratifying to her, must have inflicted wretchedness on Catherine. While on this embassy, Wolsey was received with many honours ; the French king even empowered him to release any transgressors imprisoned in the towns through which he passed. He wrote to the king respecting the divorce as " his great and secret affair," which would give him " deliverance out of a thrall'd, pensive, and dolorous life," and referred to it as " desirable for his health, and for the surety of his realm and succession." It also appears, from a letter Wolsey wrote when setting out, that he knew queen Catherine was aware of his plans, and would not willingly consent to them. At this time, rumours of the separation were so public, that the lord mayor was commanded to stop them, the avowal being then premature. But the subject occupied Henry so fully, that it could not be set aside without complete examination.

Wolsey returned from France in October, 1527, having taken measures to obtain the papal consent to a divorce ; though with his usual duplicity, he forbade the English ambassadors to the emperor to mention it,

but the report had already reached Charles, and of course it was resented by him. The king had till now intended that the decision of the question should rest upon the sufficiency of the bull of dispensation of Julius II. that allowed his marriage, saying to Wolsey's agent, the bishop of Bath, "If it be nought, let it be so declared; and if it be good, it shall never be broken by no ways for me."

On his return to England, Wolsey discovered that the king's affections were placed upon Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of estate in Norfolk. When a mere child of seven years old, she accompanied the king's sister on her marriage to Louis XII., in 1514, and remained in France after the return of that princess to England. There she was carefully instructed in the accomplishments of that age, being much favoured by the new queen, and the duchess of Alençon. After the marriage of the latter to the king of Navarre, she returned to England, in February, 1527. Her father, who had been employed in several embassies on the continent, and was now a regular attendant at court, obtained for her the appointment of a maid of honour. Beautiful in person, lively and attractive in her manners, Anne Boleyn soon engaged attention. The king sought her favour on dishonourable terms, which she steadily refused. There is no ground for the vulgar calumnies and vile obloquy which the papists endeavour to heap upon her memory, while a principal cause for their hatred appears in her early inclination to the principles of the Reformers, which she imbibed in the family of Margaret, queen of Navarre, who was much attached to the study of the Holy Scriptures.

Here, then, was another, and a still more powerful inducement for Henry to desire a separation from Catherine; but his wish for a union with Anne Boleyn was not the cause of the plan for a divorce being proposed, though many writers have so asserted. There is no reason to suppose that the king manifested attach-

ment to her before the cardinal's absence ; and though Wolsey had previously desired her father to withdraw her from court by the king's command, he assigned a sufficient reason,—the favour with which she was regarded by the son and heir of the earl of Northumberland, a match supposed to be above her pretensions.

Wolsey now found himself entangled in his own devices. His desire for revenge against queen Catherine and the emperor, might still be gratified, but his other plans would be impeded by the king's marriage with one whose connexions were inclined to support the feelings then rising against popery, and whose influence was more likely to oppose than to promote his own. He knelt before the king, vainly trying to dissuade him from thinking of a union with one of his subjects ; but found it useless to oppose the arbitrary will he had himself contributed to strengthen. He hesitated, dissembled, and even directed his agent at Rome not to urge the pontiff to favour the divorce. At that time, Clement showed a disposition to forward the measure, but finding the cardinal not anxious for it, he hesitated ; and afterwards, from a dread of the emperor, to whose army Rome was exposed, and to whom he was himself a prisoner, he dared not countenance a measure at once displeasing to Charles, and distasteful to every bigoted papist. How complicated are human events, and how continually do the children of men counteract their own darling schemes !

“ Blindly the wicked work
The righteous will of Heaven.”—SOUTHEY.

Early in the year 1528, Wolsey found that he no longer possessed undivided influence over Henry. Anne Boleyn had more power than himself, and his own ruin would probably ensue from any opposition to her. He, therefore, again changed his course, and endeavoured to induce the pope to countenance the divorce, by declaring that the circumstances of the case, if proved, would render the marriage invalid. Authority

was delegated to Wolsey, to inquire into these circumstances. But Charles had interfered to bind the pope against granting a divorce, so that Wolsey, with increasing apprehension, saw the king's mind more and more fixed upon Anne Boleyn. With difficulty he obtained from the pope a verbal consent to the divorce; but the pontiff refused to give the written engagements Wolsey desired; and when, at length, he affixed his signature, empowering Wolsey to proceed with the divorce, it was on the express condition, that no attempt should be made to act upon the document, while the pontiff was in the emperor's power. The grounds, also, on which the king urged the divorce, namely, that the papal sanction to the marriage with Catherine was void, inasmuch as it was contrary to the express directions of Scripture, could not be acceded to without giving up that powerful engine of Rome, the papal infallibility. The details given by Gardiner and Fox, the agents for Wolsey and the king, are minute; they show the pope in a very humiliating light. Desirous to avoid displeasing either Henry or Charles, his great aim was to gain time, and defer his decision, hoping that some change of affairs might extricate him from his difficulties; but the result was unsatisfactory, and England was lost to the papal see. The descriptions the ambassadors gave of their reception at the papal court are almost ludicrous. Gardiner chided the pope till he drew from him tears of vexation or regret: on another occasion, when strongly urged, "the pope said nothing, but sighed, and wiped his eyes." He cared not for the matter in a religious or moral view, but he dreaded being again a close prisoner to the emperor.

It was apparent, that Anne Boleyn was willing to become the queen of Henry, if the divorce could be obtained. This was an act of treachery to Catherine, which would have been rejected by a right-minded woman; but the crown had charms for Anne; deeply did she afterwards lament her departure from the high

principle by which she ought to have been actuated. But there is not the least ground to suppose, that she appeared at court with any design upon the king; she favoured the suit of Percy, and had no reason to suppose that it was in her power to induce the king to make her his wife. When convinced that this was a possible event, we cannot be surprised that a young female of twenty, educated in courts, should not refuse to become a queen, if it could be arranged in a lawful manner; her conduct in listening to such a proposal as that now made was very wrong, but it is an evidence that the maxims learned and practised at courts are contrary to correct principles.

Of the assertions made by Romish historians respecting Anne Boleyn's family, as well as herself, it is sufficient to say, that they are utterly unfounded. Not one real authority can be adduced in their support; while those who examine them will find, that they are so contradictory as to refute themselves. She absented herself from court; and the earliest date of her written correspondence with Henry bears the date of April, 1528, at which time the pope's sanction to the divorce was expected. The preservation of these letters is singular. They are in the Vatican library at Rome, having, it is conjectured, been pilfered by some agent, and conveyed there by Campeggio, probably in the hope that they might afford materials against Henry and Anne; but they completely disprove the coarse falsehoods of Saunders and other papal advocates. They exhibit Anne Boleyn unduly willing to take the rank of queen, but they certainly do not imply any unlawful intercourse between them. They justify Turner's statement, that "these letters are written in very decorous, affectionate, and earnest terms, and with the feelings and phrase that men use to honourable and modest women." Not in the refined phraseology of modern times; in some passages the expressions sound coarse to modern ears; but certainly the letters are written in good faith, and without artifice, and do not justify the assertions of Romish writers.

At this time, the sweating sickness raged again. This singular disease frequently proved fatal in three or four hours. The French ambassador then in England thus describes it :—" We have a little pain in the head and heart, we suddenly begin to sweat, and need no physician ; for whoever uncover themselves the least in the world, or cover themselves too much, are dead in four hours, and sometimes in two or three." But although so quickly fatal, it was rather an alarming than a mortal epidemic ; the far larger proportion recovered. At one time, the same writer stated, " of forty thousand affected, only two thousand have died." Persons of the highest rank were exposed to this alarming malady : the lord treasurer was attacked by it ; some of the royal household died. Henry moved from place to place when the infection appeared. He described himself at this period to be living alone and shut up, having made his will and taken the sacrament, which he regarded, as unhappily many now do, as a sort of pledge or assurance of heavenly happiness.

By the desire of Wolsey, cardinal Campeggio was joined with him as commissioner, to inquire respecting the divorce. The pope had given a hint that it would be better for Henry to proceed in his legantine court before Wolsey alone : the prelates of England also objected to a Romish commissioner ; but Wolsey thought he should thereby be better enabled to shelter himself, and to hinder the union with Anne Boleyn. He now felt that he was involved in mazes from whence he could hardly escape ; at times he expressed a desire to withdraw from the world, to dedicate himself to religious duties, though it was evident that he never would adopt that course, while he could retain rank and power. The advice given by the pope was characteristic of Romish craft. He recommended the king to marry another wife, if he felt satisfied in his own conscience, and to leave him (the pope) to decide whether it was right ! This step would have left Henry wholly subject to the papal will ; he saw the snare,

and avoided it, by pressing for an immediate determination of the question.

Campeggio was appointed in April, 1528, but delayed his journey on various pretexts, so as not to arrive in England till October. He brought with him the pope's bull dissolving the marriage; but was not to allow it to go out of his own possession, and he was to try to persuade Catherine to remove all difficulties by retiring to a nunnery. He was directed to delay matters as long as possible; when he could procrastinate no longer, he was to refer the sentence to the pope. Wolsey's objects were more complicated: to disappoint Anne Boleyn, to punish Catherine, to be revenged on the emperor, and to show and maintain his own power and influence. This was too difficult a course to be successful, and the rather, because Wolsey had committed the nation to a very unpopular, though a short war with the emperor. Wolsey tried to cast blame on the herald employed to threaten hostilities, but it was brought home to himself. The king was displeased, and forced to take measures to remove the popular discontent.

The attempt to induce Catherine to consent to a divorce was unsuccessful. In a private conference, she boldly reproached Wolsey for his vices, and charged him with originating the proceedings against her. To Campeggio she declared, that she would not agree to any course that compromised her daughter Mary's claims to the throne.

The cardinals held their court at Bridewell, then a palace, where they sat as judges, in May 1529. Catherine, after protesting against the whole proceeding, personally appealed to the king, refused to answer, and departed. The king presented the evidence in support of his application; but the point really for consideration was, whether it would be safe to proceed. Wolsey was willing, but Campeggio refused to go forward; thus the affair was protracted. Some of the courtiers gave Henry proofs of Wolsey's double-dealing.

Meanwhile, the state of affairs in Italy enabled the emperor to control the pope: Francis also made peace with Charles; so that Henry's desires were not likely to be fulfilled. In July, Campeggio adjourned the legantine court till October, and in the interval announced that the pope had removed all further proceedings to his own tribunal at Rome, leaving Henry justly displeased at the duplicity of the whole proceeding: when the legantine court was adjourned, the duke of Suffolk exclaimed that the old saying was true, that never did cardinal bring good to England.

The downfall of Wolsey was at hand. On accompanying Campeggio to take leave of the king, then at Grafton, Northamptonshire, to his great astonishment, he was told, that no apartment had been provided for him. Sir Henry Norris offered him the use of his own chamber. When in conversation with the king, the latter was seen to show Wolsey a letter, which he charged him with having written. The next day, the cardinal departed to London, out of favour with the king, and betraying childish weakness under the apprehended loss of his dignities. Anne Boleyn evidently used her influence to prevent the king from listening to his excuses. The courtiers forsook him; on October 17th, Wolsey was required to give up the great seal, and to confine himself to his palace at Esher. Knowing that the invariable result of the loss of power was the privation of property, he prepared to surrender his most valuable effects before they were forcibly taken. Cavendish says, "Then went my lord cardinal, and called his officers before him, and took account of them, for all such stuff and things whereof they had charge. And in his gallery were set divers tables whereupon lay a great number of goodly rich stuffs; as whole pieces of silk of all colours, velvet, satin, damask, tufted taffeta, grogram, sarcenet, and other things. Also there lay on these tables, a thousand pieces of fine holland. And there were books made, in manner of inventories, wherein he took great pains

to set all in order against the king's coming. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one called most commonly 'the gilt chamber,' and the other 'the council chamber.' In the gilt chamber were set out nothing but gilt plate; and in the council chamber was all white and parcel gilt plate, and books set by them purporting every kind of plate."

Cavendish records another circumstance, which had considerable influence on subsequent events. This was Thomas Cromwell's leaving the service of the cardinal, to place himself in the royal employ; he was seen in tears, and declared his intention to go immediately to the court, "either to make or mar ere he came again." Pole afterwards stated that Cromwell suggested to Henry to throw off the papal yoke, to which he probably added the prospect of obtaining pecuniary spoils from the monastic establishments. These ideas must have been familiar to any trusted servant of Wolsey; both had been urged by the cardinal, when instigating the French ambassador to question the pope's power to dispense with the Divine law. But Campeggio then reproved Wolsey, and spoke of the papal authority as "infinite." Wolsey, as we have seen, also himself commenced the spoliation of the monasteries. This haughty and hypocritical statesman fell by his own devices, and it is probable, that he was aware of the suggestions of his late retainer.

Cromwell showed fidelity to his former master, by successfully opposing an act of impeachment brought forward by Wolsey's enemies against him, for exercising a legantine authority derived from the pope, that interfered with the royal prerogative: for this he had the king's license; but the sun was hastening to its setting.

The close of Wolsey's life may be here briefly narrated. He was compelled to give up his principal palace, York House, afterwards Whitehall, and to sue humbly for pardon. In the spring of 1530, he was permitted to go to York, where, after bitterly lamenting

his losses, he endeavoured to win the popular favour by apparent humility, and strict attention to his episcopal duties. But symptoms of returning ambition soon appeared. He was detected in correspondence with foreign powers, when his arrest for high treason was ordered. Being removed from York, he complained of sudden illness, but was conducted to Leicester. On entering the abbey in that town, he said he was come to lay his bones there. Death rapidly approached. Wolsey's last hours have been minutely described; they present an instructive lesson. Gradually sinking under an attack of fever and dysentery, he left a memorable testimony to the vanity of worldly ambition, and of seeking human favour. He said to his attendants, "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, that I have had to do him service; not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfy his pleasure." The dying cardinal also gave a graphic description of Henry's self will, that "rather than miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom," adding, that sometimes he had knelt before the king for three hours together, to dissuade him from his appetite, but could not prevail. Unhappy is the man, whether prince or peasant, who thus is a slave to his appetite; but the reader will see that this evil disposition was made instrumental for destroying the papal power.

Wolsey died November 29, 1530, seeking support in his last hours from the superstitious observances of the church of Rome. The king received the intelligence of his death in a manner that showed he had no real regard for one who had, as it were, sold himself to gratify his will; he only viewed him as an instrument of pleasure or policy. Such, however, is the way in which men of the world estimate and treat those who aid their earthly projects.

The rapid fall of the cardinal was probably hastened by the king's mind being considerably enlightened as to the errors of popery. The extent to which the kingdom was plundered by the begging friars, had for some years excited considerable attention. It was ably exposed in a popular tract, called "The Supplication of the Beggars," which was widely circulated, being scattered about the streets. One of the royal attendants brought a copy to the king, who listened attentively to the contents. He intimated his design to follow up the subject, quaintly remarking, that if an old stone wall was to be taken down, whoever began at the foundation would bring the upper part upon his own head! Wolsey cautioned the king against these books, when Henry took a copy out of his bosom, and gave it to the cardinal to study. There was another and more valuable class of books, the tracts of the Reformers, which at the same time exposed the errors of popery and plainly taught the way of salvation. Anne Boleyn brought some of these to the court, and gave them to her attendants; they also reached the king, and were read by him. The clergy were much alarmed: they urged the king to issue a proclamation against heretical works; but it was evident that his conscience was awakened, so that he would not allow the clergy to rule him as Wolsey had done.

The most interesting subject connected with English history at this period, is the rapid, though gradual, progress of the doctrines of truth among the mass of the people. This is fully proved by the registers of the popish bishops, which record particulars respecting many individuals whom they persecuted. From these documents it appears, that the followers of Wickliffe were become very numerous, particularly in Herts, Buckinghamshire, Suffolk, and Essex. The progress of the Reformation in Germany and the Low Countries, also, had considerable effect upon London, where Lutheran books were brought

in by persons engaged in trade. Tindal and others took refuge abroad, but continued to correspond with their friends in England. Tindal had been instructed in the universities, before he took the office of tutor in a family in Gloucestershire. Becoming aware of the errors of popery, he frequently engaged in controversy with the popish priests. One of them told him it was better to be without God's laws than the pope's, to which blasphemy Tindal replied, that he would try that even the plough-boys should in a few years be better skilled in the Scriptures, than the priesthood of that day. He then applied himself to translate the New Testament into English, and got an edition printed in Holland in 1526, whither he retired after a short stay in London. Tonsal, bishop of London, thought to stop the further progress of the work, by employing some merchants to purchase all the unsold copies, and caused the books to be publicly burned. But then was seen the power of the press. The money thus obtained, supplied Tindal with the means of printing larger and more correct editions; the books were secretly sent over in considerable numbers, and found a ready sale among the people. The bishops were alarmed; they persecuted all whom they could detect to be engaged in this trade, laying ruinous fines upon some merchants of note; but they could not succeed in checking the progress of the truth.

Important changes speedily followed the removal of Wolsey from power. He had so long exercised absolute control as prime minister and ruling favourite, that his removal was felt to free both the court and the kingdom from a heavy bondage. The duke of Norfolk became chief in authority; his principal supporters were the duke of Suffolk, who had married the king's sister, and the earl of Wiltshire, the father of Anne Boleyn. Sir Thomas More was appointed chancellor. The new chancellor had been a decided opponent of Wolsey. His chief anxiety was to discharge the duties of his office faithfully, without promoting his private interests

at the public expense, living frugally and in the bosom of his family, enjoying the affections of his children. More was decidedly opposed to the reformation of religion, though he greatly encouraged learning. Although willing to repress the corruptions of popery, which he opposed by his writings before Luther appeared, More was a bigoted adherent to the doctrines and will-worship of popery, a bitter persecutor of the Lollards, and of all who followed the truth as it is in Jesus. Natural facetiousness led him sometimes to jest upon the sufferers in an unfeeling manner; but, where the charge of heresy was not raised, England never had a better judge; he was in public and private life a direct contrast to the proud cardinal his predecessor. Gardiner had also a place in the ministry. His talents for crafty intrigue gave him more influence than has been generally supposed. He, with Anne Boleyn's father, were envoys to the pope and emperor for forwarding the divorce. But the pope was so thoroughly under the control of Charles, that he dared not consent, though he thereby lost his power over England. The papacy was now completely subservient to the imperial power, though it still preserved the name and semblance of independent authority.

When the pope refused his sanction to the divorce, Henry and his ministers were at a loss how to proceed. At this juncture, while the court was on a progress, Gardiner and secretary Fox lodged for the night at the house of a gentleman, named Cressy, at Waltham. After supper, the question of the validity of the king's marriage was talked of, when Dr. Cranmer, a clergyman absent from Cambridge on account of the plague, then residing in the family as a tutor, expressed surprise that there should be so much difficulty on the subject. Being asked what course he would recommend, since the pope was determined against the divorce, he proposed that the best divines of Europe should examine the subject, to decide it according to the word of God. This might be ascertained by con-

sulting the principal universities of Europe. When furnished with their opinions, the king could proceed without reference to the pope.

Henry approved of the idea when reported to him. Gardiner would have passed it off as his own suggestion, but Fox was too honest to support such knavery. Cranmer was sent for : he had passed his youth in the usual sports and routine of a country gentleman's life, but becoming fond of study, applied ardently, and became a learned divine. He imbibed the principles of Luther, so far as to be opposed to the arrogant assumptions of popery ; but being of a studious and quiet disposition, he was not openly known as inclined to protestantism, though, being public examiner, he exerted himself in requiring the study of the Scriptures. Thus on the present occasion, he was prepared to urge the authority of the Scriptures over the interested mandates of the pope. That question went farther, it went at once to the all-important point, "How shall man be just with God?" Could it be only through the atonement of a crucified Saviour, the Son of God? or could it be attained by the interference of a mere mortal? Was it a privilege which one man could sell and another purchase for money? The contest between Henry and the pope involved these important questions.

By desire of Henry, the earl of Wiltshire made Cranmer his domestic chaplain. In that retreat he studied the question of the marriage, and wrote a book to prove that the pope had no authority to dispense with Scripture. We may be surprised that this proposition should require to be set forth with learned arguments, or that Cranmer and his associates should confirm their assertions against popery, by references to the fathers, or other human authorities of the Christian church, instead of simply declaring in the language of our Lord, "It is written;" but this shows the mental bondage then prevalent. The king now sent Cranmer abroad, accompanied by others, to obtain the opinions of the universities; they visited most of

the learned establishments of Europe, and obtained opinions in favour of the separation. In some cases, money was required and given, the learned doctors being unwilling to hazard the emperor's displeasure unless recompensed for so doing. Everywhere, however, the authority of Scripture was acknowledged to be superior to that of the pope: indeed, this question needed not to be asked, but by a people, like Israel of old, blinded and misled by those professing to be their spiritual guides. "To the law and to the testimony," says the prophet: "if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them," Isaiah viii. 20.

Most remarkable was the providential dealing by which the pope was constrained by the emperor to adhere to the decree of his predecessor, else he would readily have sanctioned Henry's proceeding, and thus have prevented his own authority from being questioned. Meanwhile, the English parliament addressed the pope, requesting his sanction to the divorce: this was again refused; but Clement did not hesitate to intimate to the English agent at Rome, that he might possibly allow Henry to have two wives! Of course, this proposal was not listened to; but the letter mentioning the suggestion has repeatedly been printed.

The emperor urged the pope to active measures against Henry, who was summoned to appear and answer for himself in the consistory court at Rome, and forbidden to proceed to a second marriage. No one dared to bring this summons to England, but it was affixed on the church doors in the port towns of Flanders.

The measures against Henry, into which the pope was urged, were met by others against the papal authority. The suggestions of Cromwell were adopted. Under an old statute, the clergy as a body were fined for submitting to the legantine authority of Wolsey; they were obliged to pay 100,000*l.*, and to recognise a claim made by the king to be acknowledged the protector

and supreme head of the church; they added, however, "as far as the law of Christ allowed." The bishops sought to throw most of the pecuniary burden upon the inferior clergy, but six hundred priests forced their way into the chapter-house of St. Paul's, pleading that the bishops and abbots had offended, and ought to pay the fine, while their scanty incomes of twenty nobles a year (a noble was 6*s.* 8*d.*) would scarcely provide them with the necessary articles of life. The prelates were forced to give way, but fifteen priests were sent to prison for riotous conduct.

The House of Commons was roused to press forward the liberation of England from the yoke of Rome. An act was passed, forbidding the bishops to pay the usual sums to Rome for sanctioning their appointments. After some other proceedings, the opinions of a number of theologians upon the king's marriage were laid before parliament, with a request that the members would make these opinions known among their constituents. Though a large number of the people desired the divorce, on account of the political advantages it promised, yet it was not altogether a popular measure. The women of England were naturally opposed to the proceedings against Catherine, which shook the security of the married state. The queen was urged to withdraw her appeal to the pope, and to commit her cause to four prelates and four lay peers. She steadily refused, and then the king wholly withdrew from her society. The opposition to his will rendered his character more arbitrary; he was still further excited by an earnest admonition from the pope, ordering him, as he regarded the papal favour and his own salvation, to recall Catherine, and dismiss Anne Boleyn from the court.

The contest deepened. More, seeing the papal authority in danger, resigned his office of chancellor, at which time his property in money did not amount to a hundred pounds. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, died about the same time, in August, 1532, when

the king resolved to appoint Cranmer to the vacant see. He was then abroad, visiting the universities; his desire for quiet made him unwilling to accept the proffered honour. He delayed his return till November, hoping that the king would fix upon some one else to be primate. But Henry was strengthened in his determination, by a sentence of excommunication from the pope, who also denounced as invalid the union Henry was about to form with Anne Boleyn. This sentence was pronounced November 15, 1532, though its publication was delayed.

The close alliance between the pope and the emperor led to increased amity between Henry and Francis. They met at Boulogne, when Anne Boleyn was introduced to the French king as the marchioness of Pembroke.

Cranmer had no desire for the responsible office of the primacy, but he consented to receive it from the king, not from the pope. Henry was not fully prepared to throw off the papal yoke; he, therefore, desired and obtained the pope's sanction in the usual form. The new archbishop, however, protested against any recognition of such authority, except so far as it might agree with the word of God, repeating publicly this declaration three times, when he was consecrated in March, 1533. This was very different from the secret protestations common in those days; yet to us it bears an appearance of the casuistry in which Cranmer had been educated, and from which he was not yet emancipated. Warham, his immediate predecessor, had, by a private protest, thought to relieve himself from the obligation of obedience to the pope, a few years before. It may be here remarked, once for all, that although it is wrong to rest any part of the arguments for the protestant reformation, upon the private character or individual proceedings of its chief supporters, it is equally wrong to allow them to be unduly depreciated. With all his faults, Cranmer was very far superior in honesty and religious principle to any of the Romish prelates. As

for the king, he never claimed to be considered a protestant, but always adhered to the Romish faith, excepting in respect to the supremacy of the pope.

Two months before the consecration of Cranmer, the king married Anne Boleyn. The ceremony appears to have been performed early one morning in the month of January, 1533, in an upper room of the palace at Whitehall. Dr. Lee, one of the royal chaplains, read the service. Only three attendants were present. The event remained secret for some time; Cranmer himself did not know of it till a fortnight afterwards. One motive for secrecy was, that the efforts of Francis to influence the pope in favour of Henry might not be frustrated. On April 12th, the new queen was publicly announced; shortly after, the archbishop held a convocation, to determine the question relative to the king's marriage with Catherine, who was cited to appear, but refused. The union was then declared to have been illegal and invalid. This proceeding was urged and directed by the king, who, in his mandatory letter on the subject, asserted his unlimited and despotic authority, above the laws, in the most unqualified terms. A magnificent coronation of the new queen followed: she was conducted to the Tower by water from Greenwich, and two days afterwards proceeded in state to Whitehall. She was crowned at Westminster, on June 1, when for three successive days splendid pageants were exhibited.

The pope was thus set openly at defiance, which he resented, by declaring that Henry was excommunicated, unless he separated from his new queen before the month of September. Henry was equally decided; he sent Bonner, whose vindictive and determined temper was now directed against the pope, to read an appeal from the papal decision to a general council. Bonner executed his orders, but hastened away, being threatened that he should be thrown into a cauldron of molten lead. The pope, at the suggestion of the emperor, held a consistorial court, when nineteen out of

twenty-two cardinals declared against Henry. Clement then pronounced a decree, annulling all the proceedings against Catherine; but he withheld the publication of it, still hoping to conciliate the king of England. Meanwhile, queen Anne gave birth to a daughter in September, 1533, who was named Elizabeth, and whose reign fully realised the apprehensions of the papists, relative to the consequences of the king's marriage with her mother.

The parliament met in November, when the kingdom was declared to be wholly independent of the pope. All payments to the see of Rome were forbidden; the princess Mary was deprived of her right to the throne: Catherine was stiled the dowager of prince Arthur; but she firmly refused to relinquish the title of queen. Cromwell was the agent chiefly employed in these measures, which were popular with the best informed part of the community, whose feelings are thus described by the contemporary chronicler Hall:—"In this year, the third day of November, the king's highness held his high court of parliament; in the which was concluded and made many sundry good, wholesome, and godly statutes; but, among all, one special statute, which authorized the king's highness to be supreme head of the church of England, by the which the pope, with all his college of cardinals, with all their pardons and indulgences, was utterly abolished out of this realm. God be everlastingly praised therefore." To this every well-wisher to his country will add, Amen. Among other proceedings, this parliament petitioned the king against the cruel and inquisitorial proceedings of the Romish prelates, by persecuting men under the charge of heresy, which still continued. It is in vain for modern Romish historians to impute these persecutions to the secular power; the registers of the prelates themselves prove where they originated.

The papists had no right to object to the proceedings of Henry respecting the divorce, which the pope

had, in fact, secretly advised, while he was openly obliged to oppose it. The time-serving, extraordinary conduct of pope Clement, was by no means suitable for one who arrogated to be infallible; but the conquests of Bourbon rendered him subject to the emperor; thus the enthrallment of the pope led to the liberation and subsequent prosperity of England. Henry was learned beyond the monarchs of his age; but his mental acquirements rather strengthened than diminished his attachment to popery: and, but for his personal collision with the pope, his mind would not have sought deliverance from the thralldom of Rome, nor would his affection for Anne Boleyn have promoted the English reformation.

It is remarkable, that the breach between Rome and England appears to have been made irreparable by the precipitate conduct of Clement, rather than by the measures of Henry. By the efforts of the bishop of Paris, who visited England, and from thence proceeded to Rome, under all the disadvantages of a winter journey, Clement was induced to promise Henry satisfaction, if he would go through the form of submitting the whole affair to the pope. A day was fixed for the return of the king's answer, and Henry sent a messenger to Rome with his engagement to consent. A winter journey to Rome was then a more difficult matter than it now is. The courier did not arrive as expected, by March the 23rd, 1534. The French prelate pressed hard for a few days' delay, but the cardinals of the imperial faction urged an immediate decision; and Clement gave way to their importunity. The consistory then gave the definitive censure against Henry, pressing the affair to a conclusion more hastily than usual. Two days later the courier arrived; but the pope, though he earnestly desired to get rid of this hasty decision, was unable to do so. The wrath of Henry increased when he heard what had passed: from that time he pressed forward open measures for separation from Rome. On what a thread does the

fate of empires depend, as to human plans! But there is One who disposes all aright :

“ With Him is strength and wisdom :
The deceived and the deceiver are his ;
He leadeth counsellors away spoiled,
And maketh the judges fools.
He removeth away the speech of the trusty,
And taketh away the understanding of the aged.”

One important event hastens others forward. A large portion of the national clergy were inclined to favour the king's views ; but the monks and friars have ever shown themselves the pope's devoted servants. The members of the monastic orders, which were formed to support the papacy, all opposed the king. As their influence upon the ignorant part of the people was very great, they excited much discontent, chiefly by false or exaggerated statements. There can be no hesitation in characterizing as treasonable, these attempts to put the body of the people under the command of a foreign power, actually at war with their monarch. Let the reader attend to this state of affairs, whereby a civil war was in effect again begun in England, which raged from house to house, though not supported by regular armies in the field. We cannot be surprised that vindictive passions were roused in the breast of Henry, or harsh and unfeeling measures resorted to. Let it not be forgotten, that these feelings were first excited by cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards brought into action by the popes Clement VII. and Paul III.

Hitherto, the persecutions for religion had been carried on, rather by the king's advisers than by himself. Occupied by his favourite pursuits and pleasures, Henry took no personal part in those sanguinary proceedings. The details are related in the ecclesiastical histories of that period. Warham, Wolsey, and More, all were more or less implicated in them. The cardinal, perhaps, left the details of these matters to Longland, Stokesly, and others ; but by severe edicts against

the writings of Luther, and determined opposition to the circulation of the Scriptures in English, he did all that the most bigoted papists could desire. Sir Thomas More denied having actually forwarded these persecutions; but the piles in which Bilney, Bayfield, Tewkesbury, Bainham, and others, were burned, witness against him; while the tree in his garden at Chelsea, called "the tree of truth," to which respectable persons were tied and whipped, the early sufferings of Frith, and many other circumstances, show his persecuting spirit. It is painful and humiliating to find that Cranmer consented to the latter deed: though he endeavoured to save Frith, it was only upon condition of his recanting the views he had learned from Scripture, against the dogmas of transubstantiation. Such was the feeling excited against these sufferers, that Dr. Cooke, rector of a London parish, openly told the people standing around the stake at which Frith and a lad named Hewitt were burned, not to pray for them any more than for dogs; the precise expression, as Turner observes, that Turkish bigotry has applied to all Christians. The same valuable historian plainly shows, that Henry had not hitherto appeared severe and merciless, compared with other ruling powers. His conduct does not suffer from a comparison with either Francis or Charles, except with reference to his queens, and his proceedings towards them certainly cannot be ascribed to the Reformation.

We have spoken of the resistance of the papists as being, in fact, civil discord, although embattled armies did not take the field with banners displayed, as in the wars of the Roses. The leading combatants were a different order of men; they had recourse to the implements of warfare they were most accustomed to use. Fraud and imposture have ever been the customary weapons of the monastic orders. Early in 1534, the matter of Elizabeth Barton, a young woman of Aldington in Kent, brought many papists into difficulties. Being troubled with epileptic fits, during which she uttered

incoherent words, the Romish ecclesiastics trained her to pretend visions and revelations, exhibiting a letter, said to have been written from heaven by Mary Magdalene. She attracted a degree of public notice for some years, the immediate object being to encourage pilgrimages to a chapel in her neighbourhood, but intimations were early given through her against the king's proceedings. Warham, Fisher, with More, and other leading characters, countenanced her, though they did not lend themselves directly to the treasonable designs of her more active confederates or employers. The pope's agents in England also encouraged proceedings so likely to promote their master's authority: the real drift of the scheme soon plainly appeared. The Maid of Kent, as she was called, declared that Henry was no longer king, and that if he proceeded in his present course, he should "die a villain's death," before a day which was named. The king was also warned not to meddle with "the pope's patrimony," the sums exacted from England by the papacy. He was urged to destroy the Reformers and their books, the English Testament in particular.

The friars, especially the Observantines, were active in making known the pretended revelations of this nun, and in attacking the king. One, named Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, declared in his sermon that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done that of Ahab. Other preachers travelled the country, exciting the people against the king, by magnifying the pope, speaking of kings as his vassals. Some of these, as Hubberdin and Harrison, were of that class of half crazy enthusiasts, who are often urged upon notice by the more cool and crafty instigators of any public troubles. But a large proportion of the mass of the people were already inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation. Latimer, with others, exposed the errors of popery; they taught the way of salvation in a manner deeply interesting, urging the importance of studying the word of God.

The affair now became serious; the nun and her chief abettors were arrested, and declared guilty of high treason. This was in January, 1534, but they were kept prisoners till the pope published the violent decree already mentioned, in March. A few weeks afterwards, the nun, with six of her confederates, suffered at Tyburn, as traitors, on April 21. At the gallows, Elizabeth Barton threw the blame upon "the learned men" who had instigated her, because the things she feigned were profitable to them. Hall, who lived at that period, probably speaks the sense of the nation, when he says these criminals justly deserved their punishment. This execution was by regular course of law; it cannot be said to have proceeded from the reformation of religion. And the persecution against the reformers was urged forward in July, when Frith was burned alive as a heretic. By allowing the Protestants to be persecuted, the king showed that he had no desire to throw off the doctrines of popery, though he was at warfare with the pope.

An oath of submission to the king, as supreme head of the church, was now required. This, though an unfair test, brought the question of rebellion to a speedy issue; in like manner, the questions of the Romanists concerning the real presence in the sacrament, served as a test to ascertain those who differed from the church of Rome, on the all important question of justification and other points. In April, 1535, five monks and priests were accused of rebellion; in June, three more. They were found guilty, and executed as traitors, after refusing the oath of supremacy; upon taking it they would have been pardoned.

A more lamentable execution followed. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was beheaded. He had been imprisoned for his concern in the imposture of the nun, and declared guilty of misprision of treason, (which means, a knowledge and concealment of the treasons of others,) upon his refusing to take an oath setting aside the title of the princess Mary to the crown. He-

remained in prison till the May following, when the pope favoured him by appointing him a cardinal. This dignity was conferred by sending a scarlet hat to the person appointed. Henry, hearing of the honour intended for one whom he deemed a rebel, declared he would not leave him a head to put the hat upon. But mercy was offered upon condition of his acknowledging the king's supremacy, which would have been renouncing the papal authority. Fisher refused, and was executed as a traitor on June 22.

A few days afterwards, Sir Thomas More was beheaded. He was charged with treason, and declined the pardon offered if he would take the oath of supremacy. The execution of these two learned and virtuous men on political grounds, is a serious blot upon Henry's character. It is a mournful proof of the extent of political and party rage; but it also shows the school in which the king had been trained. The term political is here used advisedly; for the question of supremacy was wholly political: there is no reason to believe that Henry wished to proceed to extremities with the sufferers, whose deaths have been noticed, upon any other ground. His self-will would have been gratified by their submission, which he was more desirous to obtain than to shed their blood. But their firmness irritated his pride, and impatience of contradiction: we see the result. These executions rendered the temper of Henry more fierce and sanguinary, as the taste of blood has been observed to inflame the rage of animals. In human minds, the embittered feelings of self-accusation often carry an individual to additional and blacker crimes, as we find by many examples in Scripture. Sin is a downward road. Perhaps the recollection of Fisher and More made Henry increasingly reckless of the lives of others, though their deaths must not be ascribed to his will alone. Whoever looks into the complex state of the affairs of the nation at this period, with the various negotiations, conspiracies, and treasons that had resulted from the crooked proceedings of

Wolsey, will see that these contributed much to cause their unhappy fate. Documents which yet remain, show that the treasonable practices of many of the sufferers were encouraged by the emperor.

One of the most touching among the circumstances connected with the last days of these venerable men, is the language of More to his judges, when they pronounced sentence upon him. He concluded thus:—"I have nothing further to say, my lords, but that as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present and consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death, and yet they are now both holy saints in heaven, and shall there continue friends for ever; so I verily trust, and shall therefore heartily pray, that though your lordships have now been judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet in heaven to our everlasting salvation: and so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my sovereign lord the king, and send him faithful counsellors."

It is painful to observe that More's character, like that of his master, had deteriorated. Once entertaining enlightened views, his mind did not go forward to throw off the errors of popery, and he fell a victim to political persecution, as he had caused many to suffer by his religious intolerance. Hall, a contemporary writer, observes respecting him:—"I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly he, besides his learning, had great wit, but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he ministered some mock in the communication; inso-much that when the hangman kneeled down before him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is, he said, 'I forgive thee, but I promise thee, thou shalt never have honesty (honour) of the striking off my head, my neck is so short.' Also when he should lay down his head, he having a great grey beard, said to the hangman, 'I pray you let me lay my beard over

the block, lest you should cut it.' Thus with a mock he ended his life." Certainly to mock at the approach of death was no proof of real wisdom, but the reverse. This gibing temper seems to have been a besetting infirmity with More, and to have grown stronger by indulgence. His death excited much abhorrence among the learned men on the continent, while it widened the breach between Henry and the court of Rome. It is said, that when the king heard of his execution, he told queen Anne, "Thou art the cause of this man's death," and secluded himself in his chamber for some hours. It is not probable that she had directly influenced Henry to cause More to be beheaded; he might mean, that his union with her had led to that train of events, which resulted in the death of More; and when feelings of deadly hatred are once roused, even a gentle female may become indifferent to sanguinary measures.

Here the second period of this reign may be closed. Henry was now committed to pursue an arbitrary and reckless course; no human measures of a moderate character could carry him through the dark tempest that lowered around. Never was there a series of events which more clearly exemplified the declaration of Scripture, Psalm lxxvi. 10:

"Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee:
The remainder of wrath shalt Thou restrain."

Other periods have displayed the direful effects of human wrath on a wider scale, in the horrors of widely extended warfare; but at no period did personal hatred ever rage more fiercely through all ranks. It resembled the concentration of solar rays by a powerful burning glass. The sun-beams may scorch a larger extent, and produce a withering effect upon the general expanse of nature; but even those rays of the sun may be rendered more destructive, by being brought into a narrower focus of operation. It was so in the matters now coming forward; but God caused the wrath of man to praise him, by consuming "wood, hay, and

stubble," while those parts of the fabric which were formed of "gold, silver, and precious stones," endured the fiery trial: from thence arose that glorious fabric, the English Reformation, which thus was evidenced to be built upon the only true Foundation.

One of the first effects of the Reformation, as will be seen, was to sweep away the monastic system, which even in its best form, was productive of serious evil. The following lines refer to this:—

"And what is Penance, with her knotted thong,
Mortification, with her shirt of hair,
Wan cheek, and knees indurated with prayer,
Vigils, and fastings, rigorous as long;
If cloistered Avarice scruple not to wrong
The pious, humble, useful secular,
And rob the people of his daily care,
Scorning that world whose blindness makes her strong?
Inversion strange! that, unto one who lives
For self, and struggles with himself alone,
The amplest share of heavenly favour gives;
That to a monk allots, in the esteem
Of God and man, place higher than to him
Who on the good of others builds his own!"

After a darker picture of monastic voluptuousness, the poet proceeds:—

"Threats come, which no submission may assuage,
No sacrifice avert, no power dispute;
The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,
And 'mid their choirs, unroofed by selfish rage,
The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage,
The gadding bramble hang her purple fruit;
And the green lizard and the gilded newt
Lead unmolested lives, and die of age.
The owl of evening, and the woodland fox,
For their abode, the shrines of Waltham choose;
Proud Glastonbury can no more refuse
To stoop her head before these desperate shocks—
She whose high pomp displaced, as story tells,
Arimathean Joseph's wattled cells."

HENRY VIII.

PART III.

FROM A.D. 1535, TO A.D. 1546.

THE position of Henry was very difficult during the last ten years of his reign. In order to have right views of the events which followed his throwing off the papal yoke, it is necessary to keep in mind the high ideas of royal prerogative entertained by Henry, and submissively adopted by his subjects. The monarchs of the Plantagenet line had continually been forced to bend before their nobles, but the power of the aristocracy was materially diminished by the civil wars of the Roses; while the commonalty gained strength to afford efficient support to the crown, yet not enough to claim much consideration from the ruling powers. Under the Tudors, the royal prerogative was carried to its fullest extent in England; the peculiarity of the times, with the abilities of Henry and Elizabeth, were favourable to the exaltation of regal power; also, notwithstanding the errors and excesses into which they were occasionally led, the commonalty prospered under their sway. One circumstance that mainly contributed to this prosperity, was the downfall of popery; the removal of that fabric of superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny, which had been reared at the expense of the best interests of the nation, and pressed as a heavy weight upon its onward progress.

We have seen that the popedom was directly opposed.

to Henry and his proceedings, and that the monastic orders were actively engaged in stirring up rebellion. The new pope, Paul III., ordered the king to recall the divorce, and the laws against the supremacy, or to appear at Rome to answer for himself. In case of refusal, Henry was declared to be excommunicated, his subjects were absolved from allegiance to him, the nobles were directed to take arms against their sovereign, the clergy were commanded to depart from the realm, and all foreign princes were released from their treaties and engagements with England. The adherents of Henry were to be treated as slaves, and their property taken by any one who could seize it. The actions falsely imputed to Henry by popish historians, are surely far less criminal than the deeds here sanctioned, and even commanded, by one who called himself the vicar of the Son of God upon earth. Similar measures humbled king John; the threat of them induced Henry II. to submit; but Henry VIII. was a different character, and lived in other times. Though the pope sanctioned this decree on August 30, 1535, he delayed to give publicity to its contents; they were, however, made known to Henry.

The destruction of the monasteries was now resolved upon: this would weaken the papal power; it would prevent the farther efforts of that body against the king, while their revenues and property would replenish the exhausted treasury; and the destruction of establishments, in many instances, justly hateful for the pride and vices of their inmates, was likely to prove a popular measure. Commissioners were sent forth to visit the monasteries, and report fully upon their state. They proceeded, at first, to visit the smaller establishments; their evidence clearly showed, that these places, in general, were wholly perverted from the original designs of their founders. Both monks and nuns were, in many instances, habitually guilty of licentiousness; some, like the prior of Bradley, gloried in their shame, and even produced the pope's sanction for their sinful

conduct. Coining and robbery were among the crimes perpetrated, and the grossest frauds were detected. Images were found moved by secret wires; the blood of a duck, renewed weekly, was shown as that of our Saviour; the most absurd relics were collected together. Many of these fraudulent deceptions were openly exhibited to the people at Paul's Cross, and other public places. At Worcester was a highly revered image of the Virgin Mary. When stripped of her ornaments, it proved to be the clumsy carved statue of an ancient bishop. Others were merely gorgeous toys, yet blasphemous in their design and execution, as the following description of one will show. "A marvellous lively and beautiful image of the picture of our Lady, so called the Lady of Bolton, which picture was made to open, with gimmes from her breast downward; and within the said image was wrought and pictured the image of our Saviour marvellous finely gilt, holding up his hands, and holding betwixt his hands a large fair crucifix of Christ, all of gold; the which crucifix was to be taken forth every Good Friday, and every man did creep into it that was in the church at that time, and afterwards it was hung up again within the said image; and every principal day the said image was opened, that every man might see pictured within her the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, most curiously and finely gilt, and both the sides within her very finely varnished with green varnish and flowers of gold, which was a goodly sight for all the beholders thereof."

In February, 1536, the parliament sanctioned the suppression of three hundred of the lesser monasteries; their revenues were calculated to be 32,000*l.* per annum; the valuables collected were estimated at 100,000*l.*; though it was evident that a considerable amount had been embezzled. In these proceedings Cromwell acted as superintendent, under the title of vicar-general, or the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters; thus he carried out the scheme formed while under Wolsey's roof, a proceeding which the cardinal

originated. At this period, the first legal provision for the poor appears among the statutes of the realm. The monastic system was one great cause of pauperism; its progress, with the change in the value of property, rendered the poor a burden on the country as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, before the suppression of monasteries. Let it ever be remembered, that the monastic system fostered, and did not prevent pauperism, though the evil was brought more directly into public notice, through the selfish proceedings of many who gained by suppressing those establishments.

The year 1536 was eventful. Early in January, the divorced queen, Catherine, died at Kimbolton. Queen Anne did not conceal her satisfaction at the removal of her predecessor. Though the king was affected by Catherine's death, and commanded his attendants to put on mourning, Anne slighted his will, by assuming a gayer garb than ordinary. She soon had cause for sorrow; the premature birth of a dead son suggested apprehensions, in the mind of Henry, that his second marriage would not be more decisive than the first, as to the succession to the throne. Scripture tells us of the uncertainty of earthly things, and the insecurity of those who hold posts of honour. "All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away." "In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth." This was realized in the history of Anne Boleyn: the court was a sphere in which she was exposed to injuries and temptations; that liveliness of disposition which had forwarded her elevation, rendered her joyous and unthinking. Her enemies watched their opportunity; they availed themselves of the falsehoods and treachery of an infamous and bigoted woman, lady Rochford, the sister-in-law of Anne, to hasten her downfall, by poisoning the king's mind against her. Henry was prepared to listen to these insinuations, for the attractions of another had awakened his regards. The pro-

ceedings against the queen were under the consideration of the king and his advisers in the latter days of April, but were kept secret.

On May 1, the king departed suddenly from a tilting match at Greenwich, where he had been present with the queen. It has been said, that his jealousy was excited by her conduct on that occasion; but a commission had been regularly prepared to inquire respecting her some days before. Scarcely had she retired to her apartments before she was arrested and conveyed to the Tower, where her brother, the husband of the infamous lady Rochford, was also imprisoned with three others, on the charge of adultery with her. On her arrival at the Tower, Anne protested her innocence; and inquired whether she was to be imprisoned in a dungeon. Being informed by Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, that she should have the lodgings she had occupied before her coronation, the contrast of her present state overcame her; she was seized with a hysterical affection, which frequently returned before her trial, and evidently showed symptoms of a wandering mind. She was carefully watched, and her incoherent expressions taken down, that they might be repeated to the council; but they did not imply any guilty conduct.

The subject of her innocence soon became a party question between Papists and Protestants: it has been thoroughly discussed: so many documents have been brought forward, that a fair decision may now be arrived at. There is no reason to believe queen Anne Boleyn guilty of the crimes laid to her charge; but her conduct had alienated the king's affections, and showed the levity of a mind injured by prosperity.

Her enemies hurried forward their plans, taking advantage of the king's arbitrary and hasty temper, while her friends had not time nor opportunity to investigate the accusations, or to interfere efficiently in her behalf. The charges against her were also urged so positively, that the friends of the Reformation were fearful of giving ground for allegations that they

countenanced crime. Cranmer was forbidden to appear at court till sent for; he wrote, however, to the king, pleading earnestly in the queen's behalf; but he could not avoid allowing her guilt, if the charges were proved. Queen Anne herself wrote an able letter to the king; but while asserting her innocence, she expressed herself in a manner likely to excite the king's anger, so as to strengthen the attempts against her. It appears from her letter, that Anne felt little affection for Henry, but had not been able to resist the temptation of a crown. Her conduct in listening to and encouraging his addresses, must ever be deemed deserving of censure, while it brought its own punishment.

The royal counsellors seem, at first, to have designed to have dissolved the marriage, on the ground of a pre-contract between lord Percy and Anne Boleyn; but this was denied by that nobleman. Harsher measures were then pursued. On May 12, Norris and others, accused of improper conduct with her, were arraigned, and found guilty. On May 15, the queen herself was tried before a number of peers, over whom her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, her open and bitter enemy, was appointed to preside. He superintended all the proceedings against her, visiting her in the Tower, and telling her that Norris confessed his guilt—a device well calculated to induce her to confess, if really in fault. She had no one to plead for her, and could only protest her innocence; but was found guilty by a majority of the peers, on worse than doubtful evidence. The lord mayor, who was present at the trial, did not hesitate to say, that all he could gather from what passed, showed a determination to get rid of her. On the 17th, her brother, and the others accused as guilty parties, were executed. They declared their own innocence, and that of the queen, to the last, with the exception of Smeaton, a musician, who made some admissions, implying that he was guilty. He had been practised upon by a promise of pardon, if he would accuse the queen; but her enemies did not venture to

bring him forward as a witness against her, and his execution was hastened to prevent his retracting. Anne Boleyn was beheaded on the 19th. Two days before her death, there seems to have been some intention to allow her to live : her own statement, admitting an engagement with lord Percy before her marriage with the king, was formally exhibited before Cranmer, who, in his judicial capacity, thought himself justified, by such a document, to pronounce her marriage void. But this gleam of mercy passed away ; probably the king saw, that suffering her to live, might afterwards raise a question as to the validity of another marriage, which Henry, with brutal selfishness, had resolved to solemnize without delay.

Queen Anne, before her death, became calm ; she suffered with steady firmness, founded on religious feeling. She besought the favourable opinion of those present, but did not again protest her innocence ; this showed a spirit of forgiveness towards her enemies, with a desire to avoid every thing that might excite the king's displeasure towards her infant daughter. Mortified pride, and inordinate affection for Jane Seymour, appear to have hurried Henry forward in putting queen Anne to death ; but there is good reason to believe, that in addition to the falsehoods of lady Rochford and others, the efforts of the Romish party were exerted in various ways to hasten the catastrophe, and prevent time for reflection, which might have produced a different result. How uncertain is human grandeur ! The 1st of May had seen Anne a queen, in the full enjoyment of rank and state ; on the 19th she laid headless on the scaffold ! That day the king hunted in Epping Forest, where he sat at his noon-tide repast, earnestly listening for the report of a cannon, ordered to be fired when the catastrophe was over. The signal sound at length boomed on his ear, when he rose, exclaiming, "It is done ! up, and let us follow the sport." On the following morning the king married Jane Seymour. It is too plain that he did not wish Anne

to be proved innocent of the allegations of her enemies; and let it again be fully stated, that the value of the Reformation, and its results to England, no way depend upon the conduct and character of those who overthrew the tyranny of popery.

The conduct of Henry, in this instance, increased the dislike towards him on the continent, especially among the Protestants. Melancthon and Bucer, who had been about to proceed to England, relinquished their journey, while both parties in England were awed into deeper submission by such arbitrary proceedings. The parliament assented to the king's mandates, that the princess Elizabeth should be set aside from the succession to the throne; and even passed a law, empowering Henry to declare his successor. It is supposed that the object sought hereby was to enable the king to set aside his daughters, if he had no more sons, by appointing his illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond, to the succession; but very soon afterwards the duke died. Although England was thus in the power of an autocrat, still there had been no suppression of public liberty. As yet, Englishmen, as a nation, had never possessed liberty as a nation. Hitherto the contest had been between the king and the nobility. The former now prevailed, but not without the aid of the people; the commonalty of England enjoyed greater privileges in this reign than in any other since the conquest: but as yet they were by no means freemen, nor were their rights duly regarded.

The dissolution of the monasteries was not accomplished without some risings among the populace, excited by the monks and the ignorant priests, who felt that the progress of Scripture light exposed them to the loss of their customary influence. These insurrections prevailed mostly in the northern counties, where the monastic establishments had so engrossed the revenues of the benefices, that the greater part did not exceed four or five pounds per annum; they were consequently held by ignorant and needy persons.

The archbishop of York declared that in his whole jurisdiction, there were not twelve priests able to preach. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, where Mackerel, prior of Barlings, availed himself of an unpopular tax, and induced the commons to rise, heading them himself, with another leader, under the name of Captain Cobler. They soon dispersed on the promise of pardon. In Yorkshire, there was a more formidable insurrection. The insurgents amounted to 30,000, commanded by Robert Aske. The body proceeded with some semblance of discipline, under banners displaying the wounds of Christ; they occupied York and other principal towns. The duke of Norfolk was sent against them, with orders to negotiate till the king himself could bring up a larger force. He secretly favoured the cause of the insurgents, but succeeded in prevailing upon them to desire pardon, and persuaded the king to grant an amnesty.

These insurrections were promoted by the intrigues of cardinal Pole. He was grandson of the duke of Clarence, who was put to death by order of his brother Edward IV., by his daughter Margaret, who married sir Richard Pole. From his early youth he was trained to learning, and highly favoured by Henry VIII. This favour continued till the question of the divorce was agitated. Pole opposed the annulment of the marriage, which displeased the king, and excited suspicion; for in failure of the descendants of the daughter of Edward IV., the Poles were next in succession to the throne. However, the king did not withdraw his favour from Pole, till the question respecting the supremacy arose. Then, without any communication with Henry, he wrote a book in defence of the papal authority, which was completed in 1535. This work, written on the continent, while the author was subsisting on a liberal allowance from Henry, contained an abusive, slanderous attack upon the king, and Anne Boleyn, respecting whom he made statements wholly unsupported by any authorities, but which, although, resting on no foundation,

have been studiously repeated by modern Romish historians. They quote all Pole's scandalous and false slanders as valid authority, forgetting the vast mass of documentary evidence, still existing, which sufficiently prove that his assertions were false. The cause of his malignity is evident. Queen Catherine contemplated a union between him and the princess Mary, whose affections Pole engaged; this, and his being himself of the royal blood, gave him a prospect of the throne, which was done away by the marriage with queen Anne; then his only chance of gratifying his ambition was the removal of Henry himself.

While Pole entertained these hopes, he was unwilling to take orders, which would prevent his marrying the princess; but the emperor did not wish to see Pole a temporal prince. The pope, therefore, was directed to require him to be made a priest, and created him a cardinal. Pole very unwillingly consented to receive an honour he could not refuse. However, he was obliged to comply, and thus was made, according to the doctrines of Romanism, one of the successors of the apostles; and strange to say, there are nominal Protestants who would consider him as such! In his book, he had just declared the dignity of the priesthood, asserting that kings were inferior to them in all things, and that he had doubted whether the priests should be called ambassadors from the people to God, or from God to the people; he blasphemously added, "I doubt whether I ought not to call them gods themselves!" He was now fairly caught in his own trap, and no way of retreat was left; he was committed to the contest against his king and benefactor, and ever after showed the deepest personal rancour towards Henry. The first duties imposed on the cardinal were to take his station in Flanders, and from thence to communicate with the popish malcontents in England. His business was, as his own biographer states, "to excite the Catholics in England." Henry offered a reward for the apprehension of this rebel;

for although the insurrections had mostly been put down before Pole arrived at his appointed station, he exerted himself to fulfil his commission, urging the pope to publish full denunciations against the king of England; but Paul's policy kept him as yet from these extravagant proceedings, which would only compromise his own authority.

The hopes excited in the minds of the papists by the fall and death of queen Anne, were shown in other proceedings, besides these insurrections. They were not only alarmed at the removal and destruction of superstitions, the progress of truth was still more threatening. Tindal's translation of the New Testament has already been noticed; considerable numbers of this invaluable book were brought secretly into England, and sold privately among the people. And now, the advantages resulting from the previous labours of the Lollards were evident. The Reformation in England was not, as in some other countries, chiefly confined to the learned and higher or middle ranks. The people had, in many districts, long known scriptural truths in the humble written copies of Wickliff's translation, many of which are still found in our public libraries, showing by their contrast to the more elaborate and ornamented manuscripts upon other subjects, that they were written for the people, and adapted for their wants. By them, the printed Testaments of Tindal were eagerly received. They were cheaper than written copies; their price was within the means of the working classes; they were more easily read and understood, as a friar, who sold them secretly, is recorded to have told some Essex labourers, they were "clener Englyshe." The language of Tindal's testament has been, in fact, the English of the people from that time to the present day. The copies were prized by thousands; even apprentices possessed themselves of the words of their Saviour, and concealed the book in their bedding to read in secret.

Encouraged by this desire to possess the Scriptures,

and patronized by Cranmer and the queen, the translators of the Bible had brought forth their work. The first complete translation was made by Miles Coverdale, probably with the assistance of others. This was dedicated to queen Anne, but only a few copies had been issued, when she was beheaded. Another dedication to queen Jane was substituted. Meanwhile Tindal proceeded with his translation, but having been entrapped by the officers of the emperor, he was put to death in Flanders, in 1536, his last words being a prayer, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." His translation was revised, and finished under the direction of Cranmer.

Immediately upon the death of Anne, the papists made an effort in the convocation, or parliament of the clergy, to stop the translation of the Scriptures into English, and to stay the progress of the Reformation. But the king's counsels were influenced by Cromwell and Cranmer, and he himself saw the necessity of separating from the pope. The convocation was directed to reform the rites and ceremonies of the church. Four of the Romish sacraments were abolished, parts of the public service were ordered to be read in English, and English Bibles were to be set up in churches, and many assembled to hear the word of God read aloud by those able to do so. Thus the great question of admitting scriptural truth was settled; and before its light the darkness of superstition and ignorance must always recede. But much remained to be done. The works then set forth by authority for instruction, are not free from papal error. The proceedings of the prelates at this period, including those of Cranmer, show that the movement was greater among the people than among their rulers. It is important to refer to this as an ascertained fact, since this alone is enough to disprove one of the assertions of modern Romanists and their abettors, too readily listened to by nominal Protestants, namely, that the Reformation in England was a political work—it was not so. In England, the

strongest marks of attachment to the Reformation from popery ever have been shown by the voice of the people at large. The king's own mind was but partially enlightened; he clung to many deadly errors of popery, but he found his political measures strengthened by listening to the public voice. That Henry really desired to benefit his subjects, whenever his own unbridled will did not interfere, appears from his readiness in granting the request made about this time by the leading men of Wales, that the English laws and privileges might be extended to them. This was the way firmly to unite the two countries.

Early in 1537, an insurrection again broke out in the northern counties, and great severity was shown in its suppression. On October the 12th, in this year, the king was gratified by the birth of a son, afterwards Edward VI.; but the national grief was excited by the death of the queen a few days afterwards, from her taking cold, and being allowed to eat improper food. To speak in ordinary terms, this was an untoward event, and led to those subsequent difficulties respecting the king's wives which are often used against him. Queen Jane was lamented; her untimely death was a rebuke upon the haste with which she had consented to occupy the station of another. Yet these hasty nuptials had been productive of good, by preventing Henry from making terms with the pope, who offered to make up the breach as soon as he heard of the death of Anne. This union also gave the nation a Protestant king, whose reign, though short, did much to establish the English Reformation. Henry desired to repair his loss without delay. The emperor recommended to his notice the duchess of Milan; but she is said to have declined the honour, stating she had only one head, but if she had two, one should be at his majesty's service! A just reproof for his cruelty to queen Anne; but it is said the duchess was herself a light character, therefore, perhaps was conscious that she would be in danger.

Meanwhile the Reformation went forward. A new translation of the Bible was begun, many books were circulated containing scriptural truth; while others, advocating popish error, and attacking the king in gross and treasonable language, were also published. Henry endeavoured to enforce uniformity of views, though in vain. This was remarkably shown in 1538, when a poor but learned schoolmaster, named Lambert, was brought forward publicly in Westminster Hall, to plead before the king and his bishops, against the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. It was a painful sight to see this pious man beset by such powerful adversaries: the Romish bishops argued against him in cruel and bigoted terms; the prelates inclined to Reformation pursued a milder course, but still supported the gross and fatal error respecting the sacrament. The king delighted in showing his scholastic attainments; he did not hesitate to gratify this puerile vanity at the expense of the victim before him. At length, the faithful confessor, wearied with the debate, which continued five hours, was silenced by the abuse heaped upon him. He commended his soul to God, and threw himself upon the king's mercy. Henry declared he would not patronize heretics, and ordered sentence to be pronounced against him. Lambert was shortly after burned in Smithfield, with circumstances of great cruelty; but under unspeakable agonies he was enabled to exclaim, "None but Christ, none but Christ!" Others suffered in the same cause, clearly showing that there were many among the people far more enlightened than their rulers and teachers. That the contest, so far as Henry was concerned, was rather for temporal than spiritual matters, was also shown by the burning of friar Forest, about the same time, for denying the king's supremacy. A noted Welsh idol formed part of the pile which consumed him. It would be wrong to excuse or palliate these arbitrary and sanguinary proceedings; but it is equally wrong to attempt to conceal, that Henry

was driven to many of them by the unceasing attempts of the papists. Pole's residence in Flanders has been mentioned. He instigated the later insurrections; and in November, 1538, several of his relatives in England were attainted and executed, on the charge of being concerned in a treasonable plot. His aged mother, the last of the direct line of Plantagenet, was implicated, but her life was spared. She remained a prisoner till May, 1541, when the king, irritated by new devices of cardinal Pole, caused her to be beheaded; a useless act of cruelty, justly noted as a stigma upon his memory.

Henry was bent on forcing his subjects to uniformity of opinion on religious subjects, but had no intention that they should be again subject to the pope; yet under the influence of Norfolk, and Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, he was induced to support the worst errors of Rome, by causing the parliament, in July, 1539, to enact the act of six articles, which commanded all to believe in transubstantiation, restricted the communion to the administration of bread, forbade the marriage of priests, countenanced vows and private masses, and confirmed confession to priests. All who opposed these dogmas were liable to suffer death. Cranmer openly resisted the enactment of this iniquitous law in parliament; the king respected his honest boldness, although at one time he ordered him to cease his opposition, and withdraw.

The papists rejoiced at carrying this measure; it induced them more easily to allow the final proceedings for the dissolution of monasteries, and the execution of several of their inmates on charges of treason, resulting from their unwillingness to resign their offices, and acknowledge the king's supremacy. Three mitred abbots, of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, were thus publicly executed. Many of these larger establishments were notorious for the depravity of their inmates. The Romanists say this is a false representation; but any one who reads the statement

of cardinal Morton, relative to the depraved and criminal lives of the monks of the great abbey of St. Albans, in 1490, which cannot be said to be made by the opponents of popery, will find a delineation quite as black as those of the visitors of Cromwell.

Six hundred and forty-five monastic establishments, with other foundations, having yearly incomes amounting to 161,000*l.*, and large property in goods and valuables, were now suppressed. Had these acquisitions been rightly administered, the crown would have been supplied with a considerable revenue, while many useful measures might have been instituted. Cranmer exerted himself to procure this result, but the grasping characters about the king prevailed. The property thus acquired was speedily dissipated. The nobles and gentry of the court mostly supported these proceedings, hoping to obtain a share of the plunder; and the large possessions still enjoyed by several of the principal nobility of our land, were then assigned to their ancestors for paltry considerations, or as gifts, or as recompenses for trivial, and even for disgraceful services. Yet the dissolution of the monasteries, and the subsequent division of property, was a measure beneficial to the nation; it was absolutely needed to give scope for that spirit of commerce and enterprize required to meet the altered circumstances of the age, when the nominal value of every commodity was materially affected by the influx of gold and silver from the New World. It must be remembered, on the one hand, that the progress of civilization and truth would have been hindered in this country, as in many nations of the continent, had these monastic establishments continued to exist; while, on the other, that the power of the crown would have been still farther increased by the retaining all these possessions, which would have rendered the king independent of the people. One feature in the alteration of property was much to be regretted, the appropriating to laymen the ecclesiastical revenues of a parish. Thus all the disadvantages

attending the usual method of raising money for ecclesiastical purposes were continued, and even increased, without any public services being returned in consequence. Even at the time, ignorance was rendered more inveterate, for instead of a pastor, in some degree partaking of the increasing learning of that day, a superannuated destitute monk was often retained as parish minister, whose services could be had for his mere living, and who exhibited the same disgraceful conduct as an incumbent in public, which he had practised in the seclusion of his monastery.

The parliament at this time gave unlimited consent to the king's mandates, even declaring that the royal proclamations should have the force of laws. Henry balanced the two great parties, which divided the nation, and thus established his prerogative beyond control. After forwarding the designs of those attached to the Romish faith, he granted the request of the Protestants, by sanctioning the English Scriptures. The Bible was now set forth by authority; the annexed engraving is from a part of the title-page. Cranmer's earnest desire was fulfilled: when he first took a completed copy into his hand, he wrote to Cromwell, that in furthering this work he had done him more pleasure, than if he had given him a thousand pounds; and that he doubted not, but that thereby such fruit of good knowledge should ensue, that it would well appear hereafter what high and excellent service Cromwell had done unto God and the king. The pleasure with which the people received this inestimable gift is thus described by Strype:—"It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the more learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, 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, and busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could

not themselves, and 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." Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in religious affairs, ordered the prelates and clergy to recommend the study of the Scriptures.

The elevation of Cromwell was not less extraordinary than that of his old master Wolsey. He was recognized by parliament as next in rank after the royal family; but he felt the instability of his situation; he sought to strengthen and support it by measures which in effect caused his downfall. The king had been a widower two years, when principally by Cromwell's means, he was induced to marry a Protestant princess, Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves. Deceived by a report of her beauty, Henry consented to the union, and hastened to Rochester to meet her. The first sight convinced him that he had been grossly deceived; he was, as a bystander described him, "marvellously astonished and abashed," and gave utterance to his thoughts in plain language, or rather in gross terms which were not applicable; for though a large and ungainly figure, Anne was a comely woman. But the matter had gone too far for him to recede; he unwillingly received her as his wife, but he reproached Cromwell with having formed the alliance, and after a few months required him to devise some plan for effecting a separation. Other matters hastened the downfall of the minister. The king's affections were entangled by the beautiful Catherine Howard, a niece of the bigoted duke of Norfolk, who attracted the notice of Henry by her small sprightly figure and pretty face. This decided the fate of the vicegerent, who still continued active in promoting the Reformation.

On June 10, 1540, Cromwell, just elevated to the peerage, first took his seat in the house of peers, as earl of Essex, and seemed in the full possession of his dignities; in the evening he was arrested by the duke

of Norfolk at the council-board, on a charge of treason! Amidst the busy and changing political affairs of that day, both at home and abroad, it was not difficult to put together some plausible, but weak allegations against him. He was not allowed a trial; a bill or act was passed by parliament, declaring his treasons, and ordering his death. All his summer friends forsook him; Cranmer alone ventured to stand as his defender, but in vain; after some little delay, the law was passed, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, on July 28. It should be observed, that Cromwell himself had just introduced the plan of sentencing to death without trial by a bill of attainder, having thus procured the conviction of the aged countess of Salisbury. His own condemnation, by the same wresting of the law, speedily followed, and his death preceded hers! Cromwell was a remarkable instrument in effecting the changes of those times; but, though a steady supporter of the Reformation, he acted on political rather than on religious grounds. Like many others, the gross absurdities of popery, which in early life he witnessed at Rome and elsewhere, induced him to throw off its bondage; but he did not submit himself to that Master whose "yoke is easy, and whose burden is light." He sought worldly honours, and obtained them: twelve years saw both the extent of his upward course, and his precipitous fall from the summit of earthly greatness. Romanists have represented Cromwell as returning to popery previously to his death; but his last prayer has been preserved: it fully refutes this assertion, showing that when his last hour drew nigh, he sought for mercy where alone it is to be found. Whether it was then too late, is not for us to attempt to judge; we know who has declared, "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out."

The annulment of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves took place in the same month, on the plea of a previous engagement between her and one of the princes

of Lorraine. She readily consented to give up being the wife of one whose affection she had never possessed. A liberal pension was settled upon her; she resided in private at Richmond, till her death in 1557, doubtless enjoying much more worldly happiness, than if she had continued to be queen of England.

The king lost no time in marrying Catherine Howard, who was publicly acknowledged as queen on August 8. This was an unhappy union; its commencement was marked by a scene of bloody persecution.

Barnes, Garret, and Hierome, three divines who were followers of the truth, were burned at Smithfield, on July 30. They were condemned for maintaining the great scriptural doctrine of justification by faith. The contest between papists and their opponents is not often brought to this issue. In general, the former proceed upon some of the less important, but more direct dogmas of their church. It was now evident, that, as Latimer stated, if the great apostle of the Gentiles had preached the doctrines recorded in his epistle to the Galatians, at the Cross in London, called by his name, he would have been liable to condemnation as a heretic; for the accusations against Hierome were expressly founded on a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, from the allegory of Hagar and Sarah, contained in that epistle, wherein was taught that justification was the gift of God, not obtained by baptism, or penance.

With these Protestants, three martyrs for the cause of the pope were brought to execution; they were placed in pairs, a Protestant and a Papist on the same hurdle: but the condemnation of Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, was for denying the king's supremacy. They suffered the death of traitors, indicating a different class of crime. No Romanists suffered in the reign of Henry for religious doctrines. They were condemned for acts which threatened the earthly power of the monarch; they were martyrs for the pope,

not for Christ. The Romanists at this time reigned without control; hundreds, even of substantial citizens in London alone, were imprisoned and charged with heresy. The number was too great to admit of full proceedings against them; but Bonner, the bishop of London, went as far as he dared to venture. Latimer resigned the bishopric of Worcester, and Shaxton that of Salisbury, in consequence of the passing of the law of the six articles. Cranmer sent his wife to her friends in Germany; while others of the reformers retired to the Continent, or, like Becon, went into parts of England where they were not known.

In 1541, the kingdom was disturbed by a rising in Yorkshire, which was soon put down. This was followed by a royal progress towards the north, where it had been arranged, that James v., king of Scotland, should meet Henry. The latter was desirous to urge his brother-in-law to measures similar to his own respecting the papacy. Cardinal Beatoun, the prime minister of James, was aware of the danger, and persuaded his monarch not to meet the English king, which led to hostile proceedings in the following year. While Henry was absent on this tour, and speaking in the highest terms of his new queen, a private communication was made to Cranmer, charging the queen with guilty and licentious conduct before her marriage, naming various persons, particularly one who had been lately engaged by her as an attendant. Cranmer trembled, and would gladly have refused to take up the matter; but as there was no reason to doubt the truth of the information, concealment must involve him in ruin. He consulted the chancellor, and on Henry's return put into his hands a packet stating the particulars, leaving it to the king to proceed as he thought advisable. Henry would not believe the charges, but directed a private inquiry. The result clearly proved the misconduct of Catherine Howard before marriage, and gave strong evidence that it had been continued. The guilty parties confessed. Among

them was included lady Rochford, who had been instrumental in procuring the death of her husband and sister-in-law, Anne Boleyn. She was now convicted, on indisputable evidence, of having personally aided the queen to have secret interviews with her paramours. The parties being clearly proved guilty, were executed; but the queen was spared for two months, till February 13, 1542. Henry did not easily overcome his regard for her; and his affections were not then placed upon any other individual, so as to make him eager for her removal.

The Romanists have been loud in condemning Anne Boleyn, whose guilt never was proved, and whose innocence is more than probable; they are as silent as possible upon the infamous conduct of Catherine Howard, which was clearly proved, and confessed by herself and lady Rochford, and other parties. The detection of Catherine's guilt was favourable to the Protestants; it weakened the influence of Norfolk and his partizans over the king, which otherwise, probably, would have proved fatal to Cranmer and his coadjutors in the Reformation, had this queen retained her influence over the royal mind. But we cannot excuse the conduct of Henry in thus putting Catherine Howard to death. "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her," were our Lord's words to the Pharisees in a somewhat similar case. Henry must have been, like them, self-convicted, if he had reflected upon his own proceedings, and it would be wrong here to conceal or palliate his sinful conduct.

In the year 1541, Henry assumed the title of king of Ireland. The English monarchs hitherto had only been styled "Lords of Ireland." At this time, he conciliated several of the most powerful of the Irish native chieftains by creating them peers, and by other measures which removed their apprehensions of being treated entirely as a conquered nation.

The following year was distinguished by a short war with Scotland. James v. was a vicious and cow-

ardly character. When attempting to make reprisals on the English borders, he gave disgust to the nobles by appointing a minion to command. His army fled at Solway before a few English horsemen; the disgrace so affected him, that he died after a short illness, leaving only one child, Mary, then but eight days old. Henry instantly planned her marriage with his infant son. This politic arrangement was opposed by cardinal Beatoun, who obtained the regency under a forged will of the late monarch. In the following year, this matter was fully discussed, when the French interest prevailed. The English ambassador was insulted, and compelled to leave Edinburgh. Henry resented the French interference by assisting the emperor with a body of forces. These three rival powers were as much enemies to each other, as they had been twenty-five years before. Advancing age found these monarchs as much opposed as they had been in former times.

The principal events in England, at this time, relate to the state of religion. The king's council was still divided; each party alternately prevailed, as the king gave them countenance. The chief question then agitated was about the circulation of the English Bible; for this Cranmer contended earnestly against Gardiner and his party: with the king's aid the former prevailed; this blessed boon was secured to the people: the last effort of Gardiner and his colleagues to render it useless to the people at large, by retaining a number of Latin words, was unsuccessful. Gardiner, however, procured the royal authority for a work called, "A necessary Instruction for a Christian Man," which in flattery he entitled, "The king's book," but which abounded in popish errors, even more than a volume set forth by Cranmer some years previously, known by the name of the "Bishop's book." Much care was bestowed in the preparation of these works, and upon all questions connected with the Reformation. Burnet has given an important

document, in which the principal divines of that day expressed their opinions upon most of the main questions of religion. The statements of Cranmer and others who favoured Protestantism, show that they did not hold popish views upon the apostolical succession, and were far removed from popery as to the sacraments.

Henry was now affected by infirmities, arising from his indulgence in the pleasures of the table, as well as from advancing years; yet he formed a new marriage with Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latymer, a middle-aged woman, of learning and ability, well inclined to the Reformation. The king now required a nurse rather than a wife. Catherine Parr tended him with much care, and by observance of his will, though his irritability greatly increased, she defeated the plots of her enemies. At one time, the wily Gardiner persuaded the king to suspect her able arguments upon theological subjects, and to have her examined on a charge of heresy. Being apprized of her danger, she declined to argue farther; the king was reconciled, and severely rebuked his popish counsellors when they attempted to proceed against her. This event seems to have occurred in 1544. Her printed Meditations and Prayers contain many clear statements of gospel truth.

Cranmer was attacked in like manner, but the king protected him. He sent for the archbishop at night, and warned him that he had been induced to consent to his being called before the council, and committed to the Tower, on a charge of heresy. Cranmer thanked the king, expressing readiness to submit to investigation. Henry exclaimed at his simplicity, and blamed such willingness to give his enemies advantage, as false witnesses would speedily arise if he once appeared to be in disgrace. He gave a ring to the archbishop, telling him to produce it, and to claim the royal interposition when he found his brother counsellors about to proceed unfairly. The next morning, Cranmer was shut out from the council, and made to wait at the door

among the servants. Henry was informed of this by Dr. Butts, his physician; the matter proceeded as had been planned; the king interfered, and rebuked the enemies of Cranmer in severe terms.

On another occasion, Henry gave Cranmer information of devices against him, insisting upon an investigation, which covered the archbishop's enemies with shame. The preservation of Cranmer through the stormy party proceedings of Henry's later years, clearly shows the special interference of Providence, and exhibits a good trait in the character of the monarch. Wearied and harassed as he was, by the bad principles and conduct of many around him, they were left by him to exhibit the awful effects of unsubdued passions, in their contests with each other; while Cranmer, being governed by Christian spirit and principle, his enemies were not suffered to triumph over him. It would be difficult to point out any character concerned in political proceedings, for so long a period as Cranmer, who acted so thoroughly upon gospel principles. His object evidently was to discharge his duties correctly, according to the evidence laid before him. He never exhibited any personal rancour; and the gospel principle of forgiveness of injuries he carried so far, that it was commonly said, "Do unto my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and you make him your firm and constant friend!" How widely different was he from Beaufort, Wolsey, Gardiner, and Pole! All these arrogated to themselves the title of successors to the apostles, while they were actuated by worldly views and the worst of passions.

At this period, the crafty Gardiner was the most active among the persecuting prelates. Bonner was more cruel and brutal, but was an instrument rather than a leader of his party. Several were persecuted as heretics about this time; among them was Marbeck, the first compiler of an English concordance. He was condemned as an offender under the law of the six articles, but was one of the few to whom mercy

was extended. By these proceedings Gardiner weakened his influence over the king.

The succession to the throne was regulated by parliament in 1544. It was first to devolve upon Prince Edward; and, in default of descendants from him, to pass, in succession, to his sisters Mary and Elizabeth. And in case of disobedience on their part, or if they died without heirs, the succession was to pass as Henry might by his will direct.

The warfare with France and Scotland required an expenditure which could only be met by taxes and forced loans. The latter were rigorously exacted. A striking instance of the tyranny with which these were enforced, was shown in the case of a citizen, named Richard Reed, an alderman of London. The instruction to the commander under whom he was placed states that, "Notwithstanding such necessary persuasions and declarations as for the purpose were at great length showed unto him, and the consent also, and the conformity thereunto of all his company, he stood alone in the refusal of the same, not only himself, upon a disobedient stomach, but thereby also giving example, as much as in one man might, to breed a like deformity in a great many of the rest. And forasmuch as for the defence of the realm and himself, and for the continuance of his quiet life, he could not find in his heart to disburse a little quantity of his substance, his majesty hath thought it much reason to cause him to do some service for his country with his body, whereby he might somewhat be instructed of the difference between the sitting quietly in his house, and the travail and danger which others daily sustain, from which he hath hitherto been maintained in the same. For this purpose his grace hath thought good to send him unto your school, as you shall perceive by such letters as he shall deliver unto you; there to serve as a soldier, both he and his men, at his own charge: requiring not only as you shall have occasion to send forth to any place for the doing of any enterprize upon the enemy, to cause him to ride forth to the same, and to do in all things as

other soldiers are appointed to do without respect ; but also to bestow him in such a place in garrison, as he may feel what pains other poor soldiers abide abroad in the king's service, and know the smart of his folly and disobedience. Finally, you must use him in all things after the sharp military discipline of the northern wars." Upon such a proceeding no comment need be made. It shows how little protection any subject then enjoyed. We find that Reed was afterwards taken prisoner. The king then had pity on him, and desired "that if there may be any good means devised for his redeeming, your lordship shall take such good order for getting of him again as you shall think most convenient."

As usual, the sufferings of the war fell chiefly on the peaceable inhabitants near the borders, which were devastated; while the Scots remarked upon the impolicy of such a way of courting a marriage with their infant queen. On the continent the emperor and Henry continued to seek their own respective interests, instead of making an efficient campaign against France. Henry secured Boulogne, while the emperor made a separate peace with Francis. The war between England and France was continued the following year, chiefly by combats at sea, and descents upon the coasts of both nations. To meet these expenses the parliament gave Henry power to seize the revenues of all chantries, colleges, and hospitals; but the death of the monarch preserved the greater part. We are not to suppose that an hospital then was similar to such an establishment at the present day: it was more of a monastic establishment, and frequently only an alms-house. It is evident that while Henry's covetousness urged him to take the revenues of many public establishments, his love for literature, and the influence of Catherine Parr, preserved the universities and other public foundations, rather than his parliament and council.

Peace with France, and afterwards with Scotland, left the king at liberty to direct his attention to home concerns, especially the state of religion. The pro-

ceedings in Scotland relative to the Reformation claim attention. Cardinal Beatoun was assassinated, in 1545, by his political opponents, whom he persecuted on account of religion. In Scotland, the popish ecclesiastics had proceeded to such gross acts of depravity and persecution, that the conflict was fierce and cruel when it once began. The papists effected a union with France against the true interests of their land, to support their power; it was clear that a political contest must be the result.

In England, Henry again tried to bring both parties to his own peculiar views. He allowed the papists to enforce the act of the six articles. They succeeded in bringing a lady of rank and family, Ann Askew, to the stake; but, as already stated, failed in their attack upon the queen. The examinations of Ann Askew, who was burned for denying transubstantiation, show her courage and firmness. She was put on the rack to extort accusations against others. Wriothesly, the lord chancellor, a bigoted papist, himself put his whole force to the instrument of torture, when the lieutenant of the Tower directed the executioners not to treat her with severity.

The papists could not succeed in preventing the reading of the Scriptures in English, but, by a preposterous enactment, all persons under the degree of a gentleman, and all females, were forbidden to study the word of God. Such laws could not be executed. On the other hand, many superstitious services were done away, and part of the public prayers ordered to be recited in English: an important advantage to those who desired reformation. The efforts of Cranmer during the latter part of this reign were less directed to political measures, than to giving solid instruction to the people, and encouraging the preaching of the gospel. He had much opposition from the Romish clergy, but the records of his visitations show that he proceeded with firmness and discretion.

The inconsistent proceeding of Henry, to restrict the use of the English Bible, after he had so expressly encouraged it, doubtless proceeded from the influence of

the Romanists, though he was then at variance with the pope. The church and clergy of antichrist, in all its forms, especially that of Rome, ever has opposed the free circulation of the Scriptures. At present many advocates of the church of Rome attempt to disguise this, stating that several translations of the Bible into German, French, and Italian had appeared before any Protestant versions. This is not denied ; but it is still more plainly manifest, from indisputable records of history, that as soon as the supremacy of the pope was disputed, as soon as his authority to interpret Scripture was denied, and the addition of human traditions was objected to, from that time the versions in the modern languages were restricted and suppressed. Where a version in a vernacular tongue exists, there will be a general desire in the people to study Scripture ; but ecclesiastical domination in every form is opposed to this : and wherever there is a determination to rule over the consciences of men, there the simple study of the Scriptures will be objected to. We see this fully exemplified in our own day ; but in the early times of the Reformation it was acted upon without any disguise.

Brandon, the duke of Suffolk, died in 1545 ; he was the king's brother-in-law, and had maintained a beneficial influence over him in many cases. After his death, Henry said of him, that he never attempted to injure any one, or to whisper away their characters ; adding, " Which of you, my lords, can say the like ? " Self-accused, like the Pharisees of old, they shrunk under the rebuke. The removal of this prudent counsellor, and the equal division of the ruling parties at court, with the king's increasing infirmities, caused the display of his capricious temper. He was so infirm from disease and corpulency, that he could only be moved from place to place in a chair, while noisome ulcers in his legs defied all medical skill.

The nobles were active against each other. The Seymours, whose head was the earl of Hertford, strove to procure the ruin of the Norfolk family, who were

leaders of those attached to the errors of popery. The earl being maternal uncle to prince Edward, also was desirous to remove those who might dispute his power when a new reign should commence. He availed himself of Henry's jealousy against the ancient nobility, who in former reigns so often exercised authority over the kings themselves. The earl of Surrey was condemned under frivolous pretexts, chiefly supported by his having included the royal armorial bearings with his own. Thus perished a learned and accomplished nobleman. His father, the duke of Norfolk, was also accused of treason, but nothing could be proved against him; though his wife gave evidence against her husband and son, and his daughter against her father and brother! By the promise of pardon, Norfolk was induced to sign a sort of confession, on which an act of attainder was brought into parliament, and hurried forward. He was ordered to be executed. January the 27th, 1547, found him expecting death on the morrow; a fate which he inflicted on many during the long period he assisted in guiding the king's counsels. While presiding in parliament, he repeatedly urged forward bills of attainder like that which so nearly sent him to the scaffold.

The king's danger had long been known to his personal attendants, but the courtiers refrained from telling him that death was at hand. A recent law had brought such a proceeding within the limits of treason, as an imagining the death of the king. Sir Anthony Denny alone was honest and courageous enough to tell Henry that it was necessary to prepare for his last hour, then rapidly approaching, and counselled him to call for mercy.

The king received the fatal news with composure, and thanked his faithful attendant; he expressed sorrow for his past sins, with reliance on the mercies of Christ alone. Being asked if he wished to see any of the clergy, he desired Cranmer to be summoned. The archbishop was then at Croydon. He hastened to the palace, but found the king speechless. Cran-

mer desired him to give some sign whether he died trusting in the faith of Christ. He pressed the archbishop's hand, and shortly after expired. Luther had departed to his rest the year preceding. Charles v. survived about ten years longer, having abdicated his throne previous to his death. Francis I. died two months after Henry; the pope Paul III. followed him to the tomb in less than two years. Thus rapidly did the great actors in the busy times we have noticed, pass away.

It would be very wrong to excuse the faults of Henry VIII., or to extenuate his crimes; but, on the other hand, it is not right to exaggerate them in malice. The facts of his history show, that many of his predecessors were far more blameable in their conduct, and their vices more flagrant. It cannot be concealed, that the chief cause of the obloquy heaped upon him, has arisen from his quarrel with the pope, and his promoting the Reformation. Even before his fame was stained by the death of Anne Boleyn, and the merciless executions which followed, cardinal Pole, whose scurrilous libel is unhesitatingly quoted as authority by Romish historians, represented him as the most infamous of monarchs, who reigned for nothing but evil; while, in the same book, the same writer does not hesitate to say, that he might yet become a plant of God, and bring forth excellent fruit, "if"—what? (as Turner well expresses it,) "if he would but reinstate the papal supremacy." The doing away this tyranny was the commencement of Henry's evil deeds in the eyes of popish writers. From that moment he was beset with enemies; his life was aimed at, his fame was openly attacked. He resisted, and inflicted severities, which, though justified by the form of legal proceedings, were tyrannical and unjust. We do not make light of evil, when we say, that these actions proceeded mainly from the temper and manners of the age; but it would have been well for the memory of Henry, had he followed the counsel of Francis, not allowing the

laws to be urged to extreme proceedings against his enemies.

Yet amidst all these severities, Henry VIII. was popular with the great mass of his subjects. This should not be kept out of sight, for no thoroughly tyrannical monarch ever enjoyed popularity to the end of his career. Like the kings of Judah, Joash and Amaziah, when monarchs become thorough tyrants, they usually fall victims to conspiracies.

Henry VIII. was a lover of worldly and sinful pleasures; and owing to the manners of that day, his vices were often very offensive and public; but it is also true, that other English monarchs, both before and after his days, have been deeper offenders than himself. He was a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God; but he was not atheistical either in his principles or his conduct. Though he paid some respect to the faithful admonitions and bold reproofs of the Protestant reformers, it is to be lamented that he did not reform the grossness of morals, if not occasioned, yet encouraged by popery, which is most hurtful to the female mind, and therefore highly prejudicial to the welfare of society, and the best interests of our race. But had he been such a tyrant as some have represented, would Latimer have been favoured? would he have been suffered to escape, after presenting to the king a New Testament in English, doubled down at the passage, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge?"

There are many traits recorded of Henry, which show him to have been, as a foreigner wrote in 1519, "affable and benign, and not offending any one." There was that sort of good-nature about him when not irritated, which makes those of middle life popular, much more so than those of high rank.

His heartlessness and cruel conduct to his wives has justly rendered Henry an object of dislike: but the truth should be told. Naturally he desired domestic enjoyment, which caused him to seek happiness in marriage; not a usual proceeding in those of kingly

rank, certainly not in his contemporaries. Turner notices that, "Of his six wives, the first and the last do him credit, and made him happy, and were respected by him: the third died beloved and lamented: the second left her honour questionable: and the fifth indisputably disgraced herself. It was the fourth only that could justly say, she was repudiated without any fault." A selfish desire for self-gratification influenced his conduct in seeking the divorce from Catherine; but certainly it originated in the devices of others, and was brought to its termination by political proceedings. If the passions of Henry had some bearing upon this event, it is equally clear, that the passions of others had still more to do with the matter.

Having thus spoken of Henry VIII. without any desire to palliate or excuse the vices which brought awful guilt upon him, we must, in conclusion, again notice him as an instrument in the hand of God for effecting a most important purpose. Bishop Burnet well observes, "While we see the folly and weakness of man, in all Henry's personal failings, which were very many and very enormous, we at the same time see the justice, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride and glory of popery, become its scourge and destruction." After urging the value of pure Christianity, he adds, "May we ever value this as we ought. And may we, in our temper and lives, so express the beauty of this holy religion, that it may ever shine among us, and may shine out upon us, to all round about us, and then we may hope that God will preserve it to us, and to our posterity after us, for ever."

By a will executed by Henry a short time before his decease, the succession to the throne, in case of the death of his children without heirs, was directed to pass to the daughters of his youngest sister Mary, and the duke of Suffolk, omitting any mention of his eldest sister Margaret. To this we shall have occasion again to refer. But the genuineness of his signature to this will has been disputed.



EDWARD VI. REFUSING TO STAND UPON A BIBLE.

EDWARD VI.

REIGNED SIX YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS.

From January the 28th, 1547, to July the 6th, 1553.

THE reign of Edward VI., though short, was very important. The quiet policy of those who at first conducted the administration, gave stability to the important changes which had been begun, and carried them onwards to a more perfect state. As Edward was hardly ten years old when he came to the throne, and died before he was sixteen, the government during his reign rested upon the counsellors around him, many of whom were able and well-advised men; their measures were in accordance with the principles implanted in

the mind of the youthful monarch by his early instructors.

Henry VIII. died January 28, 1547, when his son succeeded to the throne. One good trait in Henry's character, was the care bestowed upon his children. The youthful Edward had been taken from the nursery four years previous to his father's death, when he was committed to the care of Dr. Cox, and Sir John Cheke, both well skilled in the best learning of that age. Under these tutors he made rapid progress, as appears from some of his early writings, the originals of which still remain. Before his father's death, he wrote Latin letters, and showed great eagerness for study. Three years later Ascham describes him as fully master of Latin; able both to speak and write in that language: he was then reading Aristotle in Greek. Ascham says, and the account does not seem to be exaggerated, "Our king, in talent, industry, steadiness, erudition, greatly surpasses his age, and the belief of other persons." But, what was far more important, he was instructed in the truths of religion, he studied and revered the Holy Scriptures. By his contemporaries, and by every candid mind in later days, Edward has been regarded as the British Josiah.

The late king appointed sixteen individuals to act as executors of his will. They were to conduct the government during Edward's minority. The list included men attached both to the old and new opinions; but the most bigoted of the Romanists were not among them. Cranmer, and Tonstall, bishop of Durham, an amiable, though not a thoroughly enlightened man, were the principal ecclesiastics. One of these counselors, the earl of Hertford, the eldest maternal uncle of the king, grasped at the chief authority, causing himself to be chosen to preside, and to act as the protector. He was created duke of Somerset, upon a statement being made, that such was the intention of the late king. His brother received the title of lord Seymour of Sudley. Several others were raised to the peerage,

while some declined the honour, as above their means to support.

The funeral of the late king, at Windsor, exhibited a pompous ceremonial. It was speedily followed by the coronation of the young Edward, the ceremony being arranged by Cranmer, so as to omit some of the popish rites formerly observed. The king, young as he was, manifested the right spirit with which he was imbued. On seeing three swords of state prepared, he desired that a Bible should be brought, and carried in the procession, calling it "the sword of the Spirit," and saying, "He that rules without it is not to be called God's minister, or a king." Cranmer, in the sermon on this occasion, solemnly charged the royal child to go forward in the work of reformation. This was the desire of the prelate himself, now more fully enlightened in his own mind, and freed from the tyranny and caprices of Henry VIII. The Lord Protector also entered into these views. In the following affecting prayer, preserved by Strype, he sought direction from Him by whom alone kings reign, and princes are enabled to decree justice. "I am, by appointment, thy minister for thy king, a shepherd for thy people, a sword-bearer for thy justice: prosper the king, save thy people, direct thy justice. I am ready, Lord, to do that thou commandest; command that thou wilt. Remember, O God, thine old mercies; remember thy benefits showed heretofore. Remember, Lord, me thy servant, and make me worthy to ask. Teach me what to ask, and then give me what I ask. None other I seek to, Lord, but thee, because none other can give it me."

The chancellor Wriothesly, newly created earl of Southampton, was the leader of the Romish party in the council. Desirous to take an active part in politics, he affixed the great seal to an instrument whereby he delegated a part of his judicial authority to others; an illegal proceeding, of which his colleagues availed themselves to deprive him of his office. This success encouraged the Protector to gratify his ambition, by

obtaining still farther powers, that rendered him nearly independent of the council. But a spirit of mercy and conciliation influenced his proceedings. A general pardon was proclaimed. It set at liberty all those who were suffering under the act of six articles, and allowed many exiles to return to their homes and families.

The foreign policy of England was changed. The main object, during the late king's reign, had been to interfere between the emperor and king of France, so as to prevent either from decidedly prevailing over the other: but especially to prevent the ascendancy of France, the ancient rival of England, although Henry VIII. was often placed on ill terms with the emperor. Hertford saw the importance of peace to England, that more attention might be given to state affairs at home. Cranmer fully coincided: upon principle he was opposed to war, thereby exhibiting a wide difference from the martial spirit of many Romish ecclesiastics; and he wished to take the opportunity of establishing the Reformation in England. Thus the interference of England with the continental politics was stopped, though strife and intrigue continued abroad. Henry II., the successor to the French throne, showed himself to be an ambitious, restless spirit; he was hailed with much joy by the pope, and encouraged to disturb Europe.

The young king continued his useful occupations; he lived on good terms with his sisters, especially with Elizabeth, to whom he manifested the warmest affection, calling her his "sweet sister Temperance." Their minds and pursuits were congenial in many respects. But the studies of Edward were not confined to literature. A large number of papers show his anxiety to be informed upon subjects connected with the welfare of his realm, questions of polity, connected not merely with the art of war and kingly power—matters then usually studied by monarchs; but also with trade, with the administration of the laws, and other subjects really the most important for a state.

The exception to this peaceful policy was with regard to Scotland. The Protector desired to secure the marriage between their youthful queen Mary and king Edward, when they should arrive at a suitable age, as contemplated by the late king, and to prevent her alliance with France. He sought to enforce this by arms, and invaded Scotland with a powerful army. The Scots were defeated at Pinkey, near Edinburgh, on September 10, 1547, by Somerset, who did not fully follow up the victory, partly to avoid exasperating the Scottish nation, partly from the necessity of counteracting the ambitious intrigues of his own brother Sudley, the lord admiral. That turbulent spirit sought an alliance with the princess Elizabeth, when only fourteen. Being disappointed by the interference of the council, he prevailed upon Catherine Parr, the widowed queen of Henry VIII., to marry him very soon after the king's death. Her haste in this matter was blamable, though, in many respects, the situation of an unprotected female of rank rendered an alliance with one possessed of power desirable, if not absolutely necessary. A question of precedence between her and the duchess of Somerset stirred up strife. Some consider the quarrel between the Protector and his brother to have been aggravated, if not caused, by the animosities of their wives, but there were other causes; among them the admiral complained that the Protector interfered to prevent some acts of oppression against his inferiors. Somerset declared to the admiral, in a letter dated September, 1548, that it was his duty and office to receive poor men's complaints, and procure them redress, and that he would not refuse this, though against his brother.

Catherine Parr died little more than a year after her marriage, having recently given birth to a daughter. There appears full reason to believe that her end was hastened by the unkindness of Sudley. Being at liberty to form a new union, Sudley made another attempt to gain the princess Elizabeth, or even Mary. Again disappointed, he sought to render the king dis-

satisfied with those about him, and tried to lead him to habits of expense, the sure road to profligacy. His unquiet spirit led him to other violent measures, all tending to subvert the government, though without any precise prospect of advantageous results to himself. He evidently planned some sort of insurrection, and desired the superintendent of the mint at Bristol to prepare him a large sum of money, including base coin. Such proceedings led to his arrest and committal to the Tower, in January, 1549. He was tried and condemned as a traitor; and though he was the king's uncle, and brother to the Protector, they joined the council in directing his execution. The proceedings of those times exhibit an indifference to the ties of relationship, and recklessness in the shedding of blood, which shows the satanic influence under which the nations had long groaned. This evil-minded man followed his wife to the tomb within six months after her decease. His deeds show of what manner of spirit he was. She has left more pleasing memorials in her prayers, and in her little work, "The Lamentation of a Sinner:" one extract from the latter will show that if there ~~was~~ evil, there was also good in that day, among those of the highest rank. "If I should hope, by mine own strength and power, to come out of this maze of iniquity and wickedness, wherein I have walked so long, I should be deceived. For I am so ignorant, weak, blind, and feeble, that I cannot bring myself out of this entangled and wayward maze; but the more I seek means and ways to wind myself out, the more I am wrapped and tangled therein. Therefore, I will first require and pray the Lord to give me his Holy Spirit, to teach me to avow that Christ is the Saviour of the world, and to utter these words, 'the Lord Jesus;' and finally to help mine infirmities, and to intercede or entreat for me."

The Protector had reason to lament the fall of his brother: from that time his own course was a troubled one, till he also fell a victim to political intrigues. God

frequently marks such conduct by results which cannot be mistaken. The disagreement between the brothers, that led to the execution of the admiral, seems to have been fomented by the French rulers, to cause, if possible, such civil commotions in England as might aid their domination in Scotland. For one brother thus to destroy the other, was not unaptly compared by a contemporary historian to the right hand cutting off the left.

A more pleasing subject may now be resumed, the progress of the Reformation. To this Cranmer had directed his active energies, with the full concurrence of the Protector. The people, in general, desired deliverance from many of the remains of popery, though, as in every religious reformation, from the first establishment of Christianity, the inhabitants of towns were far advanced before the villagers and people of secluded districts. Injunctions were sent forth early in this reign, ordering that certain superstitious observances should be discontinued; that the clergy should preach the truths of Scripture; and that the English Bible, and the paraphrase of Erasmus, should be placed in every church, for the people to read. In the first year of this reign, the "Consultations of Herman," prince archbishop of Cologne, respecting reformation, were printed in English, under the direction of Cranmer and the Protector, with a view to prepare the public mind for the abolition of the mass, and other public services of the Church of Rome.

Those of the clergy unable to make sermons were furnished with that inestimable treasure, the book of Homilies, to read to their congregations. In this work, set forth by authority, and confirmed by subsequent declarations, is the best exposition of the doctrines taught by the reformers of the English church. It is wrong to argue upon a word or phrase in any of her formularies, while we have this book to resort to, for full explanations, in language intelligible even to the plain unlettered reader. But the importance and value of

the Homilies are too much forgotten, while those opposed to the true interests of the church of Christ have studiously endeavoured to cast them into the shade.

Bishop Gardiner soon showed his sense of the importance of these Homilies. He decidedly objected to them, especially to the Homily on Salvation, attributed to Cranmer himself. He was abetted by many who were attached to the old religion, as they called it; and conducted the opposition in the same turbulent spirit he had previously manifested. It is to be regretted that Cranmer and his associates met this conduct with much of the spirit they had imbibed in the school of popery. Although well assured that they were engaged in the cause of Christ, and that the truth must prevail, they could not be satisfied to leave the matter in the hands of their Lord and Master. They saw, on the one hand, turbulent men endeavouring to restore error by human devices; they saw, on the other hand, over-zealous spirits, excited by these efforts, to measures injurious to the cause of reformation and truth. Instead of leaving the right state of matters of religion, to be brought about by the course of events, under the all-wise hand of Providence, they sought to enforce uniformity by legal enactments, and the interference of temporal power. Thus, though they did not adopt the bloody and violent course of Popish policy, they gave Gardiner and Bonner the aspect of sufferers for conscience' sake, although they were notoriously devoid of all conscientious feelings whatever. Gardiner played his game the best for his own purposes. He disputed about theological topics, while he really sought to excite turbulence, using in coarse and irreverent phraseology, language resembling the expressions of infidels, showing that he had no real regard for sacred things. He proceeded, till imprisoned and deprived of his bishopric, shut up in the Tower, and forbidden the use of his books and writing materials. Foxe has faithfully recorded Gardiner's arguments. Though his theological views must be condemned, we must regret the

sufferings inflicted on him; but, in the next reign, he visited them on his opponents with far more intense severities.

Bonner can hardly be called a sufferer for religion: though soon released, his turbulent, seditious conduct caused him to be again imprisoned. He wrote from his prison in the Marshalsea to his friends for pears and puddings, concluding with the following words, too characteristic of the man to be omitted: "If amongst you I have no puddings, then must I say, as Messer our priest of the hospital said to his mad horse in our last journey to Ostia, 'To the devil, to the devil, to all the devils with you.'" Such a quotation prepares the reader for the conduct of the wretched being who was foremost in the persecutions of the following reign. He dates his letter, "On the Feast of All Souls." Some in our days affect this style; let them see who was one of the latest characters in the church of England that used it!

Other, and more laudable proceedings, were carried forward by Cranmer and his associates. Commissioners, attended by able preachers, were sent to visit the different parts of England. The act of six articles, and two statutes against the Lollards, were repealed. Private masses were forbidden; that leading falsehood, the great source of power and profit to the church of Rome, expiatory sacrifices for the dead, was thus done away. The term "sacrament of the altar," was discountenanced, as a common, but unscriptural name, for the Lord's Supper, of which all the congregation were now to partake. This was important, for by the use of the term "altar," the notion of a sacrifice, as taught by the church of Rome in its mass service, was kept up, with all the unscriptural views respecting the priesthood, and the idolatries of popery. "The Lord's table," is the scriptural term, 1 Cor. x. 21; this was adopted by the reformed church, it implies a holy communion, and involves considerations of importance.

Bonner was displaced from his see; he had acknow-

ledged, with other prelates, that they held their appointments at the royal pleasure. Ridley was appointed his successor. A large part of the revenues of this bishopric, as of most others that became vacant, was appropriated by the courtiers; but Ridley was charitable and liberal to the utmost of his power: in particular, he supported Bonner's mother and sister, placing the former at the head of his table, even when visitors of rank were present. Bonner returned evil for good.

Latimer, and other able divines, were sent forth to preach through the kingdom; superstitious processions were forbidden; images were to be removed; texts of Scripture were inscribed upon the church walls. The Latin mass services, and prayers in an unknown tongue, were done away, and an English service was set forth in 1549, very nearly resembling the present Liturgy as it now stands; much of it being collected from Scripture, the rest chiefly from ancient liturgies; retaining, however, some forms and expressions introduced by the church of Rome in the days of error, though her worst corruptions were wholly expunged. One main feature of the Reformation, was the encouragement given to preaching the gospel. The importance of listening to "God's word opened," instead of trusting to the services of others, or to the observance of superstitious ceremonials, was strongly urged by all the leading reformers. There was a pulpit, or preaching place, in the palace garden, at Whitehall, where Latimer and others regularly preached on Sundays and holidays, to the King and the Protector, while many of all ranks resorted thither. Several of Latimer's sermons before the King are preserved: they present a singular mixture of anecdote, forcible argument, and clear doctrinal sentiment, in language frequently uncouth to our ears, but well calculated to make a deep impression on the hearers of that day. Small books, setting forth the doctrines of truth, were extensively circulated

Cranmer had considerable intercourse with the Foreign reformers. The free use of the English Scriptures was permitted; thirty-four editions of the whole Bible, or New Testament, in English, were printed during this short reign. The marriage of priests was declared lawful. Abstinence from flesh during Lent, and the use of fish for food at that season, were enjoined, but not from obedience to the church of Rome; it was from a mistaken fear of a scarcity of flesh meat, and in order to encourage the fisheries. Two days in the week throughout the year were fast days, when all ranks were commanded to use fish diet. Even bishop Hooper was forced to apply for the king's permission to eat flesh on those days, for himself and one of the elders of Gloucester, on account of their health. The Reformation was much retarded by the characters of those who then mostly filled the priest's office. The benefices were, in many instances, held by persons absent from their cures, sometimes laymen, while the services were discharged by ignorant men, most of whom were papists at heart. Lever openly reprov'd these proceedings in public sermons; he describes them thus:—"He ministereth God's sacraments, he saith his service, he readeth the homilies, as you find flattering courtiers, which speak by imagination, term it. But the rude lobs of the country, which be too simple to paint a lie, speak foully and truly as they find it, and say he ministereth God's sacraments, he slubbereth up his service, and he cannot read the homilies." Dean Turner remonstrated in strong terms against giving a benefice as a reward for services, when it was endowed by payments from others, as a recompence for pains taken, and to be taken, in feeding their souls.

The inferior ecclesiastics, as well as the bishops already noticed, who opposed the Reformation, were, for the most part, treated with lenity; of this, Underhill, one of the king's guards, complained, when Cranmer discharged the vicar of Stepney, who had silenced the licensed preachers. He said, "If ever it come to

their turn, they will show you no such favour." Cranmer replied, "If God so provides, we must abide it."

Pole was active in exciting rebellion in England; he became more eager, on being disappointed in his plan of procuring himself to be recalled and employed in the government under Edward. Various causes combined to excite popular discontent. There had been insurrections in Germany; some of the agents being driven from thence, took refuge in England, disseminating wild notions of levelling the ranks of society. Other idle, dissolute characters, no longer finding refuge in the monasteries, nor employed in war, were let loose upon society, and excited tumults in the hope of profiting thereby.

There was also at this time, considerable pressure on the lower classes throughout Europe. The influx of gold and silver from America, the dissolution of monasteries, the extension of trade, and the increase of arts and manufactures, all tended to a general rise in the prices of commodities, especially articles of food. The woollen trade, also, by rendering the growth of wool, for a time, more profitable than the raising of corn, caused large tracts of tillage to be converted into sheep walks. Many were now acquiring wealth from new sources, and with unaccustomed rapidity; but with the evil spirit of covetousness, innate in the hearts of men, they sought their own enjoyment, or to accumulate property; and the less successful mass of the people were heavily affected by the change. While villains, or serfs to the soil, the lowest classes were in effect slaves, but they had a maintenance provided, such as it was, except in times of famine, when they perished by hundreds. When the feudal and monastic systems were done away, the lower classes were liberated from bondage, they became free labourers; the industrious and enterprising were no longer kept down from rising in civil society. The history of this century affords many examples of such elevations. But that dissolution of feudal bonds which permitted free labourers to rise

in society, also left the indolent and unfortunate in a more helpless state of pauperism. Into that degraded, suffering state those must fall, who, from improvidence or other causes, do not earn a sufficiency for their support. As yet no public provision had been made for this class, who, from the alterations above mentioned, engaged public attention more than formerly. Any rapid transition in a country is productive of considerable suffering; this naturally excites complaints, which the evil disposed and weak minded raise into undue clamour; the one seeking to gain their selfish ends, the other apprehensive of they know not what; while the points upon which they come into collision, are not so much the real causes of the grievance, as those which happen to excite party discussions, and popular attention at the time.

Pole and his abettors availed themselves of the general uneasiness, which was manifested by public actions. In several places the populace broke down the fences of new inclosures, and hindered other measures of improvement, which the ignorance of that age accounted injurious to the state, although in reality they benefited the country at large. More violent proceedings followed. On Whit-Monday, 1549, the people in Cornwall and Devonshire arose in revolt. Ten thousand men were soon assembled, and moved forward. The opinions of the band of rebels were shown by carrying the Romish host, or sacramental bread, at the head of their forces, with the other popish accompaniments of crosses, consecrated candlesticks, banners, and holy water. It is to be observed, that although severe laws had been passed at the beginning of this reign, to repress pauperism, yet they are not even alluded to in any statements of the causes of these insurrections. The sentiments of the leaders were declared in their list of grievances, among which they reckoned the doing away of the mass. The real origin of this movement was farther declared by the demand, that Pole should be recalled from his banishment, and made one of the council. A

number of the old monks and friars engaged in this insurrection. They had found their anticipations of disadvantage to themselves, from the progress of gospel light, realized. Among other things, the rebels demanded that the English Bible should be suppressed, and the Latin service restored.

The progress of the rebels was stayed by the inhabitants of Exeter, who defended their city under great sufferings, till the siege was raised by the royal forces, August 6. The insurgents were then dispersed, though not without considerable difficulty.

In Norfolk, the insurrection was not less formidable. Headed by a tanner, named Ket, a man of property, the insurgents took possession of Norwich. There the proceedings assumed a more political form than in the west; the leader openly urging forward revolutionary measures, that the gentry should be put down, and the people raised to rule. But by the latter end of August, the insurrection was quelled, and the leader taken and executed. Smaller risings in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, and other counties were more easily suppressed.

The sermons of Latimer, the tract of Becon, the answers of Cranmer to the manifesto of the western rebels, all give considerable information as to the state of both religious and civil affairs, which led to these troubles. The graphic language of Latimer, in particular, shows that the agricultural population were suffering by the changes which result from advance in civilization. These results are deplorable, but can never be stopped; the truly wise policy is, to give a suitable direction to the progress of things, and to counteract suffering, by bringing forward new sources of happiness, and of successful employment. This truth is now acknowledged, although by no means sufficiently acted upon: but in the times under our notice, it was neither acknowledged nor acted upon. The measures recommended by Latimer were impracticable, unless where the evil spirit of covetousness is taken from the heart of man, by a new birth unto righteousness, leading

to new practices from new principles. The evil chiefly complained of by Becon, has also been complained of in all ages; he describes the hard dealings of the covetous with those beneath them. "Then there is another sort which glory in the title of gentlemen also, and they are such as think all nobility consists in the abundance of worldly goods, in wearing of golden chains and costly apparel, in having fair houses and pleasant gardens. And to set forth this, they poll, they pill, they wake, they rake, they sweat, they fret, they grip, they nip, they face, they brase, they semble, they dissemble, yea, they move every stone, as they say, to maintain and set forth their ignoble nobility, not caring how they come by it, so they have it. All is fish that comes to the net; it is good to be taken. These study not, as the true gentlemen do, to profit many, to do good to the country, to maintain the poor, to relieve the succourless, to nourish the weak, to cherish their needy tenants; neither seek they the good of the commonwealth, but their own private advantage." Hooper wrote to secretary Cecil, in 1551, complaining that the greater part of the people were suffering for the advantage of a few. He urged, "Master Secretary, take the fear of God and a bold stomach, to speak herein for redress, and that the goods of every shire be not thus wrested and taken into a few men's hands. If it continue, the wealth and strength of the realm must needs perish: what availeth great riches in a realm, and neither the head, nor the greatest part of the members to be the better for it?"

The plans of Edward and his counsellors tended only to keep things in uncertainty and suffering, by delaying that onward progress which alone could extricate the sufferers. Thus the laws then enacted to meet popular prejudices, were not calculated to remove the evils complained of, or really to benefit the nation. But what shall be said of the popish faction, who sought to forward their own evil ends by fomenting these revolutionary proceedings? It was not the only time

when the spirit of despotism, innate in popery, has united with the wildest views of change, and sought to disorganize society. And the failure of these insurrections, while the government was so weak, and the insurgents had so many advantages, strongly shows that such efforts, however numerous supported, are not likely to be successful, when resisted by the upper classes with any degree of union and activity. The influence which unfounded rumours had upon the people, in stirring them to these insurrections, is frequently noticed in the letters of this period. Even now this is the case in countries where information is not regularly diffused. Whatever may be the effects of newspapers in other respects, there can be no doubt but that they tend to prevent popular tumults, by giving general information as to passing events.

The papers of the youthful king evince his attention to matters of public moment in connexion with foreign states, but there were not many events of this description in his reign. The favourite project of Somerset, the alliance by marriage with the Scottish queen, had been defeated, probably by the earnestness with which the Protector sought its accomplishment. The Scots, blind to the advantages which would ensue to both nations from the union of the kingdoms, and exasperated by Somerset's invasions, listened to the overtures of France, accepted aid from that nation, and gave up their queen to be carried there, and educated as a wife for the French king. She arrived in France in August, 1548. This interference with the affairs of Scotland led to direct hostilities between England and France, which were not then important in their results. Eventually this marriage, however flattering, proved the beginning of sorrows to Mary Stuart, while the close alliance with France unavoidably placed Scotland in collision with England.

The proceedings of the English papists led the Protestant party to try stronger measures of restraint, and in some degree, of coercion. The king's sister Mary, who

resided in the eastern counties, was suspected of having encouraged the rebels. No proof of her participation could be found, but the council required her to discontinue the celebration of mass in her family. She resisted, and by the interference of the emperor, who threatened to make war, if his demands were not complied with, procured for herself that indulgence which she afterwards refused to her Protestant subjects. The latter part of Edward's short reign was disturbed by disputes with this princess. They seem to have begun at the instigation of Gardiner, by her writing a letter to the Protector, severely blaming his pressing forward the reformation of religion: he answered her in strong terms, referring to the treasonable practices of the popish party in her father's reign. The course pursued towards Mary was uselessly irritating, but she was well able to retort, and did so in a manner very unbecoming a princess; yet though at times on ill terms with her brother, she was occasionally an honoured guest at his court.

England was again visited by other wild and wicked visionaries from Germany. Some of them inculcated religious as well as political errors, teaching confused and false doctrines respecting the person of Christ. Many of them recanted; one foreigner was burned in Smithfield. Another individual also suffered for her religious opinions. Joan Bocher had been a friend of Anne Askew, who suffered in the late reign; she was then active in circulating English Testaments. Having adopted some errors, rather speculative than practical, respecting the person of Christ, she was accused of heresy, and sentenced to death: Edward for some time refused to sign the warrant for her death. Cranmer was sent by the council to urge his compliance. At length, he persuaded the king to sign the sentence. Edward did so, with tears in his eyes, telling Cranmer that "if it was wrong, he must answer for it to God." Cranmer was then unwilling that she should suffer;

he exhorted her during several months to recant, but in vain : at last, on May 2, 1550, she was burned in Smithfield.

We defend not such cruelty. This conduct was directly opposed to the precepts and example of our blessed Lord : we can only say that Cranmer and his associates had been brought up papists. In that school they learned to persecute ; and papists must not be allowed to bring forward these cruelties as any argument against protestantism. They tell against popery, while the favourable contrast presented by the general conduct of Cranmer, compared with the proceedings of Gardiner and Bonner, shows the humanizing results of acquaintance with Bible truth, even under the disadvantages of the times.

The oppressive conduct of the landholders and higher orders, was one cause alleged by the populace for the revolts already noticed. It is evident that the nobility were now desirous of regaining that power which they lost by the civil wars, and the vigorous sway of Henry VIII. The council of administration formed a centre for the development of these views : that body was in collision with the Lord Protector soon after the popular tumults were suppressed. He had assumed independent power, administering it with much hastiness of temper, and harshness of conduct towards his fellow nobles ; while he was disposed to favour the people, and intimated his desire to promote measures for their relief, by curbing the power of the nobility. The aristocracy united against him, and determined to take away his power as regent. Among other charges against him, was the establishing a court of requests in his own house, where he caused the grievances of any poor persons to be inquired into, when, if their complaints appeared to be well founded, he gave them letters to exhibit in the regular courts of law where they were suitors. This would now be a most improper interference with the more regular administration of justice in our courts ; but at that period, when

the courts were not so pure as they are now, Somerset's interference would often be needed by the oppressed. Cecil, afterwards lord Burghley, who was appointed secretary of state in September, 1550, was originally the master of requests, attending to these complaints under the direction of Somerset himself.

The proceedings of the Protector were popular; thereby he displeased his political adversaries, who were determined to take away his power: many withdrew from the court, then at Hampton, but continued in London with their retainers, secretly armed, and privately consulting how they should proceed. Early in October, 1549, Somerset caused proclamations to be issued, urging the people to assemble and protect their monarch; and he conveyed the king to Windsor, accompanied only by Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, who were rather personal friends than supporters of his power. They mediated with the rest of the council: the preparations on both sides for a contest by force were discontinued; the party of Somerset proved to be the weakest. Russell and Herbert, who were in Wiltshire with some troops, lately employed in suppressing the western insurgents, refused to join the Protector, and stayed the people from obeying his proclamations. The council being invited to Windsor, proceeded thither, and from thence they committed Somerset to the Tower. Several articles of misconduct were alleged against him; the one most influential with the nobility, was a charge of siding with the people relative to the late commotions. He submitted, gave up his superior authority, was released, and shortly after resumed his place in the council, strengthening himself by the marriage of his daughter with the son of Dudley, the earl of Warwick. That nobleman now exercised the chief authority. Warwick found the king strongly attached to the principles of the Reformation. He, therefore, fell in with the measures already adopted, and allowed Cranmer to proceed further,

though the habits in which he indulged himself and his attendants showed his disregard of real religion.

Laudable encouragement was given to the Foreign reformers. Peter Martyr was settled at Oxford, as professor of divinity; Bucer and Fagius were placed at Cambridge. The universities were visited, and popery repressed. Cranmer saw that it was most important that the universities, wherein the instructors of the realm were to be nurtured, should be purified from error, and provided with teachers able to instruct in the truth. He had also to withstand the rapacity of the leading political characters of the day, who were anxious to appropriate a large part of the revenues of the universities. The attention of the foreigners was especially directed to the national ritual. Another edition of the liturgy was set forth in 1552. In several respects it was freed from popish errors; but Strype states, that in some instances, particularly as to the sacrament of baptism, undefined expressions were used, chiefly at the instance of Bucer, contrary to the recommendation of Melancthon and others.

The principal points in which the reformed differs from the Roman liturgies, are considered to be as follows. 1. The service is in the language understood by the people. 2. Chapters from the Bible are read instead of the legends of saints, most of which are false. 3. The service is read aloud, so as to be understood and followed by the people. 4. The Ave Mary and addresses to the Virgin are omitted. 5. Also prayers for the dead. 6. Also prayers to the saints, and several superstitious forms in consecrating different articles. To these should be added, 7. The elevation and adoration of the consecrated bread, in the belief that it is changed actually into Christ's body, by four words muttered by the priest.

A Primer, or collection of private prayers, was also prepared, intended to assist all who desired the aid of such a manual. In many respects it is a valuable

work ; on some points it sets forth the doctrines of the reformers with more clearness than the public formularies.

We have not hesitated to disapprove of the course pursued by Cranmer and other leading protestants towards the Romanists, and others who were considered heretics ; nor may we leave uncensured the efforts to enforce uniformity upon another and more estimable class of men, who, like themselves, had suffered under the scourge of popery, who agreed with the leading reformers in doctrinal views, but desired to separate themselves more fully from popery and its ceremonial observances. Hooper was troubled on this head ; being appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester, he scrupled at some of the gorgeous dresses then used by the bishops—in particular the long scarlet cimarre, which retained the livery of that apostate church by whom these trappings had been devised ; he also objected to part of the oaths administered at consecration to the episcopal office, by which he was required to swear by “the saints.” Compliance was required, but Hooper chose rather to be imprisoned than to offend his conscience. This unseemly variance between the true shepherds of the flock, did not continue long. A compromise was effected. Hooper listened to the counsel of his friends, and submitted on some points, while the main object was attained by the revision of the services, and the laying aside of the most offensive matters to which he objected ; the king himself struck the words “the saints” out of the form of the oath. Hooper proved a valuable and exemplary bishop ; the church would have sustained injury had it not obtained his services. It is painful to find, that even to the end of this reign, Cranmer, and those who acted with him, thought of repressing error, reckoning as such whatever differed from their own views, by legal enactments and commissions of inquiry, which caused a degree of persecution, though very different from the bloody acts of popery. However, the reformers continued active in

the use of right means to enlighten the people, by diffusing the knowledge of the truth.

The reign of Edward VI. is remarkable for the open declaration of religious principles, manifested in the public documents and proceedings. In July, 1551, the sweating sickness prevailed, when a proclamation was set forth, imputing that scourge to the wickedness of the nation, and urging prayer and amendment of life : the expressions used show that the real piety of the promoters of the Reformation then had influence in the affairs of state.

Somerset lost much of his power as well as his property, including the splendid palace he was building in the Strand from the spoils of monastic establishments. Several of these in the metropolis were demolished, to supply materials for Somerset-house ; which caused the removal of the remains of many human bodies, a proceeding which always is unpopular. In disinterring these bones, many caskets were found with pardons from the pope for the sins of the deceased, which had been purchased in the vain hope of serving as passports to heavenly happiness !

Warwick, jealous of his recently acquired power, renewed the proceedings against Somerset. His own aggrandizement and elevation to be duke of Northumberland, made him fearful of his rival : the more so, as he contemplated further ambitious projects which Somerset must oppose. Northumberland caused him to be arrested and tried for treason, on the information of some who alleged that they were concerned in his projects. The peers acquitted Somerset of any treasonable designs, but condemned him to death for plotting against a privy counsellor. It appears that Somerset neglected the advice of the more moderate of his old friends, and listened to some who advised violent proceedings against Northumberland. The king was misled by false reports of Somerset's conduct, while his attendants amused him with the festivities of the season, that he might not fully consider the awful question of

his uncle's life or death. Some of these amusements were introduced on the Lord's day. The principles of the youthful Edward ought to have put him on his guard against those who sought thus to lead him to sinful ways. But he consented to their act. Somerset was beheaded on Tower-hill, January 22, 1552, thus suffering the fate he had caused to be inflicted on his brother. Four of his friends were also executed. The letters and public documents still existing in reference to the condemnation of Somerset, fully show that he was a victim sacrificed to make way for the plans and projects of others, rather than for his own proceedings. Northumberland fondly imagined that he consolidated his power; but Scripture declares, that "the curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked;" that "a man shall not be established by wickedness;" and that "a man that doeth violence to the blood of any person" hasteth to the pit, Prov. xxviii. 17. Truly Northumberland was hasting on his own ruin. In this instance, and in many others during the troublous times of our history, as in the case of Joab, the Lord saw fit to return upon guilty nobles the blood of others which they had shed.

Foxe records the particulars of the last hours of the duke of Somerset. He found support from the true religion which he had been instrumental in making known to others. "After that he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself towards the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed, (as it seemed to me,) either with the sight of the axe, or yet of the hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance, as beforetimes he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially to the poor, towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself the most attentive, he uttered these words." His address is given, concluding with this declaration: "Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet

somewhat that I must put you in mind of as touching the Christian religion; which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forward and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church; which thing I esteem as a great benefit, given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing, if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow."

In the year 1552, additional measures for carrying forward the Reformation were sanctioned by authority. The excellent catechism, afterwards enlarged and set forth as Nowell's Catechism, was then prepared, and soon afterwards published by authority. But Northumberland was evidently an irreligious character. He engaged the king in the habitual violation of the Lord's day, by fixing that the arrears of public business should be attended to by the council on that day. Edward appears to have consented with reluctance, and wrote with his own hand a condition, that the counsellors should first be present at the public services of religion. In the summer, the king went a progress with much state, as far west as Salisbury.

The general improvement of principle during this reign, may be traced by reference to many subjects of general polity. An act passed respecting treason, which required the open testimony of two witnesses, confronted with the accused, instead of the practice of passing bills of attainder on written evidence only. The attention already shown by the young king to the interests of his subjects, appeared from the sanction given to commercial enterprise. An end was put to the monopoly of foreign trade by the Easterling or German merchants, the body often designated "Merchants of the Steel-yard." Still the infant state of commerce seemed

to need the combined efforts of many. Another company of English merchants, called "The Merchant Adventurers," was encouraged. In seeking after a north-east passage to China, they opened a valuable trade with Russia, then only accessible through the northern port of Archangel.

The duke of Northumberland was unpopular; the parliament refused to sanction some measures intended for his aggrandizement, and was dissolved. The feeling against him was increased by his interference with the elections to a new parliament, and by his requiring a considerable amount in taxes. The worst state measure of this period was debasing the coin, which aggravated the popular discontent, by making a general rise of prices, while it answered no end, not even diminishing the amount of the king's debts, then principally owing to foreigners, who could not be forced to receive payment in this debased coin. Amidst all the popular discontent, Northumberland took care to increase his own resources, obtaining, among other grants, the temporal revenues of the see of Durham.

The attention of the nation at large was now drawn to a most important subject, the alarming state of the king's health. Edward's constitution never had been strong, and his early accession to the cares and splendour of royalty could not but be injurious. In April, 1552, he was attacked by the measles and the small-pox; which still further weakened him. At Christmas, the festivities of that season were celebrated by the court with all the show and indulgence usual during the late reign, but laid aside for some years on account of the king's youth. The excitement and unusual indulgences brought forward consumptive symptoms; a cough came on; the usual manifestations of diseased lungs were apparent. A fatal result was generally apprehended, though there were at times the favourable changes incident to this flattering disease. Northumberland felt the instability of his present position: he thought to make himself secure by boldly grasping at

still higher power. His first measure was to form alliances between his family, and others of the first rank : one between lady Jane Grey, and his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley ; another between his daughter Catherine and lord Hastings ; a third between Catherine, the sister of lady Jane Grey, and the heir of the earl of Pembroke. These marriages were celebrated with much pomp about the middle of May, 1553.

In the next month, Northumberland began to carry into effect his further designs. By working upon the king's fears as to the fatal results to the nation, especially to the Reformation, if his sister Mary should succeed to the throne, he prevailed upon Edward to set aside both his sisters, and to promote the succession to the throne, of the lady Jane Grey, who, upon her mother's relinquishing her own claim, was next successor to the throne. The council feeling themselves committed to follow Northumberland, agreed to the plan, and furthered it. Cranmer alone steadily opposed this proceeding. The judges being consulted, declared that such a course would be treasonable. They were commanded to prepare for the royal signature an instrument directing such a change in the succession, but did not comply till after several interviews with the king and council, and having a pardon granted them under the great seal, for preparing such a document.

On June 21, this instrument was completed by the signatures of the king, and more than thirty of the principal nobility and judges ; among them was Cranmer. The archbishop declared afterwards, that if he could by any act of his doing have prevented such a measure, he would have so done, and that he only consented to affix his name at the especial command of the king. Judge Hales, a decided protestant, continued stedfastly to refuse to sign the instrument. It is evident that Northumberland had not influence or power, alone to effect such a change as was here contemplated. It was the result of a combination of the leading families of the nobility, assisted by the anxious feelings of the

king. It was another effort of the aristocracy to regain the power that body had exercised during the preceding centuries. The youthful lady Jane and her husband would have been mere puppets at their disposal, succeeding on a defective title, instead of the bigoted and resolute Mary, already prepared to admit foreign influence to maintain her own authority. It is important to notice the refusal of Cranmer to sanction the measure; it clearly shows that the plan did not arise from the chief supporters of the Reformation, though the idea of strengthening the Protestant religion might act upon the mind of Edward himself, weakened by disease, probably unable or unwilling to consider the direful effects likely to result to the nation from a disputed succession to the throne.

The king was now sinking rapidly; but a few days later he gave legal sanction to a plan formed some months before, when bishop Ridley preached before him, and said so much on the duties of charity and liberality. After the sermon, the king sent for Ridley, and requested that, as he had shown what was his duty, he would now say in what manner he should perform it. The bishop was much affected, and asked leave to consult with the mayor and aldermen of London, on the best method of relieving the poor. In a few days, he returned with a plan, dividing the poor into three classes:—those who were not in their right minds; the sick and destitute; and the wilfully idle and depraved. The king ordered the Grey Friars monastery, and the lands belonging to it, to be endowed as a school, now Christ's hospital; Bridewell and Bethlehem were established for idle, dissolute characters, and for the insane; and St. Bartholomew's hospital for the reception of sick and maimed persons. A provision was also made for the relief of poor housekeepers. Edward hastened the appropriation of these endowments: on signing the charters on June 26, 1553, when he was so weak as scarcely to be able to hold his pen, he thanked God for sparing his life till he had executed this de-

sign. All these excellent institutions have continued till the present time, and are noble monuments of the influence of truly Protestant principles.

The physicians having declared their utter inability to stop the king's disease, a female empiric was allowed to prescribe. Her remedies were injurious; at any rate the king continued to grow worse. A report of his amendment was circulated; but the precautions needful in case of his death were acted upon. On July 6, 1553, Edward VI. expired. A few hours before his death, thinking himself alone, he uttered an earnest prayer, which his physician, Dr. Owen, and four other attendants heard, and noted down:—"O Lord God, free me, I beseech thee, out of this miserable and wretched life. Receive me among the number of thine elect, if so it be thy pleasure. Although not mine, but thy will be done. To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit. Thou knowest how happy I shall be if I may live with thee in heaven. Yet I would I might live, and be well, for thine elect's sake, that I might faithfully serve thee. O Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O save thy people of England; defend this kingdom from papistry, and preserve thy true religion in it, that I and my people may bless thy most holy name, through thy Son Jesus Christ." Opening his eyes, he saw his physician, and said, "Are you there? I had not thought you had been so near. I was making my prayer to God." A silence ensued; when saying, "I am faint—Lord, have mercy on me; receive my soul," he suddenly expired. An effort was made to conceal the melancholy event; but the rumour soon spread, though without authority: thus the public mind was for some time agitated between doubt and denial.

There is no occasion to enlarge upon the character of this pious and estimable young prince. The few instances of proceedings which are blots upon his character, were occasioned by undue influence, overcoming the better traits of his youthful mind. His moral

firmness might have increased had he advanced in years ; but it is enough for us to be sure that the portion of work allotted him was performed, when his Lord and Master thus permitted him to retire to rest. And it was an important work. The brightness of the spiritual light diffused under his sway, contrasted fully with the darkness of his sister Mary's acts ; he left a foundation too firm for her to root out, which supplied a platform for the superstructure Elizabeth was permitted to rear. We must not forget that the Reformation, as settled in Edward's days, is, in fact, the Protestantism of our land ; and that during his reign, however defective the characters of Somerset and Northumberland might be, still true religion was openly recognised as the main principle by which the government was regulated.

The pursuits of this amiable monarch were not inconsistent with his religious profession. He cultivated literature, and studied matters connected with general polity, and the government committed to him. The journal of events during his reign, kept by himself, exhibits his pursuits and recreations ; he took part in manly exercises, though his general health and strength did not permit him to excel therein. He took pleasure in filling his part as king on public occasions, but never allowed himself to be diverted thereby from the due improvement of time.

Such was the fair promise of a youthful monarch, trained in the fear of God and regard for his holy word. We have seen the reverence for the Bible manifested at his coronation. An interesting anecdote of his childhood shows how deeply he was imbued with this reverence. One day, when very young, he wished while at play to get something that was above his reach ; a companion observing this, brought a large book for him to stand upon ; but Edward perceiving that it was the Bible, rebuked his associate for want of respect to the Scriptures, and lifting the book reverently from the ground, he kissed it, and replaced it on the shelf.

It is useless to speculate what Edward might have been in after years. It is enough to turn to the list of English monarchs trained in the ways of the world, and after the customs of their day. Comparing them with our sixth Edward, who was brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, we may fairly ask, whether he did not give the best promise of being a nursing father to his people in advanced life, had God seen fit to have allowed him a longer continuance on earth?

Child in age, and child in heart,
Thy magnificent array
Could not joy or pride impart,
Thou hadst treasures more than they.

More than courtiers kneeling low;
More than flattery's ready smile;
More than conquest o'er the foe,
More, even more than England's isle.

Treasures, in which mind hath part,
Joys, that teach the soul to rise;
Hopes, that can sustain the heart,
When the body droops and dies.

Therefore, Star, thou art not shaded
In the darkness of the tomb:
Royal Rose! thou art not faded,
But in Paradise dost bloom.





Lady Jane Grey.

LADY JANE GREY.

USURPED THE THRONE TWELVE DAYS.

From July 6th to 17th, 1553.

LADY JANE GREY was the daughter of Charles Brandon, the duke of Suffolk, who married the youngest sister of Henry VIII. Her mother was still living, so that any claim to the throne rested in her rather than her daughter; but, as the accession of the mother would not have met the views of Northumberland and the other nobles, they prevailed upon her to relinquish in her daughter's favour any rights she might have under her brother's will. Lady Jane was a pleasing and highly accomplished female. Brought up in the severe family discipline usual at this period, she found her chief pleasures in books and literary pursuits. Under the tuition of Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, she thorough-

ly learned the Latin and Greek languages: she also studied Hebrew, and was acquainted with French and Italian. Her marriage with lord Guildford Dudley has been noticed: this union was connected with Northumberland's desire to obtain the crown for his family, and the whole, as Turner ably shows, was the result of a confederacy or conspiracy amongst the principal nobles, to exalt their own power.

The death of Edward vi. took place on July 6, 1553, in the evening. The first objects of Northumberland and his confederates were, to get the princess Mary into their power, and to make the preparations necessary to enable them to support the queen they were about to place upon the throne. These preparations had already been commenced, but not to the extent which might have been expected: however, the Tower was under their command, a fleet in the Thames was ready to obey their orders, arrangements for levying forces had been already made. Mary was come to Hoddesdon, near London, in consequence of a message desiring her to attend the dying king; there private information was sent to her of her brother's decease, and the proceedings of the lords, probably by lord Arundel, one of the council. With prompt decision she took horse that night, and hastened to her house at Kenninghall, in Norfolk, sending to several of her friends to meet her there. Meanwhile the council prepared for the public announcement of queen Jane. A few days before the decease of Edward, the duchess of Northumberland had intimated to her that she was to be queen in case of his death. She was disturbed by this intelligence, and returned home, from whence, upon the death of Edward, she was again conducted to the residence of Northumberland, where the chief nobility waited upon her; they rendered solemn homage, and stated her appointment to the throne, under the will of the late monarch, to the exclusion of the two princesses.

Lady Jane was, as she affirmed in a letter to Mary, overcome with the intelligence, and burst into tears,

declaring her inability to be queen. The nobles urged her to accept the crown, and, after a short pause, she acceded to their wishes. As Turner expresses it, "The crown was offered—she was urged—she was astonished—and she consented." The next day queen Jane, "the twelfth-night queen," as she was termed, for her reign lasted no longer, proceeded in state to the Tower, accompanied by mighty lords and noble dames. The crown was brought forward, with an intimation that another should be prepared for her husband. A quarrel between Jane and her husband immediately ensued. From her letter already mentioned, it is clear that she was early made acquainted with the thorns which beset a crown. Having consented to accept the crown which rightfully belonged to another, she was not pleased to hear that a second, though her own husband, was to partake of the royal dignity. She first intimated that he must wait till she caused an act of parliament to be passed, raising him to the honour; on further thoughts, she declared she would make him a duke, but not king. The angry youth and his enraged mother showed their resentment; poor Jane was disposed to continue obstinate, and thus early tasted the bitterness which will ever result from appropriating the possessions of another. While the noble family were thus quarrelling with each other, the council were involved in increasing difficulties.

On July 10, Jane was proclaimed queen: the people assembled in crowds, but very few applauses were heard. Her supporters, however, possessed the command of the metropolis and the resources of the government. But they had failed in securing the princess Mary; she had fled to a distance, almost unaccompanied, while their own followers were numerous: their fleet also had sailed to the coast of Norfolk, to intercept Mary's retreat to the continent.

Mary was active. Her retreat to Kenninghall was made known, with a summons to her well-wishers to resort thither. On the 9th, she sent a letter to the

council, requiring them to proclaim her as queen. They sent her in reply a requisition to submit to queen Jane. The gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk hastened to support Mary; they were the more willing to do so, Northumberland being unpopular in Norfolk, for the severity he had shown when suppressing the recent insurrection. Sir Edward Hastings, who was sent by Northumberland to gather forces against her in Buckinghamshire, assured her of his good will. Thus supported, she proceeded to Framlingham Castle, a more favourable position. From 20,000 to 30,000 of the gentry and their followers assembled, bringing abundance of supplies. Mary was proclaimed queen at Norwich; the crews of the ships sent forth by the council when told at Yarmouth of the general disposition in her favour, themselves expressed the like sentiments.

The council were informed on the 12th, that many were flocking to Mary. On that day they resolved that the duke of Suffolk should go, and bring her prisoner to the Tower. Jane was unwilling to part with her father. His absence would leave her unsupported among the Northumberland family. That duke being requested to take the command, unwillingly consented. Part of his forces marched on the 13th, he followed on the 14th with the remainder. The people assembled, but as Northumberland remarked to lord Grey, "Not one saith, God speed us." The council were still obliged to support their usurping queen: letters announcing her accession were sent to the English ambassadors abroad, while orders were forwarded to the estates of the principal nobles, commanding their retainers and tenantry to hasten to the support of queen Jane. Many of them were already in motion for Mary: on the 15th, sir Edward Hastings began to advance towards London with a large force.

The hearts of the people had not favoured the change in the order of succession. Even the Protestants hastened to support Mary, who did not hesitate to promise

full security as to their religion. Before Northumberland reached Bury, his supporters were few and wavering, while Mary's followers advanced in great numbers. He found it necessary to fall back to Cambridge : from that moment it was evident that the conspiracy against Mary had failed. The nobles who remained in London, by this time found that it was useless to oppose the national feeling, and most of them took secret measures against their nominal queen. Some of their number retired from the metropolis ; among them the marquis of Winchester, who had been the most violent against Mary. On the 19th, they obtained permission to leave the Tower, that they might repair to Baynard's Castle, whither they called some in the metropolis who were friendly to Mary, to a conference. Lord Arundel, one of the council, recommended them to submit, mentioning the favourable answer respecting religion Mary had given to the men of Suffolk. They then ordered that Mary should be proclaimed queen : which the people applauded, showing their satisfaction by bonfires and public rejoicings. The council wrote the same night a letter to Mary, declaring their submission, while Arundel and Paget hastened to her with the great seal. The duke of Northumberland acquiesced in this course, and proclaimed Mary at Cambridge ; but some of his own army arrested Northumberland with others of their leaders.

The duke of Suffolk was sent to inform his daughter that her brief pageant of royalty was over. She showed better feelings under this shock of adversity, than she had done when the honour came upon her. Her words to her father were : " I better brook this message than my former advancement to royalty ; out of obedience to you and my mother I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to myself. Now I do willingly, and in obeying the motions of my soul, relinquish the crown, and endeavour to salve those faults committed by others, if at least so great a fault can be salved, by

a willing relinquishment and ingenuous acknowledgment of them."

When we consider the family disputes and many inquietudes, which beset her "twelfth-night" reign, we may well believe that Jane was sincere in the sentiments she expressed. Her bodily health had been discomposed and affected during this short period, so as to give the appearance that some one had given her poison. She declared this in her letter to queen Mary: there could be no foundation for such a supposition; but it forcibly shows how unsatisfying are all earthly honours. Thus ended the reign of queen Jane: one of her attendants left her at noon, sent to be present at a christening as proxy for her royal mistress; on her return in the evening, without having heard of any change, she found all the ensigns of royalty removed, and that she was the attendant of one liable every moment to be charged with high treason! On the following morning Jane retired to Sion House, a country seat of her husband's family.

We may again remark, that this attempt to set aside the rightful heir must not be charged upon the Reformation, or its leading supporters. Anxiety to avert the direful result likely to ensue from the bigotry of Mary, might influence the mind of Edward, weakened by disease, to consent to the project of the nobles to make the aristocracy of the land its rulers; but it is plain that their views were not influenced by religion. On the other hand, the Protestant gentry and commonalty, by coming promptly forward in support of Mary, showed their desire to "render to Cesar the things which are Cesar's," even with considerable cause to fear that Mary would not "render to God the things which are God's." Several of the council who supported Jane were among the most active papists in the following reign, while Northumberland himself, who had been foremost in the conspiracy, was notoriously a man of no religion. When on the scaffold in the following

month, he reviled the Reformation, and declared himself a papist. To this bold bad man and his family the words of Zophar seem applicable: "He shall fly away as a dream, and shall not be found. Yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night." The whole of the description in that passage may not be applicable; but the concluding verses are so. "The increase of his house shall depart, and his goods shall flow away in the day of his wrath. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and the heritage appointed unto him by God." See Job xx.

The crown! The crown! it sparkles on thy brow,
I see Northumberland with joy elate,
And lo! thy haughty sire doth bow,
Honouring thy high estate.
She too, of royal Tudor's line.
Who at her early bridal shone
Resplendent on the Gallic throne,
Humbleth her knee to thine.
She, the austere beautiful, whose eye
Check'd thy timid infancy,
Until thy heart's first buds folded their leaves to die,
Homage to her meek daughter pays,
Yet sooth to say, one fond embrace,
One kiss, such as the peasant mother gives,
When on its evening bed her child she lays,
Had dearer been to thee than all their courtly phrase!

The scaffold! Must it be! Stern England's queen
Hast thou such doom decreed?
Dwells Draco's soul beneath a woman's mien?
Must guileless youth and peerless beauty bleed?
Away! away! I will not see the deed!
Fresh drops of crimson stain the new fallen snow,
The wintry winds wail fitfully and low;—
But the meek victim is not there,
Far from this troubled scene,
High o'er the tyrant queen,
She finds that amaranthine crown which sinless seraphs wear.



Queen Mary.

MARY.

REIGNED FIVE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS.

From 6th July, 1553, to 17th November, 1558.

THE reign of Mary was the most disastrous of any in the annals of England, both from the sufferings of her Protestant subjects, and the troubles and losses sustained by the nation at large. The cause is too plainly recorded to be mistaken. It was her determination, at all events, and by every means in her power, to bring back popery, and to tolerate no other religion; to obtain this end, even the most obvious suggestions of prudence, as well as the clearest rights of her subjects, were unhesitatingly sacrificed. The cruel proceedings against the Protestants are the most prominent events of this reign: they have been faithfully related by those who were eye-witnesses, and recorded by writers who were living at the time. But these events were over-ruled for good, by causing a just abhorrence of a reli-

gion which acted upon such principles, and manifested such fruits. Whenever popery has endeavoured to regain the ascendancy, these facts have been brought forward, and the result has been salutary; England still remains a Protestant nation. But the lapse of time, with the change of habits, causes the impression to be less vivid: it is now asserted, that the alterations in society have affected even popery, though it declares itself unchangeable, and we are told that such events could not happen at the present day.

It is therefore important to refer to the general history of Mary's reign. This has been too much lost sight of, from the horrid prominence of the persecutions which form the most striking events of that period. The sufferings of the Protestants are recorded minutely in various publications; they must never be forgotten: but the reflecting reader will find a lesson from the polity of the unhappy queen, equally instructive as to the principles of popery, and perhaps more useful at the present day. The principles of popery are, and must be, unchanged. They teach the necessity of ruling the consciences of men, by forcing them to adopt a system of implicit belief and slavish action, directly opposed to the plain declarations of Holy Scripture. This, it will be seen, was the aim of Mary; this, it cannot be denied, is the object of popery now; this, we learn from Scripture, will be its constant effort, till it is broken and consumed by the power of the Most High.

It will be seen that the cruelties inflicted on the Protestants were the necessary results of such principles. If, then, the principles remain the same, have we reason to believe that the nature of men is so far changed, that the same causes would not produce similar results? Upon this, happily, we are not now called to speak; but we ought not to view with indifference, any attempt to coerce or persecute under the guise of religion: whatever name or form such proceedings may assume, they are popery.

When the brief resistance to her accession had ended,

Mary proceeded slowly towards London. Northumberland, and the other prisoners, were carried to the Tower on July 25, 1553, where lady Jane was a prisoner, though so lately there as a queen. On August 3, Mary made her entry at Aldgate, with a splendid train. On her arrival, she was met by her sister Elizabeth, with a numerous body of attendants; they rode together to the Tower: the younger sister, handsome in person, and commanding in demeanour, appeared to advantage, contrasted with the diminutive figure and forbidding aspect of Mary, who was, however, received by the people with loud acclamations. It is evident, whatever some recent historians may say, Henry and his family were popular with the English nation.

On her arrival, Mary released the four principal state prisoners of the last reign; the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, Courtney, the son of the late marquis of Exeter, and Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester. She at once received the latter to her favour, as her prime minister. Her attachment to popery was soon shown. On August 8, the late king was buried at Westminster, when Cranmer used the Protestant service for the burial of the dead. But Mary, on the same day, caused a mass of requiem to be performed before her in the Tower, for the repose of his soul.

One of the first measures of her reign, was the trial and condemnation of Northumberland, who was beheaded on August 22, with two knights, Gates and Palmer; and then the headless bodies of the two great dukes who ruled England during the last reign, laid before the altar in Tower chapel, by two headless queens of the preceding monarch. A striking instance how slippery such exalted stations are! The duke's execution was delayed a few days, to allow him to manifest his return to popery. He probably thereby hoped to escape death, but was disappointed. In addition to a declaration against the Reformation, it is to be remarked that, when on the scaffold, he expressly declared that the act for which he died, the attempt to

alter the succession, was not so much his own deed, as that of others.

Several of the leading Protestants had, by this time, been committed to the Tower; among them was Ridley, bishop of London, who was charged with treason, for having preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on one of the Sundays of queen Jane's reign, in which he stated, in strong terms, the evils that must ensue if Mary obtained the crown. Room was thus made for Bonner to return to the see of London. Bourne, his chaplain, preached before him at Paul's cross, on the 13th, extolling Bonner, and speaking in disparagement of the late king, and of the Reformation. The audience, who well knew Bonner, and the cruelties of popery, were excited to a tumult by these statements, a dagger was hurled at the preacher: one proof among many others that the mass of the people were not attached to their ancient superstitions, which popish historians falsely assert. Bradford, a Protestant prebendary of St. Paul's, came forward to quiet the people, and enabled the preacher to take shelter in St. Paul's school. The former was committed to the Tower on the unfounded charge that he had raised the tumult which, in fact, he quelled! It was evident that every pretext against the Protestants would be seized.

Mary took an early opportunity to declare her regard for popery. On August 18, she issued a proclamation, declaring that she was of the religion she had professed from her infancy; but she added, that none of her subjects should be compelled to adopt it, till that course was resolved on by common consent; meanwhile all preachers were forbidden to preach and explain Scripture without licence. From this document it was evident that popery would be re-established, as soon as the parliament could be induced to consent.

The men of Suffolk, on this, sent a deputation to the queen, with an address reminding her of her promises; they were roughly treated, and told that the members must obey the head. One of them, a gentleman named

Dobbe; was put in the pillory three times. Many other proceedings showed that papists would be favoured, while the Protestants were put down: even those personally active in behalf of Mary were set aside, while papists who had assisted Northumberland, till the efforts of the Protestants placed Mary in her present situation, were favoured.

Cranmer was ordered to keep at home. A false report being spread that he was ready to say mass, he wrote a declaration, stating his firm adherence to the Protestant faith, offering that he, with Peter Martyr, would publicly defend the doctrines set forth in the late reign, and show that they were strictly in accordance with the word of God. Cranmer allowed bishop Scory to take a copy of this document; thus it got abroad: all the scribes or public writers in London were employed to meet the eagerness of the people to obtain copies. This declaration came forth at a seasonable moment. Cranmer was thereby carried farther than most expected his natural timidity would have allowed him to go, while so open a declaration against the queen's proceedings in religion, had particular force and power from one who so long resisted the attempt to set aside the succession. The queen's displeasure was excited against the archbishop; but he was enabled firmly to stand to the declaration he had made, only expressing regret that it had gone forth before it was quite finished, avowing his intention to have affixed it with his signature on the doors of St. Paul's. The council, on this bold avowal, caused him to be committed to the Tower, where others were continually sent; among them were several of the nobility.

Many Protestant ministers, finding themselves turned out of their cures, hastened to leave England. The first public celebration of mass, in a parish church, was in London, on August 23, at St. Nicholas Coleabby. The priest who thus showed his haste to return to popery had married during the late reign: he now sold his wife to a butcher. So notorious was his infamous

conduct, that three weeks after this he was publicly carted through London, the usual punishment for immoral characters, by order of the magistrates. The example was soon followed in other churches: some of the clergy returning to popery, others being intruded into the places of the ministers then in charge.

On October 1, the queen was solemnly crowned at Westminster, with the Romish ceremonial, when Gardiner took the place of the primate. Three days afterwards, the parliament was opened with a solemn mass. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel and adore the bread when raised up, on which he was thrust out of the assembly. Considerable efforts had been made to secure the return of members of the House of Commons, who would be favourable to popery; but Mary's inclinations were far in advance of the wishes of her subjects. In the first weeks of her reign, she admitted she declared her anxiety to bring back her kingdom into a private agent of the pope to secret interviews, when absolute submission to the see of Rome; but insisted upon secrecy till the plans were more fully arranged. Her duplicity was such, that even after she had privately informed the pope that nothing should make her retain his title of supreme head of the church, she allowed this title to be proclaimed at the coronation, and even made use of the authority it gave, to remove the Protestant bishops from their sees. The pope consented not to hurry her; but immediately appointed Pole to proceed to England as his legate, as soon as he could go safely. Mary also resolved to marry Philip, son of the emperor Charles v.; a union which at once flattered her vanity, and assured her of foreign aid to further her plans. For a few weeks she regarded Courtney with complacency, while the nation in general wished that she should marry a subject; but the ill conduct of that youth confirmed her in the views above stated; and, in contradiction to the wishes of Gardiner, who was well aware of the unpopularity of such a connexion, she engaged herself to the Spanish prince.

Here then we see who were the leading characters that forwarded the restoration of popery in England, from regard to that faith; the emperor Charles v., the pope Julius III., Mary herself, Gardiner, and Cardinal Pole. The short interval of existence remaining to each of these characters, presents a singular coincidence, while the result also shows how vain are the devices of man against the Divine will.

In the early instructions of the pope to his legate, there are some very important expressions. He states several reasons for caution in their proceedings; among them, that Mary obtained her throne by the favour of those who, for the most part, mortally hated the papacy. Also, that "the young sister" was popular with every one. Though very anxious that the Romish see should again exercise sway over England, the pope saw the difficulty of Mary's position at that time; he therefore consented that she should dissemble. It was the end of October before she wrote to Pole, and then said that she could not yet venture to express her mind to him about obedience to the papacy, the people "being so alienated from the pope." The proceedings in parliament showed this. The proposition originally submitted was, to repeal all acts relative to religion, from the time when Henry shook off the papal yoke: which would at once have brought back popery with all its errors. But the parliament would not consent; all Mary could then obtain was, the repeal of those acts which set aside her mother's marriage, and of those passed in the reign of Edward concerning religion. This left matters as they stood at the decease of Henry VIII., with the exception of what personally concerned Mary. The parliament was dissolved in December, the members having expressed themselves against the queen's marriage with Philip. The kingdom was generally averse to this union; cardinal Pole himself, in his instructions to the agent he sent into England, expresses his belief that the queen's peril at that juncture was greater than when Northumberland was in arms against her, and that

there were few in England disposed to promote her views of reconciliation with Rome.

Such was Mary's position; but she was in iron hands. The pope and cardinal Pole were determined that she should proceed. They urged her onwards at all hazards, and her own bigoted mind made her desirous to see popery restored. The emperor was willing to aid; Gardiner desired to bring back popery, but interposed, that the matter might not be hurried forward too rapidly. As this parliament was not disposed to go the lengths the queen desired, it was dissolved; considerable sums, partly advanced by the emperor, were expended in preparing for the assembling of a more subservient body.

During the sitting of the first parliament, a convocation of the clergy was held. There less hesitation was manifested. Bonner presided in the upper house. The proceedings of the late reign were much blamed, which caused Philpot and others to come forward in defence of Protestantism. A disputation was carried forward for some days, chiefly on transubstantiation, but the Protestants were subdued by clamour. Dean Weston, who acted as prolocutor, closed the debate by this ominous declaration, "Ye have the word, but we have the sword." These proceedings, with the conduct of the queen, discouraged the Protestants; while the papists, and all who desired the royal favour, became more bold in their proceedings, so that the mass was restored in many places long before the 20th of December, the time appointed by the parliament; while the objections raised by some Protestants to these illegal proceedings, were made the pretext for committing many of them to prison on unfounded charges of sedition.

On November 13, Cranmer, and lady Jane Grey and her husband, were tried at Guildhall for high treason against Mary. They all admitted the part they had taken; but Cranmer pleaded that he had resisted the excluding her from the throne till it was declared lawful by the

judges. They received sentence of death; but Mary did not venture to order it to be carried into execution. Jane and her husband had been mere tools for others. Cranmer had stood forward in defence of Mary in the two preceding reigns; but she now considered that she made a sufficient return, by not ordering him to suffer on a charge of treason, while she well knew he would be liable to death for heresy, from which charge she was resolved he should not escape. She never forgave the part he had taken in her mother's divorce. Gardiner also wished that the see of Canterbury should not be declared vacant till he had taken measures, if possible, to prevent Pole from having that appointment.

The beginning of the year 1554 found the people of England in a very excited state: all who were attached to Protestantism saw their hopes of toleration crushed by the restoration of the mass and the popish services, while the reformed clergy were displaced. Those who cared merely for political matters were alarmed at the prospect of the queen's Spanish marriage, with the restoration of the pope's authority. These measures would assuredly sooner or later destroy the independence of the nation, and bring in all the horrors of persecution. The lengths to which the queen was likely to proceed, had been shown by her conduct to her sister Elizabeth, towards whom the pope directed her jealous attention. Elizabeth's outward attachment to Protestantism was well known; this made her popular with the English nation, though she was not known by any personal acts: her popularity, therefore, could only arise from the knowledge of her opinions. She refused to conform to popery for some time: but being threatened that her adherence to the truths taught in her brother's reign should be considered as treason, she reluctantly agreed to attend the popish mass. This conformity was merely outward profession: under her circumstances, we cannot be surprised, though we cannot commend such a dereliction of the truth from fear. Still it shows how different were the proceedings of the

queen with reference to her sister, from those of her brother towards herself. She was allowed to follow her own views of religion, but her conduct towards others was evidently guided by the maxims—no faith to be kept with heretics; no toleration to be allowed. Even after the compliance of Elizabeth, Mary treated her unkindly, and wished to have her excluded from the succession to the throne. Spies were placed about her, she was vigilantly watched: the Spanish ambassador urged that she should be imprisoned in the Tower.

Mary very soon became unpopular. The truly religious part of her subjects only wished for permission to adhere to their religious principles; but many included under the general denomination of Protestants were actuated by political motives. Their leaders endeavoured to excite a general opposition to the Spanish marriage, now about to be concluded. It was resolved that sir Peter Carew should take arms in the west, sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent, and the duke of Suffolk in the midland counties. These plans were carried into effect simultaneously.

On January 22, Wyatt appeared in arms at Rochester, with fifteen hundred followers. The duke of Norfolk was sent to suppress this insurrection: when about to attack the insurgents a part of his force joined Wyatt, who marched towards London with 15,000 men, but loitered on the way.

The queen showed her father's spirit at this trying juncture. She went to Guildhall on February 1, and addressed the citizens. This proceeding, with the preparations made to support her cause, had such an effect on Wyatt's followers, that the greater part left him. When he entered Southwark, on February the 3rd, he had only two thousand men with him. The French ambassador wrote to his court, that if Wyatt had reached the metropolis on February 1, as he might have done, the queen must have shut herself up in the Tower. But Wyatt's hopes were now at an end, though he determined on a desperate measure—to

march by night to Kingston, cross the Thames, and then hasten to Westminster, hoping to secure the queen by an unexpected attack on the palace at day-break. But a sufficient force was collected to meet him, while he delayed his march by stopping to repair the carriage of a piece of artillery, so that he did not arrive at the time his friends expected. The queen's forces allowed him to pass the Haymarket after a short contest. He reached Ludgate, which he found closed against his little band, then reduced to eighty, and being encompassed by a considerable force, he surrendered. The other attempts at insurrection were more easily suppressed, and their failure assisted to discourage the followers of Wyatt.

These attempts forwarded the plans of the papists. The queen was now stimulated to give full scope to the cruelty of spirit fostered by the dark and gloomy superstitions of Rome. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were the first victims. They were beheaded on February 12, after an ineffectual attempt to induce lady Jane to profess herself a convert to popery. It was a dismal week in London. The queen acted up to the exhortation given her by Gardiner in his sermon on the Sunday, to proceed with the utmost severity. Gibbets were set up in the streets of London; on the Wednesday forty-eight of Wyatt's followers were executed, some of them being quartered while yet alive. Many others also suffered. The French ambassador states, that above four hundred had been hanged, besides fifty of the leaders. The emperor approved and urged on this severity. Even if the number of sufferers has been exaggerated, it exceeded any list of executions that can be pointed out in the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth. The duke of Suffolk was beheaded a few days afterwards. Wyatt was executed on April 11.

An attempt was made to involve Elizabeth in this plot, but it failed. Wyatt at first expressed himself as though she had been aware of his proceedings, but afterwards fully declared her innocence. She was

however, taken from a bed of sickness, brought to London at the hazard of her life, kept a close prisoner at court for a fortnight; and when the attempt to involve her with the conspirators had failed, she was sent to the Tower. Her feelings were expressed in the words she uttered, when landed at the Traitor's Gate, after a dangerous passage through the fall of London bridge: "Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friend but thee alone." Mary would have proceeded to severe measures; Charles v. urged that Elizabeth should be put to death, if plausible grounds for her condemnation could be found; or, if this could not be done, he recommended that she should be sent a prisoner to his court at Brussels. But the lords of the queen's council remembered that Elizabeth was next heir to the throne, and cautioned each other only to use such dealing as they might answer to hereafter. Nor did Mary countenance any illegal violence, though she did not hesitate to endeavour to find her sister guilty on any charge that might be considered treason.

Renard, the Spanish envoy, wrote to the emperor, that if they did not punish with death Courtney and the lady Elizabeth, now the occasion offered, the queen would never be secure. And Gardiner, though at first he seemed disposed to protect Elizabeth, told the queen "that as long as Elizabeth was alive, there was no hope that the kingdom could be tranquil: and that if every body went as roundly to work in providing the necessary remedies as he did, things would go on better." Renard, who was present, urged that Elizabeth should be tried and executed before the arrival of Philip.

Elizabeth remained some time in the Tower, in a state of anxious suspense. But the persecuting queen was under still deeper feelings of anxiety. She summoned another parliament, which was ordered to meet at Oxford, on account of the dissatisfaction of the

Londoners. Fifteen hundred horse, besides artillery and foot, were levied to attend her; while, in addition to her usual guards, more than twenty gentlemen slept in the hall near her apartment. These precautions were deemed necessary, though the insurrection had been wholly suppressed, and the leaders either put to death or banished. Yet popish writers tell us, that Mary was popular on account of her religion!

The parliament had been ordered to assemble at Oxford, but this intention was changed; it met at Westminster in April. Spanish gold helped to procure a more subservient assemblage. The marriage with Philip was approved, but the queen was refused permission to dispose of the succession as she should see fit; it was expressly provided, that Philip should have no right or claim to the throne of England, though the title of king was allowed him during the queen's life. An attempt to revive the old laws against heresy, in all their former force, also failed at this time, whereby, as the Spanish ambassador wrote, "the heretics were encouraged, and the catholics thrown into alarm:" but a darker day for the former was at hand.

The arbitrary proceedings of the queen and Gardiner were checked about this time, by the courage of a London jury. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, an active Protestant, was charged with having recommended several persons to take part with Wyatt. He defended himself with much ability and boldness; and ventured to speak against the queen's proposed marriage. The jury acquitted him; a circumstance very rare in those days, when the accusation was for high treason. The chief justice Bromley desired them to alter their verdict, but they persisted in acquitting sir Nicholas, upon which they were ordered into custody, though respectable citizens of London. After being some months in prison, four implored pardon. The remaining eight were brought before Gardiner in the Star-chamber court, where they still adhered to their verdict, declaring that they had acted according to their consciences.

They were then sentenced to pay ruinous fines, which, being more than they possessed, were mitigated to smaller amounts, from sixty to two hundred pounds each. These sums were equal in value to twelve or fifteen times the sum in the present day. Such direct interference with the legal administration of justice, made many afraid to withstand the tyrannical proceedings of the queen: but it increased the abhorrence in which Mary was held, and caused serious alarm to reflecting minds. Another instance of injustice was shown in the treatment of sir James Hales. That upright judge firmly refused to sign the instrument by which the late king sought to alter the succession. For this he deserved Mary's especial favour; but soon after her accession, being in his circuit, a popish priest was brought before him on an information, and fined for saying mass, an illegal act in the days of king Edward, whose law had not then been repealed. This was brought against judge Hales; he was imprisoned, and threatened, till he consented to conform to popery. Being then released, he returned home, but was overcome by despair on reflecting upon his apostacy. Shortly after, he was found drowned in a shallow stream, having unhappily given way to the suggestions of the evil one: but there was no doubt that his mental powers had been shaken by the severity exercised towards him.

The efforts to find grounds for charges against the princess Elizabeth having failed, she was removed in May to Woodstock, where she was closely guarded. Foxe gives a minute account of the treatment she received. It was such, that one day, while walking in the garden, hearing a milkmaid singing merrily, she expressed an earnest wish to change places with her. She had severe trials to endure, but they were overruled for good. They increased the firmness of her character, and made popery hateful.

In April, a disputation was held at Oxford, when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer argued manfully against the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, which teaches

that when the priest pronounces four Latin words, the wafer, or bread used in the mass, is changed into the body and blood of Christ, and even includes the soul and bones of the blessed Saviour. This is the doctrine of the church of Rome, relative to the elements of the Lord's supper! Cranmer and his associates were told that they had been overcome; and on their still refusing to admit the doctrines of popery on this subject, they were pronounced obstinate heretics. A similar scene was to have been acted at Cambridge; but the Protestant bishops and clergy selected for that purpose, drew up a statement of the doctrines they held, and refused to dispute, except in writing, on account of the falsehoods the papists circulated respecting the proceedings at Oxford.

The public display of popish ceremonials increased; also the general dislike to the queen's proceedings. So many left the country, that in April the French ambassador wrote, that half the kingdom seemed in motion to proceed to France. A few days later he wrote that "nothing was commonly spoken of, but of gentlemen stealing over into France." Those esteemed themselves fortunate who could sell their property, and pass thither without danger.

Mary expected Philip with much eagerness, while her subjects openly manifested their dislike to the union. A fleet was prepared to escort the Spanish prince up the English channel; but the seamen showed such discontent, even threatening to deliver up Philip to the French, that the admiral was ordered to reduce the number of ships, and dismiss the most refractory sailors. Philip arrived in England about July 20, was married at Winchester, and made his public entry into London a few days afterwards. A painter having drawn in a pageant, Henry VIII. with a book in his hand, on which was written, "The word of God," was severely threatened by Gardiner, and was ordered to efface the words; being affrighted, he obeyed so thoroughly as to take out part of the king's hand also.

The arrival of Philip caused some changes. He obtained the release of several prisoners, and sought to make himself popular by procuring more favourable treatment for the princess Elizabeth. This suited his own interests; she was next heir to the throne, if Mary had no children; while, if she were put aside, Mary the queen of Scots, also queen of France, would succeed, which would prove a serious evil to Spain, by increasing the French power. The Spaniards frequently came into collision with the English populace during the autumn; some of the most violent on both sides were punished. The general behaviour of Philip did not conciliate his new subjects: he was haughty, reserved, and desirous of absolute power. The persecution of the protestants still continued; but as yet it was chiefly on pretence of treason and sedition.

A parliament, favourable to the queen's views, was procured. The first act removed the attainder of cardinal Pole, who had been for some time in Flanders, waiting to return to England. He arrived on November 24. Three days after, there was a special sitting of the parliament. Philip sat on the right hand of the queen, next to him was Pole, wearing his cardinal's hat. He addressed the assembly at considerable length, stating the desire of the pope to receive the nation again into favour, upon their submission, and that he was willing to impart to them his blessing.

There was some debate upon this subject; but only one member, sir Ralph Bagnal, stood firmly to his principles. The rest besought the queen to intercede that the nation might be absolved; and on the following day the legate made a long oration upon the unity of the church, urged the favours formerly bestowed upon the English nation, enjoined them to repeal all laws against popery, and granted full absolution to the members kneeling before him. At the same time, it was reported that the queen was with child, solemn processions and services were performed; this was, as

Strype expresses it, either a mistake or a deceit: but it strengthened the papists for the present.

The parliament next proceeded to restore popery. An act was passed repealing all laws and proceedings against the papacy, since the year 1529. The queen relinquished her title of the supremacy; but the parliament, fearful that this was only a preliminary to compelling the restoration of the monastic establishments, required that the possession of the abbey lands should be confirmed to those persons by whom they were held. The pope desired that they should be eventually restored; but the possessors were, of course, unwilling to yield; and to have attempted to compel the restitution at that moment, would have effectually prevented the reconciliation with Rome.

Pole therefore granted a dispensation, allowing the "detainers" of these lands and goods still to possess them; a word which plainly showed that the claim was only suffered to remain dormant for a time. Sir William Petre, then secretary of state, aware of the intentions of the pope, the next year got a special bull, confirming to him the church lands he had bought. If restitution had been enforced, this might easily have been revoked or cancelled by some other infallible head of the church. It was evident that the popish clergy did not relinquish their hopes of being able to enforce the re-establishment of monkery.

The next act revived the old laws against heretics and Lollards. Hereby the cognizance of opinions in religion was again fully committed to the clergy: they could, by their own authority, arrest, imprison, or condemn, merely for matters of religious belief. Although the parliament at length thus complied with the queen's desires on the subject of religion, it was less tractable in other matters. The members steadily resisted giving Philip regal power, refusing also to aid the emperor against the French king; while the queen desired that Philip should be declared presumptive heir to the crown.

The parliament rose, January 16, 1555, when public rejoicings were ordered, for that "the realm was restored again unto God's favour, and the unity of the holy mother church." Bonner, with many bishops and other ecclesiastics, went in solemn and public procession, thus rejoicing that men were again to be burned for their religion! The bigoted papists rejoiced; but the larger portion of the nation looked on with fearful apprehensions of what was to come. Even to pray that the queen's heart might be turned from idolatry to the true faith was considered as treason, and those who used such expressions were to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Many Romish books were printed and circulated, while the use of the English Bible was forbidden.

The time was now come when characters of the first reputation for integrity, piety, learning, and moral worth, might be brought before a tribunal of popish priests, and questioned on any of the numerous points of erroneous doctrine set forth by the church of Rome, when if they refused to recognise these as the truth, the alternative, "turn or burn," was proposed to them. The dread sentence was soon carried into effect: neither judge, witness, or jury was allowed to interfere, or called upon in reference to the matter.

On January 22, 1555, scarcely a week after the acts renewing persecutions for religion came into force, Gardiner commenced the proceedings under the revived laws against heresy, in his consistorial court, a building yet remaining at the east end of the church of St. Saviour's in Southwark. It was resolved to select such victims, and to execute them in such a manner, as might make a general impression. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester; Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, who had assisted in the first edition of the English Bible; Cardmaker, prebendary of Wells; Taylor, vicar of Hadleigh, in Suffolk; Saunders, formerly a clergyman of Coventry; Bradford, formerly of Manchester, then prebendary of St. Paul's; all popular

characters, and highly esteemed preachers, were the victims selected for the first sacrifices. The tests proposed to them were, the pope's supremacy and the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is to be remarked how carefully the papists kept out of sight, and avoided discussion on the main subject of difference between their church and the Protestants, the doctrine of justification by faith, though, in fact, it was involved in the questions brought forward. The examinations were not prolonged. Bradford was respited for a short time; also Cardmaker, whom the Romanists thought they could induce to turn. The others were condemned without delay, and delivered to the secular power. Rogers and Hooper were detained till it was dark, but a rumour got abroad that they were to be led to Newgate from Southwark, where they had been imprisoned and condemned. The streets were crowded with persons who came out of their doors with lights, entreating the blessing of these confessors, and praying that they might be able to remain stedfast unto the end.

On the morning of the 4th of February, Rogers was awakened, and told to prepare for the stake. After a few hours he was carried past his own church, St. Sepulchre's, near Newgate, where his wife and eleven children stood to take their last farewell. He was burned in Smithfield. Hooper was taken to Gloucester, and burned before his own cathedral. Saunders was taken to Coventry, where he suffered the same cruel death. Taylor, who had been exceedingly popular in Suffolk, was sent to Hadleigh, his own town, where he had manfully testified against the restoration of popery. The simple and minute record of his journey and sufferings yet remains; it has drawn tears from many a reader, and bears an irrefragable testimony against popery. A large stone with a rude inscription, on Aldham common, marks the spot where Taylor suffered.



Gardiner hoped that this simultaneous display of papal ferocity, upon such eminent and excellent characters, would have at once silenced the Protestants. But he was mistaken. The people openly rejoiced in the constancy displayed by Rogers, the first of "the noble army of martyrs" of this reign, so that the French ambassador wrote the same day, saying the people did not fear to strengthen him by their acclamations; and even his children stood by consoling him, so that it seemed as though they were conducting him to a joyful marriage. The Christian bearing of the sufferers, and the sympathy of the crowds who stood round the burning piles, showed that then, as in earlier ages, the blood of the martyrs would be the seed of the church. Gardiner shrunk from the results of his own proceedings, laid the blame upon the queen, and left the farther conduct of these persecutions to more rugged minds. Bonner did not object to the task. We may use the metaphorical language of the poet:—

"When persecuting zeal made royal sport
With tortured innocence in Mary's court,
And Bonner, blithe as shepherd at a wake,
Enjoyed the show, and danced about the stake;
The sacred Book, its value understood,
Received the seal of martyrdom in blood."—COWPER.

It is stated that he was wont to say, "Let me once lay hold of these heretics, and if they escape me, God do so and more to Bonner." His first proceedings at once showed that the persecution was to be carried into every rank of life; none were too high to be reached, none so low as to be overlooked. In a few days Bonner examined and condemned six; a butcher, a weaver, a barber, a country gentleman, an apprentice, and a parish priest; but the voice of the people was loudly expressed; even Gardiner blamed him for dealing so cruelly by honest men. Philip saw that much unpopularity would fall upon himself; he therefore directed his confessor, a friar who had himself been a notorious persecutor, to preach before the court, and blame the putting heretics to death. Bonner was checked for a time, though in a few months the persecution was resumed; and even in that month bishop Farrar was burned in Wales.

Another public exhibition was made in February. Viscount Montague, and the bishop of Ely, passed through the streets of London with their train, beginning their journey to Rome as ambassadors to the pope. The next embassy from England to Rome was in the reign of James II.

At the end of March, the queen sent for the lord treasurer and other counsellors, to whom she declared her remorse, not for causing holy and exemplary men to be burned, but because the crown still possessed some abbey lands, which she desired to resign, committing the disposal of them to the pope and his legate! It is to be observed that, while the parliament guaranteed the possession of these lands to the holders, and the legate gave his sanction thereto, the pope issued a bull excommunicating all persons who continued to hold such property. This was, as Foxe styles it, "a catholic fetch." The immediate result was the formation of some monastic establishments by the queen. The pope Julius III. did not live to see the effects of this bull. He died, March the 20th, and left

behind him the record that the pope to whom England, under queen Mary, submitted to be reconciled, was one of the vilest among the many depraved characters included in the list of popes. There is no occasion to insert any of the blasphemies for which he was notorious.

After Easter the burnings were resumed; the sufferings of the martyrs are amply related by Foxe and others. In March a proclamation was addressed to the justices, commanding that persons should secretly be appointed in every parish, to watch over and give private information of the proceedings of any Protestants. Here was a great step towards establishing an inquisition. In May a letter was addressed to Bonner, in the name of Philip and Mary, complaining that he had "suffered persons to continue in their errors," who had been sent to him by justices agreeably to the proclamation. He was ordered in future to proceed against such characters as "a good pastor and bishop" ought to do. Bonner had for a short interval sickened of his work, but this stimulated him to proceed: perhaps he desired it as a convenient authority for him to plead. But the principal cause for urging forward the course of cruelties, was the anxiety of the queen for the birth of a child! She had for some time expected to be a mother at this season; she was anxious for a safe deliverance, and thought to win the favour of God by persecuting his people! But He had mercy in store for England, and would not suffer such a stock to be fruitful. After a lengthened period of expectation, during which thanksgivings for her safe deliverance were offered up in many places, and the beauties of her child described from the pulpits, it was found that the queen was seriously diseased, and never likely to be a mother.

The names of many martyrs who suffered in June are recorded. Among them were Bradford and Cardmaker. The burning of the former excited a strong sensation. Few of the inhabitants of London closed their eyes during the preceding night.

A new pope, Marcellus II., had been elected. He seems to have been a more worthy character than the generality of Romish prelates, but he only held the see during three weeks. Paul IV., who then succeeded to the papal chair, received the English ambassadors. At first he hesitated to do this, as Mary retained the title of sovereign of Ireland, assumed by her father, after his quarrel with the see of Rome. But an expedient was devised. The pope asserted his authority to be the earthly power by which alone kings could reign, by declaring Ireland to be a kingdom, and Mary to be queen of it by his appointment! He then received the ambassadors outwardly with a gracious air, but he told them in private, that the abbey lands must be restored, and the tribute from England formerly paid to the popes, called Peter-pence, being a penny for every chimney in England, must be again duly collected.

In June, a severe proclamation was issued, forbidding all persons to keep in their possession any books contrary to the decrees of popery. Many works were pointed out by name; in addition to those of Luther, and the leading reformers, both English and foreign, works relating to the service books of the late king, and also Hall's Chronicle, which was particular in the account of the reign of Henry VIII., were forbidden: all these books were to be given up in fifteen days to the bishops or other officers. But the Protestants were still very active in disseminating the truth. Many little tracts exposing the errors of popery were printed in foreign countries, and brought over to England, where they were privately distributed, or cast about the streets at night. Some bore the imprint of Rome, probably that unlearned informers might suppose them to be popish books.

On October 16, bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer were burned at Oxford. The spot where they suffered is still pointed out in the front of Baliol College. The words of Latimer to his fellow sufferer when at the

stake, are too memorable to be omitted :—"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Let us remember this address, and also bear in mind the solemn charge of our Saviour to the church of Sardis : "Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments ; and they shall walk with me in white : for they are worthy," Rev. iii. 3, 4.

The death of Gardiner quickly followed the last sufferings of these martyrs. He delayed his meal till he could receive the tidings of fire being set to their pile. While feasting, he felt the approach of a mortal disease, the consequence of his vicious course of life. He was able to attend to his official duties a few days longer, when his body became so noisome that it was difficult to get any one to attend him. He suffered severely in mind, repeatedly exclaiming, "I have sinned like Peter ; but I have not repented like him !" In his last moments, he expressed decided enmity against the doctrines of grace, yet showed that he was convinced of their truth. Thus the first of the wretched leaders of the English persecution, was called to his solemn account.

Gardiner had opposed Pole in many matters ; he desired the primacy for himself, and therefore often checked the proceedings of the cardinal. Pole now remained the chief adviser of Mary. He left the details of persecution to subordinate agents ; but in many ways showed his earnest desire that the kingdom should be fully reconciled to Rome. Among other matters, the proceedings against Cranmer were pressed forward. Although he was examined with Ridley and Latimer, some months elapsed before the arrangements respecting him were completed. Bonner took an active part

in the ceremony of degradation, which he accompanied by raileries and insolent language, crying aloud, "He is no longer my lord! he is no longer my lord!" Bishop Thirlby, who was present, though a bigoted papist, reprov'd Bonner's conduct, and every effort was made, both by severity and flattery, to shake, if possible, Cranmer's stedfastness in the faith. He was induced to sign a paper, renouncing his opposition to popery: from this he was led farther, and signed five others in succession; or rather five other papers were exhibited as having been signed by him, though there are strong grounds for believing he never consented to some of them. A promise that his life should be spared was disregarded; Mary and her council always intended that he should suffer. On March 20, 1556, he was taken to St Mary's church in Oxford, and told that he was to repeat in public the declaration he had made. But Dr. Cole preached what may be called his condemnation sermon, exhorting him to take his death patiently, expressing joy of his recovery to the church, and promising that after his death masses should be said for his soul.

Cranmer had expected this; he came prepared with a written declaration of firm adherence to the truths of the gospel, to which was added a renunciation of the declarations he had been induced to sign. The church was crowded. All persons attached to the Reformation, rejoiced that the papists were disappointed. The latter were enraged; they pulled Cranmer from the stage on which he stood, two Spanish friars, in particular, loudly abused him, and he was hurried to the stake. When the pile was kindled, he thrust his right hand into the rising flame, declaring that it should first suffer, as it had offended by signing his recantation.

The next day Pole was appointed archbishop of Canterbury: the same night some one wrote on the gates of Lambeth Palace, the solemn warning addressed to Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 19; "Hast thou killed, and also

taken possession?" Pole was now at the highest eminence he attained; though he had toiled for it through more than twenty years of treachery, intrigue, and murder, he enjoyed it for a very short time. He had sought the popedom, but in vain; once, as already stated, he had nearly attained that dignity, but was considered by his fellow cardinals as too much inclined to reform the outward abuses of that church.

Large grants of lands were made by the queen to Pole; in the close of the year, he was made chancellor of the university of Oxford, and two Spanish friars, Soto and Garcia, were settled there as professors of divinity. His influence was such, that the French ambassador wrote, that the queen had expressly commanded her council to conclude nothing of any weight without communicating it to Pole, having resolved to do nothing of importance without his authority and advice. Among the proceedings under his influence, was a commission for a renewed "diligent search and discovery of heretics," directing the bishop of Exeter and others "to inquire into all heresies; to search out and take possession of all heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings; to search out all persons who refused to be confessed, or to hear mass, or to receive the sacrament, or to come to their parish churches; to call before them any suspected persons, and to award such condign punishment, by fine or imprisonment, as to their wisdom should seem meet." The people, as Strype describes, now formed three classes: "The one sort, the papists; the second, the open professors of the gospel; the third and largest, were of the same judgment with the professors; they, in their minds, disallowed popery, and esteemed its worship to be idolatrous; yet, out of policy, they outwardly complied with that religion, and went to mass, keeping their opinions to themselves, for their own security."

The condition of the Protestants in England at this time was very pitiable. They were liable to suffer the severest punishments; every action was observed

by the spies and informers of the persecuting bishops, whenever pretexts for accusing them of heresy could be found they were imprisoned, nor was that a light matter. The imprisonment of those days is graphically described by Coverdale, in the preface to his "Letters of the Martyrs." "Some being thrown into dungeons, ugsome holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners; other some lying in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir; some tied in the stocks, with their heels upward; some having their legs in the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron; some standing in the most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled. Some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists; some having their hands burned with a candle, to try their patience, or force them to relent; some hunger-pined, and most miserably famished. All these torments, and many more, even such as cruel Phalaris could not desire worse, were practised by the papists, the stout, sturdy soldiers of Satan, thus delighting in variety of tyranny and torments upon the saints of God, as it is full well and too well known, and as many can testify which are yet alive, and have felt the smart thereof. Yea, and furthermore, so extremely were these dear servants of God dealt withal, that, although they were most desirous by their pen and writing to edify their brethren, other poor lambs of Christ, yet were they so narrowly watched and straitly kept from all necessary helps, as paper, ink, books, and such like, that great marvel it is, how they could be able to write any one of these or other so excellent and worthy letters. Sometimes for lack of ease, sometimes for lack of light, they could neither see to write well, nor to read their letters again; sometimes through the hasty coming in of the keepers or officers, who left no corner or bed-straw unsearched; yea, sometimes they were put to so hard shifts, that like as for lack of pens they were fain to write with the lead of their windows, so for want of ink they took

their own blood, and yet sometimes they were fain to rend and tear what they had written, at the hasty coming in of the officers."

Strype shows the activity with which the queen and her council, under Pole's influence and direction, urged forward persecution. Orders were again given "to make a despatch of all those that were already condemned for religion." Bonner, emphatically called the common slaughter-man, was urged to proceed with increased activity. But it was evident, that the people were averse to these proceedings: a report to the council about this time, denounced four parishes in Essex, as still continuing the English service. The severe sufferings of the Protestants are well described by Foxe; but the details of Strype afford a fuller idea of the extent and the minuteness to which the investigations and harassing of individuals were made to extend. And Strype also describes the cruel sufferings then commonly inflicted, in brief, simple terms, which make deeper impression than fuller delineations. The following is taken from his "Occurrences in the State," May, 1556, written by a contemporary:—"On the 15th day, two tall men were carried in a cart from Newgate unto Stratford, Bow, to be burned; the one blind, the other lame; the one named Hugh Leveroke, a painter, dwelling in St. Swithin's lane, and the other, that is the blind man, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle. And on the 16th, between nine and ten of the clock aforenoon, were three women, who were of Essex, carried into Smithfield, to end their lives by fire." When he notices in his "Journal of Occurrences," any criminals suffering, he states their offences; but the mass of sufferers in queen Mary's days had no crime laid to their charge but that of seeking to worship in spirit and in truth: it was enough for him thus to state their sufferings; the cause was sufficiently understood.

At this period, several were hanged and dismembered in the streets of London as traitors, having been driven to utter expressions, or to think of acts, which indicated

their disapproval of the state of public affairs. Strype says, "The best prevention of these deaths and calamities was flight, which course many took, commending themselves to the mercies of the seas, and the compassion of strange nations, rather than to their own prince and country, and so preserved their lives, to do God and the realm service afterward. This the persecutors were much offended with; but seeing the professors were fled out of their bloody hands, they thought to be even with them, by endeavouring to hinder all supplies of money and provisions to be sent to them; saying, that 'they would make them so hungry, that they should eat their fingers' ends.' These words, Gardiner in a great passion had uttered in Calais, being there ambassador with cardinal Pole and others; but, notwithstanding, God so provided for them, that they enjoyed plenty of all things in the places where they came."

So far were the Protestant pastors from exciting men to a vain-glorious desire for martyrdom, that they counselled all to flee, when they could do so previously to their being singled out to make a public profession of their faith. But when so brought forward, they ever exhorted them "to stand fast and play the man." Many valuable lives were preserved by flight; among them Walsingham and other statesmen, who were bright ornaments of the reign of Elizabeth. Some of the exiles, who ventured into the dominions of king Philip, were seized and sent over to England. Among these was sir John Cheke, who had been tutor to the late king. By threats and persecutions he was persuaded to turn to popery, but his conscience was burdened by his apostacy; he was compelled to sit with Bonner as a judge on those accused of heresy: he sickened and died in a few months.

Crimes increased during this reign; it was evident that the restoration of popish superstition did not increase morality. Offences of the vilest kind, against which strong laws had been enacted since the Reformation, again became common. Robberies on the high-

ways were frequent; young men of rank and family were concerned in them. In June, 1556, a son of lord Sandys was hanged for a robbery. At one assize at Oxford fifty-two persons were condemned and executed; the number that suffered by the executioner in this reign, was more in proportion than in any other in British annals.

The spring of 1556 was inauspicious. Sickness was very prevalent; and there was great dearth of corn. Discontent prevailed through the nation; many persons were accused as traitors, and some suffered as such, which has just been noticed, although it was evident that they were really opposed to the queen's religion, rather than to her political power. The scarcity in the northern counties was increased by an order in the spring to call men forth to serve as soldiers, which was executed so as to interfere materially with the cultivation of the land.

The queen found her difficulties increase. The parliament unwillingly consented to some of her measures for the aggrandisement of the church, but they steadily refused to comply with her wishes to allow Philip kingly authority. Philip now had little inducement to return to England; the queen was much disappointed, and this contributed to render her more bitter in persecuting the professors of the truth. Her anxiety to enrich the church, and supply her Spanish attendants with money, involved her in debts; she then had recourse to forced loans, demanding large sums from all possessed of property. This excited against her many of her subjects who were indifferent as to religion. Libels were freely circulated; copies of them reached the palace; one was deposited on the desk in her closet.

Philip had now other and far more important interests than those which connected him with England. In October, 1555, the emperor Charles v., worn down by infirmities, resigned Spain, Flanders, and all his hereditary dominions, to Philip. He retired to Spain,

where he occupied apartments in a monastery, near Placentia, till his death, which took place in the year 1558. This brief interval appears to have been spent in unprofitable reflections upon his past life. He admitted the folly of the persecutions for religion caused by him; but it does not appear that he was sensible of the heavy weight of guilt they laid upon him.

Queen Mary, blind to her own personal and mental defects, attributed the absence of Philip to the dislike evinced by her subjects; this rendered her still more disposed to govern with arbitrary severity, and made her anxious to find some pretext for getting rid of her sister Elizabeth, either by a foreign marriage, or by some darker device; but the steady prudence of Elizabeth was so guided by Him who ordereth all things well, that she escaped the snares laid to entangle her. Turner well says, that "no life of any human being has ever hung on a more slender thread, during all this reign, than that of this princely sister, to whom the expressive intimation of the Vatican had so early and emphatically directed the attention of the queen, whom it governed, flattered, and misled. We cannot but admire the use to which Providence turns the conflicting devices of men, when we observe, that Philip deemed it his interest to protect the valuable life of this princess."

The French ambassador describes the wretched state of Mary: He says, "This princess always lives now in the two great extremities of anger and suspicion, being in a continual fury, that she can neither enjoy the presence of her husband, nor the love of her own people." He adds, "I see no means by which she can ever be loved by her subjects," and speaks of "the great hatred of her subjects towards her." Mary was placed on the throne by the affectionate regards of her people, but she lost this regard by her endeavours to force the consciences of her people, and to subjugate them to the Romish priesthood. In one of his last despatches, in May 1556, this ambassador says, "To be

secure in her residence here, she is forced to cause such a number of persons to die by the fire and the sword, and in all the extremity of the rigour of justice, that her people make a great clamour about it, being of opinion that these poor miserables who are led to so many punishments, all die innocent." Yet Mary might have ranked among the most popular sovereigns of England, had she not been absorbed by the withering mental slavery of popish superstition. To this her cruelties must mainly be attributed; there is no occasion to exaggerate the dark shades of her character, but they must not be extenuated. It is too much the fashion to represent that Elizabeth was a persecutor for religion as well as Mary. The falsehood of these statements will appear from the history of Elizabeth; but even if those who were punished for their treasons in the latter part of her reign, could be deemed sufferers for their religion, it is manifest that Elizabeth was compelled to sanction such proceedings by their plots and conspiracies; while Mary, from the first, showed her determination to persecute for conscience' sake.

In September, the result of another unfavourable harvest began to be felt; disturbances in the markets were frequent. The autumn was also very sickly; many persons of note died. Amidst these troubles, the popular displeasure was further excited by the public installation of Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, in November, who went in procession with his newly-shaven monks. This was an open proof of the queen's resolution again to set up monastic establishments. In the following month, the popish mummary of the childish processions of the boy-bishop, called saint Nicholas, was renewed; the reception given him served for a test of the religious sentiments of the people at whose houses they called, while many disorders were committed by his followers. Another procession this month exhibited the new abbot of Westminster, preceded and followed by his "sanctuary men;" ruffians who had taken refuge in the abbey to avoid

the just punishment for their crimes. He was followed by three others who had been guilty of murder, "and thus was the abbey restored to its pristine privileges." Even a prisoner who had escaped from the Tower was protected there, though claimed by the privy council. But there was no protection for those accused on account of religion!

The persevering efforts to restore the monasteries and nunneries in Mary's reign, are well worthy of remark. Their importance in strengthening Popery was fully understood, and it is not forgotten at the present day. Of late years numerous monastic establishments have been formed in England; while the pertinacity with which the restoration of the ancient institutions is sought, appears from the ascertained fact, that in one of the most influential of the monastic orders, heads for their former establishments in this country are still regularly appointed. The abbey lands are well known, and if circumstances permitted, these ancient haunts of superstition and evil would simultaneously appear throughout the land.

At the end of this year, wheat was sold at forty-four shillings the quarter, and afterwards at forty-six shillings; a sum equal to twelve or fourteen pounds at the present day. The year 1557 was begun by a strict examination or visitation of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that popery might be re-established more firmly in those seats of learning. At the latter place Pole was lauded for his proceedings. The coffins containing the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius were dug up and burned. New statutes were enjoined, but the master of Clare Hall being asked whether he would have a copy upon paper, or the more durable material parchment, said that the slightest possible material would last as long as these statutes would continue in force.

At Oxford there were no buried remains of foreign Protestant teachers, but the same poor spite was displayed, by removing the decayed body of the wife of

Peter Martyr to a dunghill. The same absolute submission as at Cambridge was exacted from the living, but many looked forward, hoping for better times.

In February, another searching commission was issued, appointing commissioners authorized to procure or extort information by any ways or means, and giving power to punish by any inflictions thought proper. It was, in effect, setting up the Inquisition in England. More sufferers were sent to the stake, while the fell sweep intended to be made, was plainly shown at Colchester, where search was made in every house; for, as the inquisitor said, "This place is a harbour for all the heretics, and ever was:" a favoured distinction, which history shows that town enjoyed in the early days of Protestantism. Twenty-two persons, fourteen men and eight women, were apprehended; they were pinioned together, and driven to London like cattle for the slaughter. Bonner was to have despatched them, but this wholesale method of proceeding attracted too much notice. The prisoners arrived at Fulham attended by above a thousand persons, who accompanied them from London, encouraging them. Pole was alarmed; Bonner did not consider it safe to proceed; and the prisoners were dismissed upon signing a general promise to submit to their superiors. Bonner was checked for allowing them to escape; and before long several were again apprehended, and burned. Tye, a popish priest of Colchester, complained to Bonner that they were bolder than ever. He said, "They assemble together upon the sabbath-day, during the times of Divine service, in private houses, and there keep their conventicles and schools of heresy. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester. The ministers of the church are hemmed at in the public streets, and called knaves; the blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed at in every house and tavern; prayer" (he meant Latin prayers) "and fasting are not regarded."

The importunity of Mary, and his own political ob-

jects, induced Philip to visit England once more. He arrived on March 20, and was received at court with great rejoicings. The Spanish monarch was engaged in war with France: the queen was desirous that he should be assisted by England; but her council repeatedly refused to concur. At length, they unwillingly consented. In June, war was proclaimed against the French; thus another evil was added to famine and pestilence. Eight thousand men were levied, and sent to join the army of Philip, who returned to the continent early in July. His forces gained a victory at St. Quentin, but without any important result.

The sickness continued. Anne of Cleves died this autumn. However, the dearth was succeeded by a plentiful harvest; the price of corn fell rapidly to five shillings a quarter, equal to about thirty shillings of our money; and the size of the penny loaf in London was increased from eleven ounces to fifty-six: to such vicissitudes the nation was continually exposed, till a better system of husbandry, and more freedom for trade, were established.

Paul iv., before his elevation to the papacy, had been on ill terms with cardinal Pole: the latter also remonstrated against his political proceedings towards Philip, which so displeased the pontiff, that he revoked Pole's commission as legate, appointing a priest named Peyto to be cardinal and legate in his stead. The queen would not allow her favourite to be thus treated, and the new legate was forbidden to enter upon his office.

The principal events of this autumn were popish processions, solemn interments of many persons of note, and frequent burnings of Protestants. But an occurrence of greater moment was at hand.

Stryper records:—"On January 10, 1558, heavy tidings came to England, particularly to London, that the French had won Calais; which was the dolefullest news and the heaviest taken that ever had happened; for, traitor-like, it was said to be sold and delivered

unto them. The duke of Guise was chief captain. Every man was discharged the town, carrying nothing with them." The circumstances attending the capture of this place, which the English nation regarded with the most intense interest, were as follows:—Calais was strongly fortified, and very difficult of access, on account of the marshes by which it was surrounded. By an ill-judged economy, the garrison was usually diminished at the commencement of winter; this was done in 1557, although there was war between England and France; the queen having raised all the money she could obtain by anticipating the revenue, and by forced loans, to supply her Spanish consort. A well-concerted plan was arranged, by which the out-fortifications, being feebly garrisoned, were easily carried. Contrary winds prevented the arrival of succours, and the governor, lord Wentworth, deemed it necessary to capitulate. Thus, with less than a week's siege, the French regained Calais, after it had been in the possession of England 210 years. The vain-glory of the nation was severely hurt by this loss: it rendered the queen as hateful from her proceedings of general polity, as she was for her persecutions and oppressions. The remembrance that Calais was lost, in consequence of a war undertaken solely to please and assist Philip, rendered him more than ever an object of dislike to the English nation. England was also threatened on the north, but the national jealousy of the Scots against the French induced the northern nobles to refrain from invading their neighbours. There was more probability of an invasion from France, which occasioned alarm, and expense in protecting the coasts. The general feeling was further shown by the refusal of the council to accept the co-operation of Philip to attempt to regain Calais, so long esteemed "the key of France." All the efforts against that kingdom were, a useless expedition along the western coast of France, and some aid from English shipping to the Spanish army in a battle near Gravelines.

The disgrace of losing Calais, with the increasing dislike of her subjects, deeply affected Mary, who was further pained by the neglect with which Philip treated her; for he refused to revisit England. Mary was further mortified by the pleasure the pope expressed at the capture of Calais by the French—a needless piece of ingratitude, not to be expected from one to whom she had sacrificed herself and the best interests of her nation. The queen could not help seeing that she was hated at home, and despised abroad. Her health gradually but rapidly failed; she told her attendants that, if her body were opened, Calais would be found written on her heart. Her confidence was fixed upon cardinal Pole, and he too was fast sinking to the grave. Yet the last months of this wretched persecuting queen, and her equally wretched minister, showed no relaxation of their bigotry. A proclamation against heretical books directed that all who ventured to retain such works in their possession should be reputed and taken for rebels, and executed without delay by martial law. Yet thousands of volumes still exist, which were then so prized for the declarations of gospel truth they contained, that the possessors ventured to encounter the dread penalties of this sanguinary decree, rather than give them up.

There were congregations that still dared to assemble for the purpose of worship. Several were detected, and many persons suffered, while some hair-breadth escapes of others are recorded. They met like the faithful of old, in dens and caves of the earth, in lofts, in cellars, in the fields, on board vessels, and wherever they could hope to avoid discovery. These congregations increased towards the end of the queen's reign; then, as at other periods, "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." Gatherings were made "for Christ's prisoners;" sometimes ten pounds were collected at a single night meeting. On one occasion a spy gained admittance, who was converted by the truths he heard, and besought the pardon of

those he had purposed to betray. Similar meetings were held in various parts of England.

The wretched state of the nation is thus described by Strype:—"Hot burning fevers and other strange diseases began in the great dearth, 1556, and increased more and more the two following years. In the summer, 1557, they raged horribly throughout the realm, and killed an exceeding number of all sorts of men, but especially gentlemen and men of great wealth. So many husbandmen and labourers also died and were sick, that in harvest time, in divers places, men would have given one acre of corn to reap and carry in another. In some places corn stood and shed on the ground for want of workmen. In the latter end of the year, quartan agues were so common among men, women, and young children also, that few houses escaped; and these agues were not only common, but to most persons very dangerous, especially such as had been sick of the burning fevers before. In 1558, in the summer, about August, the same fevers raged again, in such a manner, as never plague or pestilence, I think, saith my author, killed a greater number. If the people of the realm had been divided into four parts, certainly three parts of those four should have been found sick. And hereby so great a scarcity of harvest men, that those which remained took twelve pence for that which was wont to be done for three pence. In some shires no gentleman almost escaped, but either himself, or his wife, or both, were dangerously sick, and very many died; so that divers places were left void of ancient justices and men of worship to govern the country. Many that kept twenty or thirty in their houses, had not three or four to help the residue that were sick. In most poor men's houses, the master, dame, and servants were all sick, in such wise, that one could not help another. The winter following, also, the quartan agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently than they had done last year. At this time, also, died many priests, so

that a great number of parish churches, in divers places of the realm, were unserved, and no curates could be gotten for money. All which, and a great many miseries more, now lying upon the nation, and the loss of Calais not the least, looked like the frowns of God upon the queen and her government. And in the midst of these calamities she expired. And she that wrote herself by her marriage queen of so many kingdoms, duchess of so many dukedoms, marchioness of so many marquises, left less riches in her coffers and wealth in her realm, at the time of her death, than any of her progenitors did."

As queen Mary drew near her end, she was aware of the approach of death, and "carried herself very devoutly. She prepared herself for death after the manner of the popish superstition wherein she had been bred; she devoutly called for and partook of the sacraments of the church. After she had received her supposed Saviour, the wafer, extreme unction was administered to her. When the strength of her body was quite wasted, and the use of her tongue failed her, yet in mass time, when the sacrament was to be elevated, she lifted up her eyes towards it; and at the pronouncing of the benediction, she bowed her head, and soon after yielded up her spirit. The sickly queen held out to the month of November, when, on the 17th day thereof, she ended her life, to the great joy of the poor professors of the purer religion, who had been sufficiently harassed by some of her zealots, that shed abundance of innocent blood, and set a stain upon the Marian day, which will never be wiped off."

Thus, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign, Mary departed without being desired, having, in that short period, effectually alienated her subjects, and left an impression upon the minds of Englishmen, with reference to the intolerant and persecuting spirit of the Romish faith, which all the arts of sophistry and misrepresentation exercised by the votaries of that church during nearly three hundred

years, have not been able entirely to remove. The feelings of the people were soon shown. On the afternoon of the day on which she expired, the bells were rung, bonfires were lighted, and tables were set in the streets, that all might publicly rejoice. Such was the popular feeling towards her who had just gone to her awful account. Burnet well says, "God shortened the time of her reign for his elect's sake; and he seemed to have suffered popery to show itself in its true and natural colours—all over, both false and bloody, even in a female reign, from whence all mildness and gentleness might have been expected—to give this nation such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion, as might raise up a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it."

Cardinal Pole only survived Mary a few hours; he died on the following day. Enough respecting him has already been recorded; it only remains to be said, that neither he nor the queen stayed the persecutions when they felt their deaths at hand. Bonner did pause in his career at the approach of the decease of Mary; but in Pole's diocese the piles blazed to the last; three men and two women being burned at Canterbury on November the 10th.

We cannot be surprised at the effect produced upon the minds of the people by the events of this reign; for, during six years, or, rather, during the last four, not less than two hundred and eighty-eight persons were burned alive, merely on charges connected with their profession of religion, while more than a hundred others perished in prison. These sufferers were persons of every rank and calling; they have been classed as follows:—Five bishops; twenty-one divines; eight gentlemen; eighty-four artificers; one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers; twenty-six wives; twenty widows; nine virgins; two boys; two infants. Many others suffered as traitors, who took no part in any attempts against the queen's government, but were in reality put to death for their religion. Thousands suffered

pecuniary loss, or were contented to sacrifice their property for conscience' sake. No other reign can be pointed out as presenting such a list of victims. But thus, "by a way that she knew not, and though her heart intended it not, neither did she think so," Mary was one of the chief instruments in establishing the Protestant faith in England firmly in the hearts of the people; and notwithstanding all the false glosses of some modern historians, the vast mass of public and private documents relative to this period recently brought to light, show more and more fully her cruel bigotry and superstition. A Christian poet, after walking over Smithfield, wrote the following lines on the English martyrs:—

"Hail, holy martyrs, glorious names,
Who nobly here for Jesus stood,
Rejoiced, and clapped your hands in flames,
And dared to seal the truth with blood!

Strong in the Lord, divinely strong,
Tortures and death ye here defied;
Demons and men, a gazing throng,
Ye braved, and more than conquering died.

Finished your course, and fought your flight,
Hence did your mounting souls aspire;
Starting from flesh they took their flight,
Borne upward on a car of fire.

Where earth and hell no more molest,
Ye now have joined the heavenly host,
Entered into your Father's rest,
And found the life which here ye lost.

Father, if now thy breath revives
In us the pure primeval flame,
Thy power which animates our lives,
Can make us in our deaths the same;

Can out of weakness make us strong,
Arming as in the ancient days,
Loosing the stammering infant's tongue,
And perfecting in babes thy praise.

Come, holy, holy, holy Lord,
The Father, Son, and Spirit, come;
Be mindful of thy changeless word,
And make the faithful soul thy home."



Queen Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH.

REIGNED FORTY-FOUR YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS.

From November the 17th, 1558, to March the 24th, 1603.

PART I.

FROM A.D. 1558, TO A.D. 1568.

QUEEN MARY died between six and seven o'clock on the morning of November 17, 1558. The council assembled the parliament then sitting, and at noon Elizabeth was proclaimed queen. This change was received with more than common rejoicing; such was the state of affairs at that time, and such the apprehensions entertained of still severer persecutions, and deeper national disgrace from the policy lately pursued.

The most bigoted of the papists expected that their cruel proceedings would be stopped; but though it was believed that Elizabeth was favourably disposed to the Reformation, yet she had conformed to the church of Rome, and they hoped that popery would still predominate. Her early measures were such as to keep both parties in suspense as to the course she would pursue.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when her sister died. She was then in her twenty-fifth year, highly gifted with natural abilities, cultivated by study. But the instructions most beneficial, both to her subjects and herself, were the severe sufferings she experienced during her sister's reign. The poet has well said, "Sweet are the uses of adversity;" and the same sentiment has been better expressed by a writer, from Divine authority, who has declared that "it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." The efforts made for her destruction in the late reign are well described by bishop Aylmer: "What assemblies and councils, what examinations and wrackings of poor men were there, to find out the knife that should cut her throat! What gaping among many lords of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood!" But though man may plot, he cannot execute his designs unless the Lord permit. The time was come when popery was to be humbled.

On receiving intelligence of her sister's death, Elizabeth appointed as her counsellors thirteen who had been thus employed by the late queen, to whom she joined eight Protestants. Among these was sir William Cecil, who was her principal adviser from the first. He communicated to her the intelligence of her sister's decease; he was employed to prepare the address she delivered to the council, and the first minute of business requiring immediate attention, is in Cecil's handwriting.

On November 23, the queen removed to the Charterhouse, near London, attended by more than a thousand nobility and gentry, with many ladies. Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, rode next to her as master

of the horse. When approaching the metropolis, she was met by the principal clergy, all of whom she received with much affability, excepting Bonner; from that ecclesiastical butcher she turned with expressions of disgust. Her decided disapproval of persecution was shown on the day after her arrival, when, on learning that sir Ambrose Jermyn, a magistrate of Suffolk, had stopped the proceedings against the Protestants in his neighbourhood, a letter of thanks was sent to him in the queen's name, expressing her wish that others would act in the same manner. But the desire of the popish prelates to continue the persecutions was openly declared. At the funeral of queen Mary, on December 13, bishop White spoke in strong terms against the return of the exiles for religion, declaring that it would be a good deed if any would slay them! His discourse was thoroughly popish, and in strict accordance with his text, "I praised the dead more than the living," Eccles. iv. 2. But he was only directed not to leave his own house for a time.

On November 28, the queen proceeded to the Tower, but with very different sensations from those which oppressed her when last within its gloomy walls. The words of Psalm cvii. are very descriptive of God's merciful dealings with her: "He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, and brake their bands in sunder." A few days afterwards she removed to Westminster to keep the festival of Christmas, on which day she withdrew from the public service when the host, or bread of the communion, was to be worshipped. These removals were made by public processions, in which the people displayed great joy. Elizabeth was of a goodly presence, and conducted herself so as to win and to retain the general favour. On every occasion she endeavoured to act so as to secure popularity, and she succeeded. Self-gratification was not her primary object; or, rather, she was best pleased when she pleased her people.

The position of Elizabeth on her accession was full of difficulty. The nation was at war with France, and

consequently in hostility to Scotland. There was no reason to suppose that Philip of Spain would long continue on good terms with Elizabeth, unless she consented to marry him, which, he having been her sister's husband, would be more objectionable than the union of her father with Catherine of Arragon, while another Spanish match would be hateful to the nation. The pope, and all the European powers under papal influence, would become her open enemies, as soon as she showed a decided inclination to favour the Reformation. Public affairs were in the utmost disorder: the treasury empty; no adequate preparations to meet the attacks of enemies; trade in a languishing state; the people suffering severely from the effects of recent famine and pestilence; and the nation in debt to the amount of four millions, a sum in those days almost incredible.

Nor was Elizabeth free from other and still more serious causes for disquiet. Her subjects who were attached to the Reformation considered her mother's union with Henry VIII. to have been valid, and her title good: upon their principles Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was altogether unlawful, as the pope had no power to do away the laws of God; thus it was void from the beginning, so that no question need be entertained as to the regularity of the divorce. But, on the other hand, the papists, both at home and abroad, considered that Henry's marriage with Catherine was valid, and the divorce unlawful, so that Ann Boleyn's marriage was, in their view, null and void from the beginning; therefore Elizabeth was illegitimate, and had no claim to the English throne. This had also been declared during her father's reign; but though the act had not been repealed, he restored her to the succession, and mentioned her in the will he was empowered to make. Under these circumstances, papists at home, as well as foreign powers, held that Mary, queen of Scots, had the right to be queen of England. Francis I. of France was the only popish monarch who had recognized the legitimacy of Elizabeth; but his

successors disallowed it. Even her brother had given priority to the family of the duchess of Suffolk, which caused some to consider the surviving sisters of Lady Jane Grey as having claims to the throne.

The desire of the most bigoted papists, to set aside Elizabeth, and place upon the English throne Mary of Scotland, then married to the dauphin of France, appeared without delay. Some practices of this nature, in which the brothers of cardinal Pole were implicated, were made known to the council as early as November 22. Soon afterwards the French government gave the title of queen of England to Mary, as well as that of queen of Scotland. Her husband also assumed the royal arms of England as a part of his armorial bearings, in defiance of all the rules of heraldry, but thereby showed his design to claim the English throne. At their marriage, before the death of queen Mary, they did not in any way mention the title of England; but within two months after Mary's decease, a grant to lord Flemming was made by the dauphin and dauphiness of France, under the title of "King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Subsequently the officers of court publicly announced and addressed Mary Stuart as queen of England. It is important to keep these facts in view; for they show that, from the very beginning of her reign, Elizabeth was placed in a situation of danger by the pretensions of Mary. It was impossible for Elizabeth to act in a friendly manner towards such a pretender to her throne. The pope at once showed Elizabeth the danger of her position, by declaring that, as illegitimate, she had no right to the crown of England; that it belonged to him to settle the succession; that if Elizabeth would submit to his decision, he would treat her with fatherly affection and favour! But the queen had tasted that "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel;" she desired to have no more of the mercies of the pope.

On January 12, 1559, the queen returned to the Tower preparatory to her coronation; from thence

she proceeded on the 14th, in a car richly adorned, in solemn procession to Westminster, the order usually observed before a coronation. On the following day, she was crowned in Westminster Abbey. It was difficult to find a prelate to place the crown upon her head, without which her right to the throne would have been doubted by many. Several sees were vacant by death; the Romish prelates refused to officiate: but, at length, Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was prevailed upon to perform the ceremony, which was conducted agreeably to the Roman pontifical, except that the elevation of the host at the mass was omitted. The bigoted papists opposed the government of Elizabeth, though as yet she had given no decided proofs of an intention to favour the Reformation. But during the procession from the Tower, she showed her determination that the English Bible should be set forth again. In Cheapside a pageant was exhibited, representing Time leading Truth from a cave where she had been hidden. She had an English Bible in her hand, inscribed "The word of truth," which was presented to the queen. Elizabeth received the book, and pressed it to her heart, returning thanks, and declaring that she would often read over that book. The general character of the pageants of that day was much superior to those usually exhibited. They were comparatively free from heathenism and popish superstition, while many made direct reference to those doctrines of truth, whereby alone monarchs can reign with safety and satisfaction. But the queen would not proceed so rapidly as the Protestants wished. When, on the following day, a gentleman presented a petition, alluding to the liberation of prisoners at a coronation, requesting that some other prisoners, namely, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, with one Paul, might be released, the queen smiled, but answered that it was needful first to inquire whether they wished to be set at liberty.

It would have been far more gratifying to every lover of the truth, had Elizabeth at once decidedly ex-

pressed her sentiments in favour of true religion. But her heart was convinced, rather than changed. Though she never would have acted with blind bigotry like her sister, yet she seems to have been a Protestant quite as much from circumstances as from inclination. The Reformation under her never proceeded so far as under Edward VI. She would, probably, if left to herself, have adopted a course still more modified, half-way between her father and brother. But the nation demanded more, and she could not refuse to go farther than her own inclination dictated. These things were overruled for good, and we cannot but admire the dealings of Providence, whereby the Most High caused it to be for the interest of the queen and her people, to oppose the detestable tyranny of the popedom. Yet, had Elizabeth gone forward more decidedly, she would have been sustained in her course; and had she been more under the influence of personal piety, she would have escaped many difficulties in which she was afterwards involved. All that the queen did as to religion, before the meeting of parliament, was to stop the popish persecutions, to forbid any one to preach without a license, and to direct that a part of the public services should be in English. The mass was still continued, but the elevation and idolatrous adoration of the host were forbidden.

On January 29, 1559, the parliament met. Efforts were made to procure the election of members well disposed to the queen. Sir Ralph Bagnal, who had stood alone in his opposition to the introduction of the papal authority, was now knight of the shire for the county of Stafford. One act restored to the crown the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical preferments, which had, during the late reign, been placed at the disposal of cardinal Pole to forward popery. Another act allowed the queen to apply part of the bishops' revenues to the public service. A more important law restored to the crown the supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and set aside that of the pope. This was expressed in

less objectionable terms than in the reigns of her father and brother. Lever, an exile, urged that the title of supreme head of the church ought not to be assumed by any mortal. Elizabeth was induced to take lower ground, though she was acknowledged as supreme governor in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters. As a woman, she was not qualified to decide the matters brought before her in this capacity. She was, therefore, authorized to appoint what was called "the high commission court," vested with arbitrary power in matters relating to religion. It led to much oppression and many abuses.

Another law related to uniformity in matters of religion. Previously to this act being passed, ten Protestant and as many popish divines were instructed to discuss publicly, whether having prayer in an unknown tongue, is contrary to Scripture, and the practice of the primitive church; whether every national church may not regulate its own ceremonies without reference to the papal authority; and whether the sacrifice of the mass can be supported from Scripture. The papists cavilled, and shifted their ground; they refused to argue these points fairly in writing, though they at first had agreed to do so. Some papists were imprisoned and fined for contumacy; they had gone so far as openly to propose to excommunicate queen Elizabeth.

The act of uniformity directed the restoration of Protestant worship, according to a form not very different from that appointed in the reign of Edward VI. The variations were made from a desire to retain the moderate papists within the national church; but, like many other measures of compromise in religious matters, this failed. The alterations were chiefly as to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, by introducing expressions which would speak less clearly against the doctrine of the real presence: but how much depends upon this! The doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the real presence of the body of Christ in the conse-

crated elements, in any degree, implies an authority and power in the priest, which leads by sure steps to the errors of popery. Men of learning and speculative minds may try to rear a system which clothes the priesthood with a modified degree of Divine power; but, in fact, the priest thereby is "showing himself that he is God:" for no one less than the Creator can effect a change, however disguised by the term "spiritual sense," if any alteration is supposed to have been made in the sacramental elements.

Another result of education in popish principles must also be noticed with considerable regret. The act did not allow that liberty of conscience in matters of religion, which every man has a right to exercise. At this time, the restraining measures were aimed only at popery; they did not go beyond fines and imprisonment, and contrasted very favourably for the Reformation, when compared with the proceedings of queen Mary's reign. They were called for by the conduct of the bigoted papists, some of whom openly gloried in the persecutions of which they had been guilty. Dr. Story boasted in the House of Commons, that at Uxbridge he had thrown a fagot at "an earwig," as the Protestants were contemptuously styled, while singing psalms at the stake, severely wounding him in the face. But these laws afterwards were found to press very severely on many protestants; and it was long before the evil of attempting to interfere with the right of private judgment was admitted. Even the best men of the sixteenth century were very ignorant on the subject of toleration. This must be attributed to popery: it was only by degrees that scriptural truth on this subject prevailed. But Antichrist, whatever form it assumes, is intolerant.

The number of ecclesiastics who adhered to popery was very small; so far Elizabeth and her counsellors succeeded to procure outward compliance. The number of bishops had been reduced by death to fourteen; these were attached to popery: they agreed to refuse

the oath respecting supremacy, when tendered to them in June, 1559, calculating, that if they firmly united, the queen would not venture to expel so many from their sees. But they were ignorant of the resolute spirit of Elizabeth, who, with her counsellors, saw the necessity for standing firm against the pope's having any influence in England. Thirteen bishops persevered in rejecting the oath. Kitchen, bishop of Llandaff, alone took it; but only about two hundred parish priests and other ecclesiastics gave up their preferments! Nares states, that of nine thousand four hundred beneficed Romish clergy, only one hundred and seventy-seven relinquished their stations; the rest conformed. The result was very disadvantageous to the Reformation. For a long period the pulpits of England were nearly silent. The doctrines of truth were seldom heard from them; or at most in a homily which, however excellent, was purposely so mangled in reading, as to be unintelligible to the hearers. Hence the principles of popery remained deep-rooted in many a country parish, though its outward practices were restrained. But the monastic establishments formed by queen Mary were dissolved. In the month of August, several crucifixes, images, and other superstitious articles, removed from St. Paul's and other metropolitan churches, were burned in the streets; a pleasing contrast to the burnings of martyrs by queen Mary less than a year before.

Jewell and other valuable English reformers had returned from the continent; they saw with deep regret how slowly and imperfectly the Reformation proceeded. Even in 1563, there were but three Protestant preachers in the university of Oxford. Burnet has printed some of the correspondence between Jewell and his friends abroad, in which he bitterly sorrows over the state of things. In 1562, he laments that outward matters connected with popery were allowed to remain, adding, "for in doctrine we have gone to the quick." Again, in 1566, he wishes "that all, even the slightest, ves-

tiges of popery could be removed from the churches, and much more from the minds of men. But at this time the queen cannot bear any change with respect to religion." Jewell was one of the chief ornaments of the English church in this reign. In 1562, he published his celebrated Apology: it was a defence of the Protestant faith, as re-established in England. In a controversy with Harding, he triumphantly refuted and exposed the leading errors of popery, meeting the Romanists on their own ground. The works of Jewell present a faithful picture of the controversy, as it was then carried on, and have supplied a rich store of materials for later writers. The original letters just noticed are preserved at Zurich, and will, it is hoped, soon be printed.

Having stated the course pursued in re-establishing the Protestant religion in England, it will not be necessary to go into minute details, in a sketch like the present. During this reign, it was manifest that the Reformation was checked and limited by the fears of many of its friends, as well as by the artifices of its enemies.*

The popish prelates were, at length, removed from their sees, but were treated in a manner widely different from their own proceedings in the late reign. Bonner was the only one subjected to imprisonment; he remained in the Marshalsea till his death, in 1569, indulging in licentious expressions, and gross disorderly conduct. When the pictures in the early editions of Fox's Acts and Monuments, which represented him inflicting tortures upon the Protestants with his own hands, were shown to him, the callous wretch viewed them with a laugh, and asked how the artist could depict him so well? He openly gloried in what he had done. His imprisonment was necessary to screen him

* The reader may refer to Strype, Burnet, and Soames, as writers of the established church, for particulars upon these subjects; also to Neale, Brook, and Price, for the statements of writers of other denominations of Protestants. The accounts of Romish historians do not explain the real proceedings of this reign. They are all written with a manifest design to distort and misrepresent, often by the grossest falsehoods.

from popular indignation ; but the immediate cause was an intemperate memorial presented to the queen by himself and other bigoted Romanists, condemning the Reformation, even as begun by Henry VIII., and stigmatizing the martyrs these prelates had condemned to the flames, as malefactors suffering justly the Divine wrath. When the popish prelates were summoned to declare whether they would obey the laws lately passed, archbishop Heath had the effrontery to tell the queen that she could not desist from the suppression of heresy—meaning thereby the persecution of the Protestants—without exposing herself to a curse ! Elizabeth replied, in the words of Joshua, “ As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord ; ” and declared her determination, together with that of her parliament, to resist popery.

The vacant sees were filled up : Parker was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. The leading Reformers effected much, though far less than they desired ; for the general proceedings of government limited, rather than encouraged them.

The queen had suffered much from the principles and practices of popery, but she desired to retain some ornaments, ceremonials, and superstitious observances adopted mostly from heathenism in the early ages of the church, which made way for the grossest errors of Romanism. Among them were the crucifix, and lights burning on the communion-table, which Elizabeth for a time retained in her chapel : the former was a gross superstition connected with image worship ; the latter was a practice of ancient pagan worship, and therefore ought to be discarded by all Christians. The bishops feared that these things would lead to further abuses ; they remonstrated with Elizabeth, who unwillingly consented to their removal. She was afterwards more fully aware of the necessity for showing her departure from popery ; and Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, having caused a prayer-book adorned with pictures of the Virgin and saints to be laid in her seat, as a new year's

gift, she openly reproved him in the vestry after service, declaring truly, that such ornaments were hinderances to devotion.

Matters of a secular nature now claim attention. Among the proceedings in parliament was an address to the queen, urging her to select a husband, accompanying this request with strong expressions of loyalty and personal regard. The queen replied in courteous terms, but said that she considered herself married to her kingdom, and that at present her desire was to have it inscribed on her tomb, "Here lies a queen who lived and died a virgin."

One most pressing affair was to make peace with France. Philip, finding that he could not rely on support from England, had already done this, but felt his honour concerned to extricate his ally from a war undertaken on his account. The main difficulty was respecting Calais. The French would not relinquish that place, while to give up the claim would annoy the national feelings of the English. A treaty was at last made, by which Calais was to be restored by France in eight years, under heavy pecuniary forfeitures. The English government wisely resolved not to forego the advantages of peace to their exhausted kingdom, by a vain endeavour to procure again a place, the possession of which was rather an empty honour than a real benefit, and which increased dissatisfaction between the two countries.

In this summer, the first of her reign, Elizabeth began her custom of going through different parts of the country. She visited her palace at Nonsuch, in Surrey, and other places. The engraving on page 214 represents Nonsuch, an edifice erected by Henry VIII. It is from an old picture, which also represents the queen in her chariot, or car.

The state of affairs in Scotland required the especial attention of Elizabeth. Mary queen of Scots had been affianced to the dauphin, and removed to France when very young. Her marriage was completed in 1557,

when she was induced secretly to sign a deed, by which she conveyed to the king of France her claims to the throne of England, as well as that of Scotland, in case she died without leaving children. This document has been lately published. Her union with France could only be supported by discouraging the Reformation in Scotland, and persecuting the reformers in that country. When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England, an intention directly to interfere with her was manifested by the assumption of her regal title and arms by Mary and her husband, as already mentioned. They had not been assumed during the preceding reign, therefore it was plain that the insignia were not merely borne as indicating a distant claim to the succession, but, being taken immediately upon the death of Mary of England, they evidently were meant to imply that the bearers had a better right than that possessed by Elizabeth. All who acknowledged the papal supremacy necessarily took this view. It is worse than idle to speak of the contest between Mary Stuart and Elizabeth as many do, assigning the cause to be petty female jealousies: the former claimed the crown of the latter, and sought to obtain it.

The English armorial bearings were openly displayed at a festival in Paris, when the king, having engaged in a tilting-match with Montgomery, the captain of the Scotch guard, was mortally wounded by the shivers of a lance. He died July 10, and was succeeded by the husband of Mary, Francis II. The deceased, Henry II., who was thus unexpectedly called to his account, engaged with Philip and the pope in extensive designs to suppress the Reformation, and had just passed a decree, ordering all the Lutherans in his own dominions to be put to death. A few days before the death of Henry, he ordered a body of troops to be sent to Scotland, where the queen regent was already at variance with the chief nobility. She required absolute submission to the measures directed by France; and

the English ambassador learned that it was intended to put the leading nobles to death. It was evident that the Scottish nobility and gentry would not be left to themselves, to settle the differences which had arisen about religion; for these troops were despatched immediately after the accession of Francis. The Reformation in Scotland was to be crushed by foreign interference; thereby the designs of France against England would be efficiently promoted.

The French commander caused Leith to be fortified, which excited the public displeasure. The populace destroyed some monastic establishments, while the Scottish lords assembled at Stirling, and took measures that the kingdom should not be reduced to a mere province of France.

The lords then called a parliament, which met at Edinburgh, and deposed the regent; but Knox urged that Mary's misconduct should not operate against the allegiance they owed to her as their sovereign. They also denounced the French as enemies to their country. Thus hostilities were begun in Scotland; and it was evident that if the French were successful there, England would soon be attacked, the pretensions of Mary and Francis to the English throne having been distinctly avowed. Under these circumstances, Elizabeth was obliged to take a part. She assisted the Scottish Protestants with some supplies, but not till the French were on the point of prevailing. At this juncture, the English fleet entered the Firth of Forth, and stopped the advance of the French army. It was plain that Elizabeth had delayed this interposition till the last moment; no desire but that of preserving her own kingdom influenced her. She expressly stipulated with the Scottish lords that they should maintain their allegiance to Mary.

It is not to be denied that Elizabeth interfered constantly with the affairs of Scotland. This is represented by popish historians as unwarrantable: it was defended by Cecil, because such interference was necessary to

avert danger from his country and his sovereign. He declared that he thought it lawful to use the same means of defence which the adversary used in offence. Here, as in other instances, the state policy even of the most upright rulers departs from the plain and simple declarations of Christianity. But France made great use of Scotland to forward political designs against England, before the latter took part in the Scottish civil dissensions, as the only effectual way to meet the adversary. The queen of England then advanced a futile plea of right, as a pretext to interfere in the affairs of Scotland, on the ground of feudal superiority over that kingdom. But if subjects ever have a right to appeal to foreign powers, or if foreign powers ever are justified in interfering with other nations, for defending themselves, the Protestants of Scotland, and the English queen, were fully justified in their union at this period.

The French threatened to invade the south of England, but it was plain that the main contest between the two countries would be in Scotland. English troops were sent to assist in compelling the French army to return home. Philip interposed, admitting that the object of Elizabeth was "to have her realm in safety," but urged that her troops should be withdrawn from Scotland. Elizabeth expressed her willingness to do this, if the French troops were withdrawn, whose presence rendered her interference necessary.

Leith was besieged, but the French garrison did not surrender till July 6, 1560; terms of peace were then agreed upon. The principal clauses were, that the French soldiers should leave Scotland, and that the fortifications they had erected should be demolished; a council to exercise the government in her absence was to be chosen by queen Mary and the states; all public offices should be filled by Scotsmen; Elizabeth's right to the throne of England was to be recognized, and the royal arms and title of queen of that country were no longer to be borne by Mary. Cecil, who had gone to

Edinburgh, with great difficulty obtained the consent of the French envoy to the latter article. The English troops then returned home; the Scottish parliament met, and established the Reformation. But Mary and Francis refused to ratify the treaty. The designs of the papists against England were not laid aside. The importance which the French government attached to keeping an armed force in Scotland, sufficient to control that kingdom, was shown by a suggestion made to Elizabeth by the French envoy at her court, that Calais might be restored at once to England, if she would withdraw her forces then attacking Leith. Camden states that "she answered flatly, that she little esteemed Calais, a poor fishing town, in comparison with the safety and security of all Britain." That the designs of France were directed to the English throne, and that the possession of Scotland was regarded as a means thereto, manifestly appears from the refusal of Francis and Mary to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

Another change soon followed, which weakened the French power over Scotland, and stayed the designs against England. Francis II. died in December, 1560, leaving Mary Stuart a widow, without children. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Charles IX.; they both were under the control of the bigoted princes of Guise, whose designs against the French Protestants were retarded by this change. These plots had proceeded so far that the king of Navarre, the father of Henry IV., and his brother the prince of Condé, were to have been put to death in a few days; but the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, needed the support of Navarre, in consequence of the death of Francis, and caused him to be released. She was appointed regent, and for a short time supported the reformed religion against the princes of Guise: but she was in her heart a bigoted papist, as her conduct soon showed.

Mary Stuart felt this change bitterly. Naturally of a lively disposition, she had been brought up in the court of France from the age of six years: a court,

then, as in later days, distinguished for the pursuit of frivolous and vicious pleasures. Its gaieties were highly pleasing to a character like that of Mary: she was trained in the fashionable accomplishments of the times, but there was no attention to prepare her for discharging the severe duties of her royal station, while her mind was kept in bondage by the degrading superstitions of popery. For a time, all seemed to gratify this vain young female; when only aged seventeen, she found herself queen of two kingdoms, with a claim upon a third, esteemed valid by those around her. But a darker hour was at hand: by the unexpected death of her husband, she was suddenly cast down from what she considered the pinnacle of honour and happiness. She could have exclaimed, "Ye have taken away my gods, (all that I have been taught to value,) and what have I more!" The French queen-mother greatly disliked Mary, so that she had to withdraw from the court where lately all had been subject to her will. Even those she most trusted recommended her to return to Scotland; her best friends also advised her to conciliate the reformed party there, and to wait with patient hope to succeed to the English throne, if Elizabeth continued unmarried. To Mary, so recently the queen of France, this was a bitter trial; but as one whose ideas of happiness were restricted to the gaieties and frivolities of a polished court, the return to the coarse manners and want of refinement displayed in her native land, was still more trying.

Mary applied to Elizabeth for a free passage through England. This was offered, if she would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary was very indignant at this request, and refused to do so till she had consulted with her counsellors in Scotland, though it was evident that if Elizabeth treated with her on any other terms, she in some degree sanctioned Mary's claim to the English throne. It was also important, that there should be no appearance on the part of Elizabeth, of a

change in her friendly disposition towards the Scottish Protestants. But there was no design on the part of Elizabeth to intercept Mary. Had there been any desire to detain the queen of Scots, it would have been easy to have raised some pretext while she was passing through England. Some English ships were then at sea, searching for pirates: they saw Mary's vessels, and being satisfied that she was on board, saluted and dismissed them. This clearly appears from a contemporary authority.

Mary left Calais for Scotland, in August, 1561. Brantome, who accompanied her, describes her regret on quitting the land which her fancy depicted as the only place desirable for an earthly residence. Looking towards the shore, as the shades of night came on, she exclaimed, "Adieu, France! farewell, farewell my dear France," with other expressions indicating her affection for that land. She ordered a couch to be spread on deck, desiring to be roused with the early dawn, if the French shores were still in sight. They were visible; she started up, and when the coast at last receded from her view, she said, "Adieu, France: all now is over, farewell France." Mary was a pleasing, and, in some respects, an amiable female, but under bad training she was become the mere slave of morbid feelings and sensations; regretting the loss of past pleasures; a spoiled child of indulgence and frivolity; acting on the impulse of the moment, though constantly planning deep and crafty schemes. She was wholly unfitted for the duties which awaited her, and evidently regarded them with dislike. Such dispositions in the ruler of a kingdom portended evil to herself and her people, with trouble to her neighbours.

Mary arrived safely at Edinburgh. The people received her with expressions of joy; but she was not pleased at their rude language, manners, and habits, nor at their rough attempts to welcome her to her native land. Smarting also from recent persecutions, the people could not behold her attachment to popery

with complacency. Her half-brother, the lord James Stuart, prevented an unjustifiable interference with her religious observances, but she had to listen to the strong expressions of Knox and others against idolatry. She bitterly resented this, disclosing, without hesitation, her determined resolution to uphold popery. Thus Mary at once placed herself on ill terms with her subjects, who could not but contrast her conduct with that of the English queen, with whom also Mary seemed desirous of being on ill terms. She again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, refusing to withdraw the assumption of a present right to the English throne, unless Elizabeth would recognise her as being entitled to the succession. This could not be listened to. The English nation were not inclined to hear that another popish Mary was likely to be their queen, while to recognize her title would have given fresh energy to the partizans of popery. But although Elizabeth, from prudential motives, refused to recognize Mary as her successor, she never sought to set aside her claim to be lawfully so considered; while Mary clearly displayed her opinion, that she had a title to the English throne, not as the successor of Elizabeth, but in preference to that princess, whom her popish views led her to consider an usurper of her rights.

The state of affairs in Scotland became more troubled. The persecutions to which the Protestants had been subjected, with the determination to restore popery to its full extent, evinced by Mary's counsellors before her arrival, and by herself afterwards, obliged the reformers to take an active part in the affairs of the nation. Thus Knox and others, of whose piety there can be no doubt, were brought into direct collision with the queen. It is usual to speak in strong terms of censure respecting the conduct of Knox, in daring to remonstrate boldly with queen Mary respecting her proceedings. But the state of things was too serious to admit of trifling, or of close adherence to courtly forms. Not only the lives, but the souls of his

countrymen were at stake. Knox was placed in a situation of responsibility. A deep sense of this, enabled him firmly to pursue what he considered to be his duty. Those who have studied the character and writings of this intrepid servant of God, will not be inclined to censure him, any more than the prophet Elijah for reproving Ahab, and his idolatrous queen. But many a nominal Christian of our day would doubtless censure that prophet, for what they would call his harsh and uncourtly conduct towards Jezebel! Mary, like the wife of Ahab, as supreme ruler of Scotland, had to answer for the blood of the prophets of the Lord, who were slain by those who governed in her name, and whose acts she had not disavowed: but she was ready to resume the persecutions. Was such a character not to be told the truth? Was she only to have smooth things prophesied to her? And it is not for Mary's advocates to censure the boldness with which Knox spoke from the pulpit. At the very same time, popish preachers in France and elsewhere, used much stronger language, openly stirring up subjects to rebellion. Her proceedings against Knox forced him to oppose her authority. In December, 1563, she caused him to be brought before her council on a charge of treason, for having written to some leading Protestants, requesting their presence at the trial of some persons charged with felony, for having rebuked a popish priest, when about to celebrate mass during the queen's absence from Edinburgh. The queen herself attended the council, and when she perceived Knox standing as a criminal, she burst into loud laughter, saying, "That man had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself; she would now see if she could make him weep." She interfered repeatedly against him; but the lords, after an inquiry, unanimously pronounced that he had not been guilty of any breach of the laws. The vindictive spirit of Mary has not been sufficiently noticed. It accounts for many of her actions, while it shows why no confidence could be

placed in her promises. She was an apt scholar of the princes of the house of Guise.

The administration of Elizabeth presented a striking contrast to that of her sister Mary. Having obtained peace with the surrounding nations, she gave encouragement to the arts of peace, and to commerce, according to the views then entertained. She was especially anxious to provide the necessary expenses of the government, with the least possible charge to her subjects; while, being threatened both by Spain and France, she had to adopt precautions against enemies both at home and abroad. This was accomplished by strict frugality. Her favourites complained, and her parsimony was carried too far; but it was better that a few individuals should lack reward, than that the nation should be impoverished, to gratify the vanity and folly of royal favourites.

In 1562, the Protestants in France were openly persecuted. A considerable number were massacred, when assembled for public worship at Vassy, a town governed in the name of Mary Stuart, as late queen of France, who received an income from its inhabitants. The duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, directed this massacre, upon receiving a complaint against the number of Protestants in that neighbourhood, from an aunt of the queen of Scots. Other deeds of violence followed, which caused the French Protestants to apply to Elizabeth for assistance; she gave them aid, well knowing her own danger if the popish party prevailed, but avoided engaging in direct warfare, except by occupying Havre as a place of security for her forces.

The disposition of the English papists to trouble Elizabeth, had been shown already on several occasions. In June, 1561, the steeple and roof of St. Paul's church, in London, were destroyed by fire kindled by lightning, or the carelessness of a plumber, when some papists circulated papers, alleging this to be a Divine judgment, because the popish services in that cathedral were discontinued. Pilkington, bishop of Durham,



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, EARLY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

answered this libellous statement in a tract which exposed the gross superstitious observances, and other evil practices and cruelties committed within that building in the days of popery. The public freely came forward with contributions for the repairs; a temporary roof was completed before winter, and the whole secured the next year; but the steeple, the summit of which was 520 feet from the ground, was never rebuilt. The seditious and treasonable practices of the papists increased; this caused an act to be passed, early in 1563, whereby a second refusal of the oath of supremacy, and maintaining the authority of the pope in England, were declared

to be treason. This cannot be considered as persecution against the Romanists for religion. It in no way interfered with their religious views, but only restrained them from proceedings against the queen's authority; a course which every ruler must pursue for self-preservation. The fears of a disputed succession induced the House of Commons again to petition the queen to marry, or to name her successor: to the first she was decidedly averse, the second would involve her in danger. She, therefore, returned an evasive answer. About this time she showed her sensitiveness on this subject, by causing lady Catherine Grey to be imprisoned, on account of a secret marriage with the earl of Hertford. This unfortunate lady was next in succession by the will of Henry VIII., but was not so near by descent as Mary, queen of Scots. The proceedings of Elizabeth in this matter cannot be justified, especially as the lady Catherine was kept a prisoner till her death about four years afterwards, and her marriage was not allowed to be lawful till the following reign.

The surviving brothers of the Pole family also planned to dethrone Elizabeth, but their plot in favour of Mary Stuart was discovered, and they were convicted, though not put to death.

The death of the duke of Guise, with the interference of Elizabeth, caused the French court to grant terms to the Huguenots, as the Protestants in that country were called; but they did not support their ally. The English troops were withdrawn from Havre, after a fruitless attempt to retain that place as an equivalent for Calais.

An act passed in the parliament this year, provided that the Bible should be translated into Welsh, and that the religious services in that country should be in the native tongue. Well would it have been had similar provision been made for religious services, in those parts of Ireland where English was not understood; but, unhappily, the only alternative given there was English or Latin: thus the people were kept in ignorance; and one of the worst errors of popery,

Divine worship in an unknown tongue, was continued. St. Paul declared, "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

In 1564, the queen of Scotland was inclined to form a second marriage. This was an important matter to England. If a powerful foreign alliance were formed, Mary's claim to the throne would be enforced; Elizabeth therefore interfered, both openly, and by secret measures, to prevent her alliance with any of the continental princes attached to popery. In these, as in other matters of state policy, there were crooked proceedings, which it is impossible clearly to fathom, or to approve. Elizabeth occupied Mary for some time by urging her to marry Dudley, earl of Leicester. Mary disdained him as her inferior, although for a time she pretended to think of him; but suddenly she determined to give her hand to Henry, lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lennox, a grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., by her second marriage. Some have thought that Elizabeth in reality promoted this union, though she affected to be much displeased. She would have preferred to keep Mary unmarried, but certainly this marriage would not be so prejudicial to the English interests as one with a foreign prince. The union commended itself to Mary, as in addition to Darnley's personable appearance, it prevented any claim on his part to the Scottish crown; and while it strengthened her own position, it rendered her independent of England. Thus, while finessing with the English government, she suddenly adopted the course most likely to promote her own views; and had it not been for the ill conduct of Darnley, the measure would have been a happy one for Mary. Their union took place in July 1565, while its being formed in opposition to Elizabeth's remonstrances, gave the latter a pretext, though a very unjustifiable one, for promoting the discontents in Scotland. She encouraged the earl of

Murray, Mary's half-brother, to oppose his sister's marriage; but when he was obliged to take shelter in England, she disavowed any part in his proceedings, yet gave him private support.

Darnley was a weak, profligate youth; he soon disgusted Mary, and quarrelled with her favourite Rizzio, a Piedmontese musician of low birth, whom Mary, with her accustomed weakness, favoured so as to raise scandalous reports, and to excite the displeasure of the Scottish nobility. Several nobles united with the king in a plot against this minion. They entered the queen's apartment while she was at supper with Rizzio; the latter was dragged from her presence, and stabbed to death in an adjoining gallery. This atrocity extinguished Mary's regard for Darnley, though for a time she pretended to be on good terms with him, that she might detach him from the nobles who planned and executed the murder of Rizzio.

In June, 1566, Mary gave birth to a son, afterwards James I. When Elizabeth heard of this event, she gave way to feelings of female rivalry, lamenting that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was a barren stock; but she recovered herself to receive the Scottish envoy, and engaged to be sponsor to the young prince. The English parliament renewed the recommendation about the succession. Elizabeth was so anxious to avoid the settlement of this question, that she relinquished a part of the grant given by this parliament, rather than allow farther debates on the subject. Some may be surprised at the aversion always manifested by Elizabeth, to allow any settlement to be made respecting the succession: it may partly have arisen from a portion of her father's jealous spirit, but, on reflection, the wisdom of her conduct will appear. If Mary had been recognized as successor to the English throne, all those would have been alarmed who justly dreaded another popish queen: while Mary's own partizans would represent it as a proof that Elizabeth allowed her rival's title to be pre-

ferable to her own. To set Mary aside would be unjust ; it would have countenanced others to bring forward unfounded claims, and would have driven Mary's partisans to open attempts in her favour, as the only means to secure her succession.

Without entering minutely into the history of Elizabeth's suitors, it is enough to enumerate here those who appeared in the early part of her reign : the foreigners were Philip, king of Spain, the archduke Charles of Austria, Eric, king of Sweden, Adolphus, duke of Holstein, and the earl of Arran. Among her own subjects, the most favoured seemed to be, sir William Pickering, the earl of Arundel, and lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester : but there is no just cause to believe that Elizabeth ever purposed to marry ; though at times she entertained various proposals, to satisfy, or to amuse her people.

Darnley and queen Mary were openly on ill terms ; he was not present at the christening of the young prince, but intimated a desire to retire to the continent, since he found himself unpopular with the nation, and the queen had begun to manifest undue regard for the profligate earl of Bothwell. At this juncture, Darnley was seized with severe illness from the small pox ; the queen visited him at Glasgow, where she exhibited an appearance of returning affection, although at the time she was in correspondence with Bothwell, who engaged that means should be found for relieving her from her union. When Darnley was a little recovered, Mary caused him to be removed to Edinburgh, where, on the pretence of enjoying better air than at the palace, by the suggestion of Bothwell, Darnley was lodged in the Kirk of Field, a lone house, just without the walls of the city, on the spot where the buildings of the university now stand. The queen slept several nights in an apartment under that of Darnley, till on Sunday evening, February 10, she returned to the palace to be present at a masked ball, given on occasion of the marriage of one of her servants ; the due observance of the

sabbath being disregarded by her, as commonly is the case in popish countries. Soon after midnight the sound of an explosion was heard. The lone house had been blown up with gunpowder, but the bodies of Darnley and an attendant were found uninjured in an adjoining garden.

Many volumes have been written respecting this murder. The result now generally admitted by impartial historians is, that Bothwell was the main contriver of the deed, assisted by earl Morton, and probably by some other nobles. Morton admitted that Bothwell had urged him to join in this atrocious act, with an assurance that the queen desired it. But there is not sufficient ground to fix Mary with being a direct participator in the plot, though it is evident that she had entered into a guilty correspondence with Bothwell, and looked to him for deliverance, by some means, from her unhappy marriage. Considering the principles and practices of those times, her hatred to Darnley, and the devices in which it is clear that she was engaged, there can be no doubt but that she was prepared for a deed of violence. Some leading nobles commenced a judicial inquiry; but when a man named Nelson, who was found unhurt among the ruins, stated, that the key of the rooms, including that in which Bothwell slept, were in the care of the queen's servants, they proceeded no farther. However partial Mary's modern historical advocates may be in relating her history, few venture to deny that she had a guilty knowledge of what was to take place; and thus all their attempts to palliate the guilt of murder must be ineffectual.

It is impossible to clear Mary from being an accessory after the fact, even if she did not participate more directly in the murder of Darnley. Two days after the event, a placard was publicly set up in Edinburgh, charging Bothwell and others with having committed the murder with the queen's assent. Bothwell was then accused of the murder by Lennox, Darnley's father, in due form of law. The queen could not re-

fuse the demand that he and others should be brought to trial; but would not allow Bothwell to be taken into custody. She even suffered him to sit at the council which directed that his trial should take place in sixteen days; a space of time evidently too short for needful preparation. He appeared on the day fixed, with many armed followers, and a military attendance, that effectually outbraved the administration of justice. Lennox did not venture to attempt to prosecute the charge, but one of his dependants attended to offer a protest in his name. Two days after this mockery of justice, the queen selected Bothwell to carry the sceptre before her in a procession to the parliament house. An application to grant Lennox a longer space to prepare the requisite evidence was refused, though strengthened by a letter from Elizabeth, who urged upon Mary the necessity of acting with sincerity and prudence, that the world might be convinced of her innocence of this enormous crime. Mary's ambassador at the French court gave similar advice; even there, strong surmises of her guilt were openly uttered.

Bothwell was allowed to proceed with impunity; many of the nobility, awed by his retinue, signed an address recommending the queen to take him for her husband, though he was married to a sister of the earl of Huntley. He then pushed forward in his guilty course. Attended by a body of horse, he surprised the queen, according to a plan preconcerted between them. She was conveyed to the castle of Dunbar, where she consented to marry Bothwell, whom she promoted to be duke of Orkney. Bothwell then procured a divorce for himself; the sentence being founded on an accusation presented by one of his agents in the name of his wife, accusing him of adultery. The banns for his marriage with the queen were published in Edinburgh; but the officiating minister, named Craig, at the same time boldly declared his abhorrence of such a union. On May 15, just sixteen days after the divorce from his wife, and little more than three months

from the murder of the king, Bothwell was publicly married to queen Mary at Edinburgh!

Such profligate proceedings excited general disgust and alarm. Bothwell endeavoured to get possession of the young prince; but the nobles formed an association to prevent this, and to punish Bothwell. Forces were levied on both sides. The nobles were the strongest; Mary was compelled to dismiss her new husband, and to surrender herself a prisoner. She was conveyed to Loch-leven castle, where she was required to resign the crown to her son, and to consent to the appointment of Murray as regent. The young prince was proclaimed by the title of James VI., and crowned at Stirling soon afterwards. Although no proofs of direct concern in her husband's murder were brought forward against Mary, her connexion with Bothwell increased the general belief of the accusation, while embittered feelings arising from party feuds and the persecutions by the Romanists, caused her subjects to unite against her. Elizabeth interposed in her favour; but though she directed her ambassadors to remonstrate, and threaten the confederates, she could not desire that Mary should be able to proceed with her schemes against the Scottish Protestants, and to gain the throne of England. The confederates therefore retained her in captivity, and compelled her to resign the crown.

Bothwell took refuge in the Orkneys, where he fitted out some vessels, and committed acts of piracy. In an engagement with a Norwegian vessel, he was taken prisoner, his life was spared, but he was confined in a dungeon, where he lingered ten years, latterly bereft of his senses. A servant whom he sent to Edinburgh to bring away his papers before his flight, was taken; upon him was found a silver casket, containing letters written by Mary to her paramour, the genuineness of which is allowed by every impartial writer: they prove that she at least connived at the proceedings against Darnley.

In May, 1568, Mary escaped from Loch-leven by the contrivance of the brother of the keeper, who was led from his duty by her arts and flatteries. She was immediately joined by some of the nobility, especially those attached to popery; when she retracted her resignation, and efforts were made to place her again on the throne. After some negotiations with the regent, the earl of Murray, recourse was had to arms. The popish archbishop of St. Andrews was one of the leaders of the queen's forces. The hostile bands came into collision at Langside; Mary's supporters were soon vanquished, and fled. She rode sixty miles without stopping, to Dundrennan Abbey; being then in terror lest she should be overtaken, she determined to proceed to England, against the advice of her attendants, who well knew the unjustifiable manner in which she had countenanced those who supported her claims to the English throne. Lord Herries persuaded her to send first to the governor of Carlisle to inquire whether he would protect her; but too fearful, and too impatient to wait for a reply, Mary embarked in a fishing boat, and landed at Workington, in Cumberland, from whence she was escorted to Carlisle. On landing she wrote to Elizabeth, requiring protection and support. Her unexpected arrival placed Elizabeth in a difficult situation, increased by the English queen being then so seriously ill, that her life was despaired of. Prayers were publicly made for her recovery; they refer to sufferings of mind as well as body. The higher the rank, and the more ample the possessions, usually the more painful are the impressions which harass the mind when danger appears at hand. The public alarm was much increased by a papist charged with the blackest crimes, being the presumptive heir.

It was necessary to pursue to its close the narrative of Mary's unhappy reign in Scotland: we now look back to other events of the early years of the reign of Elizabeth. One of her principal cares was to improve the coinage, also to proportion the national expenditure

to the revenue. The regular sources of income were from the customs, then usually called tonnage and poundage; also from fines, the crown lands, and part of the rents of wards or minors, with the first-fruits and tenths from ecclesiastical benefices. The whole of these amounts produced, on the average, 300,000*l.* per annum, while the regular expenditure was about 40,000*l.* for the royal household, 2,000*l.* for the queen's private expenditure, and 30,000*l.* for the navy. Thus she was enabled to discharge the debts of the crown, to assist the Protestants of Scotland and France with money, and to raise armaments when there was occasion for them. Extraordinary circumstances at times caused unusual expenditure, when it became necessary to apply to parliament; but these applications were so rare till towards the close of the reign, that there was seldom any difficulty in obtaining grants. In the latter part of her reign, the contest with Philip, with other foreign princes, and especially the war in Ireland, occasioned a larger expenditure. Among the objectionable sources of income resorted to by Elizabeth, was raising money by lottery. The first which is noticed by historians, was in 1567, though it is probable that similar undertakings had previously been made on a smaller scale. It consisted of 400,000 tickets, at ten shillings each, the produce was to be applied to the repair and increase of the ports and havens of the realm. The prizes consisted chiefly of plate. Active exertions were made to promote this gambling scheme. The government wrote to the justices in various parts, commanding them to help the agents for the disposal of tickets, and to urge the purchase on patriotic motives. Large placards, five feet long, were printed, and other means used to give publicity. In the *Losely* manuscripts is an interesting account of many of the adventures, disappointments, and the evil results.

The reform in the coinage was a work of considerable difficulty. All the money in circulation was reckoned above its real value, while a great portion was utterly

worthless. After fixing a regular value for each denomination of coin; the queen received at that rate all but the most worthless, much of which was counterfeit, and gave in exchange good coin, both gold and silver. The slow process of exchange caused a temporary stagnation of trade; but when it was effected, very beneficial results followed. Strype says of Elizabeth:—"She at her great cost restored to her people fine coin from a base; and she took but few taxes from her parliament to do this, when many and great were the taxes levied before, without any advantage to the subject. How was this our realm then pestered with strangers, strange rulers, strange gods, strange languages, strange religion, strange coin; and now how peaceably rid of them all!" While mentioning the coins of this realm, it is important to notice the meaning of the Latin inscriptions placed upon them by queen Elizabeth. Upon the gold, "This is the Lord's work, and it is wonderful in our eyes;" and on the silver, "I have chosen God for my help." She uttered the first sentence with fervent devotion, when the intelligence of her accession to the throne was first communicated. The selection of these mottoes for her coin was not a mere matter of form; her mind was deeply impressed by the remembrance of past mercies, while the dangers which beset her on every side, continually taught her the need of help beyond human support.

The enforcement of uniformity as to religious rites and ceremonies, was so strictly required, as to break the unity of the Protestant church, about the period at which we have arrived. In this, as in every case where such disputes arise, each party was eventually carried farther than they at first intended: so true it is that the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water, and so important is it to avoid all matters which unnecessarily excite divisions. The adoption of six articles proposed to the lower house of convocation, in 1562, might have prevented some painful results. These articles chiefly proposed to abolish all festivals derived only from the

Romish church ; and that the use of the cross in baptism, and the posture at receiving the sacrament, and the habits of the clergy, should be left more at liberty. Forty-three of the clergy present voted in favour of these articles, with proxies making a total of fifty-eight votes. Only thirty-five opposed them, but their proxies, being more numerous, made fifty-nine votes. Thus the strict enforcement of uniformity in those matters which made the original grounds for division in the Protestant church of England, was carried into effect by a minority ; the deciding vote was from one who had not been present at the discussion. Among those who would have granted the liberty required, were Nowell, Lever, Becon, Sampson, and others known as some of the most valuable divines of that period. Two years later, the London ministers were required to subscribe the canons, and conform to the habits and ceremonies. Many refused, and eventually were cast out from their livings. Fuller, the church historian, relates that when Foxe, the martyrologist, was required by archbishop Parker to subscribe, he took out a New Testament, and said, "To this I will subscribe," but refused his assent to the canons. The respect for this venerable man was such, that he was not deprived of the scanty preferment he held. It was disgraceful that he was not better provided for.

The differences thus begun, continued until 1566, when several ministers, who had been dismissed from their cures by the high commission court, began public worship separate from that of the church as by law established, and from which they were excluded for non-compliance with the Act of Uniformity. They declared, that had the use of habits, and a few ceremonies, been left discretionary, both ministers and people would have been easy. The results were painful. From the slow progress of the Reformation, and the exclusion and deprivation of the puritans, there were many churches destitute of ministers. On Palm Sunday, 1566, six hundred persons came to one of the

London churches to receive the communion; but there being no one to officiate, the doors were shut. In 1567, a congregation assembling at Plumbers' Hall, that adopted a form used by the Protestants in their congregations during queen Mary's days, were interrupted by the sheriffs. Bishop Grindal did not condemn this book, but required them to conform. Several were imprisoned for more than a year. These differences and divisions were stimulated by the arts and practices of the papists, some of whom assumed the character of Protestant ministers. In 1567, a friar named Cummin was detected in Kent, assuming the character of a puritan. In the following year, one named Heath, while preaching in Rochester cathedral, dropped a letter, which excited suspicion; on examination, it was found that he was a Jesuit in disguise. Among his papers was a licence from the pope, permitting him to preach any doctrine likely to cause divisions among Protestants.

During the period already noticed, the labour of the administration of affairs rested mainly upon sir William Cecil, but the queen did not yet fully appreciate the value of his counsels. The earl of Pembroke and others, attached to Romish principles, or influenced by selfish views, at times had the chief control; sufficiently, at least, on some occasions, to divert the queen from acting with that full decision which her critical position demanded. Therefore, in this first portion of her reign, there were efforts to conciliate the papists, which past experience must have sufficiently shown would be nugatory, and also at times, hesitation and half measures on questions of foreign policy. These efforts must not be imputed to indifference respecting the errors of popery; it was ever the desire of Elizabeth to conciliate her people; and certainly no English sovereign was ever so popular, so far as relates to her Protestant subjects. Among other measures for pleasing the people, were the queen's "progresses," or visits to different parts of the country. These were begun in

the first period of her reign ; in this manner she visited the university of Cambridge, in 1564, and that of Oxford, in 1566. On both occasions, she took much interest in the ceremonials, and when replying to the addresses, exhibited her attainments in the learned languages.

Some notice of the two most prominent characters among the English nobility and statesmen, who have been already mentioned, appears desirable ; the earl of Leicester especially claims attention.

Robert Dudley was son to the duke of Northumberland, beheaded in queen Mary's reign. He was implicated, with the rest of his family, in the proceedings of the short reign of his sister-in-law, and was condemned with others ; but not having taken an active part, he was pardoned. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was immediately promoted by her, and became her principal favourite. He is said to have been born on the same day. They were companions in early youth, and the Dudleys had been favoured by her brother Edward. He obtained honours and large grants, evidently exercising great influence over the queen. He married Amy, the daughter of sir John Robsart, in 1550 ; her death took place in September, 1560, at Cumnor, where he had sent her to reside for a short time, at the house of Forster, one of his retainers. It was reported that she broke her neck by falling down a flight of stairs ; but many believed that she was murdered by Forster, and sir Richard Varney, the principal attendant of Leicester ; though no legal charge was ever brought forward.

Dudley thus became a widower at the time when there were two queens in Britain, both of whom were desired by their subjects to marry. With Elizabeth he was a great favourite. In 1564 she created him earl of Leicester, and recommended Mary to make him her consort. He was anxious to obtain the hand of his own queen, but did not succeed : his party urged the union, but the wiser counsellors showed how inex-

pedient it was. Thus in 1566, when Cecil stated the reasons in favour of an union between the queen and the archduke Charles, and against the earl of Leicester; his arguments were, that by marrying the earl nothing would be increased in riches, estimation, or power; that it might countenance the slanderous speeches respecting the queen; that he would only plan to strengthen his party; that he was "defamed by the death of his wife;" that he was far in debt; that he would be likely to prove unkind or jealous. Truly an unamiable portrait, if not very much overcharged. A woman of judgment, like Elizabeth, might well hesitate to give Dudley her hand; though, for various reasons, it might suit her rather to favour, than to have opposed to her, a man who had so much influence with the nobility. Had there really been grounds for the slanderous speeches, Cecil would scarcely have adverted to them in the manner he did. In a communication from the French ambassador to his court, July, 1569, he states that the principal nobility urged Leicester either to take proper measures for effecting a marriage with the queen, in which they were willing to aid him, or else to avoid that behaviour which led to public remarks upon his conduct. Leicester said, that he hoped to bring about the union, and promised that if he found himself not likely to succeed, he would attend to their advice. A few days afterwards, the queen declared that she had no intention to marry the earl, and from that time they avoided the intimacy which had been remarked upon. Surely this contemporary evidence shows that there is no ground for the gross assertions of popish historians.

The post of favourite, and his own haughty temper, placed Leicester in collision with other courtiers and statesmen; but Elizabeth kept all these towering spirits in some degree of order, while she made one balance another. The licentious character of Dudley cannot, however, be doubted; about 1572, he privately married the widowed lady Sheffield, but afterwards denied

the marriage, and in 1578, married lady Essex. Yet with these charges of licentiousness, and many dark surmises of oppressions and poisonings, Leicester maintained outward decorum, favoured the puritans, and was looked up to by them as their protector. Unquestionably, there is much mystery about his character; he evidently was implicated in many of the plots and intrigues of those days, even against Elizabeth, yet he contrived to extricate himself, while others went on till they suffered. At one period, he was in some degree connected with the popish plots against the queen; he repeatedly betrayed the state secrets to the French ambassador, and was easily led to join in the endeavours to displace Cecil, fomented by the foreign popish powers. Subsequently the papists circulated a libellous account of his actions, which represents him as one of the most complete monsters that ever lived. Turner justly remarks upon the mystery respecting Leicester, and thinks that he desired this should be the case. It is evident that he was a man of consummate abilities and unbounded ambition, wholly unrestrained by principle. He sought to obtain power without scrupling the means, but being crafty and circumspect, he avoided the common fate of ambitious statesmen. It must be allowed that he was a bad man, yet probably not so bad as he has been described. Elizabeth no doubt found him a supporter of her power, while he knew how to flatter, and please in her hours of amusements.

Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was another leading character among Elizabeth's counsellors. At her accession, he was lord deputy of Ireland, where he checked the eager desires of the papists to begin a persecution, which at last was only prevented by queen Mary's death. Elizabeth appointed him president of the north, a post of difficulty from the state of Scottish affairs. He distinguished himself in suppressing a rebellion in the northern counties. He was honest, brave, and loyal, employed in all difficult services, yet not sufficiently valued or rewarded, owing to the intrigues of

Leicester, with whom he was personally at variance ; so that the queen, more than once, found it difficult to keep them from breaking out into deadly feuds. He died in 1583, universally regretted as one of the few statesmen of undeviating integrity.

These and others who have been already referred to, were some of the leading nobles of the court of Elizabeth, whom the bard graphically describes, though with perhaps, somewhat of poetic phraseology, when he says,

Girt with many a baron bold,
Sublime their starry fronts they rear ;
And gorgeous dames, and statesmen old,
In bearded majesty appear.
In the midst a form divine,
Her eye proclaims her of the British line ;
Her lion port, her awe-commanding face,
Attemper'd sweet to virgin grace.
What strings symphonious tremble in the air !
What strains of vocal transport round her play !

The native population of Ireland were in hostility to their English lords, during the whole of this period. One of them, claiming to be the rightful earl of Tyrone, assumed the title of O'Neal, in the close of queen Mary's reign ; thereby laying claim to the sovereignty of Ulster. So determined was his opposition to England, that he condemned one of his followers to death for eating English biscuit. But when the earl of Sussex gathered a force against him, Shan O'Neal submitted, and attended the court of Elizabeth with a band of native followers, to make excuses for past violence. The queen promised that justice should be done respecting his claims to the earldom of Tyrone. But on his return, he listened to the popish priests, and proclaimed himself a chastiser of heretics, burning the cathedral of Armagh because Protestant worship had been celebrated there. Sir Henry Sidney, then lord deputy, marched against him with some natives who had feuds with Shan O'Neal. The latter sought an alliance with the Scots, lately settled in Ulster ; but

was slain in a drunken brawl in their camp. This was in 1565. Soon afterwards, the greater part of Ulster was declared to be forfeited to the crown, and the title of O'Neal suppressed.

Upon the whole, the first ten years of this reign were the most peaceful. The foreign and domestic foes of Elizabeth had not yet concentrated their bitter hatred, to render their efforts so formidable as they were in subsequent years. This period, however, was not without domestic troubles. The soldiers withdrawn from France in 1563, brought home a pestilential disease, which raged in London during the next twelve months: there were also seasons of scarcity, but the deliverance from Mary's persecutions encouraged the Protestants to support these lesser evils. Strype says, "All her loving subjects rejoiced, though the envious papists murmured and grudged. God did, past all human expectations, prosper the queen's doings."



ELIZABETH.

PART II.

FROM A.D. 1568 TO A.D. 1580.

THE first ten years of the reign of Elizabeth were troubled by contests with France, and the state of Scottish affairs. But a deeper and more deadly contest was preparing; that struggle with the papacy which involved every sort of warfare, national or private, open battles of armies, secret conspiracies, craft and stratagem, turmoil and deception.

Soon after the peace of Passau in 1552, the papacy regained much of the influence which had been shaken by the establishment of the Reformation in Germany. With regard to the British islands, popery fully regained its sway, under the reign of Mary; while the alliance between France and Scotland kept down the northern reformers. But Scotland was roused. Popery had there been exhibited in its worst forms; as a political, as well as a religious system, it excited the utmost abhorrence. Knox and others were made instrumental in leading Scotland to throw off the yoke of popery; while the death of Mary set Englishmen at liberty to declare their abhorrence of idolatry and persecution. The pope at that time was Paul iv., a cruel character, who encouraged Mary of England to follow her merciless course. To check the progress of Lutheranism in Italy, he established the Inquisition at Rome; but he died in August, 1559, when the populace destroyed the prison of the Inquisition, and liberated his victims.

The accession of Elizabeth was a bitter event to him ; every circumstance connected with her birth and early life, placed her in direct opposition to the see of Rome. The pope, indeed, invited the new queen to cast herself upon his clemency, and to sue for her crown as his gift ; but nothing short of the most abject submission and direct apostacy, could ensure his confirmation of that inheritance, which she claimed as the descendant of a marriage, the validity of which would not for a moment be admitted by the papacy. Such submission must have caused Elizabeth to lose the hearts of her subjects, for the nation rejoiced in her as the Protestant daughter of Henry VIII., and the day was past when the pope could obtrude a vassal, either by force or fraud, upon the throne of England.

Pius iv. followed the track marked out by his predecessor, though with more measured steps. He re-established the Inquisition, and by authority derived from the council of Trent, prepared that declaration of faith, which, under the title of the creed of pope Pius, embodies the principles of popery to the present day. In this document, the leading errors of the church of Rome, its peculiar articles of faith, are added to those of the apostles' creed, and are taught as of equal authority, concluding with an anathema against all Protestants ; that is, declaring them accursed, to be put to death here, and asserting their eternal condemnation. Pius iv. urged the kings of France and Spain to persecute their Protestant subjects ; he was willingly obeyed by the latter. In France, he set the leaders of the nation at variance, which ended in massacre and civil warfare ; the pope taking part by sending troops to act against the Huguenots. By the final decrees of the council of Trent, which he re-assembled, Pius iv. prevented any reformation in the church of Rome, and fixed its doctrines and practice in that form, which they have ever since maintained. This gave him additional power to pursue his great design for extirpating Protestantism. Having in vain attempted to win over Elizabeth, by

a direct offer to establish and confirm her royal authority, provided she would submit to his control, (a promise which she and her ministers knew would be kept no longer than might suit the views of the papacy,) nothing remained but to destroy her, and overturn the religious system which she was establishing in England. This was his firm resolve, although she earnestly desired to arrange matters, so as to comprehend the adherents of the church of Rome, provided they would only engage not to obey the mandates of a foreign power in temporal affairs, when contrary to the laws of their own kingdom.

There is not space here to relate all the steps by which the pope proceeded. That his design went forward is plain; an emissary was sent from Rome, in 1566, to Mary of Scotland, to prevent her from coming to any agreement with her Protestant nobles, urging that "all Catholic princes were banded to root them" (the Protestants) "out of all Europe." Elizabeth listened not for a moment to the blandishments or threats of the Vatican. She stedfastly refused to admit a nuncio or ambassador from Rome. Her council stated her full persuasion, that such an emissary would attempt to raise a rebellion. Some inferior agents, however, gained admittance into Ireland, where they took an active part in exciting rebellious proceedings. One obtained admission to Mary in Scotland, in the garb of a merchant; he encouraged her in the mistaken course she was pursuing; but his stay was short, and he escaped with some difficulty. It is painful to observe the quick succession of popes, when we reflect that the atrocious proceedings of the papacy were almost invariably the acts of men, whose last hour was at hand! Pius iv. died in 1565.

Pius v. was equally firm of purpose with his predecessor, while he was more unhesitating, and implacable, in his proceedings. If an unscrupulous adoption of atrocious measures, pursued with unwearying perseverance, gives evidence that a man is a follower of Satan,

this infallible head of the church of Rome, styling himself, "Holiness," was undoubtedly one. He, too, was an inquisitor; he was chosen pope, because the cardinals believed he would not hesitate to carry out into action the violent plans of his predecessor. He did so; for this he was afterwards declared a saint, miracles were said to have been wrought by him; the first of May is appointed for paying religious worship to him. In the collect for that day's service, he is declared to have been chosen of God "to depress the enemies of the church;" as it is expressed in the gentle phrase of the English missal; but the original, as used in the Latin public service, is, "to crush the enemies of the church;" the word is applicable to the destruction of noisome and poisonous reptiles, such the church of Rome declares Protestants to be. This was the spirit in which Pius v. entered into open contest with Elizabeth; it was his own seeking, and his letters show the implacable ferocity with which he sought her destruction. In them, he urged the kings and nobles subject to his power, to extirpate, even by "massacre," those whom he calls the "enemies of God." In a letter to the cardinal of Lorraine, he directs him to convince the king of France that he cannot satisfy the Redeemer, unless he shows himself inexorable to all who plead for those most wicked of men. How different this from the language of Christ, the Redeemer himself! Consider his words recorded in the volume of Divine inspiration:—"This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you," John xv. 12—"Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea," Mark ix. 42. Christ solemnly declared, "I say unto you, Love your enemies," adding an injunction not to curse, but to "pray for them which despitefully use you," Matt. v. 44. Then is it possible that this pretended "vicar of the Son of God" could be a believer in that blessed book? unless, indeed, as the devils are said, to "believe and tremble." Letter after

letter of this pope, printed by Romish historians, show that he was a murderer ; that he urged others to deeds of blood, and thus sought to forward the work of " his father the devil."

In one letter, this pope rebuked a commander, because he had not put to death, or " murdered," using the very word, a Huguenot commander, taken prisoner by his troops !

In 1569, the pope sent Nicholas Norton, with authority to declare privately to some of the English nobility who still professed the Romish faith, that Elizabeth was a heretic, and that they were not bound to obey her. In February, 1570, a papal bull was published, in which Pius declared Elizabeth to be a slave of wickedness, and a pretended queen, deprived her of her kingdom, absolved all her subjects from their allegiance, forbade any one to obey her laws, and declared all who should act contrary to the papal decrees, liable to the same severities. Among other charges was one which Turner, who gives a full account of this papal conspiracy, justly points out as a valuable testimony to the character and practice of Elizabeth : it denounced her for affording refuge to the persecuted of other lands. This has repeatedly been the glory of Britain, and truly may it be said that the land has been blessed in that deed.

Much light has been of late years thrown upon the real history of Elizabeth's reign, by documents published by Romanists themselves, many of which were long neglected by historians, others have been recently brought forward. The biographer of Pius v. has left statements showing the extent to which his machinations against this illustrious princess were carried. The pope gave regular pay to many of the English nobility and gentry ; he sent pecuniary aid and counsel to the supporters of Mary in Scotland ; he animated the English papists to rebel against Elizabeth, and to plot her deposition, with a view of placing Mary on the throne, even recommending them " to take off" he

whom he stigmatized as "the slave of wickedness." This evidently sanctioned designs for the death of Elizabeth. To forward these plans, a Florentine named Ridolfi often visited England as a merchant. The despatches of the French ambassador at this period notice Ridolfi as having charge and commandment from the pope in person, to treat with the English Roman Catholic noblemen for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion.

This conspiracy of the popish powers had begun to be acted upon before May, 1568, when Mary Stuart took refuge in England. Considerable embarrassment was caused by her arrival: several counsellors of Elizabeth, at the moment, wished that she would leave the kingdom, and for some weeks she had the opportunity to do so. But farther consideration plainly showed the difficulties in which the question was involved on every side. To allow her to remain in England, free from restraint, would afford many advantages for carrying into effect the papal conspiracy to place Mary on the English throne. The heavy charges against her moral character increased the difficulty. By treating Mary with regal honours as a fugitive queen, Elizabeth would declare herself convinced of Mary's innocence, or countenance her crimes if she were proved guilty. If Mary were compelled to return to Scotland, that would excite a civil warfare, and be considered as betraying her into the hands of her enemies. Should she be allowed to seek an asylum in France or Spain, it would place within the control of the members of the papal conspiracy, a powerful instrument for the furtherance of their designs, while it would subject Scotland to the horrors of foreign invasion, in addition to those of civil warfare, and open a way for the pope's confederates to attack England. Nor was Elizabeth in the situation of a private individual. Upon the decision of her government in this matter, rested the lives and fortunes, not only of the great majority of her own subjects, but those of the

Protestants of Europe in general. It was plain that the life and power of Elizabeth were the great supports of Protestantism, and her duties and responsibility were thereby increased. There cannot be a greater mistake than to consider the differences between Mary Stuart and Elizabeth merely as a quarrel between two rival queens. They were rivals, but their quarrel was heightened and rendered deadly by the vast interests in which they were involved; from their political, and not from their personal situations.

Under these conflicting circumstances, what course was the government of Elizabeth to pursue? Had the case been reversed, there can be little doubt what the papists would have done. The punishment of an illegitimate pretender to a crown would have been summary; such they considered the daughter of Henry VIII. to be. Philip did not scruple to seize the son of the prince of Orange, when a student at the university of Louvain, and detained him prisoner in Spain twenty-eight years, because his father pleaded for the rights of his Protestant countrymen. But Elizabeth chose to meet the inconveniences of her position, rather than to seek to remove a rival by unlawful means. Had she not felt compassion for Mary, she might have driven her back to Scotland; her fate there would have been certain.

The character of Mary Stuart also must be taken into consideration. She is thus described by sir Francis Knollys, one of the counsellors sent to her at Carlisle. "This lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her regal state. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. The thing she most thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminished either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal

promises and rewards of her purse, or by divisions and quarrels raised among themselves : so that for victory's sake, pain and perils seem pleasant to her, and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seem to her contemptuous and vile." It is plain that by "victory," Knollys meant revenge ; and well might he add, "Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether such a lady and princess be to be nourished in one's bosom ; or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment." We have seen Mary's thirst after revenge while in Scotland ; and on more than one occasion while there, she assumed the arms and clothing of a man, desiring to head her troops herself. The Mary Stuart of history was a very different being from the gentle, lovely, feminine character, delineated by the authors of romances, and the apologists for her vices and crimes.

Cecil, to whom this appeal was made, saw the difficulty, but did not hesitate to meet it. His views on the subject were expressed in a paper dated June 20. That she ought to be helped, having come into England of her own accord, trusting to receive aid. That she had not been lawfully condemned, and that she had offered to clear herself of the crimes laid to her charge, if allowed access to Elizabeth, and that she brought charges against her subjects who had deposed her. But, on the other hand, that she was, by the general voice of her subjects, charged with participating in the murder of her husband, and with protecting the murderer from the law. She had procured Bothwell to be divorced from his lawful wife, and had herself married him, and protected him from those who would have called him to account for his evil deeds. Surely this was not an unfair view of the subject ; yet Cecil has been misrepresented as being an enemy of Mary from her childhood.

Mary demanded either to be reinstated in her power, by assistance from England, or to be allowed to proceed to France. It was not right to do the first, till she had

cleared herself from the strong appearances of guilt, and had shown that she would not act treacherously in return for such service. It was not safe to permit her to engage France to aid an invasion of Scotland, which must lead to war with England, and be most injurious to both nations.

Mary's residence at Carlisle proved objectionable ; her subjects being allowed freely to resort to her, so many came as to endanger that important border fortress. If she continued there, she must have been subjected to more personal restraint than Elizabeth desired ; or than would be needful in a place further south. It was therefore proposed that she should remove to Tutbury, a large mansion in Staffordshire ; but Mary being averse to proceed so far inland, Bolton castle, in Yorkshire, was fixed upon for her residence, to which she went about July 16. Here she could be detained, and yet enjoy freedom from personal restraint ; she hunted, and amused herself as she pleased, under the care of those appointed to attend her.

Finding that Elizabeth would not engage in warfare with the Scots, to replace her on the throne, as matters then stood, Mary desired that the Scottish nobles, her accusers, might be sent for, to state before some of the English nobility, on what grounds they had deposed her. She sought at this time to gain Elizabeth to favour her cause, by attending the Protestant worship, and pretending to be inclined to favour that faith. Elizabeth consented to her request for an investigation, determining to take no active part in the inquiry, but to reserve any decision, or further proceedings, till she heard what was brought forward.

The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, were the commissioners appointed by Elizabeth. The earl of Murray, with other Scottish nobles, appeared before them early in October ; but the proceedings were soon involved in difficulty by the treacherous conduct of the duke of Norfolk. He desired to marry the Scottish queen, therefore wishing

that Mary should be freed from the charges against her ; he privately advised Murray not to produce the documents substantiating his charges, unless Elizabeth agreed to pronounce a condemnatory sentence against Mary if the accusations were proved. He knew, from his confidential situation, that Elizabeth was not prepared to proceed so far. This stopped the inquiry ; Norfolk then engaged Murray to withdraw his accusations, promising he should be confirmed in the regency of Scotland, and proposing that Norfolk and Murray should support each other in obtaining influence over their respective queens.

Elizabeth had intimation of the proceedings of Norfolk ; she caused the conference to be removed to Hampton Court ; there Cecil and Bacon were added to the commission. Murray's agent produced the accusatory papers, but declined to give them in, when they were snatched from him by the bishop of Orkney, who was not in the secret, and delivered them to the commissioners. The proceedings then could not be stopped, the letters were examined, with the depositions of some witnesses, and there appeared full proof that they were genuine. The agents of Mary refused to answer, but required that Elizabeth should admit Mary into her presence to defend herself. The English queen, with becoming spirit, refused to do this, till Mary cleared herself from the charges of adultery, and the murder of her husband, who was a relative of Elizabeth. She wrote to Mary, expressing her regret that such documents had been produced, but that she wished to cover these matters, and had stayed any judgment upon them. As there appeared full reason to believe that Mary would be proved guilty, it was best to stay the inquiry. She had so misconducted herself, as to render it improper that she should be replaced on the throne of Scotland ; this was clear, without entering upon the accusation of murder ; but as yet, nothing was established to exclude her or her son from being considered in the succession to the English throne. Murray re-

turned home, but found it necessary to avail himself of the protection of Norfolk, by whose influence with Mary, orders were issued to the Nortons and others, who were prepared to intercept and murder the Scottish regent in his return through Yorkshire, directing them to allow him to pass unmolested. Such influence did Mary at this time exercise in England, and so deeply was she enraged against Murray for being the cause of the production of her letters to Bothwell. The bishop of Ross was her agent in this affair.

In January, 1569, Mary was removed to Tutbury, where she remained under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, with a retinue of fifty of her own attendants, and ten horses. She was allowed to maintain the state of a queen, and to enjoy the sports and exercises of the field. A very different degree of restraint to that in which her own subjects held her at Loch-leven. All parties were inclined to let the affair rest as it was for a time: this also best suited the interests of England; thereby Elizabeth avoided being obliged to act with or against either party. The state papers and private correspondence of the queen and her ministers are now so fully disclosed, that there is no ground for charging Elizabeth with unjust proceedings, or acting from trumpery motives of feminine displeasure. She told the French ambassador, that she could so justify her conduct towards Mary, that foreign princes would know she had no cause to blush; but that the same could not be said of the queen of Scots. It was necessary to prevent France from again obtaining control over Scotland, and to keep Mary from being made the tool of foreign powers or English papists. None who fairly and fully examine existing documents will say, that Mary deserved more aid or kinder treatment than Elizabeth expressed herself willing, at this time, to allow her. From the course then pursued by the English queen, followed important results; the Reformation was not crushed; and the two kingdoms became united, and have continued independent of all other powers.

Norfolk went forward in his plan for marrying Mary Stuart, while deeper and more injurious proceedings were plotted by the popish powers. The French ambassador was instructed to promote Norfolk's marriage. Some of Elizabeth's counsellors encouraged this project, who were secretly in the interest of the French king. They endeavoured to keep her from sending aid to the Huguenots, counteracted Cecil, and prevailed so far, that the Protestant cause in France was irreparably injured. The popish historian of this period states, that a great part of the English nobility were ready to aid the plans of the pope.

Elizabeth learned something of Norfolk's projects, and cautioned him to beware on what pillow he rested his head; he made a deceptive reply, speaking in disparagement of Mary. About the middle of 1569, it was painfully evident that a secret conspiracy was at work. When Norfolk was summoned to attend the court, he retired further from London, sending an excuse that he was not able to travel for some days. But the queen peremptorily required his attendance. Upon his arrival, the duke was committed to the Tower; which decisive step, though only intended as a measure of precaution for a time, put a stop to the proceedings of the conspirators: the earl of Arundel, lord Lumley, and lord Pembroke, with the bishop of Ross, were all interrogated, but answered with such craft and skill, that they baffled the suspicions entertained respecting their project.

Still it was evident that evil designs were in agitation in the northern counties, where popery was most influential. The state of Lancashire in 1567 is thus noticed—Mass was commonly said, the common prayer discarded, many churches were shut up, those still open were mostly served by men known to be papists in their hearts. Disaffection to Elizabeth, and adherence to Mary's claims, of course prevailed in those districts. In November, 1569, the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were sent for: they had gone far in

their preparations, even making arrangements with the duke of Alva for the aid of a Spanish force. Vitelli, a Spanish general, was actually in London, ready to head the troops if any should be landed. But the queen's summons alarmed the earls; they took arms, and advanced to Durham, where they tore the English Bible to pieces, overthrew the communion table, and called upon all to join them in restoring the Romish religion. They proceeded to York, and openly declared that Norfolk, Arundel, and others of the ancient nobility, were confederate with them. The duke denied this, admitting only his desire to marry Mary Stuart.

The earl of Sussex advanced against the rebels, supported by Warwick and Clinton, at the head of forces from the southern counties, on whom alone the queen's leaders could rely. The movement of the northern earls was premature; they had neither arrangements ready, nor means adequate for the occasion, and it now appears that the Spanish court did not fulfil its written engagements to Northumberland. The Spanish ambassador required as a condition, that Mary's proposed union with Norfolk should be set aside, in favour of one with a Spanish prince. This was contrary to the policy of France, and these differences caused delays fatal to the design. By the end of December, the forces of the earls had dispersed; the leaders fled into Scotland, where Northumberland was taken by the regent Murray, who refused to deliver him up, till he consulted the other nobles. A few days afterwards Murray was shot when entering Linlithgow, by an assassin who had been deeply injured by a follower of the regent, but whose escape was aided by the duke of Hamilton, to whom he fled for shelter on horses supplied by the duke's son. The conduct of the Hamiltons, and other partizans of Mary Stuart, showed that they were fully aware of the time when the attempt to assassinate would be made, and prepared to take advantage of the confusion which would follow its

success : the murder was not the act of an individual ; Mary's chief partizans knew and abetted the whole proceeding. The papists thought that the Reformation in Scotland would be shaken by this murder, but their expectations were disappointed.

The duke of Alva meanwhile was preparing for active measures. His treacherous agents were in London, without being detected ; but the duke of Norfolk and other nobles being kept in custody, the measures of the conspirators were broken ; the attempt was made prematurely and failed. Yet the pope did not relax his efforts ; he sent a large sum of money to be distributed in England, which encouraged his partizans. Many declared that the pope's bull prevented them from obeying Elizabeth ; while letters sent by Ridolfi to the pope, stated their readiness to assist in restoring the popish religion, and that they would help to place Mary on the throne upon her marrying the duke of Norfolk. As Englishmen they desired that their kingdom might not be subjected to a foreign power by her marriage with a popish prince. They applied for the assistance of the Spanish force, which the pope urged Philip to afford ; but a difference between the Spanish commanders delayed the effort, and, at this critical juncture, the English government was more fully informed of these designs. It is evident, from the statements of popish writers, that Elizabeth was for some time unconsciously in a state of great danger. A few hours might have brought a Spanish force from Flanders to the Thames, sufficient to afford a rallying point to those engaged in the conspiracy, which, at this period, included many about the court ; men attached to the Romish faith, whom Elizabeth had attempted to conciliate, but all such efforts were, and ever must be, in vain. The principles of popery wholly prevent the cordial exercise of any feelings of a friendly nature, from bigoted papists towards those whom their church designates as heretics.

The chief hinderance to the designs of the conspira-

tors was the steady course pursued by Cecil. The correspondence of the French ambassador contains particulars of three or four efforts made, about this time, to procure his dismissal. Ridolfi, and the nobles of the papal party, considered it was absolutely necessary, as a preliminary step, "to withdraw out of the hands of the secretary Cecil, and those of his party, the direction of the state—that they might manage the business of the Catholic religion with safety." They succeeded in getting Leicester and others to concur with them in this preliminary design. Leicester, relying on his influence with Elizabeth, openly attacked Cecil's administration, in a conference with the queen; but she at once silenced him by those decisive expressions she used when provoked. Leicester then saw that the attempt was vain, and with his usual fickleness, took an early opportunity to disclose the intrigue to the queen. So decidedly was Elizabeth satisfied respecting the integrity of Cecil, and his value as prime minister, that all the machinations against him were stopped by her interposition, without any open interference on his own part. We are here reminded of the plots against Cranmer, defeated by Henry VIII.

The lapse of time has made manifest a circumstance which powerfully aided these popish machinations. There was an earnest desire, on the part of the leading nobility, to regain that power of which the house of Tudor had despoiled the aristocracy. This explains some proceedings which cannot otherwise be accounted for; it also shows how it was that some parties acted so as to counteract each other, being influenced by different motives; and why Leicester and others, high in favour with the queen, at times assisted her foreign enemies, especially in their plots against Cecil. From what was stated at the trial of the duke of Norfolk, two years later, it appears that the plan for his marriage with Mary was first suggested by the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, and that it was urged and encouraged by many of the nobility. Such a marriage, by

uniting the first of the nobles with her who was heir to the crown in the opinion of most Protestants; and best entitled to the present possession of the throne, in the opinion of all papists; would enable them to limit the power of Elizabeth, or even to dethrone her. It is clear that ambition was the sole cause of Norfolk's proceedings. He had no personal regard for Mary, whom he had never seen, and he had not hesitated to express his conviction of her guilt. He also was one of those facile characters easily acted upon by others, when plausible reasons are alleged. It is obvious that the English nobles and the papal powers, though combining against Elizabeth, were not thoroughly united. Mary, however, was the great means of promoting the schemes of both parties, and thus this unhappy queen, herself deeply faulty, was still more mischievous as an instrument for the schemes of others, which though differing in design, and as to the extent of their guilt, all aimed at the power, if not the life of Elizabeth, and at the destruction of civil and religious liberty. Elizabeth openly told the French ambassador, "I have tried to be a mother to the queen of Scots, and in return she has formed conspiracies against me, even in my own kingdom; she who ill-uses a mother, deserves a step-dame." Norfolk was the victim of his own vanity; the prospect of a crown induced him to forget the claims of loyalty and religion. Although a privy counsellor of Elizabeth, he entered into secret communication with the deadly enemies of his queen and kingdom: he cannot be regarded as an injured sufferer.

These designs were the plans of men who cared not for religious truth, or were openly banded against it; but He that sitteth on high had their devices in derision. God was pleased to protect the life, and to support the power of Elizabeth, as a shelter for his people, and a means for promoting his glory. In such cases, the enemies themselves sometimes are made instrumental in defeating their own designs. Turner has shown, that there can be little doubt that the first intima-

tion to Elizabeth, of her danger from the conspiracy in favour of Mary, proceeded from Catherine de Medicis, the bigoted queen-mother of France; who, partly by the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, and partly from personal dislike to Mary Stuart, caused secret information of the papal conspiracy to be given to sir Henry Norris, shortly after Mary had taken refuge in England, with an intimation that Elizabeth then "held the wolf that would devour her." At that period, Cecil was unable fully to unravel the conspiracy, but it put him on his guard, and the measures he took in ignorance, were made effectual to arrest the designs when nearly completed, till by degrees they were more fully developed. Various circumstances connected with the northern insurrection, show that many of the aristocratical part of her subjects were unfriendly to Elizabeth. The two most powerful northern nobles took arms in open rebellion; that part of the country was most under the influence of the remains of feudal feelings as well as of popery; and there the disaffection was so great, that her commanders could do nothing against the rebels, till joined by forces from the south, then the chief seat of trade and commerce, where the nobles had far less influence. To such an extent had dissatisfaction prevailed in the north, that the bishop of Durham transmitted to Cecil the declaration of the sheriff, that the number of offenders was so great, that few innocent remained to try the guilty. When the rebellion was put down, many suffered by martial law; but Elizabeth found it was most prudent, as well as most agreeable to her own feelings, to pardon the greater part of the rebels.

The result of this insurrection confirmed the view she had early taken, that the stability of her throne depended upon the affections of her people at large. To them Elizabeth appealed at the first; she now renewed this appeal in a public declaration or proclamation. She declared that it had been her desire and practice to rule with clemency; and any unprejudiced reader of

history must admit that her government was distinguished for clemency, when compared with that of her sister, or those of the popish governments of that day. She appealed to the people whether they had not prospered under the peace she sedulously maintained, and declared her determination to support the Reformation ; but engaged to allow toleration, provided there was outward conformity. In this latter point, she showed that as yet the principles of religious toleration were not fully understood, though her severe measures were far more lenient than those of the papists.

It was now evident to Elizabeth and her counsellors that a succession of plots was to be looked for, involving different interests. Cecil, in August, 1570, wrote that he felt himself as in a maze. On many of the nobility no dependence could be placed : but the removal of Pembroke and Throckmorton by death about this time, relieved the secretary from some anxiety : the participation of Pembroke in the papal conspiracy became known after his death. The northern counties became more tranquil, but many of the rebels were supported by the Hamiltons and other partizans of Mary on the borders, upon which the earl of Sussex was sent, in April, 1570, to ravage their estates. Such measures are much to be deplored, as the sufferings fell chiefly upon the peasantry : how often has it been realized that when rulers contend the people suffer !

Early in 1571, Cecil was created lord Burghley. From this time he was at the head of Elizabeth's government, of which he had previously been the most efficient and active member. His appointment was a great means for the queen's safety and that of England. Burghley was now freed from the interference of Pembroke, and placed so manifestly above others in the favour of the queen, that he could apply full power to detect and counteract the designs against Elizabeth. During the year 1571, negotiations were carried on between England and France, relative to the marriage of Elizabeth with the duke of Anjou. It is not proba-

ble that either party was sincere in wishing to carry this union into effect. But the French court thereby kept the Huguenot party quiet as to its designs against the reformed religion in France ; while Elizabeth, for a time stayed the importunities of her subjects, who were anxious for her marriage. The project of an alliance between her and a French prince, also, would counteract many proceedings in behalf of Mary, and prevent the court of France from rendering her any aid. The negotiations were protracted during several months ; Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham, the chief counsellors of Elizabeth, were unable exactly to ascertain her mind upon the subject. At length the treaty was broken off by the English queen requiring more compliance on the subject of religion, than the French court was willing to grant. Hereby the queen placed her refusal of the marriage on a ground, which her subjects in general fully approved. Meanwhile, the probability of Elizabeth's alliance with France, induced Mary Stuart to enter into the negotiations with Spain, which brought ruin upon the duke of Norfolk, and caused her own treatment to be more severe.

Elizabeth never really designed to marry. Whether this proceeded from her firm resolve to be independent of any one who might interfere with her sovereign power, or from any other cause, has never been clearly ascertained ; but she declared her intention to lead a single life, even before her accession to the throne. Certainly the state of affairs rendered this a wise decision. At times the urgency of her subjects was so great as apparently to shake her resolution, and to make it expedient for her to allow various matrimonial negotiations ; but she always managed them so as to find pretexts for breaking off the treaties, though more than once she may have gone farther in them than was at first intended. There is no ground for the insinuation of popish writers, that she continued unmarried from dishonourable motives. Amidst all the gaieties of the English court, we cannot but mark her

conduct as very different to that of Mary Stuart when on the throne of Scotland. Even in an age coarse and unrefined, compared with that of the last century, her conduct strongly contrasts with that of most other female sovereigns.

In the parliament, A.D. 1571, an act was passed, enacting severe measures against all those who should call in question Elizabeth's title to the throne, or support the claim of any one to be her successor. This, and other measures of precaution, resulted from the designs in which Mary was concerned; but they also included the claims in behalf of the family of Suffolk. At the commencement of this parliament, the lord keeper, in his address, dwelt upon the benefits the people enjoyed under their present monarch. He said, "The first and chief is, restoring and setting at liberty God's holy word amongst us, the greatest and most precious treasure that can be in this world; for that either doth or should benefit us in the greatest degree; to wit, our minds and souls: and look, how much our souls excel our bodies, so much must needs the benefits of our souls excel the benefits of our bodies; whereby also, as by a necessary consequent, we are delivered and made free from the bondage of the Roman tyranny; therefore this is to be thought of as the most principal benefit." He spoke of the benefits of peace which had then been enjoyed for ten years. Elizabeth's refusal to form any union with the princes of other lands, doubtless was one cause of the long continuance of peace. He well observed, that "a man who would sufficiently consider all the commodities of peace, ought to call to remembrance all the miseries of war." Would that, in our day, men thought more of the blessings of peace, and were more thankful for them.—It is not foreign to the subject to remark, that the greatest modern English general of his day, in his private and confidential despatches, when commanding a victorious army, regretted continually, that the inhabitants of Britain were not sufficiently alive to the miseries of

warfare.—In the third place, the lord keeper spoke of the great benefits of clemency and mercy, and appealed to his auditors whether “it had ever been seen or read, that any prince of this realm, during ten whole years and more, hath had his hands so clear of blood.” This, undoubtedly, was the fact, and if the later years of Elizabeth were less free from such executions for crimes of state, it may be said, Was there not a cause? The Christian historian will not say that there was an adequate cause; but if the matter be viewed impartially, Elizabeth has a right to stand on higher grounds than other sovereigns.

In this year, also, an instance of equity, rare in the annals of our early monarchs, was shown. The amounts borrowed by compulsory loans, at the beginning of the reign, were repaid. These are undoubted facts, showing the fruits of the national profession of the true religion. But Cecil was aware that a storm was at hand. Early in 1571, he ascertained that Ridolfi, the pope’s agent, was in secret communication with the bishop of Ross, Mary’s ambassador in London, and that there was a plan in agitation among some of the nobility, for another rebellion, and an invasion that summer. The bishop admitted the correspondence of Mary with the duke of Alva and the pope; but denied the knowledge of any attempt to be made on England. Letters from Mary had been intercepted in March, 1571, which showed her participation in the schemes of Ridolfi and Alva. We cannot blame her for desiring to regain her full liberty and power, but it requires more than common credulity to suppose, that she could be ignorant that these designs involved the death of Elizabeth, by secret murder or open violence. The extent of the plot remained unknown for some months longer, when the discovery of a sum of money, and of some letters in cypher, in course of transmission from the duke of Norfolk to Mary’s friends in Scotland, led to the knowledge that he was implicated in an under-plot with France; and proofs were found that he was

also in correspondence with the papal conspirators. The key to his cypher, and other papers were found ; the extent of the conspiracy became more and more fully developed.

Norfolk was again arrested in September, 1571. His power and popularity rendered any proceedings against him dangerous to the queen. The nobles were ready to support him ; a plan to murder lord Burghley was devised at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador : this was disclosed by some of the agents, and proved to be a branch of the great conspiracy to place Mary on the throne of England. It was evident that upon the result of the proceedings against the duke of Norfolk, the stability of Elizabeth's government would mainly depend. He was brought to trial, January 16, 1572. Trials for treason, in those days, were conducted in a manner very different from the course now pursued ; the prisoner was under many disadvantages. But Norfolk's trial was not unfair according to the usages of the times. The trial lasted twelve hours. Norfolk was allowed to state all that he wished to say. We need not dwell on the technicalities of the evidence ; it is clear, from the duke's own admissions, that he fully participated in Mary's projects, and was implicated in the designs of the pope to an extent which he knew was then considered treasonable. The peers, who seem to have been fairly selected, unanimously pronounced him guilty. He acknowledged the justice of the sentence, but supplicated most earnestly for mercy. His communications show that he had been wrought upon by others, but that he was guilty of treasonable designs ; and there is proof that he had continued these, even after he was imprisoned. The queen was unwilling that Norfolk should suffer ; she repeatedly caused the execution to be stayed : at length, at the urgent desire of the House of Commons, he was ordered to be beheaded on June 2, 1572. He was the first nobleman executed in this reign : the long interval of thirteen years passing with-

out such a tragedy, favourably contrasts the reign of Elizabeth with those of her father, brother, and sister.

It was now clearly proved that Mary Stuart was personally concerned in the great conspiracy against Elizabeth. Many of the best counsellors of the latter urged that she should be brought to account for her proceedings, that this perpetual source of disquiet to Elizabeth and her Protestant subjects, might be closed; but Elizabeth would not consent to such proceedings against Mary. She refused to allow a bill of attainder to be passed by the parliament, which would have sent Mary to the scaffold; but she did not hesitate to call upon the king of France, when pleading for her liberation, to say whether she ought to be required to give up the means which the detention of Mary afforded for the safety of the state. The particulars of the designs in which Norfolk and the queen of Scots were engaged, having been communicated to the French monarch, he said, that it was too probable Mary would not cease her plots till she lost her head, which would be from her own fault and folly, and that he saw it was in vain for him to think to help her. When her conduct drew these remarks from a main supporter of her cause, it is not surprising that orders should be given to reduce her attendants to sixteen persons, and that the earl of Shrewsbury should be directed to question her upon the points already discovered, with a view to ascertain some further matters from her own mouth. But Mary was on her guard: she refused to utter any thing she knew, unless allowed access to Elizabeth.

The murderous nature of the plot then in progress was evinced from the design above mentioned, for the murder of lord Burghley, by whose steady counsels the designs against Elizabeth were chiefly disappointed. The secretary of the Spanish ambassador had some concern in this affair, which was disclosed by an accomplice; but all participation was denied by the ambassador. Walsingham also succeeded in obtaining the avowal of a Jesuit at Paris, to the existence of

designs for the murder of Elizabeth, that Mary might be placed on the throne, whereby alone, it was considered, all Christendom could be brought to what papists called the Catholic faith. An effort was made by a numerous body in the parliament to induce the queen to consent to proceedings against Mary as a criminal. Had Elizabeth desired to get rid of her rival by such measures, here was a fair pretext; but after thanking them for their care, she declined such a course as then inexpedient. This should have made Mary more cautious as to future proceedings; however, as the king of France had said, "she was not to be warned."

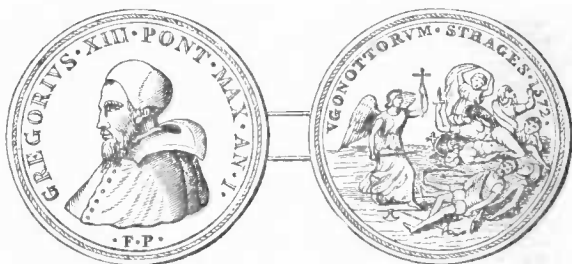
The queen farther showed her value for Burghley by appointing him lord high treasurer, on the death of the marquis of Winchester, one of those time-serving nobles who accommodated himself to the changes of religion during the last four reigns. The order of the garter was also given to that great statesman, who now had the heavy pressure of public affairs almost exclusively upon himself. The number of papers existing in the public offices and repositories, which bear indisputable marks of having passed under the hands of lord Burghley, fully prove the vast extent of his labours, with the manner in which his personal attention was required by a variety of affairs, from the most trifling, such as regulations for fashionable clothing, to matters of peace or war, with many others of the deepest interest in church and state.

The extent of the designs for the destruction of the Protestants throughout Europe, was manifested by the massacre at Paris, and in other principal towns of France, on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572, in which, by a moderate calculation, more than thirty thousand unoffending and peaceable subjects were murdered in cold blood, at the command of their king, who had just before given them every reason to feel secure, and confident of his protection. The particulars belong to the history of France; when the news was received in England, the horror excited thereby was very

great. A striking account is given by the French ambassador, who proceeded to court to deliver the official account sent by his monarch to palliate the atrocity : "A gloomy sorrow," he says, "sat on every face. Silence, as in the dead of the night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartments : the ladies and courtiers were ranged on each side, all clad in deep mourning ; and as I passed through, not one bestowed on me a civil look, or made the least return to my salutes." Sensible of the national disgrace, the ambassador declared himself ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman, and when commanded by Charles ix. to explain matters to Elizabeth, remonstrated, saying, it would be to make himself an accomplice : "those who had advised it should be sent on such an errand." Elizabeth was obliged to listen to the French king's excuses ; but she did not hesitate to tell the ambassador that appearances were against his master, adding, that "if the king shall not use his power to make some amends for so much blood, so horribly shed, God, who seeth the hearts of all, as well princes as others, will show his justice in time and place, when his honour shall therein be glorified, as the author of all justice, and the revenger of all blood-shedding of the innocents."

Burghley wrote to Walsingham, the ambassador at Paris, in strong terms, adding, "We have great cause, in these times, to doubt all fair speeches." Though Charles ix. at first desired to be thought innocent of this atrocity, in a short time his approval was avowed by a medal being struck, commemorative of the event, which the inscription spoke of as an act of justice, excited by piety ! The pope, also, in express terms, lauded the deed, which was enumerated as the first and principal cause for a jubilee and public thanksgiving ordered by the pontiff ; a medal struck at Rome undeniably fixes him with guilt as an accessory to the horrid massacre. Popish historians in vain represent it as a sudden and unpremeditated act, and even would unblushingly ascribe it to the proceedings of the French

Protestants! There is undoubted evidence, in written documents, to prove that it was a regularly laid design, an act of premeditated treachery, a branch of the general plot against the Protestants throughout Europe, and that it was intended to have been still more murderous than it was possible for the perpetrators to make it.



Medal struck by order of pope Gregory XIII. in commemoration of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris.

One beneficial result, however, ensued from this deed of blood. The Protestants in every country in Europe were awakened to a sense of their danger. The English statesmen were convinced that there was no safety for their nation but in being fully prepared for defence, and that it was useless to listen to any professions of amity from those who were leagued for the destruction of the true faith, while the extent of danger likely to result from Mary Stuart, was also more than ever manifest. The French court made several professions of amity, but Elizabeth repelled them, though she continued at peace with France, and reluctantly acceded to the personal request of the French queen, that she would be godmother to an infant daughter. She gave shelter to many fugitive Protestants, and refused to compel them to depart, when urged to do so.

The news of the massacre in France also excited much horror in Scotland. There the direful effects of

popish intrigue had been recently shown in bloodshed. Lennox, the new regent, the grandfather of the infant king, was slain in a tumult about a year after the murder of his predecessor. The earl of Mar, next chosen regent, sunk under the painful state of affairs. Knox also departed from this life, but it was in peace : though the papists often planned his death, they never were able to carry their designs into execution. Of him, it is sufficient here to say, that he was one of the most pious and excellent men of his day, unblemished in moral character. He regretted the measure of hard duties he was called to discharge, yet he shrunk not from what Providence willed him to go forward to perform. On such a subject it is needful to speak decidedly : surely no real Christian, who fairly examines the history of this great and pious man, can be deceived by the manner in which the literary partizans of Mary Stuart endeavour to sacrifice his memory, in their vain attempts to exculpate the goddess of their idolatry. If one or the other must be condemned, let the evidence of those who knew both be fairly weighed ; the result is not doubtful.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day rendered it most important to prevent the preponderance of the French party in Scotland, for the English papists were eagerly looking out for what they termed "their golden day." Under the immediate pressure of alarm, well knowing that Mary Stuart was the instrument best suited for the purposes of the conspiracy against the Protestants, and that it was daily found that the continuance of the queen of Scots, in England, was more and more dangerous, both for the person of the queen's majesty and her state, "secret instructions were given (by Elizabeth's council) to Killigrew, sent as an especial envoy to Scotland, to endeavour to negotiate for her being received there, meaning as a criminal or prisoner, liable to judgment." We cannot wonder at this, though we do not defend it ; and after full consideration no such proceeding was adopted. Mary was

retained in England with daily danger to Elizabeth. At that time, "all men cried out" respecting her, but no measures against her were carried on, although this course would have been very popular with the English nation in general : and certainly the late massacre at Paris gave plausible grounds for such proceedings. Bills of attainder against Mary were actually brought forward in the House of Commons ; but Elizabeth interposed her authority, commanding that they should be withdrawn. It is evident to all unprejudiced persons, that Elizabeth did not seek occasions to put her rival to death. The public attention was further drawn to Mary about this time, by the publication and circulation of the writings of bishop Lesley in her favour, and those of Buchanan against her. Both may be considered as the writings of partizans, rather than dispassionate statements of the truth. Far from any measures being adopted against Mary, in the following year she was allowed to go to Buxton, for the use of the medicinal waters. Lord Burghley happening to be in that neighbourhood at the same time, on account of his sufferings from the gout, insinuations were conveyed to Elizabeth that her minister was inclined to befriend Mary. On this account he found it necessary to leave the place ; so unfounded are the ideas that he was, on all occasions, a persecutor of the unhappy Mary. In writing to lord Shrewsbury, Burghley said, that the queen had reproved him sharply as a favourer of the queen of Scots ; but he declared, that though he had no evil meaning towards her, yet if she should plot any evil against Elizabeth, he must and would impeach her. The steadiness with which Elizabeth continued her favour, during forty years, to lord Burghley, against whom many efforts were made by the older nobility, is one proof, among many others, that the queen was not a capricious, ungovernable character.

In the autumn of 1572, apprehensions were excited by the illness of Elizabeth. It appears to have been the small-pox, but she passed through the disease favourably.

In 1573, another negotiation with France was entered upon, for the marriage of Elizabeth to a French prince, the duke of Alençon. This union was very unsuitable from disparity of years, even had there been no other objection. But the treaty was continued for some time; it gave Elizabeth an opportunity of interfering in behalf of the French Protestants; and even the discerning Walsingham wrote from the French court, "Whether this marriage be sincerely meant or no, it is a hard point to judge, where dissimulation taketh so deep root." This remark is important: however blamable Elizabeth and her counsellors may have been for dissimulation, they had to do with those who practised the arts of deceit still more. Walsingham was shortly after recalled, and made secretary of state: the increasing dangers that threatened England, required the direction of the ablest statesmen. He was fully equal to meet the crafty expedients of the age, and succeeded in obtaining intelligence of the most secret proceedings of the pope and his confederate princes.

It is with reluctance that the reader is referred to the dissensions which increasingly prevailed in matters of religion. In 1571, when a member of the House of Commons, named Strickland, urged further reformation in the church, the queen interfered and prevented it. The endeavour to comprehend the papists, and the harsh measures against the puritans, had done much to bring the public profession of religion into a state deeply to be deplored. Strype says, "The state of the church and religion, at this time, was but low, and sadly neglected, occasioned, in a great measure, by these unhappy controversies about the church's government, and other external matters in religion, which so employed the thoughts and zeal of both clergy and laity, that the better and more substantial parts of it were very little regarded. The churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures; many of them

alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases and wastes of their woods, granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays; and were kept nasty and filthy, and indecent for God's worship. Among the laity there was but little devotion. The Lord's day greatly profaned, and little observed. The common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists."

In such a state of things, it was a very sad error to think to improve matters by stopping the labours of many of the most indefatigable and useful ministers. This, however, was the course pursued; then, and subsequently, conventicles, or places of private resort for puritan worship, were regularly suppressed; and Burghley, as unwise on this subject, as he was wise upon others, recommended proceedings even more strict than those adopted. The examinations of many of the puritans, both clergy and laymen, before the High Commission Court and other authorities, remind of some points of the examinations before the popish bishops in the preceding reign, though the judges were not so violent and abusive in their language as the papists, neither did imprisonment end in burning alive. It must, however, be allowed, that very many were persecuted for conscience' sake, suffering in health, property, and even life; while angry and bitter discussions and controversies were carried on, into which there is no need to enter here. Cartwright and others retired to the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, in which the inhabitants, being chiefly French, were allowed to retain the forms of worship usual among foreign Protestants. These harsh proceedings were the remains of popery; they must also be considered as fruits of that spirit of anti-christ, which, even in our own day, shows itself among professed Protestants of various denominations, as well as among papists. These severe measures against the puritans were the more unpopular, from their contrast-

ing with the relaxation of some penal proceedings against the papists at this time. Right toleration was as little understood in one case as in the other; both were denied the liberty they had a right to claim, provided they gave due security that they were free from designs against the state. The discussions and expositions of Scripture among the clergy, for mutual instruction, then called prophesyings, were forbidden. Many who had been exiles for religion in queen Mary's days, had by this time departed in peace; but some survived, who, for the most part, lamented these proceedings, which were urged forward by the government. Elizabeth inherited too much of the spirit of her father: like him, she sought to make her own views on religion the rule for all her subjects. In 1575, two Dutch anabaptists were condemned as heretics, for their tenets as to the nature of Christ, baptism, and oaths, and respecting obedience to magistrates. They were burned in Smithfield, although Foxe and many others pleaded hard for them; but it was in vain: the persecuting law against heresy which had slept during seventeen years was put in force. Nine others were banished.

The persecuting course pursued by Philip of Spain, with respect to his Flemish Protestant subjects, from the commencement of his reign, caused much suffering among them. Thousands left their country, becoming exiles for conscience' sake; many of whom took refuge in England, where Elizabeth caused these persecuted Protestants to be protected and encouraged, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish monarch. Most of the refugees settled in the eastern counties, where they introduced several branches of the woollen manufacture, which largely promoted the welfare of the country; one instance, among many, that there is a reward for acting in the fear of God, even in this life. Especially is this verified in the history of nations. Wherever subjects have been persecuted for conscience' sake, there the national prosperity has declined, while the countries that received and sheltered the sufferers

have prospered. It will ever be found that "righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people," Prov. xiv. 34. The history of Elizabeth fully shows this. Recognising the Divine Providence as she did, and protecting true religion, she was protected and prosperous. Her reign was not without clouds, and blots, and blemishes; but they may, for the most part, be traced to matters wherein she departed from the fear of God, and the promotion of his glory; while in her foreign policy she protected the followers of the truth. She saw how much the welfare of Europe depended upon a firm stand being made for the professors of the reformed faith, and this was the leading principle of her government. Some writers have censured her for interfering with the subjects of other monarchs: that papists should blame her is not surprising, but the answer may at once be made—These monarchs had previously interfered with her. A list was at this time procured of the English papists concerned in the late rebellion in the north, who were sheltered by Philip, and mostly resident in Flanders, ready to join Alva in any expedition against England. The sum charged in Flanders for their yearly pensions, was two hundred and thirty-one thousand ducats, equal to more than half a million of our present money! It is unnecessary to say, that such a disbursement was from political designs, not from charity.

The attention of the English government had been directed towards Scotland, with increased anxiety, since the massacre of the Protestants in France. That atrocity rendered the Scottish nation more resolute against popish influence, consequently less disposed to promote the cause of Mary. Many who had ranked as her partizans, now made common cause with their countrymen. The castle of Edinburgh still held out, and assistance from France was promised; but Elizabeth sent forces, with whose aid the fortress was taken in June, 1573. The result of these active measures was, that Scotland enjoyed a respite from civil and

foreign warfare for a considerable time. The efforts of Elizabeth and her counsellors, assuredly tended to promote peace, especially during the early part of her reign.

The changes in France next engage attention. Charles IX. died May 30, 1574, not quite two years after the massacre of the Protestants. In his last illness blood issued from several parts of his body, while his mind was painfully affected by the remembrance of that day of guilt. He was succeeded by his brother, Henry III., who was recalled from Poland, of which country he had been elected king a year before. He concluded a treaty of peace with Elizabeth, whose hand he sought when duke of Anjou; but he continued an adherent of the pope, therefore a persecutor of his own Protestant subjects.

Elizabeth took every favourable opportunity of making herself popular, in her annual progresses through the different parts of England. Full details of these journeys are on record. One of the most remarkable was her visit to Kenilworth, in 1575. The earl of Leicester took every means in his power to please Elizabeth, who continued to favour him in a manner which savoured rather of the partiality of the woman, than the judgment of the queen. In these progresses, for short distances, or in bad roads, she was sometimes carried in a chair, as shown in the engraving on p. 276.

In the close of this year, the state of affairs in Holland called for the interference of England. Having thrown off the persecuting yoke of Spain, the prince of Orange, and the Protestants of Flanders were anxious to secure the protection of Elizabeth. They offered to recognise her for their sovereign, founding her title on her descent from Philippa of Hainault, consort of Edward III. There were many difficulties in the affair. If Elizabeth took up their cause it would make a breach with Philip; if she refused aid, they would resort to France. Under all circumstances, the middle course of rendering aid to the Dutch as an independent nation,

was the safest, and it was pursued. In preparation for this, a subsidy was readily granted: the pecuniary demands of Elizabeth upon the parliament were not very large. Her interference with the House of Commons, as a deliberative body, was less commendable. An instance occurred during the session of 1576. Wentworth, in a debate, reflected on the queen for not agreeing to prosecute the queen of Scots, for checking the freedom of debate, and for not encouraging the house to enter upon the reformation of abuses. This led to his committal to the Tower, from whence he was released on making his peace with the queen. It was an arbitrary proceeding on her part; but neither then, nor at any previous time, were the members of parliament accustomed to exercise the privileges for which Wentworth contended. Such a proceeding at that period, cannot be judged of by modern rules. The queen decidedly repressed the proceedings of parliament, not allowing it to meet, from 1576 till January 1581.

The affairs of Holland claim further attention. The Spanish prince Don John, lately appointed governor, acted with great severity; he expected speedily to subdue the Protestants, and he then intended to procure the liberation of Mary Stuart, marry her, and assert her claims to the English throne.

The confederates earnestly sought aid from Elizabeth: as she was now personally threatened, she formed an alliance with the states of Holland, supplying them with money and a body of troops; but she urged them to submit, if possible, to Philip, towards whom she excused her interference, as occasioned by the ambitious projects of Don John, whose plans were soon broken by his death, in 1578. He was succeeded in the government by the prince of Parma. United attempts against England by the pope and the princes confederate with him, were so far advanced, that Sebastian, the king of Portugal, was fixed upon to be the leader of an invading army; but he was killed this

year in Africa, whither he unwisely went upon an expedition to restore the dethroned emperor of Morocco. Stukely, an English subject, had been commissioned by the pope, to direct these forces first to Ireland, and provided men and stores for the purpose; but he joined in the African expedition, where he also fell in battle. Philip then formed designs for the subjugation of Portugal, which caused him to suspend the attempt to invade England, and to neglect the Netherlands, so that the Dutch, under the prince of Orange, succeeded in freeing the United Provinces from the Spanish yoke. Here was another remarkable instance of the interposition of God, causing the enemies of his people to defeat their own designs by their own acts. The records of every country present numerous instances which show that "the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things;" but "the Lord has them in derision, and vexes them in his sore displeasure." The body of Sebastian was not found after the battle, which gave occasion for several pretenders to assume the name.

The state of Ireland was very unquiet during the whole of Elizabeth's reign. At her accession, the earl of Sussex was governor of the districts under the English rule: the Reformation was established there as in England, but no suitable measures were devised for instructing the people, and really interesting them in the truths of the gospel. The most powerful leader of the native Irish was Shan O'Neil, who claimed the earldom of Tyrone, and visited the English court in 1562, attended by a band of followers in the native garb. After various changes, during which he sometimes was on friendly terms with the English, and sometimes in arms against them, he was slain by an English officer, when his territory, comprehending a large portion of Ulster, was vested in the crown.

The proceedings with the native chieftains, in the other parts of Ireland, were very similar to those in the north. The mistaken policy of the English government had always been to treat Ireland as a conquered coun-

try, while the rude habits, and turbulent dispositions of the natives, tended to keep them in constant hostilities with their rulers. These troubles were fomented by the emissaries of the pope. As early as 1570, Stukely, an English papist, was created marquis of Leicester by the pope, and went to Spain to form plans for invading Ireland, in order to expel heresy. Philip's ambition and bigotry made him listen willingly to the project, but only some partial insurrections ensued. To colonize the country with more peaceable inhabitants, lands were granted to English adventurers, who engaged to settle upon them. The earl of Essex made the experiment in 1572; but his proceedings were too much like those of conquest. His schemes were also thwarted by sir William Fitz-William, then governor: he died in 1576, not without suspicion of his being poisoned, which was by some charged upon the earl of Leicester, who formed an unlawful connexion with the countess of Essex during the earl's absence.

The disturbed state of Ireland gave much satisfaction to the popes. In 1577, Gregory XIII. declared that Elizabeth had forfeited that crown, as well as the crown of England. The English papist, Stukely, offered to conduct an expedition thither, as already related. Another adventurer, Fitz-Maurice, brother to an Irish nobleman, the earl of Desmond, an inveterate enemy to the English, carried on the design. Aided by the pope's envoy, he procured a few Spanish soldiers, with whom, accompanied by some English and Irish exiles, he landed in Kerry, attended by two priests, Allen and Sanders: the latter was the notorious writer of those atrocious falsehoods against Elizabeth and the Reformation, which have been, and are repeated without hesitation by modern writers, although often refuted. Few joined them; but among these was sir John Desmond, brother to the earl. This man, to do away some suspicions that he might reconcile himself to the governor, went to the abode of an aged English gentleman, named Davers, who had often befriended him, and murdered him in

his bed. Having thus established his reputation with his countrymen, he was appointed general, by a bull from the pope, which promised forgiveness of sins to all who would join this murderer! Desmond was declared a traitor by the English government; the affair appeared desperate, but the governor, lord Grey de Wilton, was defeated, and an Italian officer arrived with several hundred men, and other aid from the pope. They fortified themselves, but were forced to surrender; and having joined the Irish without any commission from a foreign prince, they were considered as traitors, and put to death. Sir John fell in battle. The earl of Desmond secreted himself for a time; he was at last discovered in a secluded hut, and slain. Sanders died, worn out by fatigue and hunger. In these proceedings, the Jesuits acted a conspicuous part. It was a war of religion: the earl of Desmond, and Fitz-Maurice, though obliged to seek concealment, did not hesitate to signify to the English governors that they acted as protectors of the Romish faith in Ireland, by the authority of the bishop of Rome.

In 1579, negotiations were resumed for the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, who had formerly addressed her when duke of Alençon. The marriage was, in itself, very unsuitable, although the French prince had, in some respects, favoured the Protestants; but the state of public affairs, at that time, rendered such an alliance desirable on many accounts; while the idea of being addressed by a young prince, though an ill-favoured man, was, in many respects, flattering to the vanity of Elizabeth: at one time she appeared really inclined to accept his offers. The young prince was anxious to obtain a splendid settlement for himself out of France. The negotiation, on the part of the French, was conducted by Simier, a man of consummate address, possessing talents particularly well fitted for the affair.

The queen's counsellors were divided in opinion respecting the marriage. Some, most anxious to exclude

the queen of Scots from the succession, promoted it; but others, among whom the earl of Leicester was secretly included, opposed a union likely to be injurious to Protestants, as well as involving their private interests. The duke visited England for a short time, in September, 1579; the queen appeared pleased with him: she, however, referred the consideration of the affair to the council, and they, after long debate, referred it back to the queen. The difficulties did not diminish upon full consideration, while every personal circumstance told against the marriage. In January, 1580, the treaty was broken off for a time, and preparations were made to meet the danger of foreign hostilities.

Before the account of the second period of Elizabeth's reign is closed, it is well to notice that one principal cause of English prosperity in her reign was, the increased attention given to commerce; she encouraged trade with Russia, Persia, and the Levant, for which companies were formed. The earliest commercial efforts were made by enterprising navigators, seeking new channels for communication with the East. Some of these were useless attempts at north-east and north-west passages; but others sought countries that promised more immediate returns. Sir John Hawkins made some voyages between the coast of Africa and the West Indies, purchasing slaves, and selling them for the produce of America. The first took place as early as 1562, when British capital and enterprise were first engaged in that abominable traffic, the slave trade. It is deeply to be regretted that England should ever have participated in this accursed trade, which originated in the erroneous views of a well-meaning popish prelate, the bishop of Chiapa, who was so mistaken as to suppose, that it was lawful to transport slaves from Africa, to ease the oppressions inflicted by his countrymen upon the natives of America, who were perishing by hundreds of thousands under the cruelties of their task-masters. Thus he acted upon the mistaken principle of doing evil that good might come: a proceeding directly

opposed to the command of God, which enjoins us to do unto others as we would they should do unto us. It is matter for rejoicing, that while this atrocious traffic is pursued still more eagerly than ever, by the nations benighted in popish error, Protestant England has confessed and repented of this sin, and has now abolished slavery itself. In 1567, Hawkins's fleet was nearly destroyed by the Spaniards; but he still continued to visit the Spanish settlements: and as early as 1571, the court of Spain engaged him to fit out a fleet, which should assist in "restoring the ancient religion, putting an end to the tyranny of Elizabeth, and promoting the right of Mary queen of Scots to the English throne." In this negotiation, recorded by Romish historians, Hawkins does not seem to have been sincere; he subsequently gave such an account of his proceedings as to satisfy the council, who retained him in the queen's service.

Sir Francis Drake was the most successful naval adventurer at this period. He commanded the only vessel under Hawkins that returned home in safety in 1567. Determined to repair his losses, he made repeated predatory voyages to the West Indies. In one of these, he crossed the isthmus of Darien, and beheld the Pacific Ocean, upon which he vowed that he would cause the English to sail, if possible. Imparting his plans to the English government, then suffering from the proceedings of Philip, five ships were fitted out in 1577, and placed under his command; the largest being only of a hundred tons burthen. With this little fleet he passed the straits of Magellan, plundered St. Jago, and several other towns on the coasts of Chili and Peru, proceeding farther till he landed on a territory to the north of Mexico, of which he took possession in the name of his queen. Then, apprehending he might be intercepted if he returned to the southward, he sailed directly across the Pacific Ocean to the Moluccas, and arrived at Deptford in November, 1580, with one ship only, which had on board treasure to the amount of

800,000*l.*; he being the first commander who had sailed round the world.

The Spanish ambassador complained of Drake's proceedings as piracy, and as invading his master's rights by sailing in the Pacific Ocean. Elizabeth retorted, by complaining of Philip's continually aiding her rebellious subjects, and refused to acknowledge his claim to the exclusive navigation of half the surface of the globe; but she consented to give up a part of the treasure, that it might be restored to those from whom it had been taken. The king of Spain, however, kept it, and employed it to oppose the English in Holland. In April, 1581, Elizabeth visited Deptford, where she was entertained on board Drake's vessel, and knighted the adventurous seaman. Drake was subsequently employed in the queen's service: his success encouraged others to pursue the like enterprises; but for the most part the adventurers were disappointed. Disease and battle frequently thinned their numbers; and those who returned home laden with plunder, often had to lament that their ill-gotten gain had been purchased by the sacrifice of peace of conscience. But these expeditions raised up a set of bold commanders, who were useful in resisting the efforts of Philip for subjugating England; yet, when stripped of the false glory which often dazzles those who regard such actions, they were neither more nor less than downright robbery. They were encouraged to weaken an unrelenting enemy, and thus did not quite deserve the name of piracy, but they were privateering, the most objectionable of all modes of warfare. The invitations held out by Drake and his companions were, in truth, the language held up for condemnation in Proverbs i. 11—14: "Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause: let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the pit: we shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil: cast in thy lot among us; let us all have one purse." The warning against such

conduct immediately follows. "Walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path: for their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood.— And they lay wait for their own blood; they lurk privily for their own lives. So are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain; which taketh away the life of the owners thereof," ver. 15, 16, 18, 19.

The queen, and many of her nobles, took part in these privateering expeditions, contributing money for the outfit, that they might receive a proportionate share of the spoil. Wealth thus acquired is never blessed; repeatedly has the remark been made, during recent wars, that when large fortunes have been acquired by privateering, they have soon disappeared. What is gotten through honest industry, whether by toil of body or of mental powers, under the Divine blessing, will wear well, and often continues a comfort to children's children; but of wealth acquired by wrong, it may truly be said, that such "riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven," Prov. xxiii. 5. Let the youthful reader, especially, bear these truths in mind, while reading the narratives of Drake and his followers; let him not be deceived, let him mark how plainly the Divine curse followed these proceedings, although those against whom they were directed could not complain that they were undeserving of such punishment for sin.

Gold, many hunted, sweat, and bled for gold—
And to obtain it sacrificed ease, peace,
Truth, faith, integrity, good conscience, friends,
Love, charity, benevolence, and all
The sweet and tender sympathies of life;
And to complete the horrid murderous rite,
And signalize their folly, offered up
Their souls and an eternity of bliss,
To gain them—what? an hour of dreaming joy,
A feverish hour that hastened to be done,
And ended in the bitterness of woe.

ELIZABETH.

PART III.

FROM A.D. 1580 to A.D. 1588.

ATTENTION must now be given to particulars respecting the serious dangers which beset the throne of Elizabeth, from the form in which the popish machinations were urged forward. Here, again, the statement of Turner is to be kept in view : "To be at that time a (Roman) Catholic, and to think Elizabeth a usurper, and Mary the rightful queen, and to desire to have a (Roman) Catholic sovereign on the throne of England, were inseparable circumstances. There was not, perhaps, one member of the Romish church, in Europe, who had other sentiments. Their pope and hierarchy, in all its branches, held and unvaryingly taught such opinions." It need not be supposed that many of the Romanists expressly desired the murder of Elizabeth ; but when it is plain from the bulls and the private letters of the popes themselves, and from the testimony of Italian historians, that the pontiffs did actually join in plots, and recommend the murder of the English queen, we cannot wonder that there were some men, who, from fanaticism, and others, who from inclination to villany, readily undertook murderous designs.

During the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign, every effort was made, even by concessions of very doubtful tendency, to keep those who adhered to Romanism in union with the established church. Townsend truly says of these efforts : "Elizabeth made greater approaches to toleration than any prince who had hitherto reigned on any throne in Europe." The greater part of

the priests conformed: the number of those called queen Mary's priests, who refused to do so, and continued their ministrations privately among the more bigoted of the people, diminished by death and other causes, while there was no regular plan for supplying their places. The English government fondly hoped that all its subjects might soon be brought to profess the same religion. But the popes did not allow their power in England so to pass away; nor were they content with commanding the English papists to come out from their fellow countrymen. To furnish a supply of priests, Dr. Allen, in 1568, formed a college at Douay, in Flanders, where he collected some young English exiles, and induced others to come there from England, to be educated for the Romish priesthood, that they might return to their native land as missionaries for the pope, who countenanced the college, and assigned an income for its support. The English government soon perceived the mischiefs likely to result from this establishment, and, at the request of Elizabeth, Philip ordered that it should be removed from his dominions. The French government, then in the hands of the Guises, allowed Allen to fix his scholars at Rheims. The pope directed a similar college to be established at Rome; another was begun in Spain; and the Romish authors state, that this plan was so successful, that in a few years, above three hundred priests were sent to England, as they state, "to cultivate that desert vineyard full of wild beasts."

These men assumed various disguises; their design was to restore the Romish faith in all its power and predominance, therefore their object was political as well as religious. The power of the pope to depose and excommunicate kings, and the belief that Elizabeth was under his curse, were the main principles taught by these priests. Allen, in a printed admonition, openly declared, "Yet the pope's holiness only meaneth in Christ's word and power given unto him, and in zeal of God's house, to pursue the actual deprivation of

Elizabeth, the pretended queen." He adds, that this was by sentence of the popes; and that by this one woman's condign correction, God's mighty arm may be feared and glorified. Elizabeth was invariably regarded by every papist as illegitimate, and therefore, if possible, to be dethroned as an usurper; but Allen went farther; he avowed that as the popish bishops, "the lords of the clergy," had been deposed, no lawful parliament could be held, nor were any statutes made under Elizabeth, "of force to authorize prince, or bind subjects." These were the doctrines taught by the scholars of Allen and their associates: will any one, not a Romanist, say that men were persecuted for religion, who suffered for disseminating such treasons, and for engaging in actual plots against the queen and the Protestant government by law established? The foundations of civil and religious obedience were struck at. And, as Turner remarks, the danger was further aggravated by such a body of teachers, educated in such principles, being placed under the instruction and guidance of the Jesuits. That society is well known to have arisen just at the commencement of the Reformation, against which its efforts were, and still are, especially directed, with the most uncompromising exertion. We need only remind the reader, that with the blind obedience vowed to the pope, and to the superior of his order, the Jesuit unites craft and suppleness of conduct. He is regularly trained to assume any form that may forward his object, and to consider every means lawful which may forward the end he has in view. Just at the time when the gross tyranny of the popedom had shaken its power to the base, this new order of men, trained to avail themselves of the changes in society, was raised up, and engaged even more strongly than the monastic orders, to give implicit obedience to the pontiff, adopting as a principle what their writers have asserted, "that the pope is neither God nor man, but both." Many able sketches of the rise and progress of this order have been given, showing how the secret and stealthy nature

of its proceedings were most formidable at that time. The popes could no longer find kings or nobles who would display a blood-stained cross, and march forward at the head of thousands to slaughter their fellow men, without any special object of advantage to themselves : but they still could avail themselves of the proceedings of monarchs, who, like Philip, grasped at the dominions of others ; while they had a most devoted band of secret partizans, by whose agency assassins were found to strike at the life of kings : thus two monarchs of France and a prince of Orange perished in this period, while many of less note were practised upon. By these men the life of Elizabeth was sought ; but there was One mightier than those who protected her, and overruled even her errors, for the safety of his church.

For several years it had been known to Elizabeth's government, that the Jesuits aimed at her life ; but it was not till 1580 that the trained scholars of the Jesuits were ready for operations in England. In that year, Parsons and Campian came over, and travelled in different disguises. They spoke so plainly about deposing the queen, that some of the moderate English papists, who preferred the government as then established, to the iron despotism of the Spanish king, were inclined to give information against them, and some account of their practices reached the government. To the machinations of these men Elizabeth was now exposed, and their practices were such as in a few years required severe proceedings. Be it remembered, that at this period, by the testimony even of Romish authors, there were scores, and even hundreds of these crafty, villanous characters, traversing England in disguises, sometimes assuming the garb and character of ministers and clergymen ; in the latter disguise, especially, they exerted themselves to aggravate matters between the established church and the puritans. This, as already noticed, had been practised for some years, and there are undoubted proofs that the same measure has been pursued in later times ; probably it is so even at the

present day. But whatever the Jesuits may now profess, their own writers plainly state what was then their profession and practice; and they may be called upon to point out when, and by what competent authority, any change has been effected.

In the session of parliament, which began in January, 1581, sir Walter Mildmay, the chancellor of the exchequer, referred to the practices of the pope, and his secret ministers, and to the lately begun mission of the Jesuits, to stir up sedition. He urged the necessity for enacting stricter laws against the seditious runagates, who had lately begun to disturb that happy peace which the nation had enjoyed for so many years. A law was passed, enacting that all who pretended to possess, or to exercise, the power of absolving others from Protestantism, and of reconciling them to popery, should be accounted guilty of high treason, that being an admission of the power of the pope to depose the queen, and of the validity of the Scottish queen's right to the throne. Hearing or saying mass was declared to be punishable with fines and imprisonment.

These increased efforts against Elizabeth seem to have induced her counsellors, and herself, to allow the treaty for her marriage with the duke of Anjou to be renewed. Ambassadors from France were received with great pomp and show.

At that time the French prince was assisting the Hollanders against their Spanish governor; this placed him upon favourable terms with Elizabeth, and her female vanity was not indifferent to his attentions. The duke of Anjou, by these attentions, forwarded his design to secure the sovereignty of the Netherlands, if he did not succeed in obtaining the British crown. The necessity for acting against Philip was the more strongly felt, from that prince having seized Portugal; but Burghley urged that the weight of this latter affair belonged to France, not to England. In November, the duke of Anjou arrived in London: at one time he prevailed upon Elizabeth to decide in his favour, but she

listened to the earnest remonstrances of those most attached to her, and the following day he found his suit again doubtful. They convinced her that any political advantages from the union were uncertain, while the consequences of a personal nature might be serious, and that the marriage must in the end prove disastrous. Though at times Elizabeth manifested even more than feminine weakness, yet these seasons were rare and brief. Reason again prevailed, and although her affections seemed to be placed upon the French prince to a ridiculous extent, she allowed him to leave England in February, 1582. He departed with numerous attendants, and great honours. His endeavours to secure the supreme power in Flanders failed, and he returned to France, where he died in 1584. His own sister has left on record, that this prince was a compound of fraud and deceit. England had great cause to rejoice that he failed in his designs upon Elizabeth; but the affair was not absolutely closed till his decease. Mary Stuart was anxious to impede the union, which would have deprived her of the interference of France in her favour. She did not hesitate to write to Elizabeth in terms so offensive, that there is cause to wonder that the latter did not at once proceed against her with the utmost severity.

A proclamation was issued against the Jesuits in January, 1581. Campian was traced with much difficulty, and seized in the house of a gentleman in Berkshire, in September, 1581, after a long tour through the northern and midland counties. He had challenged the Protestant divines to dispute with him relative to the points in debate between the Romanists and the Protestants, and four conferences, or disputations, were held with him while he was in the Tower. Strype gives an account of these disputations, at which many of both religions were allowed to be present. Campian was tried with others, for treason. The Jesuits were proved to have come over to England, in pursuance of a determination against the life of Elizabeth, and for the de-

struction of the government, both in church and state, by the aid of a foreign power. Campian avowed that his object was the extirpation of heresy; what that meant was well known. He suffered as a traitor in December, with two associates. Nine others who were found guilty, were allowed to remain in prison, and questioned as to their opinions respecting the deposing power of the pope, and the part they would take, if any attempt were made against the queen, in pursuance of the orders in the papal bulls. Three gave satisfactory answers; the other six all declared, as Campian had done, that they would not venture to express an opinion against the authority of the pope; thus admitting that they considered the pontiff had power to depose the queen; and as their connexion with the treasonable designs on foot was clear, they suffered about six months afterwards. Yet, notwithstanding the strongest proofs that these men and their associates designed to depose Elizabeth, and the open avowal of it by popish writers in that day, a modern Romish historian does not hesitate to say, that these men came to England with the sole view of exercising the spiritual functions of their priesthood! But Townsend shows, that "Campian came into England to render service to (his) religion. Rebellion against the queen was a part of that religion. He had the dispensation of the pope for temporary loyalty." Even if they had no designs for murdering the queen, and overthrowing the Protestant government, the attempt to restore popery, connected as it was with Mary's claim to the throne, and the deposing authority arrogated by the pope, went far beyond the discharge of spiritual functions; it involved the guilt of treason. All the efforts of Romish apologists fail, when they describe the popish sufferers in this reign as persecuted for religion. They were martyrs for the pope; none suffered as traitors, unless some treasonable designs were proved against them. Meanwhile, in Spain and Italy, there was no hesitation shown as to torturing and putting to death Englishmen found

in those countries, even those residing there as traders, if any accusation for Protestant religious observances could be brought forward against them ; no attempt to prove any designs against the respective governments were thought necessary ; if they were heretics, that was sufficient.

The extent to which this popish conspiracy spread in England rendered active measures necessary. Walsingham was earnest in causing search to be made for popish priests and recusants. He employed numerous agents and emissaries, who, like the Jesuits, assumed various disguises : thus it was not uncommon for the crafty emissaries of the pope to be themselves circumvented by agents employed against them, whom they imagined to be friends ; and when they had been, as they thought, persuading others to join their plans, their projects were disclosed to the spies of Walsingham, who informed against them. This was again met in several instances by these papists themselves engaging with Walsingham, and while he trusted them as agents, they secretly carried forward the designs of the pope. Such are the crooked courses to which deceivers resort, and thus the worldly wise often are taken in their own craftiness. Townsend says, "The policy of Elizabeth was to avoid force, and to secure her government by discovering and surpassing the deep dissimulation of her enemies." Many of the guilty were committed to prison ; they suffered from the noisome state in which prisons were kept at that time, and long afterwards. Torture was frequently applied to the most notorious prisoners to obtain confessions : this was the practice of the times, first introduced under popery. After the Reformation had been established nearly a century, this disgraceful practice was wholly done away in our land. But torture was resorted to invariably in popish countries, under the inquisition : and even now, there is reason to believe, that tortures are inflicted in the dark prisons yet remaining under the influence of popery.

In Scotland, considerable influence had been gained over the young king, by two of the Stuart family, D'Aubigny and Arran. They were concerned in the proceedings in which all the Romish princes were implicated, although the former endeavoured to silence the popular feeling against him by conforming to the Protestant faith. But his sincerity was suspected; it was publicly known that the popes granted dispensations, permitting Romanists to "promise, swear, and subscribe," to whatever they might deem necessary, so that they continued secretly to promote their religion. Even at the present day, the authenticated works of instruction among the papists assert a dispensing power with regard to the most solemn engagements, whenever the interest of their religion requires it, and in many cases the same evasions are allowed for individual profit, or convenience.

The efforts of these Scottish favourites were directed against the regent Morton, who was a man of bad character, but at that time opposed to popery. The question of Darnley's murder was revived. Morton was convicted of being concerned in the murder, and beheaded in June, 1581. He denied being actually a participator in the act, but confessed that Bothwell had told him of the plan, assuring him that queen Mary willed it. The Scottish nobles made a successful effort to separate their young monarch from his pernicious counsellors. D'Aubigny, who had been created duke of Lennox, was obliged to quit Scotland: he died soon after his return to France, professing himself a Protestant. Arran contrived to regain his power and influence. Mary Stuart, at this time, wrote a letter to Elizabeth, charging her with machinations against her son and herself. This letter has been used by the panegyrists of Mary; but its empty declamation is answered by reference to real history, while Elizabeth's allowing such an attack to pass unvisited by any punishment, sufficiently refutes the charge of eagerness to seize on all occasions against Mary. These circum-

stances more and more convinced the counsellors of the English queen, that there was no safety for their sovereign during the life of her rival.

Towards the close of 1582, the French rulers attempted a new plan for regaining influence in Scotland. It was this : that Mary should acknowledge her son as king, on her being liberated, and allowed a share in the government ; then James was to marry a French princess, and the results hoped for would follow. England and Scotland would be again at enmity. But the design was too obvious ; the French ambassadors sent to James were openly insulted at Edinburgh.

The anxiety of Elizabeth to enforce uniformity placed her in collision with the puritans, who also were worked upon by secret popish emissaries, to widen the breach. Two laws, passed in the year 1580, indirectly bore hard upon them : one against publications containing any matter deemed defamatory of the queen ; the other was the act against the Jesuits, which required all to attend public worship, according to the act of uniformity. This comprehended nonconformists as well as papists. Such proceedings only widened the breach ; and now arose the Brownists, or independents. They did not differ from the established church on points of doctrine ; but proceeded so far in matters of discipline, as to deny it to be a true church, and they renounced communion with all who were not of their own model ; yet, though severely persecuted, they never were implicated in any plots or designs against the queen. Two, named Thacker and Copping, hanged at Bury, in June, 1583, were accused of sedition, in spreading books against the Common Prayer, and refusing the oath of supremacy. In this year died archbishop Grindal, who had been an exile in the days of queen Mary, and who, although forced into some severe proceedings, was so unwilling to persecute the puritans that he lost the queen's favour, and was suspended from discharging his office. He procured leave for the French Protestants to have a church in London.

Among other efforts of popery, in 1582, was the publication of an English version of the New Testament, printed at Rheims, with notes, defending the erroneous doctrines of popery. These were ably answered and refuted by Fulke.

In 1584, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, engaged so far in the plots of the English papists, that it was necessary to order him to leave England, at the hazard of making an open breach with Philip, then the most potent monarch in Europe. Protestant princes were fully warned of their danger in July this year, when the prince of Orange was murdered in his own court by an assassin, who had been excited by the bigoted anathemas of the papists against Protestant rulers, and induced by the pecuniary reward offered by Philip to any one who should take prisoner or slay the prince. Just as the prince of Orange rose from dinner, he was shot by the assassin in the presence of his wife, whose father, the admiral Coligny, as well as her first husband, both had been murdered for adherence to the Protestant cause. It was ascertained that the murderer had previously disclosed his intention, in confession, to a Jesuit. It was notorious that Elizabeth was still more decidedly proscribed by the pope: at this time she was warned, by a foreign prince, Don Antonio, that there were plots for her assassination, while it was evident, that if she could be "taken off," as the phrase ran, Protestantism would lose its firmest supporter. That Elizabeth was preserved through dangers in which the prince of Orange fell, is no proof that there were not designs against her life; it only shows the more clearly that she was preserved by God. Books were written and circulated by the Romish priests, denouncing Elizabeth as the Jezebel of the age; and urging her maids of honour to put her to death, even as Judith murdered Holofernes, according to the apocryphal books, telling them that they would, by such an action, render themselves worthy of the applause of the church, in all future ages!

The earl of Northumberland, and many others, were put under restraint. Among the papers of Francis Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, were found particulars of treasonable proceedings for the invasion of England, which had been countenanced by Mendoza. Some documents respecting these machinations were singularly brought to light. A Scottish Jesuit, named Crichton, while on his passage from the continent, was fearful of being detected, and having hastily torn some papers, threw them overboard; but the wind blew them back to the ship: the act awakened suspicion, they were put together, and found to be important. Other papers were intercepted; among them, letters from Mary Stuart, in which she urged the speedy execution of "the great plot." As these efforts undeniably aimed at the power and life of Elizabeth, Leicester proposed to form a solemn association for the defence of the queen. This engagement included a pledge on the part of the subscribers, that they would bring to punishment every one concerned in treasonable schemes against their monarch.

The Protestants readily signed the engagement, which alarmed Mary, who made another application for her liberty, offering to renounce all present claims to the English throne, to consider the pope's bull against Elizabeth as invalid, and to conduct herself peaceably; also to attach her son firmly to the English interests. Elizabeth expressed her desire to attend to Mary's proposals; but, when the subject was discussed by her ministers, the question returned, How could any security which the queen of Scots could give be sufficient, and really restrain her? This, from the beginning, had been the main difficulty; it caused her detention in England, and it could not be overcome.

The parliament passed an act which authorized the appointment of a special commission of twenty-four or more persons, to sit in judgment on any one who pretended to the crown, or who devised or attempted the execution of any scheme hostile to the dignity or life

of Elizabeth ; also, in case of the queen being murdered, a council was appointed, who were to assume the government, and punish the authors and abettors of the atrocious deed. Another law declared all Jesuits and seminarist priests guilty of treason, if they did not leave England within forty days, or if they returned thither. All who encouraged or protected them were liable to punishment. Unquestionably these measures were severe, and placed the queen of Scots and her abettors in danger, if they continued their plots : but these precautions on the part of Elizabeth were requisite for self-preservation. If Mary is not to be blamed for her devices, surely Elizabeth must not be censured for measures to protect her kingdom against the results of those devices !

The liberty allowed to Mary of constant private communications with her servants, and of excursions for hawking, to a distance not exceeding three miles from Tutbury castle, rendered it impossible to prevent clandestine correspondence, and constantly gave opportunities for escaping. During the whole tedious eighteen years Mary was detained, she was restrained, rather by not having a place of secure refuge, than by the circumstances of her captivity. In September, 1584, the earl of Shrewsbury, who had often desired to be relieved from the charge of Mary, was permitted to give up that office. Sir Walter Mildmay, and Mr. Somers, were appointed to take care of her, till lord St. John should be ready to enter upon that duty. On account of his own illness, and the death of an only son, he was released from his charge six months afterwards, when sir Amias Paulet was appointed, and subsequently sir Drew Drury was associated with him. On the retirement of lord Shrewsbury we find Somers presenting Mary's request for one of his servants to remain, because he was accustomed to drive her horses and coach, a request which could not have been made by any one subjected to close confinement.

In the parliament which sat at the close of 1584,

great complaints were made of the inefficiency of many of the clergy; but the influence of the queen and her ministers was used to repress every appearance of innovation, though she roundly told the bishops, that if they were not careful to amend faults and negligences, she would depose them. The rising freedom of debate was continually interfered with. Parry, member for Queenborough, having opposed the act against Romish priests, was committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. The value of an independent parliament was not yet understood. In reference to this very parliament, a letter is extant, written by the earl of Leicester to the burgesses of Andover, requesting to be allowed to name one of their representatives; and, if they wished to avoid all the expense of payment, and the trouble of choosing members, he offered to appoint both, and if they sent him the return signed, he would insert the names.

A conspiracy against Elizabeth, in which Parry was concerned, was discovered a few weeks afterwards. Many circumstances respecting this project still are mysterious. Parry was a native of Wales, and a doctor of civil law: he had been employed by lord Burghley, for some years, to collect intelligence on the continent. In 1577 he returned to England, where he became involved in debt, and wounded his principal creditor. He again became an agent of Burghley; but it is probable he acted the double part already noticed; for he professed to become a papist, and to be willing to join in the designs against Protestantism. He gained access to the papal agents, and undertook to attempt the life of Elizabeth. Being implicated by another of Burghley's agents, and denounced, he thought it the safest course to betray his new employers, which he did, producing a letter from cardinal Como, the papal secretary, which declared that his holiness exhorted him to persevere, granting him full indulgence, and the remission of all his sins, and promising a reward upon earth. Of course, there was no direct mention of the

murderous plot; but the grants of indulgence and remission, beyond the ordinary terms, without stating any specific reason, and the communication coming from so exalted a quarter, all show that more than the common objects of the generality of the seminary priests were in view. Parry was tried, he confessed his guilt, but afterwards protested his innocence. He was executed in the cruel manner then directed by the law against traitors: a barbarous and bloody proceeding; but a speedy and merciful death, when compared with the tortures inflicted by the inquisition.

The interest and anxiety the Protestant part of the English nation felt for their sovereign, were openly shown at this time. Even a year earlier, the French ambassador wrote to his court, that when queen Elizabeth showed herself in public, crowds of people fell on their knees by the way who prayed for her, wishing her a thousand blessings, and that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She frequently stopped and thanked them; and while among the crowd, turned to the ambassador, and said, "I see, however, that not all desire me evil." She had previously spoken to him of the proceedings of the Jesuits.

Many popish books were secretly brought into England, and circulated; their contents were treasonable. Some of the Jesuits who brought them over suffered: one, who was tried for bringing over cardinal Allen's declaration, declared it was a loyal book, though it openly spoke of Elizabeth as being an unlawful queen, on account of her birth, and her excommunication by the pope. Strype gives a full account of the literary efforts against Elizabeth. They produced much mischief, but are passed over in silence by the apologists of Mary.

In this year began the controversy between Hooker and Travers, which involved long discussions respecting nonconformity; into these it would be foreign to our object to enter. It is to be regretted that some plan for uniting the Protestants more closely was not

pursued: it is undeniable that nonconformists suffered much, and unjustly, in this reign. It was well for England that the violent papists proceeded to such lengths as they did; for it is clear that Elizabeth was rather inclined to favour popery than otherwise. Her protection of the Reformation was rather the act of a politician, than like the sincere, conscientious, pious proceedings of her brother. Townsend correctly says—"Whatever there was of a persecuting spirit in the breast of Elizabeth was not directed against the Romish communion." Had not the proceedings of the papists compelled her to rigorous measures, her scheme for national religion was of that comprehensive nature, which would have afforded the Jesuits the best opportunities for undermining Protestantism, if they could have allowed the papal claims for supremacy to have remained dormant: but at that period they were not allowed so to do; and Protestantism in England being yet in its infancy, they thought to destroy it by direct opposition. In other times, and in our own day, they take other courses, more secret, and therefore more dangerous.

The affairs of Holland and the Netherlands pressed upon England for help, with increased force in 1585. As yet the confederates received little aid from Elizabeth; the interference of the duke of Anjou had proved unsatisfactory; the prince of Orange was murdered; his eldest son was a prisoner in Spain; the second, upon whom the authority devolved, was a youth of eighteen; and the Spanish general, the prince of Parma, was successful in his military operations; while the king of France, though willing to check the power of Philip, had too many troubles at home to allow of his interference. The States, in this extremity, again applied to Elizabeth, offering to acknowledge her as their sovereign. The hazard from committing herself to an open war with Philip was considerable; he was then the ruler of a large part of Europe, with the pope and the house of Austria ready to assist him; while the

treasures of the New World were at his disposal. But to allow him to overcome the confederates, would enable him to act with still more force against England. It was therefore resolved, that Elizabeth should decline the sovereignty, but give efficient aid to the States of Holland, by assisting them with an army and a fleet, holding some towns as guarantees for the repayment of the charges of the expedition. A declaration was published, stating that ancient treaties with those provinces required the English sovereign to assist them in preserving their privileges under the oppressions of the Spanish government. The refusal of the sovereignty thus offered, evinced a wisdom and real greatness of mind few monarchs would have shown.

The earl of Leicester was appointed general of the allied army, owing to Elizabeth's ill-judged partiality for him. Early in 1586, the States gratified his ambition by conferring upon him powers almost equal to sovereignty. When Elizabeth heard of this proceeding, she blamed him for receiving such authority, and the States for bestowing it; but his administration soon became unpopular. Nor did he display military talents. In a skirmish at Zutphen, where the Spaniards pressed forward, owing to an error of Leicester's, in leaving some approaches unguarded, his nephew, the amiable sir Philip Sidney, one of the most virtuous and accomplished characters of that day, received a mortal wound. The anecdote of his sending some water, brought to relieve his own suffering, to a dying soldier, who appeared to need the draught still more than himself, is well known; it shows a kindliness of disposition seldom manifested amidst the horrors of warfare. He lingered more than a fortnight before he died, during which time he sought, as his friend lord Brooke records, to "apply the eternal sacrifice of our Saviour's passion and merits to himself." The author of the "History of England, on Christian principles," has well remarked, that "it is due to candour not to hide the defects which

stained the fair face of religion in queen Elizabeth's reign; yet, assuredly, those deserve to be called golden days, in which a courtier could thus express his faith in his Saviour's righteousness, and a young nobleman was not ashamed to record the saintly language of a polished friend and brother soldier. A general mourning, and a public funeral in St. Paul's church, were unusual marks of respect; and with these the court honoured sir Philip Sidney's memory."

The aid afforded to the States checked the progress of the Spaniards; but that nation suffered more from an expedition under Drake, against the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola, Carthagená, and Florida. The encouragement given by Elizabeth to her naval commanders, rapidly increased the number of efficient defenders of her realm.

In addition to the plots against Elizabeth, a design of still greater magnitude began to attract the attention of the English government in 1586. This was the preparation of the fleet known in history by the title of the Invincible Armada. Vast preparations were in progress for fitting out a naval armament in the ports of Spain and Portugal; the reasons alleged were the intentions of Philip to make a great effort to aid the war in the Low Countries, and also to send a large expedition to America. The first discovery of the design to invade England, is said to have been made to Walsingham by a priest, one of his spies, who informed him that Philip had privately written to the pope respecting the destination of his fleet, which was unknown to his council. By a bribe given to the mistress of one of the pope's confidants, a copy of the Spanish king's letter was procured. The design was there avowed to be the invasion of England, with the death of Elizabeth, the placing of Mary on the throne, and the destruction of the Protestant faith. How far this was ascertained before the end of the year, may be a question; but there can be no doubt that the preparations against England must have been in connexion with Mary Stuart. At

this crisis, a new plot was discovered, with which that princess was personally concerned.

A Rhemish priest, named William Gifford, persuaded a man named Savage, that to murder Elizabeth would be a meritorious and laudable deed, insuring him eternal happiness. Ballard, another priest, on visiting England, found the papists increasingly disposed to act against Elizabeth. He communicated with Mendoza, then Spanish ambassador in France, and Paget, the agent of the queen of Scots, who encouraged the invasion of England; but Paget gave his opinion, that no such effort could succeed, unless Elizabeth was first "taken off." Ballard was directed to return to England, to procure farther information respecting English papists willing to assist an invasion. On his arrival, in the disguise of a military officer, he had conferences with Babington, a man of respectable family in Derbyshire, who had already formed schemes for liberating Mary, and was engaged in conveying her letters to the continent.

On conferring upon their plans, Babington concurred in the plot for assassinating Elizabeth, and selected five other zealous papists to be joined with Savage in his murderous attempt, which he communicated to Mary's ambassador, the bishop of Ross. But Walsingham had received an intimation of the plot; his spies were active; one of them became privy to the plans, and pretended to be an associate in the conspiracy. Walsingham, with that craft which is too common, but which must be censured as opposed to Christian principles, allowed the conspiracy to proceed, while it was watched by his emissaries. Gifford, who was concerned in communicating with Mary, betrayed her letters to Walsingham. At this time, Babington made a pretended offer that he and Ballard would become spies for the secretary, if allowed to visit the continent. Their object was to ascertain that preparations were made for the invasion, before the murder of the queen was attempted. Walsingham caused Ballard to be apprehended before he

left England; but, with consummate art, persuaded Babington this was only occasioned by the discovery that he was a priest. Babington was thus induced to cause his associates to delay the attempt at murder, which at the moment they had wished to hasten; he even consented to reside in Walsingham's house, on the pretence of arranging what his proceedings in France should be. The conspirator soon became alarmed on finding his motions strictly watched, and joined his confederates, who fled in different disguises; but all, except one, were soon discovered. They were examined, confessions were drawn from them, after which they were tried, when the seven principal conspirators pleaded guilty. Babington, Savage, Ballard, and eleven others, were executed. One expressly declared, that what he did was for his conscience's sake, not for any malice or hatred to Elizabeth; so completely can the bigotry of false religion blind the mind.

Babington's confessions implicated Mary. He had renewed his correspondence, and had written to her an account of the murderous design, which she answered, approving the plan, arranging several matters connected with the attempt, and expressing her anxiety for the safety of the murderers, after the deed should be perpetrated. These letters passed from Chartley, where Mary then was, by a secret contrivance; being deposited in a hole in the wall by one of her servants, they were taken from thence, and delivered to the agents of Mary. Information of this way of communication being obtained, the letters and the answers were seen and copied, while passing between Mary's agents and her own servant. Thus there was treachery on both sides. Mary's fate exemplified the truth of Scripture, "Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and he that rolleth a stone, it will return upon him," Prov. xxvi. 27.

It was determined that Mary should be proceeded against, as sufficient proofs of her concurrence in Babington's plans had been found. Sir Thomas Gorges

was sent to Chartley to make the communication to her; he did so when she was on horseback preparing for the chase, and conducted her to Tixall. She attempted to resist, but in vain. Her apartments were searched, her papers were seized, and her secretaries sent to London to be examined, after which she was reconducted to Chartley, from whence, in a few days, she was removed to Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire. There was clear proof that she corresponded with Babington, had been informed of his murderous designs, and had written to him approving of them, directing that her liberation should be attempted immediately after the design on which "the six gentlemen were at work," as she phrased it. The letters did not rest only on Babington's evidence; a rough draft of Mary's reply, in her own writing, was found among her papers, made for one of her secretaries to copy in the cypher used in the correspondence.

The course now usually adopted by Mary's advocates is, to admit the murderous plot of Babington and his associates, and that Mary participated in the plan for an invasion; but to deny that she was aware of the intention to murder Elizabeth, alleging that her letters, or the parts of her letters, which establish her guilt, and her knowledge of the plot, were fabricated by her enemies to involve her in the charge. But there are no circumstances which bear out this statement, excepting her own denial; and she extended this still farther, asserting a direct falsehood in the first instance. If probabilities are balanced, there can be no reason to suppose one part of the design would be communicated to her, while the most efficient part of the proceeding was not mentioned. And it was impossible for her to think that an insurrection or invasion could be successful, unless the life of Elizabeth could be sacrificed. But the matter does not rest on such probabilities, however convincing they may be. The written documents are only met by a mere assertion, that her secretaries played her false, which is entirely unsupported, and

which Mary herself did not venture to allege; nor were they called to account by her friends as guilty of such a proceeding, though they lived several years afterwards. The conduct of Walsingham in suffering the plot to go forward, and that persons should be induced to join it, after it was known to him, is wholly indefensible, except on the ground of meeting craft by craft, a course that ought never to be attempted; but still it offers no excuse for Mary. Elizabeth and her ministers may be blamed for allowing her to proceed in these guilty conspiracies, but it was in her mind to do so: the plot originated with her partizans, and it was taken up by her in a manner which showed her readiness to join in treacherous and atrocious designs. This was her disposition; it fully bore out the observation of the French king, that she would not cease from her plots till they brought ruin upon her. The association already mentioned, was a warning for her to desist from any such proceedings. How different was the course pursued by David towards Saul! though the latter daily sought David's life, he would not sanction any attempt against the king, even in self-defence. He looked to the Lord for deliverance out of all his tribulation, and he was not disappointed, as he recorded in the beautiful language of the eighteenth Psalm.

Elizabeth and her ministers resolved to bring Mary to trial, as an offender against the law passed two years before. There can be no doubt that the fatal result to the prisoner was looked for, nor can there be any doubt of her guilt according to that law: but it is equally to be admitted, that she ought not to have been put to death under its enactments; they went too far. A commission was issued to forty-six peers, privy counsellors, and judges. Thirty-six arrived at Fotheringay, on October 11. Mary refused to plead, declaring, that, as an independent monarch, she was not answerable to the judicature of another country. To this was replied, that every one, while in a country, was answerable to its laws; and she was warned, that refusal to

plead would be considered as an acknowledgment of guilt; it was also urged that, if innocent, she ought to take the opportunity to repel the charge. On the 14th, she consented to plead, under a protest against the authority of the court. The charge was, that she had conspired to procure, 1. The invasion of the realm; 2. The death of Elizabeth. Of the first, there could be no doubt. Letters had been intercepted, and others were found in her cabinet, abundantly proving this. The second she denied; the evidence rested on her correspondence with Babington, his confessions, and the admissions of her secretaries. At first she wholly denied any correspondence with Babington; but that being indisputably proved, she denied that the passages in question were written by her, or with her knowledge. Having been confessedly guilty of falsehood, in her first denial respecting this correspondence, it is impossible to place confidence in her more limited negation. And she could not be ignorant that the murder of Elizabeth was a preliminary needful to secure the success of any invasion or insurrection. The court adjourned to Westminster, where, on the 29th, she was pronounced guilty. The sentence was communicated to the parliament, and sanctioned. On the 25th of November, both the Lords and the Commons urged that the sentence should be put into execution, while the people made public expressions of rejoicing. There never was a measure more earnestly pressed by the general desire of the nation than the death of Mary. It was a public national act, not one of private or individual revenge.

Elizabeth was irresolute with respect to Mary's fate. She was convinced that if the latter continued to live, her own life, and her proceedings for the good of the nation, would be in constant danger. Yet to direct the execution of an independent monarch, situated like Mary, was an alternative which her firmness was not sufficient to encounter, especially as the ambassadors from France and Scotland publicly remonstrated against the execution. Two months passed

in a state of irresolution ; at length, the commission to the earl of Shrewsbury, as earl marshal, with other nobles, was directed to be prepared. Still Elizabeth wished that Mary's life could be ended by other and less public means, and even directed that a hint, to that effect, should be given to sir Amias Paulet, and his fellow-keeper, Drury ; but, though they disliked Mary for her bigotry, and enmity to their queen, they wisely and honestly refused to participate in causing the death of Mary, unless by a legal warrant. On February 1, Elizabeth signed the commission, and directed the great seal to be affixed, without waiting for Paulet's answer. The next day, she told Davison, the secretary, to wait till he received further orders before the commission was sealed ; on being told this was already done, she blamed his haste, but did not give any further directions, and on the following morning, told him with a smile, that she had dreamed of punishing him severely as the cause of the death of the queen of Scots. He then asked whether she intended the commission should be executed ; to which she answered in the affirmative, but that she did not like the responsibility being thrown wholly upon herself. This was on February 3. The council assembled on that and the preceding day, and were informed of what had passed ; they perceived the state of Elizabeth's mind, and resolved to proceed, considering Mary's death to be necessary for the public safety. They sent Beal, the clerk of the council, to Fotheringay, with the commission, and a letter to Paulet and Drury, signed by the whole council. On the 4th, Elizabeth inquired what answer Paulet had sent respecting a private execution. On being informed, she expressed dissatisfaction with them. The histories of that period show that princes often viewed assassination as a method of executing justice, even when no legal conviction of guilt had taken place.

On February 7, the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with their attendants, arrived at Fotheringay in the evening. Mary was immediately informed that she

must prepare to suffer death the next morning. She was not surprised at such an announcement, but received it with fortitude, enumerated her sufferings, and protested her innocence as to any plot against the life of Elizabeth. She refused to see the dean of Peterborough, and the commissioners refused to allow her to see her own confessor—an uncharitable act. Mary passed most of the night in writing and in prayer, administering the sacrament of the altar to herself, by taking a wafer consecrated by the pope, which she had reserved to be taken in the hour of extremity, viewing it as having been actually turned into the body of Christ, and the means to secure her eternal happiness. It is painful to reflect that nominal Protestants frequently consider the sacrament as a passport to heaven.

At daybreak Mary took leave of her servants. Soon after eight o'clock, she was conducted to the great hall of the castle, where a low scaffold had been prepared, covered with a black cloth. About two hundred persons were present. On her repeated request, the commissioners unwillingly consented that she should be attended by two of her women, and four of her men servants. She conducted herself with dignity and firmness, declaring that she was brought to suffer by violence and injustice, that she never had contrived the death of Elizabeth, and that she died in the Romish faith, expressing also her forgiveness of her enemies. The dean of Peterborough endeavoured to preach, and offer prayer, but though there was nothing offensive or controversial in his services, Mary refused to listen, repeating passages from the Psalms aloud in Latin. She then prayed in French and English, and holding up a crucifix, exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." She laid her head upon the block, and at the third blow it was separated from her body. The dean officially and uncharitably declared, in the form usual on such

occasions, "So perish all the queen's enemies:" the earl of Kent alone uttered "Amen."

Thus perished Mary Stuart, queen of Scots. Her last hours exhibited her character in a more favourable light than the former portions of her life. The unjustifiable termination of the proceedings against her, has done much to throw into the shade, that censure which justly attaches to her actions. Nor can the course pursued by Elizabeth and her counsellors, be defended upon other grounds than the narrow and unjustifiable pleas of expediency and retaliation: the situation of Mary, as a prisoner, led to the proceedings for which she suffered; and it would have been a more equitable course not to have put her to death. But those who censure Elizabeth most strongly, do it on untenable grounds. Neither the times, nor the circumstances of public affairs, allowed her to leave Mary at liberty; and it is too much for men, themselves actuated by worldly motives, to require that the English queen should deliberately expose herself to certain destruction, by giving undue advantages to her rival. Indisputable facts also prove, that Mary could not demand better treatment on the plea of innocence and right conduct. If her reign and life are fairly reviewed, few sovereigns will be found whose conduct has been more deserving of censure. The blame deservedly cast upon Elizabeth's conduct, is not aggravated by innocence on the part of Mary. The latter had been the offender, though this did not justify, on Christian principles, the extremity of suffering inflicted upon her. And there is no excuse for doing wrong to prevent wrong. But, as stated already, the causes of those sufferings must be traced very far back, even up to the course pursued when she was an infant, her removal to France, her education, and the bad principles instilled there. We may pity, but we cannot excuse her.

Elizabeth, in some instances, showed much female weakness. It has been said, "At times she was more than man, and on some occasions less than woman."

She was so relative to Mary's execution. Instead of resting her defence for what had passed, on the crimes of Mary, and her duty as queen of England, she sought a pretext to throw the blame upon others. Her counsellors were severely censured, and excluded from favour for some time; but the chief displeasure was shown towards her secretary Davison. Elizabeth asserted, that the commission was not only sent off without her knowledge, but against her will, and that she only intended to have it ready for execution, in case of Mary's foreign or domestic partizans actually appearing in arms. The blame was cast upon Davison. He was dismissed from his office, fined ten thousand marks, and imprisoned, for having parted with the commission without express order from Elizabeth. Lord Burghley was in disgrace for some weeks; but, upon making a humble acknowledgment of error, he was restored to his office.

The conduct of her counsellors was the plea offered by Elizabeth to the kings of France and Scotland: it was a mere excuse, but neither monarch cared to interfere; and the plea was far more plausible than that offered by the king of France for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The political state of France rendered its sovereign far from displeased at an event which destroyed the hopes of the Guises; while James felt little affection for a mother whom he had never known, who continually censured his conduct, and who, in fact, desired to exclude him from the throne of England. James's favourite, Gray, writing to Douglas, the ambassador at the English court, attributed James's interference to proceed out of his own good nature, and ventured to add, "I care not, though she were out of the way." Such an interference would cause Elizabeth to proceed, rather than to hesitate. The people of Scotland were at first indignant at the national insult, but their minds were soon calmed; while, in England, a large number who did not wish to act against Elizabeth, but who deemed Mary their rightful queen, and

desired to see a papist on the throne, now were less disposed to disturb the government.

Among other documents existing in reference to this affair, there is in the Vatican a letter addressed to the pope, written by Mary, the day after the sentence of death was first communicated, by which she leaves her right to the throne of England to be disposed of by the pope and Philip as they should see fit, if her son refused to become a papist. This would act as a fresh stimulus to Philip, whose armada was now nearly ready to sail; but it was delayed by various causes: among other means, a plan is said to have been resorted to, by the advice of a merchant, sir Thomas Gresham. By causing large draughts to be made upon the bank of Genoa, he prevented the supply of money necessary for the final despatch of the fleet being furnished. This delay also may have been occasioned by the success of an expedition against Cadiz, under sir Francis Drake, who destroyed a number of vessels in the outer road, and ascertained the extent of preparation going forward. Arrangements were made in England to meet the attack; but they were much inferior to those of the invader, excepting in the general spirit of the people. This was decidedly aroused; very few, even of the most bigoted papists, desired the success of the Spaniards. Ships were hastily built or fitted out; arms and munitions of war were collected, and the sea-ports fortified.

The conduct of the earl of Leicester was injurious to the States. Two officers appointed by him were negligent or treacherous; they surrendered the posts committed to their care. Leicester returned to the Netherlands with a reinforcement; but he was not successful against Parma: his conduct excited a quarrel with the States, which ended in the queen causing him to resign his command, in December, 1587. Prince Maurice was appointed governor, while the command of the English auxiliaries was given to lord Willoughby, who was directed to conciliate the leaders of the confederated States.

The attention of Europe was now directed to the proceedings of Spain. The armada consisted of one hundred and thirty-five ships, many of them very large, manned with eight thousand seamen, and carrying twenty thousand veteran soldiers: while in Flanders upwards of thirty thousand men were prepared, with transports or boats adequate for their conveyance. The whole royal navy of England consisted of thirty-four vessels, of which only five were above eight hundred tons; but the city of London fitted out thirty-three, and eighteen were sent out by private individuals, while about ninety, chiefly small craft, were hired. Lord Howard, of Effingham, was appointed admiral. He was not experienced in nautical affairs, but able officers were placed under him, among whom were Drake, Hawkins, and others who had already acquired fame in naval expeditions against the Spaniards.

Land forces were ordered to assemble, but only one large army was actually embodied. It was stationed in Essex, on the river Thames, to protect the capital, and the approach to it. The chief reliance was placed on the fleet, assembled at the entrance of the channel; but the nobles and persons of property were ready to conduct their dependents to any points whither they might be directed. The pious composure of lord Burghley is to be remarked: when the overwhelming force of the Spaniards was noticed, he firmly replied, "They shall do no more than God will suffer them."

On May 29, 1588, the armada, solemnly blessed by popish prelates, and proudly denominated "the invincible," sailed from the Tagus, not only as an expedition to invade an enemy's country; but, as the litany prepared for this occasion was expressly entitled, "against the English heretics." Many friars were on board, with stores of popish trumpery, as well as the muniments of war; and all was prepared to extirpate the Protestant faith of England! Another bull, ordering that Elizabeth should be hurled from her throne, had been issued by the pope Sixtus v., expressly absolving

her subjects from their allegiance. Cardinal Allen was sent to Flanders, to co-operate from thence in matters under his control.

A storm shortly arose, which compelled the armada to take shelter in Corunna for three weeks, to repair the damage it had sustained. It being reported that the expedition was effectually disappointed, the queen ordered four of the largest ships to be laid up: but the admiral refused to weaken his force, and stood out to sea to obtain correct intelligence of the state of the Spanish fleet. A south-west gale compelled him to return, while the armada, favoured by the same wind, steered for England. The commander, the duke of Medina Sidonia, purposed to attack the English fleet at Plymouth, although his orders forbade him to make any attempt before he had communicated with the prince of Parma: this intention was laid aside when he found the English ships had been again at sea.

Lord Howard was informed of the approach of the armada, on which he hastened to leave the port. The next day, July the 20th, the Spanish fleet was seen sailing slowly up the channel, in the form of a crescent; the extremities of which were seven miles apart. The whole of the English fleet had not joined; the admiral, therefore, allowed the main body of the armada to pass, while he followed, and attacked the rear. The English seamen being superior in skill, and their vessels more manageable, they were able to do considerable injury to their opponents. One Spanish vessel was burned, another was captured and sent into Dartmouth. More would have been effected, but the English ships were so ill supplied with ammunition, that many of them had to retire from the fight, and go into the nearest ports to procure a supply. Some cannonading took place on the following days; but the English admiral resolved to forbear any general conflict, till he could join the ships stationed off Dover.

The progress of the armada was slow: on July 27, it anchored near Calais. The Spanish troops were

partly embarked in the small craft prepared for them, when on the night of July 28, the English admiral sent eight small vessels, fitted as fire-ships, into the thickest of the Spanish fleet. A general consternation followed; orders were given for all the Spanish ships to stand out to sea; they did so in much confusion. Drake closely engaged a part on the following day, when twelve large Spanish ships were taken or destroyed, and many were much damaged. A gale of wind increased their difficulties; the prince of Parma refused to commit his troops to the hazard of the winds and waves, in the doubtful state of the main armament. Medina Sidonia then deemed farther efforts useless, and having called a council of war, it was resolved to return to Spain, by sailing round Scotland and Ireland. The fleet was reduced to about eighty sail, many of them much damaged.

The Spanish invincible armada then took flight; the English fleet pursued till their ammunition again failed; but what their force could not accomplish, the elements effected under the Divine command. A storm came on; but most of the English ships were in harbour, while the armada was fully exposed to the rage of the tempest. Several Spanish ships were wrecked on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, the crews being mostly drowned, or killed by the natives. In September, the poor remains of this numerous and mighty armada returned to Spain; only fifty-three vessels reached home, and those in a shattered condition. Such was the result of this remarkable expedition, in which the hand of Divine Providence was manifestly stretched out for the preservation of the English queen and her subjects; for though her fleet, inferior as it was, fought gallantly, yet numbers and combined effort must have prevailed, had not God willed otherwise. The queen ordered this signal defeat to be commemorated, and the cause piously acknowledged, by a medal, which bore the impress of a tempest-beaten fleet, with the motto, "*Afflavit Deus, et dissipantur*;" "God caused the winds to blow, and

they were scattered." The sublime strains of the psalmist, uttered in reference to a deliverance of God's people of old, now became literally applicable to the experience of Protestant England.

"For, lo, the kings were assembled,
They passed by together.
They saw it, and so they marvelled;
They were troubled, and hasted away.
Fear took hold upon them there,
And pain, as of a woman in travail.
Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish
With an east wind.
As we have heard, so have we seen
In the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God:
God will establish it for ever." Psa. xlviii. 4—8.

Would that England had duly thought of the loving-kindness of God in the midst of his temple! The queen, indeed, went in solemn procession to St. Paul's, to express thankfulness for this great deliverance, on a national thanksgiving day appointed for the purpose, and the nation rejoiced at the time: but God's mercies are soon forgotten.

The king of Scotland showed his wisdom on this occasion, by refusing to unite with the enemies of Elizabeth. He expressed his full conviction of the fate which would be reserved for him, as the utmost favour to be conceded to a Protestant prince by confirmed papists; namely, that, like the promise of Polyphemus to Ulysses, it would only be, that he should be devoured the last. James plainly saw, that the real interests of his subjects, as well as his own, were indissolubly connected with England.

The universal loyalty displayed throughout the English nation on this occasion, speaks favourably of the general policy of Elizabeth's government. A queen, such as Mary's favourers falsely assert Elizabeth to have been, could not have so commanded the hearts and lives of her people at such a crisis. She prepared to take the field herself, and visited her army at Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leicester, on August 9th, before the final dispersion of the armada

was known. She appealed to the affection of her subjects, declaring her resolution "to lay down for her God, for her kingdom, and her people, her honour and her blood in the dust." With the lofty bearing of the Tudors, she addressed the assembled multitudes, and declared, that, though her person was "that of a weak woman, she had the heart of a king, and a king of England too!" and that she thought it "foul scorn, that Parma, Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of her realm." Popish historians endeavour to narrate the history of this soul-stirring crisis, so as to deaden its influence on the hearts of the English nation; but rightly detailed, and duly considered, it speaks irresistibly—it shows how hateful popery was to the nation, and how signally the Lord of hosts interposed to defeat the machinations of the enemies of true religion. If a papist will but fairly consider the results of the mighty and unremitting efforts made by the leaders of popery against England, as a Protestant nation, during the forty years of Elizabeth's reign, he will see that the words of the Psalmist are applicable:

"If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,
When men rose up against us:
Then they had swallowed us up quick,
When their wrath was kindled against us:
Then the waters had overwhelmed us,
The stream had gone over our soul:
Then the proud waters had gone over our soul."

Psa. cxxiv. 2—5.

And ought not the English Protestant to respond?

"Blessed be THE LORD,
Who hath NOT given us a prey to their teeth.
Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the
fowlers:

The snare is broken, and we are escaped." Psa. cxxiv. 6, 7.

The special religious services, and forms of prayer, during this reign, decidedly show that the nation and its rulers deeply felt the dangerous position in which they were placed, and rightly estimated the only safeguard—the Divine protection. But it is to be regretted,

that a subject so appropriate to Christian poets, as the defeat of the Spanish armada, and its ultimate dispersion by the Divine power controlling the elements, has been neglected. The following lines, though by a poet of note, do not do full justice to the subject.

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

Clear shone the moon, the gale was fair,
When, from Corunna's crowded port,
With many a cheerful shout and loud acclaim,
The huge armada pass'd.

To England's shores their streamers point,
To England's shores their sails are spread;
They go to triumph o'er the sea-girt land,
And Rome hath bless'd their arms.

Along the ocean's echoing verge,
Along the mountain-range of rocks,
The clustering multitudes behold their pomp,
And raise the votive prayer.

Commingle with the ocean's roar,
Ceaseless and hoarse their murmurs rise;
And soon they trust to see the winged bark
That bears good tidings home.

The watch-tower now in distance sinks,
And now Galicia's mountain rocks
Faint as the far-off clouds of evening lie,
And now they fade away.

Each like some moving citadel,
On through the waves they sail sublime;
And now the Spaniards see the silvery cliffs,
Behold the sea-girt land.

On come her gallant mariners:
What now avail Rome's boasted charms?
Where are the Spaniard's vaunts of eager wrath—
His hopes of conquest now?

And hark! the angry winds arise—
The billows rage at God's command;—
The winds and waves against the invaders fight,
To guard the sea-girt land.

Howling around his palace towers,
The Spanish despot hears the storm;
He thinks upon his navies far away,
And boding doubts arise.

Long o'er Biscay's boisterous surge
The watchman's aching eye shall strain;
Long shall he gaze, but never winged bark
Shall bear good tidings home.

ELIZABETH.

PART IV.

FROM A.D. 1588, TO A.D. 1603.

THE last period of Elizabeth's reign presented many busy scenes; but it was less unquiet than those which preceded it. The first event of importance was the death of Leicester, which took place immediately after the flight of the Spanish armada. When that event was clearly ascertained, the army encamped in Essex was disbanded, and Leicester proceeded towards his castle at Kenilworth. He was taken ill on the journey, and died at Cornbury park, in Oxfordshire. Some attribute his end to poison, administered by his wife and her supposed paramour, Blount, whom, it is said, Leicester had attempted to assassinate. To the account already given of this nobleman, nothing need be added, excepting that his character continued enveloped in mystery till the very last. But his boldest accusers are popish writers, who blacken his memory by relating circumstances that are improbable, and contradict each other.

The preparations for resisting the Spanish invasion occasioned a large expenditure. This obliged Elizabeth to apply for a considerable grant, which was made by the parliament; but, with the jealous resistance of interference with the royal prerogative her family had ever shown, she refused to allow a reformation of the malpractices in purveyance. This was a right then largely exercised, the claiming of provisions and other articles, for the royal household, at low prices. Some regulations of the exchequer were also subjects of

complaint. The queen promised to redress these grievances; but they were allowed to continue.

When the Spanish invasion threatened, apprehensions were felt respecting the more bigoted papists, whose attachment to popery was stronger than their patriotic feelings. It was necessary to secure some of them from doing mischief; but Elizabeth only had them placed under restraint, and when the danger was over, they were mostly liberated. Among the number were some seminary priests, and others, who were found to be involved in treasonable practices. Six of these suffered death, with some of their abettors, under the law which forbade such characters to enter the kingdom. Many more were in England, but these examples, it was considered, might be sufficient. The nation had then just narrowly escaped from the results of that combination of foreign and domestic enemies which the papists themselves called "the great plot;" if that had been successful, by their own account, the proceedings against the Protestants would have been beyond comparison more severe. The earl of Arundel, son of the duke of Norfolk, who was executed in 1572, was then in the Tower. He was charged with having corresponded with the invaders, and being tried by his peers, was found guilty of high treason. At the request of her counsellors, the queen spared his life; but it was not then safe to allow the chief of the English papists to be at liberty; he was detained in the Tower, where he died in 1595. A modern popish historian exaggerates the sufferings inflicted upon the recusants; but even from his own representation, they were very different from those endured by the Protestants during the reign of Mary. In 1586, it was found that many of the recusants were unable to pay the fines they had incurred. One, a gentleman of Suffolk, offered to pay every year the sum of forty pounds. He continued a recusant till the year 1600, but the utmost personal suffering inflicted on him was, detention in the castle of Ely, three times, for short intervals, when the Spaniards were expected

to invade England. One of these was in 1594; but in the autumn he was suffered to go to his own house for fourteen days; he then was to choose the house of some friend, where he was to remain, engaging not to go more than six miles from it; and to appear before the council at any time, within ten days after notice had been left at the house appointed for his residence. The account continues: "In 1595, he procured the indulgence of having his own house for his prison," (observe, under the same liberty of going six miles from it,) "and in 1598, was permitted to leave it for six weeks." How widely different from the treatment of the poor Protestants in queen Mary's reign! The particulars just stated are related by the papists themselves; and the severest proceedings against the recusants ceased, if they would state that they did not consider the pope had power to depose Elizabeth: to maintain a contrary opinion, assuredly was treasonable.

The nation was eager to attack the Spaniards, and desired to weaken Philip, by wresting Portugal from his power. Such an attempt might divert him from continuing to stir up troubles in England and Scotland. The expedition was set forth in a singular manner. The queen only furnished six ships, and granted 60,000*l.* towards the expense. The rest was supplied by private adventurers, who calculated upon a profitable return from plunder, or in rewards from Don Antonio, the claimant of the Portuguese throne. The whole fleet amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, with twenty thousand men, under the command of sir Francis Drake as admiral, and sir John Norris as general. It is painful to reflect, that in all warlike proceedings the suffering falls on the inoffensive inhabitants, rather than on those whose ambition and hateful spirit excite the conflict. The expedition against Portugal failed, but much havoc was made at Corunna, Vigo, and on the neighbouring coasts. The fleet returned victorious, after some months' absence; but more than half the men perished, chiefly by disease. The projectors were

disappointed of the unlawful gains they greedily looked for. This expedition brought into notice the young earl of Essex, who, though forbidden by the queen, joined it, with many young men of rank and family, as volunteers. His mother, Letitia, the widowed countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son at court. He soon attracted the notice of Elizabeth, who made him master of the horse, and appointed him, though under twenty-one, captain-general of the cavalry in the camp at Tilbury. On the death of Leicester, he became the favourite courtier, and soon showed the wayward tempers of a spoiled child.

The singular changes of worldly politics were manifested this year, by the English nation being called upon to aid both the kings of France and Scotland against their subjects. In France, the Guises and the bigoted popish faction formed what they called "the holy league," and openly rebelled against their sovereign, who sought the aid of his Protestant or Huguenot subjects. Henry III. had been guilty of blood, by causing the duke of Guise to be assassinated in December, 1588, considering him a notorious traitor, though uncondemned by any legal proceedings. The king himself soon after perished in like manner, being stabbed by Clement, a Dominican monk, whose superiors had induced him to believe that it would be a meritorious act to kill his monarch. Henry IV., who succeeded to the French throne, was one of the greatest monarchs of his day; but at that time he was a Protestant, which caused many of his subjects to refuse their help against the league, in which extremity he applied to Elizabeth. She sent him aid in money, and four thousand men from the Netherlands. By supporting the king of France, Elizabeth strengthened herself against Philip, who continued her determined enemy. But the aid rendered was not sufficient to settle the contest. It is only of late years that the plan of deciding a war by one strenuous effort has been resorted to. Additional aids of men and money were granted from time to time: one of the best organized divisions of the army was commanded by Essex.

In 1590, sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, died. He was one of Elizabeth's most efficient ministers, a determined opponent of the papists, whose craft he did not hesitate to meet by craft. He carried the employment of spies to a greater extent than any English minister before or since. The persons occupied in these intrigues were usually unprincipled characters, men of desperate fortunes: among them were many who contrived to gain employment from both parties, thus increasing their profit, and at times diminishing their danger; but frequently causing unfounded suspicions, and even raising sham plots, to deceive their employers. With all his care, Walsingham was under great disadvantages, compared with the pope and the Romish princes. The Jesuits were far superior in ability to any other emissaries or spies, and actuated by far stronger motives than those of mere pecuniary interest. Yet even from them the English secretary secretly contrived to obtain some assistance, though liable to be deceived; for the Jesuits were his superiors in the arts of dissimulation, and the sixteenth century was eminently a time of crooked policy. Walsingham died poor. When his decease left the office of secretary vacant, Essex endeavoured to have Davison reinstated, or Bodley appointed; but lord Burghley desired the appointment of his son, sir Robert Cecil: the queen settled the matter, by requiring lord Burghley himself to take the office, and allowing him the assistance of his son.

The troubles from popish emissaries continued: they increased during the latter years of this reign. In 1589, the government received information that Parryns, an English Jesuit, had declared there were seven ways or means agreed upon by the pope and his confederates, for murdering the queen. The various garbs and characters assumed by these emissaries, often baffled suspicion. They took every appearance, from the highest to the lowest, as best suited their views. Thus a seminary priest appeared at the Croydon races, in

1591, "in green and velvet, well mounted, with a pistol at his side," like one of the gallants or sporting men of the day. Others were disguised as soldiers, or sailors, or even as galley-slaves, just liberated, begging for their bread. This mode of warfare involved less risk and expense than military proceedings, and was carried forward by men who considered the welfare of their souls connected with their diabolical efforts.

It would be wrong to make light of the sufferings of the papists, but they were solely on political grounds; the government lowered the spiritual tone of the Reformation, in order to comprehend the Romanists, and did so in a manner satisfactory to the bulk of them, till the pope interfered. By demanding absolute submission to his mandates, and requiring the dethronement of the queen, he placed every Romanist under the necessity of being accounted a rebel against one or the other; the pope enforcing obedience to his bulls, by threatenings against the eternal happiness of his slaves. The English papists felt this, and published an appeal against the unjust hardships inflicted upon them by the arbitrary mandates of the pope. Unceasing efforts also were made by the Jesuits to subject James of Scotland to popish influence. Notwithstanding all these provocations, no Romanist perished in England, excepting for his treasonable practices. Many suffered heavily by pecuniary fines, when they made themselves prominent; but what are fines, however severe, compared with the total loss of life and property inflicted on the Protestants?

The comparative safety of Elizabeth and her government under all these intrigues, says much to explain the general desire of the nation for the execution of Mary Stuart; it certainly was considered a matter of safety for the realm. After her death, the English papists more decidedly separated into two classes. The older party objected to the rising influence of the Jesuits, known as the Spanish party, whose undisguised object was to re-establish popery in England, under a

popish prince. The king of Spain, and his family, presented the only source from whence such a bigoted and persecuting monarch as they desired could be sought. Parsons, their leader, prepared a book to this effect; it was published under the name of Doleman, another Jesuit, and asserted that the profession of the Protestant faith was a sufficient cause for setting aside any lineal claim.

The hard measure dealt out to the Puritans, also requires notice. In 1593, a severe law was enacted, which applied to them as well as to the papists. All persons absenting themselves from the public services of the Established Church for a month were to be imprisoned; if they did not subsequently conform, they were to be exiled; if they refused to leave England, or returned, they were liable to suffer death. In unison with this proceeding, when a bill had been brought into the House of Commons for the reformation of abuses in the high commission, and other ecclesiastical courts, the queen stopped its progress, and caused the mover of the bill to be imprisoned. Such proceedings deserve censure; they show the spirit of the age, preventing the advance of constitutional liberty, which, as yet, was unknown in England. This parliament farther offended the queen, by desiring some settlement of the succession to the crown. The leaders in this matter were also imprisoned. So annoying were liberty of speech and free discussions to the arbitrary notions of Elizabeth, that she intimated her wish that the rising spirit of debate could be stopped, and the members only allowed to say ay, or no, to the matters brought before them! But the many advantages her subjects enjoyed under her government, began so to develop the energies of the nation, as effectually to prevent her stopping the march of improvement.

Archbishop Grindal had been succeeded by Whitgift, in 1583. He was charged by the queen, as she declared, to "restore the discipline of the church, and the uniformity established by law, which, through the

connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of the Puritans, and the power of some noblemen, is run out of square." Agreeably to this charge, Whitgift's first proceeding was to direct "that all preaching, catechising, and praying, in any private family, where any are present beside the family, be utterly extinguished." No books or pamphlets were to be printed without a bishop's licence. The whole of these documents are recorded by Strype, and we need not enlarge upon them. Even at that day they were considered illegal, and disputed by the civilians. Whitgift, following up his proceedings, had the hardihood to declare, that the books called Apocrypha, were holy writings, void of error. These measures reduced the number of efficient ministers in the church, and entangled many in difficulties.

The council, on more than one occasion, interfered with the persecuting measures of Whitgift, and of Aylmer, bishop of London. The latter, in his visitation, in 1584, suspended thirty-eight of the parochial clergy in Essex: one of them was sent by him before the High Commission Court, for stating that, in the compass of sixteen miles in that county, there were twenty-two non-resident clergy, thirty insufficient, and nineteen silenced who were able to preach. Lord Burghley interfered in behalf of two clergymen from Cambridgeshire, whom he advised to go to Whitgift, and answer candidly to any questions that might be put. His letter, recorded by Fuller, shows the course pursued by that prelate. "They say, they are commanded to be examined by the register at London; and I asked them whereof? and they said, Of a great number of articles; but they could have no copies of them. I answered, that they might answer to the truth; they said, The articles were so many in number, and so divers, as they were afraid to answer them, for fear of captious interpretations. Upon this, I sent for the register, who brought me the articles, which I have read, and find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the inquisitions of Spain use not so many ques-

tions to comprehend and to entrap their prey. I know your canonists can defend this with all their particles; but surely, under your grace's correction, this juridical and canonical siftner of poor ministers, is not to edify and reform. And in charity, I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy. Now, good my lord, bear with my scribbling; I write with testimony of a good conscience, I desire the peace of the church, I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion. I fear no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude that according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders, than to reform any." Such a statement from Burghley, who always inclined to enforce strict uniformity, strongly shows the persecuting spirit then abroad, and the course in which these matters were then proceeding.

Whitgift obtained a new ecclesiastical commission, by whose authority numbers were sent to prison, many of whom died in those noisome receptacles. These measures caused an attempt to take up the matter in parliament; when that was silenced, various efforts were made to obtain relief, but in vain. Whitgift even objected to allowing marriage at all times of the year, as contrary to the old canons, though the church of Rome had abused them, by exacting money for licences to marry at the forbidden periods. He said, that to grant such a permission tended to the slander of the church, as having hitherto maintained an error! The angry spirit on both sides increased. A private press was set to work, to print violent pamphlets against the bishops and their proceedings, under the name of "Martin Mar-prelate." They contained, as Neal states, many sad truths, but delivered in rude and unbecoming language, and with a bitter, abusive, angry spirit breaking forth into sedition. After much anxious search for the press, which was moved from place to

place, it was discovered at Manchester. Several divines and others were prosecuted for being concerned in these libellous publications; some were fined, and others hanged for their part therein. Udall died in prison in 1592; he had been found guilty of what was called "a wicked, scandalous, and seditious libel," in declaring that it was more free in those days to be a papist or a wicked man, than a sound Christian. The moderate Puritans publicly disowned these books, and condemned the spirit in which they were written; but they were often brought into trouble, while many were driven to still more angry proceedings.

Burrow, a lawyer, Green, and Penry, two ministers, were singled out and prosecuted on the statute against recusants, in 1592, being charged with sedition. They in vain declared their loyalty towards the queen, as they refused to retract their views on religious discipline. They were executed early in 1593. The first two had been nearly three years in prison; and when Dr. Reynolds, who attended their execution, reported their behaviour to the queen, she expressed regret that she had consented to their death. Penry was a zealous opponent of the prelates: he was considered to have had a large share in the libels of Mar-prelate; but he was not apprehended till 1592, when he returned from Scotland to present a petition to the queen. The draft of this was found on him, and was made the ground for his condemnation; Whitgift was the first to sign the warrant for his execution. Penry was hanged on May 29, 1593, in the afternoon, having only had notice to prepare for death while at his dinner. These executions raised such an odium against the persecutors, that it was resolved to proceed in future on a different statute, by which they were subjected to banishment. Thereby many excellent men were forced to take refuge in Holland, in the same manner as the Flemish refugees had found shelter in England.

These particulars have been narrated, since it is as necessary for a faithful historian to record them as the

sufferings of the martyrs in Mary's days. Both reflect discredit on the persecuting bigots of the respective periods, though certainly in a different degree. It is painful to find, that when the original exiles were gradually called from their labours to their reward, men of a fiercer and more bitter spirit came in their places, commencing proceedings, which, before many years elapsed, were carried to an extent which the originators never intended, and which at last led to fatal reaction. How humbling the consideration, that human nature is always inclined to persecution; and that Elizabeth, who in her youth had tasted of this bitter cup, in her latter days showed herself disposed to follow her father's example! And how painful to think that she was urged forward in this course by Whitgift, who, beyond any prelate, urged the extreme doctrines of the Reformation, framing in 1595 what were called the Lambeth articles! These were nine propositions, chiefly framed with respect to the Divine decrees; they were arranged, and sought to be imposed, as explanations of the Thirty-nine Articles, but Burghley objected to their introduction. Surely these proceedings reflect more discredit on Elizabeth, than those against Mary Stuart, which the conspiracy of foreign potentates and domestic traitors caused her counsellors to urge her to adopt.

Henry iv. conformed to the church of Rome in July, 1593. This was done as a matter of political expediency; and, for the time, it enabled him to possess the throne of France in quiet. Elizabeth wrote a strong remonstrance to her ally, in which she asks him whether he could reasonably expect that Providence would grant a happy issue, adding, "Could you entertain a jealousy that the Divine Being, who had so long supported and preserved you, would fail and abandon you at last?" Only seventeen years passed, and not without various disquietudes, when Henry perished by the hand of an assassin, prompted to the deed by the popish bishops, whose favour the king thought to conciliate by this act of apostasy!

The deaths of the earlier favourites and ministers left lord Burghley almost alone; the court was in a divided state; on the one side were Burghley, and his son sir Robert Cecil, with a few more; while the youthful Essex, sir Walter Raleigh, and other forward and active characters, sought to exercise the chief control. Essex at that time accused Lopez, a Portuguese physician in attendance on the queen, of a design upon her life; it was referred for Burghley to examine, who reported that there were not sufficient grounds for the accusation. The queen then rebuked Essex, who rested not till he obtained further evidence, sufficient to convict Lopez and two others, of corresponding with the Spanish governors of the Netherlands respecting such a scheme. Lopez was executed; but he denied any treasonable intentions, declaring that he had informed the queen herself of the effort to engage him in an attempt against her life. This gave Essex some advantage; but while the queen treated him as a favourite, she supported lord Burghley, and listened to his advice in all matters of state.

It is unnecessary to detail the expeditions undertaken against the Spaniards, by adventurers assisted by the queen. In 1595, one of considerable magnitude was fitted out under Drake and Hawkins; after various predatory efforts, with but partial success, the fleet returned in the ensuing spring, both the commanders having died, their diseases being aggravated by disappointments.

Philip was still bent on the invasion of England, for which purpose a large force was prepared in Spain, in 1596, when it was resolved to attack and destroy the Spanish vessels in their own ports. A fleet was fitted out again, chiefly by private adventurers. Essex and lord Effingham were commanders. Many vessels were destroyed; Cadiz was taken. The whole loss to Spain was estimated at twenty millions of ducats; but a fleet from America, with a large amount of treasure, was not intercepted, and the expedition returned without making

farther efforts : it is to be noticed that, by the especial command of Elizabeth, no personal injuries were inflicted on the inhabitants of Cadiz. The nuns and other females were allowed to retire unmolested, carrying with them their clothes and jewels.

A Spanish fleet sailed from the Tagus soon afterwards, for Ireland ; but Providence again disappointed the project. A storm destroyed a part, and dispersed the rest. It is remarkable that in the following year, 1597, another fleet designed for Ireland was also scattered by a storm. An expedition from England had previously attacked the Azores with imperfect success. It was originally intended for a descent into Spain ; but the ships were crippled by a storm that drove them back into port.

The queen's reception of Essex on his return implied dissatisfaction, upon which he retired to Wanstead. Among other matters that annoyed this wayward youth, was the elevation of the lord admiral to be earl of Nottingham, which, combining the earldom with his official rank, gave him the precedence of Essex. He considered it a studied affront, designed by lord Burghley : nor was he appeased till the queen appointed him earl marshal ; this restored his precedence, and then Nottingham, displeased in his turn, resigned his office. Such are the troubles that agitate those whom the world calls great. The queen was much annoyed by the disputes among her courtiers ; but she evidently gave sir Robert Cecil the preference for conducting matters of business, while Essex was the agreeable and favoured courtier. The efforts of the Spaniards in Ireland much disturbed Elizabeth. Fenton, writing from court in 1597, says,—“ The queen doth not now bear with such composed spirit as she was wont ; but, since the Irish affairs, seemeth more froward than commonly she used to bear herself towards her women ; nor doth she hold them in discourse with such familiar matter, but often chides them for small neglects ; in such wise as to make these fair maids often cry and bewail in piteous sort.” Such is the interior of a court !

In the year 1598, peace was made between France and Spain. Henry urged Elizabeth and the States to accede to terms of pacification. This advice was supported by lord Burghley and other counsellors; but Essex and his young supporters desired the continuance of a war, which promised to bring what they called glory and wealth to England; forgetful that the plunder obtained in their expeditions was only obtained by a heavy expense, and a serious loss of life, while it was in reality disgraceful robbery. The strife among the counsellors was severe: lord Burghley took a psalm-book from his pocket, and showed to Essex the solemn declaration, that "bloodthirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days," *Psa. lv. 23.* Essex resented this; but it is a solemn truth, and was remembered by many when his own untimely fate realized the warning. Peace was not made with Spain, though negotiations were begun. Instructions were drawn up by lord Burghley, to do nothing without securing the religion and liberty of the United Provinces. This would interpose a barrier, against the efforts of the pope and his confederates to injure Scotland and England. Before Henry signed the treaty of peace between France and Spain, he published the edict of Nantes, a decree which ensured the enjoyment of many privileges to the Protestants in his dominions, but which was always displeasing to the papists, till it was revoked about a hundred years afterwards.

The rash and hasty temper of Essex was further displayed at this time. He opposed the queen's will respecting the appointment of a deputy for the government of Ireland; when he could not prevail he rudely turned his back upon her majesty! This was more than the Tudor spirit of Elizabeth could bear. She "bestowed on him a box on the ear," with a rebuke expressed in no courtly terms; Essex put his hand to his sword, and declared with an oath that he would not put up with such an insult. Those present interfered. Essex withdrew from court, refusing to make any submission; and the queen refused to allow him to return without

an apology. How indulgence of the passions, especially anger, lowers the most elevated characters ! How true are the words of the wise man, "He that ruleth his spirit, is better than he that taketh a city," Prov. xvi. 32. This estrangement betwixt the queen and her favourite lasted for some months.

The autumn of 1598 was marked by the death of Philip, who died at the age of seventy-two, having signalized himself for more than forty years as the bitter, though unsuccessful enemy of Protestantism. With the chief power of the old world, and the riches of the new at his disposal, he failed in his efforts to subdue Holland and England. The Almighty said to this proud monarch, as to the waves of the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Though the waves toss and roar, they cannot pass the seemingly feeble barrier of sand, which is decreed for their boundary. Thus although Philip was permitted to overrun and pass over many realms, he was not allowed to accomplish the subjugation of England, or the ruin of those who refused to obey him rather than their God.

A few weeks before the death of Philip, his great opponent, lord Burghley, departed this life. How different were their objects ; and how different, so far as we can venture to judge, their reward ! Amidst all the difficulties and temptations of the principal official post in the kingdom, lord Burghley sought the glory of God, and the welfare of his queen. Of this Elizabeth was fully sensible ; she never allowed his enemies to prevail against him, however much they presumed on her personal favour. She called him, "her spirit ;" and it is evident that most of the laudable part of the polity of Elizabeth, which secured her the respect of succeeding ages, emanated from the spirit of Burghley. The path of a statesman is beset with snares ; nor can Burghley's long administration of forty years be considered free from blame ; but as no one has since held the highest post of government with an equally sincere desire for the promotion of true religion, so no one has been

found equally deserving of honour, when all things are considered. It is true that Burghley was ignorant of right views as to toleration ; for though he was in advance of his age, he too often acted under a mistaken desire of bringing down all matters of religion to one precise standard, arranged for political advantage ; and he gave way too much to the imperious spirit of Elizabeth in this important matter. But he may be considered as influenced by what were good motives.

One of lord Burghley's family thus describes his last hours :—"He was in a languishing state for two or three months, but not confined to the house. His great anxiety was, that he might leave his country in a state of peace. His only comfort was in contemplation, reading or hearing the Scripture, psalms, and prayers. About ten days before his death, he was confined to his bed, but without much suffering. On August 4, at seven in the evening, he felt his last hour approach, and said, 'Now the Lord be praised, the time is come.' Then calling his children, he blessed them, and took his leave, commanding them to love and fear God, and to love one another ; he then prayed for the queen, and calling Bellot, his steward, delivered his will to him, saying, 'I have ever found thee true to me, and now I trust thee with all.' The steward, like a godly, honest man, prayed his lordship, as he had lived religiously, so now to remember his Saviour Christ, by whose blood he was to have forgiveness of his sins, with many the like speeches used by his chaplains, to whom he answered, it was done already, for he was assured God had forgiven his sins, and would save his soul." What a contrast to the death-beds of Beaufort and Wolsey ! But lord Burghley lived in the fear of God, and found Him a very present help in his last hour. A paper of instructions for the earl of Rutland, one of his wards, when about to set out upon his travels in 1570, yet extant, begins with the important statement :—"The first, the midst, and the last is, to continue yourself in the fear of God, by daily service of him in prayer." The preamble of his

will clearly sets forth his reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ alone for pardon and salvation.

Sir John Harrington, then a young man, rising into favour with the queen, who was his godmother, in a note written at the time, expressed high regard for the character of lord Burghley. He mentions hearing a grave reply of that great minister to Walsingham, when the latter made a jocular remark on Burghley's regularity in attending public worship:—"I hold it meet for us to ask God's grace to keep us sound in heart, who have so much in our power, and to direct us to the well-doing of all the people, whom it is easy for us to injure and ruin; and herein, my good friends, the special blessing seemeth meet to be discreetly asked, and wisely worn." Harrington adds, "I did marvel at this good discourse, to see how a good man considereth his weighty charge, and striveth to keep out Satan from corrupting the heart in discharge of his duties. How few have such hearts or such heads! and therefore shall I note this for those that read hereafter."

The queen deeply felt the loss of her old and faithful counsellor; she found herself in advancing years, and under increasing infirmities, obliged to look to younger, and far less discreet advisers. Among these the earl of Essex was one of the foremost; presuming on the favour Elizabeth felt towards him, he behaved like a spoiled child to an over-indulgent mother: the results remind in many respects of such a case, but being in public life, they were injurious to a wider circle.

Although the queen favoured the young courtiers, she entrusted her government to abler hands. Lord Buckhurst was appointed treasurer; but the chief direction of affairs rested upon sir Robert Cecil, as secretary of state. One, writing from the court about this period, says, "If my lord treasurer had lived longer, matters would go on surer. He was our great pilot, on whom all cast their eyes, and sought their safety." The strongest proof of this was, that lord Burghley sought direction from Him, "by whom alone kings reign, and princes decree justice."

The bad policy pursued by England, in reference to Ireland, enabled the Spanish government, and the popish party, to keep up disaffection there. The restless spirit of popery found that island a suitable field for the employment of the Jesuits, who encouraged the Irish chieftains to resist the English government. It may be said of popery, that it found Ireland wretched; and has made it still more so; it has even prevented the due advance of civilization. These disaffected feelings were embittered by the sweeping forfeitures of the lands belonging to Desmond, and other rebellious chieftains; large districts of which were bestowed upon the queen's favourites and on others, who merely engaged that one English family should be settled on every two hundred and forty acres, and that none of Irish origin should be admitted among the settlers. Thus the natives were driven into more compact bodies, while not half the scanty number of English colonists was introduced, and that broad line of demarcation was drawn between the original inhabitants and the great landowners, which has produced so much mischief in later times. Even at that period, this wrong policy caused such vexation and expense, that many statesmen thought Ireland had better be abandoned, only that the king of Spain would then possess it. A native chieftain, Hugh O'Neal, created by Elizabeth earl of Tyrone, revolted, and became the leader of his countrymen, who regarded him as the sovereign of Ulster. Instigated and aided by Spain, he successfully resisted the efforts of the English governors.

In August, 1598, O'Neal obtained a signal advantage near Blackwater, in Tyrone, when the queen resolved to make more vigorous efforts. Essex having expressed his willingness to undertake the command, both his friends and his enemies recommended the appointment; the latter hoping to take advantage of his absence from court. He was persuaded to make apologies for past conduct, and went to Ireland early in 1599, with considerable forces, and extraordinary powers,

but effected little, wasting his strength in limited operations, till his troops were reduced so as to be unequal to a campaign against Tyrone, without reinforcements. These were sent, but the season was far advanced; he consented to a truce with the rebel leader till the following spring.

Finding that the queen was seriously displeased, while his enemies were busy against him, Essex hastened to England, and arrived at Nonsuch on September 28, when he hastened into the queen's apartment, just as he was, his dress soiled and disordered with travelling post. The queen received him more favourably than he expected; but in the latter part of the day, she sent him orders to confine himself to the rooms which he occupied, and expressed her anger to those who had accompanied him: she now habitually indulged in coarse and even profane language, when excited and highly displeased. A little reflection showed that Essex was much to blame in thus hastily leaving his post of duty. Harrington gives a lively description of his own reception. The privy council were directed to examine Essex; they severely censured his proceedings in the conduct of the war, and for quitting Ireland without leave. He was afterwards subjected to a fuller inquiry before commissioners: he was then removed from his offices, and ordered to remain a prisoner in his own house, till the queen should allow him to be at liberty.

Essex remained six months under this restraint, during which period he expressed himself with humility and contrition, declaring that he had done with ambitious projects, and all the vanities of this life. At times he seemed to be under deep religious feelings. But when allowed to leave his house, the queen forbade his appearing at court, and refused to continue a patent for the monopoly of sweet wines, by which he made considerable profit. Irritated at these proceedings, he concerted with some friends, to go to court at the head of an armed party, when his enemies

might be removed by force, and access to the queen gained; the public support was to be obtained by promising the reformation of evils in church and state. He communicated his plans to the king of Scotland, charging Cecil with an intention of bringing in a Spanish princess, as the successor to the throne. James had for some time acted with much duplicity, negotiating both with Elizabeth, and the popish monarchs of the continent, to whom he professed himself inclined to adopt popery. He now prepared to assist Essex, whose house in the Strand was the resort of a number of discontented characters, which was covered by the daily performance of Divine service there; but the attention of government being roused, open proceedings were hastily resolved upon.

On the morning of Sunday, February 8, 1601, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, with other friends of Essex, resorted to his house, in consequence of messages telling them that his life was threatened by lord Cobham and Raleigh. The lord-keeper Egerton, chief justice Popham, and others, proceeded thither from court, being sent by the queen to inquire the cause of the proceedings going forward. After some altercation, Essex left these nobles in charge of a part of his followers, and hastened into the city, with about two hundred men, calling upon the citizens to arm themselves. The principal citizens being usually assembled at that hour to hear the sermon at Paul's Cross, Essex hoped to have found them ready and willing to join him; but a message, early in the morning, from the queen to the lord mayor, had put that officer on his guard. Essex was generally beloved; but the people neither understood the matter, nor followed him. His plan having failed, he was intercepted at Ludgate on his return by a party of soldiers. A skirmish took place; Essex retreated by water to his own house, when he found that the noblemen whom he detained had been released. After a parley with a number of armed men, who invested the house, Essex surrendered, and was conducted to the

Tower, with the earl of Southampton. The queen evinced much courage and composure during this short but dangerous disturbance. Being told, while she sat at dinner, that the city had revolted, she appeared unmoved, only observing, "He that placed her in that seat, would preserve her in it."

The earls of Essex and Southampton were tried for treason on the 19th of February, and found guilty. It is plain that it was a rash, ill-concerted design, undertaken in the hope of removing the principal advisers of Elizabeth, whom Essex considered to be his personal enemies, and resolved to effect his ruin; but he also thought to establish his own power, and to carry into effect measures of his own. The statement of Bacon, one of the queen's counsel at his trial, who conducted himself with moderation towards the prisoners, appears to convey a correct view of the case: "to defend is lawful; but to rebel in defence is not lawful;" and that "Essex had planted a pretence, in his heart, against the government, but for excuse he laid the blame upon his particular enemies." Essex afterwards confessed that his plans were deeper laid, and extended further than he had admitted on his trial. The popularity of Essex caused some hesitation as to carrying the sentence into effect; the queen also was unwilling to order the death of one who had been her favourite, but his daring proceedings rendered it unsafe to allow him to survive. On the 25th he was beheaded in the court of the Tower. Southampton's life was spared, but he was kept a prisoner to the end of this reign. Only a few of the most active followers of Essex were executed.

The king of Scotland sent a special embassy to London, with instructions to communicate with the partizans of Essex, if they retained any influence, which was not the case. Cecil possessed the chief power; he knew that Elizabeth could not long survive; this led to overtures, the details of which are not known. It was agreed that Cecil should procure an addition to the

yearly pension king James received from England, and promote his succession to the throne, but that the arrangement should be kept secret.

Lord Mountjoy went to Ireland as governor; he was successful against Tyrone, who had been encouraged by a plenary indulgence for his sins, sent by pope Clement VIII., and by the promise of efficient aid from Spain. In September, 1601, d'Aguilar landed at Kinsale with four thousand Spanish troops, and called upon the people to join him against Elizabeth, who had been declared to be deposed by several popes. These efforts were in vain. Tyrone was defeated, and in January, 1602, the Spanish general surrendered, upon condition of being allowed to return to Spain. Mountjoy pursued his success: Tyrone offered to submit upon terms, but the queen would not consent that any should be granted. Her counsellors were anxious that Ireland should be brought into a state of peace during her life. With much difficulty the firm resolve of Elizabeth was shaken; but before any final instructions were sent, intelligence of the approach of her decease was made known to Mountjoy. He acted with decision. Tyrone, in a conference, agreed to renounce his regal title and foreign alliances, upon the promise of a full pardon for himself and adherents, and the restoration of his lands and earldom. Hardly had this been effected, when the death of Elizabeth took place, but the Irish chieftain had gone too far to recede; the arrangement was completed, though with considerable reluctance on his part.

Towards the close of 1601, the parliament granted a large subsidy for the Irish war, but also firmly demanded redress of grievances in the monopolies; by which the vending of many articles, some even of necessity, was restricted to certain individuals by the queen's patent. They either retailed the articles at an unreasonable profit, or sold the privilege of dealing in them for considerable sums, which in the end were levied from the purchasers, so that the prices of many commodities

were very greatly advanced. The queen, or her advisers, endeavoured to check these remonstrances ; but the public feeling, as well as that of the parliament, was so unequivocally manifested, that Cecil convinced her it was necessary to give way. Elizabeth sent for the speaker, and declared that she never had consented to give a patent, unless she believed it would be beneficial to the public ; but she would at once revoke all that were injurious to her subjects, and suspend the rest till their validity could be legally ascertained. This proceeding gave general satisfaction.

In September, 1602, Elizabeth still endeavoured to act with the vigour of her early life ; at the age of sixty-seven she went a progress as usual. She rode out to view, rather than to join the sports of the field ; but actually took part in the dances she delighted to witness. Who should be her successor, was now the general inquiry ; but no one dared to start the question, though many corresponded secretly with the Scottish monarch.

The unlimited height to which the Tudors carried the royal prerogative appears, when the decision of such a question could be supposed to depend upon the will of the reigning monarch. One chief opponent of James was the Jesuit Parsons, who had the insolence to express his indifference as to the successor, "so that he be a Catholic ;" adding, that nothing should induce him to favour the pretensions of any one who was not a papist : an unblushing instance of the manner in which the pope and his votaries assume power over thrones and kingdoms. The pontiff sent breves addressed to the papists in England, exhorting them to refuse to aid any claimant who would not engage to support popery. The moderate party, designated as the English papists, were not willing to entertain such extravagant views ; they considered James to be the heir apparent to the English throne, and prepared to support his claim, hoping he would tolerate the profession of their religion. To counteract the domineering

spirit of the Jesuits, they besought the pope to appoint bishops for their church in England ; but the influence of Parsons prevailed : only one arch-priest was appointed, who had secret instructions from the pope, to consult the chief of the Jesuits in England upon all matters of importance. This led to increased differences between the two parties of English papists. The government noticed it, and encouraged the moderate party : the breach widened, till, in the following reign, the Jesuits actually led on the persecution of their brethren ! At this time, a commission was appointed with power to examine all popish priests, and send them into banishment, instead of causing them to be tried for their lives. This was an improved proceeding, a step towards due toleration, but contrary to the desires and plans of the pope, who desired to exasperate matters to the uttermost.

Feelings of loneliness increasingly pressed upon Elizabeth. Even in 1600, sir Robert Sydney wrote, "The queen doth wax weak since the last troubles, and Burghley's death doth often draw tears from her goodly cheeks ; she walketh out but little ; meditates much alone, and sometimes writes in private to her best friends." Death continued to diminish the number of those in whom she could confide. Her own irresolution and disposition to half measures increased the neglect, and many showed themselves weary of her government. She felt this, and was heard to complain to herself, "I can do nothing ; I have not one man in whom I can repose trust ; I am a miserable forlorn woman." She was now subjected to the last bitter trial of a sovereign ruler—that of seeing those whom she most favoured, turning to court her successor, thus worshipping the rising sun ; but in a few years the public feeling returned to its former state, the memories of all dwelt with affection upon their recollections of Elizabeth.

The queen also suffered from nervous disease, aggravated by weakness and anxiety, resulting from the weighty cares of government. In October, 1601, Har-

rington describes her as wasted to a skeleton, refusing costly dishes, taking little but manchet bread and succory pottage; her fondness for dress was gone; she did not change her clothes for days together; while her impatience and irritability increased so as to render attendance on her very painful. He says, "She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news; and thrusts her rusty sword, at times, into the arras in great rage." All this marked the progress of disease, which appears originally to have been rheumatic gout. A year later, he found her still worse. He writes to his wife with much feeling recollection of the queen's past kindness, which had "rooted such love, such dutiful remembrance of her princely virtues, that to turn askant from her condition with tearless eyes, would stain the spring and fount of gratitude." He adds, "I found her in most pitiable state. She bade the archbishop ask me if I had seen Tyrone. I replied, with reverence, that I had seen him with the lord deputy. She looked up with much choler and grief in her countenance, and said, 'Oh, now it mindeth me that you was one who saw this man elsewhere,' and hereat she dropped a tear, and smote her bosom. She held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to her lips, but in sooth, her heart seemeth too full to lack more filling." In such a state, a golden cup can do no more to soothe the troubled mind than an earthen vessel, while the prince has greater and more numerous troubles than the peasant.

In January, 1603, the queen had a cold, which increased by her removal from Westminster to Richmond on a stormy day. She became still more enfeebled, and suffered from fever; her spirits were much affected. She spent most of her time in sighs and tears, her mind generally returning to subjects distressing to her, such as the execution of Essex; but the situation of Ireland excited much of this nervous irritability. At this time the countess of Nottingham, who enjoyed her intimate friendship, died, which affected the queen

still further. A story has passed current, that when, on her death-bed, the countess sent for the queen, and confessed that she had kept back a message of contrition from Essex, with a ring, which he returned by her, having received it from Elizabeth when at the height of his favour, and a promise that if he sent it with a claim for her favour, under any circumstances, his request should be granted. It is added, that the non-appearance of this token induced the queen to suppose him too hardened and proud to ask for pardon. Additional particulars have been related, to date the overwhelming grief of Elizabeth from this time. But there appears no sufficient authority for this story; infirmities, and other circumstances, sufficiently account for the queen's declining health; and nothing is more common, even in private life, than for the mind to suffer from severe bodily disease.

Early in March, Elizabeth was much worse. Sir Robert Carey "found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions." She discoursed to him of her indisposition, and said, that her "heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days." The next morning she ordered preparations to be made for Divine service, but was unable to go to the chapel, and listened to it as it was read in the adjoining room. Being desired to take medicine, she refused, saying, "I am not sick; I feel no pain, yet I pine away." She sat in this state for two days and three nights, refusing to take off her dress, or to go to bed, seldom speaking, and generally refusing any sustenance. Being raised by force, she stood for fifteen hours, but was then induced to take to her bed, suffering under an affection of her spirits, in which she complained to the lord admiral, that there was an iron collar about her neck—an indication of hysterical suffering. A contemporary account states: "The bishops who then attended the court, seeing that she would not hearken to advice for the recovery of her bodily health, desired her to provide for her spiritual safety, and to recommend her soul to God. Whereto

she mildly answered, 'That I have done long ago.' The same account states, "that she gave testimony of hope and comfort in God by signs, after her speech had failed. The physicians reported her recovery was hopeless, and the council took the necessary precautions for securing the accession of the king of Scotland: among other measures, some notoriously unquiet spirits were arrested, and sent to the Tower, to prevent their raising any disturbance."

On the evening of March the 23rd, the lord admiral, the lord keeper, and secretary Cecil, desired Elizabeth to state whom she wished should be her successor. She had previously expressed her desire that the crown should go to the right heir. They reported that on their mentioning the king of Scotland, she gave evident signs of assent. The narrative of a maid of honour, named Southwell, states, that the queen neither spoke nor stirred till the name of the lord Beauchamp, the son of lady Catherine Grey, was mentioned; but that she then exclaimed, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat." This form, however it might be deemed necessary, was wholly needless; the crown went to James by succession and hereditary right, and Elizabeth always was too wise, and had too much regard for the peace of England, to desire that any other should succeed to the throne.

The last hours of Elizabeth are minutely described by lord Monmouth, who says:—"About six at night she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains to come to her; at which time I went in with them, and sat upon my knees, full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed, and the other without. The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes, and holding up her hand, that it was a comfort to all beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was, and what she was come to: and though she had been long a great queen here upon

earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of kings. After this, he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her. The queen made a sign with her hand. My sister Scroop knowing her meaning, told the bishop that the queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half hour after, and then sought to leave her. The second time she made a sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for the second time, with fervent cries to God for her soul's health; which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, that the queen, to all our sight, much rejoiced thereat; and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time, it grew late, and every one departed; all but the women who attended her. This I heard with my ears, and did see with my eyes." Elizabeth then relapsed into a state of insensibility, in which she expired at three in the morning of March 24. At six the council assembled, when orders were issued that James should be proclaimed king, as next in succession by descent, and as having the sanction of the departed sovereign.

This was the end of queen Elizabeth, having lived nearly to the advanced age of seventy. She survived all the leading characters, whether popes, or kings, or nobles, who formed plots against her at the beginning or middle of her reign. Few monarchs have been more threatened with public and private violence, yet she was protected through the period declared to be the full allotment of the children of men. She knew from whence that protection came, never hesitating to declare, according to the words of the psalmist, "Thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety." Under all these threatenings she acted with this impression, neither increasing her guards, nor appearing less frequently in public. With Elizabeth ended the house or dynasty of Tudor, which had held the crown of England rather more than a century, through a period, eventful

not only for the rapid progress of the nation under their sway, but for the influence which the acts of their government had upon succeeding generations, not only in England, but throughout the world.

Something must be said of the personal character of Elizabeth: if she has been over praised by some, she has been most unfairly libelled by others. In person she was well formed, tall, and stately, "of lion port," as a contemporary describes her; upon the whole pleasing, though not possessing feminine beauty. In her twentieth year, the Venetian ambassador spoke of her person as large, but well formed; more pleasing than handsome, with fine eyes, a fine complexion of an olive tint, and a beautiful hand. Hentzner thus describes her in 1598, at the age of sixty-five. "Her face long and fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, but black and gracious; her nose a little bent; her lips close; her teeth darkish; her hair tawny, but not her own. Her hands were thin, her fingers long, but her words mild and very courteous."

Vanity was the prevailing foible of Elizabeth. Being far above mediocrity, both in personal and mental accomplishments, she was exposed to the deceptions of flattery, which induced her to take frequent opportunity for display, often so as to make herself an object of ridicule. This led sir Robert Cecil to speak of her as one, "who was more than a man, and in truth sometimes less than a woman." Thus the ambassador for Scotland was admitted privately, and as if unexpectedly, that he might see her dance; and was then questioned as to the comparative beauty of herself and Mary! Upon this, and similar anecdotes, many have founded portentous tales, representing her conduct to that princess as the mere result of female jealousy, disappointed by the superior charms of another! But Elizabeth far surpassed Mary in mental powers and character, which raised her above the Scottish queen. Admitting, as we do, that Mary was treated with too much severity, still we need not resort to female vanity

for the reason. There were causes for that treatment, far stronger, and more obvious than any such petty jealousy.

The chief weakness of Elizabeth was, that she took pleasure in being addressed in the romantic language of admiring love. This was the taste of the age, partly a relic of chivalry, but stimulated by the fondness of Elizabeth for it. It was, indeed, very absurd, and even worse; but there is no reason to suppose it proceeded from any grossness of mind, or that it degenerated into licentious practices. When, at the age of sixty, Raleigh compared the queen to Venus, it was only poetic nonsense; but it was being "less than woman" to allow such nonsense to be uttered, unless, as probably was the case, she permitted those who uttered it to do so for their own amusement. The libels circulated respecting Elizabeth on this head, are destitute of proof. They abounded in her own times, but proceeded from her popish assailants. The assertions retailed by Mary Stuart, in a well-known angry letter, as having been told her by the countess of Shrewsbury, Mary expressly says, she did not herself believe, and she had not long before appealed for protection against the slanderous assertions of lady Shrewsbury respecting herself. No dependence can be placed upon the assertions of one who is characterized by her husband as "his wicked and malicious wife;" repeated, probably with exaggerations, by an angry and vindictive woman, with the especial hope that Elizabeth might be induced to see her personally, from the hope of further disclosures. And that Allen was well paid for his slanders, appears from the fact, that by pursuing the contest with his sovereign, he, who at first was only a poor exiled priest, obtained the rank of a cardinal, with an income of fifteen thousand crowns, equal, as Turner says, to twenty thousand pounds of our money now—a pleasing result of persecution, purchased, not by his own sufferings, but those he instigated others to undergo! The tales of Elizabeth's public freedoms and levities do not corroborate

any worse reports, they rather contradict them ; while it is evident, from her public rebukes of Leicester, when occasions arose, that she kept even her greatest favourites from any undue presumption. The French ambassador, De Castelnau, did not hesitate to say, that any imputations of improper attachment were inventions forged by malevolent persons ; and this he stated, not in a public document or official communication ; it stands written by him in his private memoirs, where no object could be served by any false statement on this head.

In addition to the female vanity already mentioned, and the inclination to coquetry which she indulged, Elizabeth had strong reasons for endeavouring to secure the personal regards of Leicester and others. As early as 1559, the year after her accession, the ambassador of the emperor sent her an express caution to be well guarded by her friends, for he knew it had been offered that she should be slain : we have seen how frequent these plots afterwards became. Even her sister Mary, without any well grounded reason for alarm, had her chamber protected every night for a considerable period by armed men. How painful the situation of princes ! how correct the numerous descriptions of their anxieties ! There can be no doubt that Elizabeth secured this protection the better, by permitting Leicester and others to offer it on stronger grounds than those of mere duty, though she never allowed them to presume on her favour. But she coquetted with her admirers, or suitors, and has been reflected upon in consequence. She probably was ill-judged enough to think her influence increased by this course, when to her authority as queen, apparently was added submission as to an object of love and admiration. She was not aware how much that seemed respect paid to her qualities as a female, was in reality homage paid to her rank ; yet there can be no doubt that she possessed an influential power, no king would have been permitted to exercise.

Dismissing then the groundless charges of popish

malevolence, which have been thoroughly sifted by Turner and others, we have to censure Elizabeth's vanity, love of dress, and the freedom of language, abounding often in profane oaths, in which she indulged. Harrington records anecdotes which illustrate these. "One Sunday, my lord of London preached to the queen's majesty, and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her majesty told the ladies, that 'if the bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven; but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.' Perchance, the bishop had never sought her highness's wardrobe, or he would have chosen another text." In 1601, he says, "Her highness swears much at those that cause her grief, in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of all about her." This language may be said to be derived from her father, Henry VIII., whom she strongly resembled in many of the qualities of her mind, especially the love of sway. Whether the desire to rule, or any other cause, determined her against marriage, it is plain, that from the first she was disinclined to matrimony. Her independent spirit never would allow even her most esteemed minister to interfere with her sovereign will and pleasure; yet she had the good sense and wisdom to select wise counsellors, and to form her decisions upon their opinions.

Latterly, the queen was very irresolute when pressed to decide. Harrington tells us, "By art and nature together so blended, it was difficult to find her right humour at any time. Her wisest men and best counsellors were oft sore troubled to know her will in matters of state, so covertly did she pass her judgment as seemed to leave all to their discreet management; and when the business did turn to better advantage, she did most cunningly commit the good issue to her own honour and understanding; but when ought fell out contrary to her will and intent, the council were in great strait to defend their own acting, and not blemish the queen's good judgment."

This feature in her character, irresolution, has not been sufficiently noticed. It does much to account for her behaviour in the case of Mary Stuart, without having reference to the theories of deep designs and concealed motives, advanced by many. And it may often be seen, in persons who in youth and early life have been placed in situations of difficulty, wherein they acted with the most beneficial decision, that when farther advanced in life, they seldom come to any absolute determination till constrained to do so; as though the reflection upon their escapes from past difficulties and dangers, made them apprehensive upon much slighter occasions. But connected with this irresolution, Elizabeth still retained that commanding spirit, which she inherited from her father, and which, when roused, would not brook control, even from the most valued or favoured of her court. This spirit rendered her too jealous of any encroachment upon her prerogatives, and led her at times to arbitrary interferences with the law, which though frequent at that period, were far more common under preceding monarchs. These proceedings were usually on public matters; they seldom emanated from private considerations.

No monarch on the English throne ever lived so much for the good of the people, and so little for individual gratification, as Elizabeth. Harrington relates, "The queen did once ask my wife, in merry sort, how she kept my good will and love, which I did always maintain to be truly good towards her and to my children. My Mall, in wise and discreet manner, told her highness, she had confidence in her husband's understanding and courage, well founded on her own steadfastness not to offend or thwart, but to cherish and obey; hereby did she persuade her husband of her own affection, and in so doing did command his. 'Go to, go to, mistress,' saith the queen, 'you are wisely bent, I find: after such sort do I keep the good will of all my husbands, my good people; for if they do not rest

assured of some special love towards them, they would not readily yield me such good obedience.' This deserveth noting, as being both wise and pleasant."

Resembling her father rather than her brother, in matters of religion, Elizabeth encouraged protestantism because it met the destructive errors of popery, rather than because it imparted spiritual life. She could not accede to the gross doctrinal errors of popery; but she liked much of its pomp and circumstance, and would fain have established a middle way, one especially which would admit her acting according to her own will. Here, probably, was Elizabeth's greatest defect, so far as the real welfare of her subjects was concerned. She brought them out of the darkness of popery; she saw and admitted the value of gospel light and truth; but she did not receive the truth in the love of it, in simplicity and in faith. She was convinced rather than converted, and probably was much influenced by the deadly hatred of the papists towards her. Of her personal religion, we cannot say much, and happily we are not called to judge; but many things in her conduct and demeanour, were unbecoming the chief Protestant monarch of the day, and nothing can justify her intolerance. Still very much of this arose from the circumstances of the times, when many habits and influences of popery yet operated upon Protestants in general, without their being conscious from whence their unscriptural actions proceeded.

The court of Elizabeth manifested all the general features of a court, with those which were peculiar to the age. The splendour and gaiety exhibited were in accordance with the taste of the monarch; the manners were those of times much less refined than the present day; perhaps not in reality more moral, but certainly with more professed attention to religious observances. At no time can a court be regarded as a school for morals; and while Elizabeth did not permit indecorums in her presence, she does not appear to have been guided by a high standard in selecting her favourites;

such, however, were the general habits of the age, and she had not the power to alter them.

The frugality of Elizabeth has already been noticed ; it degenerated still more towards parsimony as she became older : one object she had in view by obliging her subjects to incur charges in her service or for her entertainment, was to lessen their means, and keep them dependent. The policy of the house of Tudor was to prevent the nobles from combining against their sovereign ; the result was beneficial to England.

Elizabeth was one of the most learned females, in an age when it was more customary for women of rank to study ancient lore than it is at present. She could speak Latin, French, and Italian, answering foreign ambassadors in those languages without previous study. She was also acquainted with Greek. Her visits to the universities gave opportunities for displaying her learning, which she did not neglect. She spoke with force and eloquence, and wrote well, but too much in the nonsensical, metaphorical style of that day.

Her popularity cannot be questioned. Goodman has described her unwavering confidence in her people. "In the year 1588, and subsequently, when she had most enemies, the court gates were open ; none hindered any one from entering ; yet she came out fearlessly from council among the crowd by torch light. 'God save your majesty,' was shouted ; 'God bless you all, my good people,' was the reply. Again the shouts arose. 'Then the queen said again unto us, 'You may well have a greater prince, but you never shall have a more loving prince.' With the same confidence, she customarily proceeded in dark night from Chelsea to Whitehall, when all the way long was full of people to see her ; and truly any man might very easily have come to her coach." Here was true courage ; she had numerous examples of contemporary princes being stabbed or assassinated ; even her pacific successor wore dagger-proof garments. Goodman relates the favourable impression her behaviour made upon the

retiring crowds; "We did nothing but talk what an admirable queen she was, and how we would adventure ourselves to do her service."

The political character of Elizabeth is fully exhibited in her history; the leading feature of her polity was desire for peace. In no instance did she evince an ambitious desire to grasp the territory of others. Her proceedings with Scotland, and even in Ireland, show this, when it was necessary to interfere with those countries for the safety of England. This desire for peace enabled her to extend English commerce, from whence much national prosperity resulted; her subjects were more enriched by their traffic, than the people of Spain by all the supplies of gold and silver their tyrannical monarch extorted from the oppressed Indians. Before her reign, the commerce of England was contracted and poor; during her reign, it extended all over the world: yet we find a modern Romish historian attributing the rise of this spirit of commerce to the reign of Mary, whose only object was to restore popery, and whose harsh and unsettled proceedings kept her subjects in constant dread of losing their property, their lives, and liberties!


In conclusion, it may be remarked, that no monarch ever possessed the affections of his subjects so long or to such a degree. This alone ought to silence the petty calumnies with which the memory of Elizabeth has been assailed. Assuredly, there was good cause for such an unvarying attachment. Let us examine the history of her reign without prejudice, and we shall see, that she found England at a low ebb, disgraced among the nations, in a state of wretched degradation, bowed down to ignorance and superstition; but she left it in a high state of prosperity, one of the most commanding powers of Europe; and this not by wielding the conqueror's bloody sword, but by steady perseverance in seeking after peace, and desiring the general welfare of her people.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY:

WITH SOME MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THAT
PERIOD.

THE transition from the feudal state towards the habits of modern society, during the sixteenth century, presents many interesting particulars, a few of which may be here noticed.

BUILDINGS.

Buildings, during the reigns of the house of Tudor, continued to advance in the style introduced during the preceding century. The nobility were no longer immured in the gloomy castles and strongholds of the feudal times. Some large houses built at this period, outwardly resembled castles, but without the strength of those structures, and free from many of their inconveniences. The turrets and moats were for ornament, rather than defence. As the feeling of security increased, there was more attention paid to architectural display; the habitations of the wealthy exhibited a style of architecture which usually is called Elizabethan. The windows and doors were in the ornamental pointed style, their openings were large; the front elevation was long, often in this form , bearing some resemblance to the initial letter of queen Elizabeth's name.

The materials were usually brick, or wooden frame work covered with plaster, unless stone abounded in the neighbourhood.

The view of Moreton Hall, in Cheshire, on page 360, represents such a building in a dilapidated state. Such buildings have proved far less permanent than the strongholds that preceded them. The materials were less substantial; they were erected in haste, and the interior accommodations were mostly ill planned and inconvenient.

“ Rich windows that exclude the light,
And passages that lead to nothing.”

The bay window formed a remarkable contrast to the narrow loopholes of earlier times. Large windows were characteristic of the Elizabethan style. Bacon complained that some fair houses were so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to be out of the sun. This made the cold of winter to be more keenly felt, while such large apertures rendered the structures less solid. And so late as 1567, the expense of glass windows was considered so heavy, that whenever the Northumberland family left Alnwick castle, the glass windows were taken out, and laid up in safety. Yet, forty years later, Harrison speaks of glass as being common every where, and nearly as cheap as lattices. Few of the Elizabethan edifices remain in their original state: such as have not been wholly removed, to make way for more convenient structures, have been modernized or improved, so as to lose most of their peculiar features.

An engraving already inserted represents Nonsuch Palace; this, and other royal abodes, frequently mentioned in the histories of the sixteenth century, as Richmond, Greenwich, and Whitehall, have disappeared. In the ancient portions of Hampton Court, still may be traced much of the palatial residence erected by Wolsey, although the most sumptuous apartments have been removed. Some of the colleges, in both Universities, still retain a good deal of their ancient character, especially in their halls.

The more humble dwellings were mostly timber frames, covered with lath and plaster; many of these may still be seen, though very much decayed. In towns, the upper stories projected over the lower rooms, and a profusion of ornaments covered the fronts.

The country towns were mostly smaller than they are at the present day; and as population increased, the ceasing of internal warfare gave more security to hamlets, and to houses scattered through the country. Cottages seldom had more than one or two rooms; and where both wood and stone were scarce, they were mostly built of clay, coated with lime, and thatched with reeds. The small farm-houses were little better. In queen Mary's days the Spaniards marked the contrast between the humble dwellings and the diet of the people, saying, "These English have their houses made of sticks and dirt; but they fare as well as the king." But even the common dwellings exhibited many improvements beyond the preceding centuries. Chimneys were built, instead of leaving the smoke to escape by the doors and windows, or by a hole in the roof. The destruction of the woods, accelerated by the progress of manufactures, led to the general use of sea-coal, similar to that now used, chiefly brought from Newcastle, where large sums were expended in the works of the collieries. The dirt and sulphurous exhalations of this coal prejudiced many against its use, which was chiefly confined to common purposes, or to those who wished for a less expensive fuel than wood or charcoal. In the reign of Elizabeth the use of sea-coal was forbidden in London during the sitting of parliament, lest the health of the country members should suffer thereby.

The interiors, even of these best houses, were not yet conformable to modern ideas of comfort. The walls were rudely finished, and covered with hangings of painted cloth, or worked and woven tapestry. Gilbert Talbot, son of the earl of Shrewsbury, wrote, in 1576, to his father, respecting a set of hangings. "I have

seen many fair hangings, and your lordship may have of all prices, either two shillings a stick, or seven groats, three, four, five, or six shillings the stick; (query, the yard?) the most of them are very shallow, and I have seen none that I think deep enough for a great chamber, but for lodgings."

A list of furniture supplied to the princess Mary is curious. It describes several sets of hangings by their designs. "A king riding in a chariot, in a blue gown with stars; a woman with the world in her hand," etc. One piece "has a hole in it." Among the articles of bedding are "counterpoyntes of crimson damask, fringed with white fustian, holland sheets, pillow beers, beds of down, with fustian ticking, feather beds, with bolsters and pillows of down."

The imperfection of the joinery work, in queen Elizabeth's reign, is incidentally noticed by Laneham, the usher of the privy council. He speaks of persons who listened at the chinks, and lockhole of the door.

Rooins were often wainscoted; oak, lime, and chestnut were the woods most esteemed for the ornamental parts of buildings, and for furniture, before the introduction of mahogany. There is a room in a public house in Ipswich, which once formed part of the mansion of sir Anthony Wingfield, one of the privy counsellors of Henry VIII. The ceiling was richly carved and gilt. The figures carved over the fire-place were once supposed to represent the battle of Bosworth, but more acute observers have ascertained that the subject is the judgment of Paris!

Barton has noticed this apartment in some appropriate lines:

"Such were the rooms in which, of yore,
Our ancestors were wont to dwell;
And still of fashions known no more
These ling'ring relics tell.

The oaken wainscot richly graced
With gay festoons of mimic flowers,
The armorial bearings, now defaced,
All speak of proud and long past hours.

The ceiling quaintly carved and groin'd,
With pendent pediments reversed !
A by-gone age recalls to mind,
Whose glories song hath oft rehearsed.

These tell a plain unvarnish'd tale,
Of wealth's decline, and pride's decay ;
Nor less unto the mind unveil
Those things which cannot pass away."

Rushes for covering the floors were gradually discontinued; the lower classes used sand, the middle and upper ranks had their floors polished, and sometimes inlaid with different coloured woods. Carpets, or pieces of tapestry, were frequently laid down in different parts of the room, not closely fitted to the whole floor, as now. The orders of John Haryngton's household in 1566, direct, that "the hall be made clean every day, by eight in the winter, and seven in the summer;" all stairs in the house, and rooms that need shall require, were to be made clean on Fridays, after dinner. When any stranger departed, his chamber was "to be drest up again within four hours after." A great improvement upon the slovenly habits of earlier days.

Till the reign of Elizabeth, the hall was the principal apartment; some of the halls, in houses built in the early part of the sixteenth century, have beautifully carved ceilings, and other ornaments: the master took his meals there, surrounded by his dependents, who sat at different tables, according to their rank; the gates of the building being locked during the repast. The halls of the latter part of the century were less elaborately finished. As the feudal customs declined, the halls were used more as entrance rooms; the dining parlours, or banqueting rooms, and the withdrawing rooms and gallery, were the customary resorts of the family; upon these apartments most care was bestowed.

The staircases were constructed with more care, and planned with attention to their effect as prominent objects in mansions. The balusters were carved, and the walls adorned.

The lady's closet, or the boudoir, and the nurseries,

became apartments of importance. Some careful dames caused their closets to be placed so that when at their devotions, or otherwise engaged in those rooms, they could see into the servants' hall. The females of that day, even ladies of rank, were expected to give considerable attention to household matters.

As the habitations were more regularly built, so the stories were more clearly defined than in older buildings: it was not uncommon to speak of each story as a separate house, though they were often confused by the varying heights of different rooms, as we see in old buildings. The description of an ancient house, in one of Pope's letters, gives a lively idea of the confused plan of the interiors of houses built or altered at this period.

Oxnead Hall, Norfolk, represented in the engraving on the next page, with a later addition, was a splendid building of this period. The form of the letter E will be observed.

FURNITURE.

The advancing wealth and improved habits of the English people, led to the increase of articles of furniture. Hollingshed, writing in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, says, that old men could remember great improvements in their time; as the exchanging of wooden platters for pewter, and wooden spoons to those of silver or tin. Formerly, not four pieces of pewter would be found in a farmer's house, but now there were many articles of pewter, and several of silver.

Many specimens of the furniture of the sixteenth century remain, in bedsteads, chairs, tables, cabinets, and other articles. They are generally massive in form, and richly ornamented, though often coarsely finished. The testers and headpieces of the bedsteads were frequently of wood, covered with various devices. The travelling bedstead of Richard III. was of this description: it was left at the Blue Boar inn, at Leicester,

where he slept the night before the battle of Bosworth : about a century afterwards, a large amount of gold coin was discovered in the frame work.

The curtains and canopies of beds, and the hangings of chambers, were often richly worked. In 1495, Henry VII. paid the large sum of 158*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for "browdrying of two chambers with a bedd," at the palace of Shene. The ladies in particular excelled in needlework, both for furniture and articles of dress, during the whole of this period. They also wrought richly adorned covers for books.

A complete inventory of the furniture of Mr. Richard Fenner, early in the reign of Henry VIII. is given by Strutt. He was a person of property, having a large park, with all sorts of deer. The great hall was furnished with pieces of tapestry, three tables with trestles and forms, and a hawk's perch. The parlour was wainscoted, it had a fair table, forms, two turned chairs, three chairs for women, a cupboard, four footstools, six cushions of tapestry work, a carpet of striped Turkey say, two little carpets, awndirons for burning wood, and a fire fork. It had a set of hangings, a picture of Lucretia, and one of Mary Magdalene, and a backgammon board. There were other sitting rooms, with similar furniture. "The great chamber over the parlour," had three large pieces of tapestry of imagery, a trussing bed of wenskotte, with cellar and tester, grained with black velvet and yellow baudkin, with curtains of black and changeable persnet. A coverlet of tapestry of imagery, lined with canvas, a bed of down with a mattress; under the same bed a pair of fustians, two blankets, two pillows, and two bolsters. A cupboard of wenskotte, one turned chair, with a cushion of verder, three curtains of blue buckerom for three windows, which "be cieled with wenskotte."

The master's chamber was more plainly furnished, but with similar articles: there were also three chests, containing clothes, etc. Even the inferior servants had

mattresses, sheets, and coverlets, instead of lying upon straw, as had been customary not many years before.

The kitchen had platters, dishes, chargers, porringers, and saucers; brass pots, pans, and chafing dishes; mortars, racks, spits, fryingpans, pails, etc., and "a cestorne of lede with a coke."

The service of silver plate was a basin and cover, parcel (or half) gilt, two salts with cover gilt, five ale pots with covers gilt, four goblets without covers gilt, sixteen spoons, two flat bowls, one with a cover, a pepper box gilt, and a chalice, parcel gilt. There was a large service of pewter for common use.

This inventory shows a great advance from the furniture of former times; but it would appear very scanty if compared with the inventory of a gentleman of 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a year, at the present day.

The inventory of a knight's mansion of the same period, presents a more complete list, but chiefly so in plate, of which he possessed a large service.

Harrison speaks of the plate of noblemen in Elizabeth's reign, as often exceeding 2000*l.* in value, and that of a merchant, or gentleman, amounting to 500*l.* or 600*l.*

Lord North, in 1577, added to his plate, forty-seven dishes and platters, a charger and eight saucers, weighing one thousand and twenty-three ounces, at about 4*s.* 10*d.* the ounce, for the cost, was 249*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, and about three pence the ounce, for making the same, 12*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* The work could not have been very elaborate or beautiful. In 1586, we read that the higher ranks, loathing these metals, because they were become common, generally chose rather the Venice glasses for drinking wine or beer.

Even artificers and farmers "learned to garnish their cupboards with plate, their beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with fine napery." This showed increased prosperity, and the manufacturing such articles brought increased remuneration to the various classes of artificers; thus giving increased employ even to the common labourer. Without justifying

luxury, or expense beyond the means, too common in every rank, it may be observed, that the person who encourages and employs the honest artificer, is a much greater benefactor to his country, than either the man who hoards his wealth, or distributes it blindly in careless charity.

The inventories of the royal palaces enumerate many costly articles. In the bed-chamber of Henry VIII., at Hampton, was "a steel glass (or mirror) covered with yellow velvet." At Westminster, among "the glasses to look in," was "a fair great looking steel glass, set in crimson velvet, richly embroidered with damask pearls, with knots of blue, and a curtain of blue taffetas, embroidered with Venice gold, and cordrants of the same gold." As yet, looking glasses, properly so called, were little known, the mirrors were never hung up in the sitting rooms; they were placed in bed chambers or dressing closets, and carefully covered to protect them from damp or other injuries. Towards the close of the century, they became more common. Hentzner describes in the house of a tailor, "a most perfect looking glass, ornamented with gold, pearls, silver and velvet;" it was reckoned to be worth 500 French crowns.

Strutt remarks upon the great number of clocks in these inventories, some of them richly adorned. Watches will be noticed among articles of dress. Clocks had become common through the country, though still articles of wonder to the ignorant. A Scottish freebooter wrote to an English gentleman, demanding among other articles, "the wee trim gawing thing, that stands in the neuk of the hall, chirping and chirming at the neun tide of the day." If he obtained it, he would probably have had to express himself as a later Scottish plunderer did of a watch, that "it died" (that is, stopped) "the same night he gat it."

In the expenses of Henry VII., in 1503 is, "to the smyth of Richmond for a litell clock, 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*." Many readers will recollect the curious clock still remaining in the cathedral at Wells. A clock given by lord

North to the earl of Leicester, in 1580, with a dial, cost 6*l.* 10*s.*

The supply of table linen was very scanty at the commencement of this period. In the earl of Northumberland's family, seventy ells of linen cloth, at eightpence the ell, supplied the whole establishment with borde (or table) cloths, napkins, towels, cupboard and dresser cloths; but before the close of the century, we read of private persons with "fayre napkins before them," and of a damask table cloth, worth eighteen pounds. Such was the rapid progress during the sixteenth century.

THE FINE ARTS.

Painting and sculpture made considerable progress during the sixteenth century. At the beginning of that period, the arts were chiefly encouraged in building or adorning ecclesiastical structures. But in Italy and Flanders, these arts were cultivated more than in England. Henry VIII. encouraged portrait painting, and the faithful representations of many leading English characters of that period, were preserved by Holbein. Oliver was the first English painter worthy of notice; many of his miniature portraits are still preserved.

Engraving in wood and metal, for printing, was much encouraged. Among the earliest good English specimens of this art, are the engravings in "the Shippe of Foles," printed by Pynson. Some ancient chronicles contain improved specimens of this art. Among them may be noticed, the engravings in the early editions of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, many of which are executed with much spirit and accuracy.

Copperplate engraving was encouraged by archbishop Parker. Engraved portraits of popular characters were common. Saxton engraved maps of the English counties, imperfect and far from correct, but showing increased attention to the topography of our land.

Many superstitious pictures and images were destroyed at the Reformation, after which time sculptors

chiefly depended upon monumental effigies for employment; many of this period yet remain, showing various degrees of ability. Fireplaces, and the interior of rooms, often were richly sculptured; many ornamental carvings of this period yet remain, and exhibit application, and skill of a superior order.

The beautiful specimens of architecture in Henry VII.'s chapel, and other buildings of this period, are well known to most of our readers. Italian artists began to introduce the Grecian style in some public and private buildings, though it was not suited to our northern country and climate.

Music was generally cultivated. In families of the middle classes, almost every person was supposed to be more or less skilled in music. Thomas Tallis composed a song of forty parts. The Reformation checked the use of instrumental music in churches; but vocal music was encouraged. In 1548, psalm singing was authorized: at this period Edward VI. was much gratified by the psalmody of Sternhold, and the manner in which he accompanied some of the psalms of his version on the organ.

In 1560, Jewell notices the improved spirit of religion among the people, which had been promoted by psalmody in public worship. It was begun in the church of St. Antholin's. He notices that at Paul's Cross, sometimes there were six thousand persons singing together; this was following the plan adopted upon the continent.

Keyed and stringed instruments became general, so that viols or citherns were placed in barbers' shops, that customers might amuse themselves while waiting. In the expenses of Henry VII. are lutes for the princesses Margaret and Mary, afterwards queens of Scotland and France, each cost 13s. 4d., and a pair of clavycords, 10s. Morison, at the end of the century, says, "When you come to an inn, you shall be offered music, which you may freely take or refuse."

FOOD.

The national food of England, in the sixteenth century, was similar to that of the preceding centuries. It was chiefly plain joints of beef, mutton, and pork : but for banquets, and among those who thought themselves more refined than others, made dishes, and various elaborate preparations, were esteemed ; these were termed "the triumphs of cookery." A writer in the reign of Henry VII., describes the higher ranks as having "the most dilecat deynties, and curyous mets," with "subtilties of the cunyng appreparyng of the cooks." The subtilties were chiefly paste and sweetmeats, in the forms of castles, and ships, and figures of all sorts.

The diet of the poorest classes, early in the century, is described by a poet, as consisting mostly of brown bread, whig or sour butter-milk, bacon, and curds. At the close, "cabbages, radishes, parsnips, carrots, melons, pompons, or such like," were their principal food. Wheaten bread they had when they could reach the price of it ; at other times bread made of oats and barley. Flesh meat they did not often have : a cow was reckoned a valuable possession to a poor man. The class next above them, about A.D. 1500, had wheaten bread, beef, perry or cider, and cream. Vegetables were but little used. Salted meat was a principal article of food during the winter months, the cattle being slaughtered about Martinmas, as, on account of the scarcity of winter fodder, they would lose their condition after that time. A supply of salted fish was laid in before Lent. As noticed in the "Middle Ages of England," in the family of the earl of Northumberland, at this period, one hundred and sixty gallons of mustard was the quantity usually prepared to make this diet the more palatable. Before the end of the century, the diet of the artificer and husbandman was much improved, consisting of butchers' meat,

besides souse, brawn, bacon, pies of fruit, fowls, cheese, butter, and eggs.

Beer and ale were the principal drinks. A receipt for strong ale directs, that not more than sixty gallons were to be brewed from three pecks of malt; but it might be as much stronger as the brewer pleased. Hops came into general use for beer after 1524, but were partially used before that time, being imported from Flanders. Ale of five days old is spoken of as ready for use; hops not being generally put into ale till the next century, that liquor was drank soon after it was brewed. Harrison, late in the century, in 1586, describes his process of brewing; from eight bushels of malt, half a bushel of wheat, and the same of oats, he had ten score gallons of beer, or more. The best beer, he says, was commonly a year old, being brewed in March, and "for the household usually not under a month's age, each one coveting to have it stale as he may, so that it be not soure." A Frenchman, in 1553, says, The English are fond of eating, with their beer, soft saffron cakes stuffed with raisins.

The importance of a proper supply of malt liquor, is thus spoken of in a letter written by the earl of Leicester, during one of queen Elizabeth's progresses in 1575, probably in reference to her own house at Grafton, in Northamptonshire: "At her first coming, being a marvelous hott day, not one drop of good drink for her; but we were fain to send to London with bottels, to Kenelworth, to divers other places where ale was. Her own here was such as there was no man able to drink it: and yet was it laid in about three days before her majesty came. Hit did put her very farr out of temper, and almost all the company beside so: for none of us all was able to drink, either bere or ale here. Synce, by chance, we have found drynk for her lykyng, and she is well agayn: but I feared greatly, two or three dayes, some sickness to have fallen by reason of this drynk."

Mead, and various mixed liquors, such as clary and hippocrass, made from wine and spices, were much

esteemed. Sack was a sweetwine, or Spanish white wine sweetened; it was sometimes beaten up with the yolks of eggs. Lord North, in 1576, paid 10*l.* for a butt of sack. There were fifty-six sorts of French and other small wines, thirty of Spanish and strong wines, of which thirty thousand tuns were imported in the reign of Elizabeth, Harrison mentions the discontinuance of the growth of vines in England, at that period, the liquor being found more hard than foreign wines. The poorer classes were fond of bracket, which was ale boiled up with honey and pepper.

The tables were covered with cloths, on which spoons, knives, and napkins were placed; forks were unknown in England till the next century. Basins and ewers of water, mostly of pewter, were carried round, or placed ready for the guests.

Tea and coffee were unknown at this period. Breakfasts, early in the century, were substantial meals of meat, with malt liquor and wine, what are now called *dejeunes à la fourchette*; but forks then were unknown. The breakfast of the Northumberland family at the commencement of this period, was noticed in the "Middle Ages of England;" that of queen Elizabeth was as follows:—On Monday, 20th November, 1576, for breakfast, cheats and manchets, (fine and coarser bread,) ale and beer, wine, mutton for the pot, long bones, ise bones, chine of beef, chines of mutton, chines of veale, short bones, conyes, and butter. The number that ate of this food provided for the queen is not stated, but the whole cost of the provision was 13*s.* 4½*d.* At dinner the same day, in the first course, were the same articles, with a signet, (small swan,) capons, friants, custerde, and fritter. The second course had kidde, herons, godwits, chickens, pejons, larkes, tarte, and eggs. The cost ought to have been 45*s.* 5½*d.*; but some additional articles increased the amount to 70*s.* 7*d.* No vegetables are mentioned. The supper was very similar, but the birds were mostly boiled; there was also "sliced beef," "chicken pies," "dulcets (sweet-

meats) and sallets, with olives and capers." The cost ought to have been 33*s.* 5*d.*; but it amounted to 52*s.* 10*d.*

There were several meats which were not much known out of England. Brawn was one: a quantity was found by the French when they took Calais; but they tried in vain to make it agreeable to their palates, by roasting, baking, and boiling it.

The particulars of a dinner to the barons and officers of the Exchequer, on June 8, 1573, may be given as showing the diet and prices of that period.

Breade, ale, and beare	10 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
A greate sirloine of byfe	6 4
Three jointes of veale	4 8
Two gese	3 0
Three capons	6 10
Halfe a lambe	2 4
Seven chickins	3 0
Four rabbetes	1 4
Butter	3 0
Eggs	0 8
Vinegar, verges, barberies, and mustard	0 8
Spices	5 0
Fruite	0 8
Rose water and swete water	0 8
Scrill and pslye	0 2
White wine	0 4
Sacke	1 0
Stroing herbes	0 2
Ffier	4 0
Cooke's wages	4 0
Boote hier	0 8
Occupying of plate, naperie, and other necessities	5 0

Total l*xiiiis.* vid.

It is probable that at the present day the learned judges would consume less solid food and ale, but more fruit and wine than their predecessors.

A fish dinner for the judges and treasurer, in April,

had linge, coddles, plase, whittings, pikes, fresh samond, conger, turbot, sooles, flounders, smeltes, crefishes, shrimpes. This was a more costly entertainment, the amount being cviii*s.* viii*d.*, and it included a necke of mutton, a capon, also two chickens, for some of these personages who required something in addition to the fish. The variety enumerated, however, would hardly be exceeded at one of the celebrated fish dinners of the present day. In March, 1576, lord North paid 13*s.* 4*d.* for a fresh salmon, and 4*d.* for a pound of fresh butter. In 1560, at a guild feast at Norwich, eight pints of butter cost 1*s.* 6*d.* The beef cost 8*d.* a stone, and a leg of mutton five pence. Six pullets cost only a shilling.

Harrison, in 1586, describes, that "the beginning of every dish was reserved unto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whom it is drawn up still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whom it descendeth even to the lower end, whereby each one may taste thereof." The variety was so great, that to taste of every dish would tend to "the speedie suppression of health."

The breakfast for the higher classes would be served about eight in the morning: the dinner would be ready at noon, or an earlier hour; the supper would be taken about six.

The order for John Harington's household in 1566 and 1592, directs the meat for dinner to be ready at eleven, and for supper at six or seven in the evening. Later in the century, the breakfast usually was not a hearty meal, most persons would be contented with a piece of bread and a cup of ale. Harrison, in 1580, says, "Of old we had breakfasts in the forenoon, beverages or nuntions after dinner, and reare suppers when it was time to go to rest: now these old repasts are left, and eche one in maner, (except here and there some yong hungrie stomach, that cannot fast till dinner time,) contenteth himself with dinner and supper onlie."

At night, a draught of wine or ale, often warmed with spices, was taken. This was commonly placed

ready in the sleeping apartment. Cavendish, in his life of Wolsey, describes the reception of a French embassy, in 1527, at Hampton Court, then the palace of the cardinal. "Every chamber had a basin and an ewer of silver, a great livery-pot of silver, and some gilt: yea, and some chambers had two livery-pots with wine and beare, a bowle and a goblet, and a pot of silver to drink in, bothe for their beare and wine; a silver candlestick, bothe white and plaine, having in it two sizes, and a staffe torch of wax; a fine manchet and a cheate loafe."

We are not to suppose that the daily food even of the middle and higher ranks at this period was very luxurious. Even in respectable families, the bread, excepting on special occasions, was of wheat and rye, or some inferior grain, as barley or pease, mingled together. So prevalent was this, that the bakers of Henry VIII. were threatened with the stocks if they mixed inferior flour for the king's bread. The flesh meat was chiefly beef, and that generally lean, even the coarser pieces were used; fat bacon or pork was often boiled with the beef to make it richer. And as luxury in dress increased effort to save in diet, waste was prevented, and the doles to the poor were more scanty. A merchant when alone or with his family, in 1586, would not have more than one, two, or three plain dishes.

The alehouse was a place of constant resort; it became more so after the suppression of the monasteries, when not only was it the resting-place for travellers, the haunt of idlers, but there was commonly found the degraded characters, the old popish priests, or ejected monks, who continued to serve in the churches, but who retarded and injured the Reformation as far as was in their power; and wholly careless of the souls committed to their charge, wallowed in sensual indulgences even more freely than they could do in their old habitation. Several writers of that day speak fully of the injury caused by allowing such characters to remain as ministers of religion.

It was common to give large and expensive enter-

tainments at funerals; the cost of that of sir John Rudstone, in 1531, enumerates many articles and their prices. Sugar at 7*d.* the lb.; milk 1½*d.* the gallon; eggs 60 for 7½*d.*; rabbits 2*s.* 2*d.* the dozen; capons and geese about 7*d.* each: a sirloin of beef 2*s.* 4*d.*; half a calf 2*s.* 8*d.*; a barrel of ale 3*s.* 8*d.*; a kilderkin of beer 1*s.*; wine 10*d.* the gallon; currants 2½*d.* the lb.; cheat or common bread, 1*s.* 10*d.* the bushel loaf. For the Norwich guild feast, 1560, four pounds of Barbary sugar cost 3*d.* a pound.

At bridals, and such like merry meetings, among artificers and husbandmen, it was common for each guest to bring one or more dishes; and thus the feast was furnished.

Particular terms of carving were appropriated to each dish; as, "break that deer, rere that goose, frusche that chicken, unlace that coney, display that crane, wing that partridge, sawce that tench, culpon that trout, tame that crab, barb that lobster," etc. The young men brought up in noblemen's and gentlemen's families, were taught carving as a science; females of respectability were also instructed in the art.

In an account of provisions furnished to some soldiers sent to Greenwich are pesecods, and twenty pounds of cherries. Oranges appear in many dinner bills. For the Norwich feast sixteen oranges were provided, costing twopence for the whole quantity.

There is more frequent mention of fruits than of vegetables; a desert is described as consisting of plums, damsons, cherries and grapes, pears, nuts, strawberries, mirtleberries, and hardcheese; also pippins and carraways in comfits; but all these articles could hardly have been produced on one occasion. Biscuits are often mentioned. "Jellies of all colours, codinats, marmilots, sugar-bread, ginger-bread, and florentines," are mentioned by one writer: another enumerates, "quinces or marmelades, pomegranates, oranges sliced and eaten with sugar, succates of the pile or bark thereof, and of pomecitres, old apples and pears, prunes, raisins,

dates, and nuts." As early as February, 1496, Henry VII. paid "to a Portingale for oringes, 6s. 8d."

The excess in liquor which so long disgraced England, was very prevalent in the sixteenth century. Cavendish, describing the hospitable reception of the French ambassadors and their suite at Hampton Court, already noticed, says, "Then went the cuppes so merrily about, that many of the Frenchmen were faine to be led to their beddes," and this while the cardinal archbishop was presiding at the board!

AMUSEMENTS.

Hunting, hawking, and other field sports, were favourite amusements. Much stress was laid upon using the appropriate terms, and on conducting every thing according to certain rules. One of these was, to offer a large hunting knife to the principal person who was present at the conclusion of the sport, especially if a lady, that she might cut the throat of the deer with her own hand!

Hawking was much esteemed as an amusement for the ladies. Mary queen of Scots continually followed it during her detention in England. The hawk was brought to the field hooded; but when the game was seen, the hood was removed from its head, and the hawk was allowed to pursue the bird. The sportsmen followed as they could, some on horseback, some on foot, the latter often using long poles to leap over hedges and ditches. Henry VIII. was thus following a hawk near Hitchen, when his pole broke: he fell, headforemost, into a ditch, and was nearly smothered; but an attendant came up just in time to rescue him. Among the expenses of Henry VII. are, "For a white hoby 16s. (a riding horse,) for a greyhound 14s. 4d., for a gose-hawk 4l." The last item shows the excessive value set upon a trained bird of prey—five times that of a horse.

Tournaments were still practised, but rather for

amusement than as duels. Henry II. king of France, lost his life at a tournament; and Henry VIII. was several times in great danger in these sports. The processions and displays of finery on public occasions, seem to have taken their place. They rapidly declined after the retirement of sir Henry Lee, in 1590, from age and infirmities. The pageants so frequently exhibited have been noticed; masques, interludes, and mummeries were common at Christmas time, but became still more so in the next century.

Theatrical amusements began to assume a more regular form in queen Elizabeth's reign. After the Reformation, the profane Scripture mysteries were discontinued. They were succeeded by tragedies and comedies, regularly performed in buildings constructed for the purpose, or inn yards were sometimes used. Much evil was thereby introduced. Theatres have ever been the resort of idle and vicious characters, and are usually surrounded by the haunts of licentiousness. It is to be remarked, that several of the first erected theatres, in London, were built on the Bankside, in the neighbourhood where houses had been licensed for profligacy, by prelates of the church of Rome. At one time, queen Elizabeth was induced to give permission for plays to be acted on Sundays; but this license was recalled. In foreign countries, where popery is the established religion, theatres are now open on Sunday evenings, when they are crowded more than on any other day in the week. The Reformation did much to stop the profanation of the sabbath, which always led to every species of vice and crime. The history of every period shows that vice and profligacy invariably attend the amusements of the theatre; this unvarying experience of two thousand years, ought to cause every reflecting mind to avoid these temples of Satan. Stowe speaks plainly of the evils of the theatres, where, he says, abounded "unchaste, uncomely, and unshamefaced speeches, and many other enormities."

Bear and badger baiting were favourite amusements;

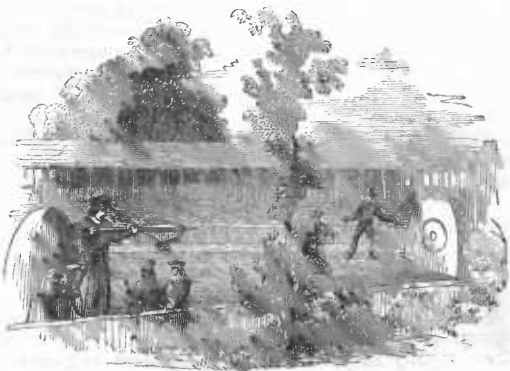
there were theatres especially for these sports, which then were encouraged by the chief nobility, as well as by the lowest of the populace. A poet of that day censures those whose store of money was "but verie small,"

"And yet everi Sunday they wil surely spend
One peny or two, the bearwards' living to mend."

These brutal sports always produce numerous evils.

Domestic amusements included cards, dice, tables, chess, and other similar games, which then, as now, led to gambling. The professed gambler is enumerated as one of the open pests of society during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Henry VIII. set a bad example in this respect. He gambled away many articles which came into his possession at the spoliation of the monasteries. At one cast of the dice, he lost a celebrated ring of bells, and the bell-house in St. Paul's churchyard, to sir Miles Partridge. How many evils result from the accursed practice of gambling! Let parents always discourage their children from games of chance.

Bowling and archery were less dangerous amuse-



ments; the latter was encouraged by several statutes during the reign of Henry VIII. Fathers were to provide bows for their children when they were seven years old; masters were to provide bows for their apprentices. Latimer speaks of archery as a wholesome and manly exercise, requiring constant practice from childhood. Archery formed a part of the May games, and other rural sports: it was considered to be important, not only to keep up the use of a weapon, famous in English warfare, but as a manly sport, strengthening the body. In the latter respect it has been succeeded by cricket. The use of gunpowder, and hand guns, both for sport and warfare, caused archery to fall into disuse. Cross-bows, also, were commonly used, both in warfare and for sporting.

Gunpowder began to be much used in fireworks: elaborate exhibitions of this sort were displayed before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, in 1475, and subsequently at Elvetham in Hampshire.

Some amusements, fashionable at the beginning of this period, are recorded by the expenses of Henry VII.: "To a Spanyard that tumbled, 2*l*. To a felow for eting of coles, 6*s*. 8*d*. To one that joculed (or juggled) before the kyng, 10*s*." Contrast these sums with the very limited amount of his largesses. "To the harvest folk beside Burnham Abbey, 1*s*. To the repers in the way, reward 2*d*." Henry VII. appears to have had a menagerie and an aviary. In 1503 was paid, "Making of a birdes cage, 2*l*. 4*s*. 6*d*. For a nightingale, 1*l*. For hawkes, popingays, eagle, and wild cats, 1*l*." This seems to have been a cheap lot.

The amusements most fashionable at the close of the sixteenth century, are enumerated in the account of Mountjoy, lord deputy of Ireland, in 1599. "He delighted in study, in gardens, in riding on a pad to take the air, in playing at shovelboard, at cards, and in reading play books for recreation; and especially in fish and fish ponds, seldom using any other exercises, and using these rightly as pastimes, only for a short and conve-

nient time, and with great variety of change from one to the other."

But the most interesting and lawful sports are those of childhood and youth. Those in use among boys and girls, in the sixteenth century, are enumerated in the following lines: among which, however, are some games of chance:—

"Any they dare chalenge for to throw the sledge,
To jumpe, or leape over ditch or hedge;
To wrestle, play at stoole ball, or to runne,
To pitch the barre, or to shote of a gunne;
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trye it out at foote ball by the shinnes,
At tick tacke, seize noddie, maw and ruffe;
At hot cockles, leape frogge, or blind-man's buffe;
To drinke the halper pottes, or deale at the whole cann,
To play at chesse, or pue, and inke horne:
To dance the moris, play at barley brake,
At all exploits a man can think or speak;
At shove groate, venter poynte, or cross and pile,
At beshrew him that's last at any stile;
At leaping over a Christmas bonfire,
Or at the drawing dame out of the myer;
At shoote cocke, Gregory, stoole ball, and what not;
Picke poynte, toppe, and scourge to make him hott."

BOOKS AND PRINTING.

Much time was passed in reading when books became more common. Many romances of chivalry were written as books of amusement. Voyages, travels, and books of history were also much read.

By the discovery of the art of printing, books were brought into general use early in the sixteenth century. The privy purse expenses of Henry VII. contain many interesting items, which mark the period of transition from manuscripts to printed books, and show that the facility for multiplying copies, caused an increased demand for them. A few extracts may be given. "To sir Peter (a priest) for gylting and lymning of a book, 1*l.* 15*s.* To the same for certain bokes, 11*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* A boke bought for my lord of York, 1*l.*" (This large price given for a book for a child under ten years old,

afterwards Henry VIII. shows his early regard for books.) "To Quintyn for bokes, 20*l*. Again, for a boke, 23*l*. To the boke bynder, for five bokes, 2*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Two saulter bokes, 8*s*. A Frenchman for certain bokes, 56*l*. 4*s*. For claspes and garnishing the king's boke, 10*l*. Two new bokes bought of Ursyn, 2*l*. For certain bokes delivered to the peres, at Richmond, 46*l*. 10*s*."

Five books printed by Caxton, the first English printer, now in the Cambridge Public Library, have the original prices marked in them as follows:—Godefrey of Boloyne, 1*j**s*. 1*j**d*. The book of Eneydos, xi*d*. The Fayt of Armes, 1*j**s*. vii*j**d*. The Chastysing of Goddes Children, vii*j**d*. The Boke of Fame, iii*j*. Lowndes records the sale of three copies of these books: Eneydos, 88*l*. 4*s*. Fayt of Armes, 336*l*. Chastysing, 140*l*.: the others have also brought extravagant prices. But such prices were the results of occasional absurd competition at auctions, and possessors of these books would find themselves mistaken if they thought to realize now more than the tenth part of them.

Another valuable document is an inventory of the library of the count of Angouleme, in 1496: it contains both manuscripts and printed books, and describes the binding of many; several had the arms of the count upon the covers. There is a particular description of forty-six manuscript and twenty-three printed books. There were also sixty-three "little books," some in paper, some in parchment, in plain covers; and another lot of forty-three books, which were considered of small value. In this library were Lancelot de Lac; Tristram, Knight of the Round Table, and other romances then popular; but not many works of real value as to their contents. If we compare this list with the catalogue of sir Thomas Smith's library, at Hill Hall, 1566, we shall see the rapid improvement in literature. The library of sir Thomas would be a respectable collection at the present day, including many choice volumes of classical and theological literature.

Ascham, in "The Schoolmaster," written about 1568, condemns romances; he says, "In our forefathers' time, when papacy, as a standing pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry, as they said, for pastime and pleasure. As one, for example, 'Morte Arthure,' the whole pleasure of which book standeth in two special points, in open manslaughter and bold bawdry. This is good stuff for wise men to laugh at, or honest men to take pleasure at! yet I know when God's Bible was banished the courts, and Morte Arthure received into the prince's chamber." He speaks against the Italian tales and novels of that period, which he considers were translated into English, and circulated principally by the busy and open papists, because, "Where the will inclineth to goodness, the mind is bent to truth; wherewith is carried from goodness to vanity, the mind is soon drawn from truth to false opinion." He considers that the perusal of such books was a ready way to entangle the mind with false doctrine, causing "young wills and wits" "boldly to contemn all severe books that sound to honesty and godliness." Also, "I say further, those books tend not so much to corrupt honest living as they do to subvert true religion. More papists be made by your merry books of Italy, than by your earnest books of Louvain." These remarks are applicable to the novel reading of later days. In our own time, we have seen the supporters of principles, which certainly are in effect similar to those of popery, attribute the preparation of the public mind to receive their doctrines, to the wide circulation of a modern series of popular novels, among the youth of our people, in which the real facts of history are kept out of sight or distorted by a masterly hand. Daye printed some valuable books in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., and that of Edward VI.; but his press was silenced during the popish tyranny of Mary. Under Elizabeth he resumed his labours, and embarked large sums, at

considerable risk, in printing the works of Tyndall, Becon, and many others of the reformers. But he is chiefly to be noticed for his patronage of John Foxe, whose invaluable work the "Acts and Monuments" was reprinted several times at Day's press. Foxe seems chiefly to have been supported by the employment Day gave him as editor. This spirited printer was opposed by the trade in general, who did all they could to check the sale of his books; upon which archbishop Grindall allowed him to have a shop under the front of St. Paul's for their sale, by which means many were circulated.

For a long time, paper was imported, chiefly from Holland; the first paper mill, in England, is supposed to have been constructed not long before 1588; but there must have been much earlier attempts to provide the press with this indispensable article. Among the expenses of Henry VII. is, "for a reward given at the paper mylne, 16s. 8d.;" this donation, liberal for that monarch, shows that considerable importance was justly attached to the invention.

In this century we find first mention of an application of the art of printing, which has been hardly less important than the discovery of that art itself—the commencement of English newspapers. It had for some time been customary, for persons in London, to be employed to write letters of news to persons of rank in the country; many pamphlets, also, were printed, on political and other subjects, of temporary interest. But in April 1588, when the kingdom was filled with anxiety respecting the Spanish invasion, a plan was devised of circulating printed papers, containing the intelligence of the day, under the title of "The English Mercury." The earliest specimen, now known to exist, is Number 50, and dated July 23; consequently, these papers must have been printed three or four times a week. This number records the saying of king James, then of Scotland, that the only favour he expected from the papists, was that promised by

Polyphemus to Ulysses, that he should be devoured the last. It must, however, be mentioned, that circumstances have lately been brought forward tending to prove that this paper is spurious, a forgery of later date. The plan of publishing papers of intelligence, was continued after the special season of anxiety had passed by.

Caxton, the first English printer, was succeeded by Pynson, and many others; among them, John Day seems to be the most deserving of notice. More than any other, he has been distinguished by the title of *The Printer of the Reformation*. To this the device he assumed appears to refer; it represents the sun rising, a man is awakening another who is asleep; the motto, "Arise, for it is day," is a double allusion, to the times, and to the printer's name.

STATE AND CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE, AND OF AGRICULTURE.

Harrison, in his description of England, written in 1586, says, "As for slaves and bondmen, we have none; naie, such is the privilege of our countrie, by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land, they become so free of condition as their masters." This indicates an important change in the state of the lower classes; it was one of the causes which rendered a public provision for the poor requisite. Other causes, such as the change in value of the precious metals, the progress of society, and the dissolution of the monasteries, have been already noticed; but the latter has often been misrepresented as the principal, if not the only cause of the increase of the poor.

The statements of sir Thomas More and others, before the Reformation, have been already noticed, showing the increase of the poor, or rather that they already

claimed more of public notice, and that so far from the monasteries affording effectual relief, they tended rather to increase the number of paupers. Laws for the suppression of mendicancy were made in 1495 and 1504, the latter restricting the impotent poor to their native places, or last abodes. In 1531, a more severe law was passed, subjecting impotent poor to imprisonment if they begged out of their districts, and able-bodied mendicants were to be whipped. In 1536, another law first establishes compulsory relief, which was to be afforded, both to "poor creatures" and "sturdy vagabonds" in their own districts, to prevent the necessity for their begging openly; and voluntary alms were to be collected for the purpose, every preacher and parson exhorting and provoking people to be liberal, especially at the time of confession, and making of wills. So great had the evil of pauperism become, that a sturdy beggar was to be whipped on his first conviction, to have his ear cropped on the second, and to be executed as a felon and an enemy of the commonwealth for the third offence.

All these laws were enacted before the Reformation, and before the dissolution of the monasteries.

In the first year of Edward VI., the last severe act was repealed; still, the sturdy beggar was to be forced to work, and branded, and if he repeatedly ran away, was to be treated as a felon. Other laws followed in that reign, and of Mary, and in the early part of Elizabeth; all directing relief to be given to the impotent poor, and latterly the justices had power to assess all the inhabitants of a place according to "their good discretions," in such sums as the justices should appoint for the maintenance of the poor. In the forty-third of Elizabeth, the well-known statute, which forms the basis of the later systems, was passed, directing a more regular way of parochial assessment, and of maintenance for the impotent poor, and destitute children, and for the employment of all able to labour. The plan was well intended, but had some imperfections, and

unhappily most of the measures devised as improvements during the two following centuries, tended to impede rather than to promote the right working of the humane statute of Elizabeth, which hitherto never has been carried into effect, fully in the spirit designed by its originators.

The increase of population was, of course, one cause for an increased number of poor. At the close of the sixteenth century, the population of England and Wales was estimated at nearly five millions, a number far below its present inhabitants, but considerably more than they had been at the close of the civil wars of the Roses.

The cultivation of the land was not much improved during the sixteenth century, either as to the improvements of husbandry, or the processes for rendering the land more fertile. But alterations were in progress; the changes which followed the discovery of America, with the consequent reduction in the value of money, the difference in the tenure of property, and the progress of commerce, all promoted improvements in agricultural affairs, but not without a severe struggle. It was difficult for those who witnessed the trials resulting from a state of transition, to enter calmly into the subject, and to bear in mind, that however desirable any particular state of society may appear, it is not possible for a nation to continue permanently therein. As the poet says,

“Change is the diet on which all subsist
Created changeable; and change at last
Destroys them.”

Latimer, in one of his sermons before Edward VI., describes the English yeoman of the commencement of the sixteenth century. “My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother

milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before his king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours; and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payes sixteen pound by year or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, or for his children, or to give a cup of drink to the poor." Not long after the period here mentioned, one hundred acres of arable, and as many of pasture land in Cambridgeshire, were let at ten pounds a year; that is, a shilling an acre: the rent was to pay the wages and expenses of the knight of the shire for attending parliament.

Latimer's account states, that in half a century the rental of his father's farm increased fourfold, evidence both of the depreciation of money, and the progress of national wealth. With respect to the other remarks of good bishop Latimer, without at all disputing that the more simple the state of society, the greater proportion there will be of real comfort, it may be questioned how far his comparison is fair. In all probability, a man, such as he describes his father to be, would in Edward's reign have been found proportionally advanced in the scale of society, while his father's successor, had he lived half a century earlier, would have been a mere cottier, one of the half-dozen men who tilled the soil. The complaint that what "heretofore went for twenty or forty pound by year, now is let for fifty or a hundred," did not show, as he said, that the landlords had for their possessions "yearly too much;" it only proved the change in the nominal value. He at the same time testified that while God

sent plentifully the fruits of the earth, all kinds of victual had become dearer, and anticipated "we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound."

Harrison gives a much more favourable description of the farmer, not very long afterwards. "Though foure pounds of the old rent be improved to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred poundes, yet will the farmer thinke his gains very small towards the end of his terme, if he have not six or seven years' rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a new lease; beside a fair garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in odd vessell going about the house; three or foure feather bedds, so many coverlids, and carpets of tapes-trye, a silver salt, a bowle for wine, if not a whole neast; and a dozen of spoons to furnish out the sute."

It was too true, as Latimer complained, that "all the enhancing and rearing goeth to private commodity and wealth." The natural heart of man is prone to covetousness; thus the apostle James had to complain, and justly, of the rich men of his day who kept back the wages of the labourer; and it is to be feared there are many such in our day: but this is a different question from that under notice. The general increase of prices, if it does not proceed from famine and scarcity, will always be found to regulate itself. But whatever may be the price of the produce of the earth, it is painful to think that the wages of the labourer will in general be found barely sufficient. The number who cultivate the soil in any regularly settled country, soon fully equals the demand for labour; and careful examination shows, that as the numbers of inhabitants in a country increase, so the produce will be more than increased in proportion; every one engaged as a cultivator raises more than is needful for the support of those immediately dependent upon him. Thus it will be easier for five millions of agriculturists to raise food for a population of ten millions, than for two millions to provide for four. And under all dis-

advantages, the state of a free labourer, if industrious and steady, is vastly superior to that of a slave, or of the serf or bondman of the feudal times. Where slavery exists, the master has no inducement from interest, to treat his slaves upon different principles from his cattle, while those who suffer under a bad master, have no refuge, or way of escape; their children also are doomed to the same course of life: while the free-born peasant, even if sorely pinched himself, and hardly able to rear his family, knows that other lines of life are open to them, which present greater opportunity for rising in society, to those who possess ability, while he himself is protected from ill-usage, and can change his service whenever he sees occasion to do so. Nor is the employment of free labourers rather than slaves, less advantageous to the master. But to proceed with this discussion would lead us from our immediate subject. The sixteenth century, however, is to be noticed as having seen the end of slavery in England; a material change and improvement in the lower classes followed; but this, like every state of transition, was not passed through without considerable suffering, as we have already noticed.

The employments of a farmer's wife at this period were not trivial, if a writer in 1539 is correct. In addition to caring for the food and clothing for the family, "it is a wife's occupation to wynowe all manner of cornes, to make malte, to washe and wrynge, to make heye, shere corne, and in time of nede to helpe her husbände to fyll the muckwayne or dounge carte, to drive the ploughe, to loade heye, corn, and suche other. And to go or ride to the market; to set butter, chese, mylke, egges, chekyns, capons, hennes, pygges, gese, and all manner of cornes." We must suppose this to be the beau ideal of a farmer's wife of the sixteenth century; few specimens of such a concentration of accomplishments could really have existed!

A poem, written by Thomas Tusser, of Essex, about

the middle of the century, contains minute particulars of the agriculture of that period. We have room only for one extract—the “Corn Harvest.”

1. One part cast forth, for rent due out of hand.
2. One other part, for seed to sow thy land.
3. Another part, leave parson for his tythe.
4. Another part, for harvest sickle and scythe.
5. One part, for plough-wright, cart-wright, knacker, and smith.
6. One part, to uphold thy teams that draw therewith.
7. One part, for servant, and workman's wages lay.
8. One part, likewise, for fill-belly day by day.
9. One part, thy wife for needful things doth crave.
10. Thyselfe and child, the last one part would have.

Who minds to quote
Upon this note,
May easily find enow,
What charge and pain,
To little gain
Doth follow toiling plough.

Yet farmer may
Thank God, and say,
For yearly such good hap ;
Well fare the plough,
That sends enow,
To stop so many a gap.

Harrison, in 1586, estimates the yield or produce of corn ground in average years, to be sixteen or twenty bushels of wheat or rye well tilled and dressed, thirty-six bushels of barley, or four to five quarters of oats, from each acre. The produce of an acre of wheat in the best corn counties, now is estimated at from twenty-five to thirty bushels the acre.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the usual price of wheat, soon after harvest, in plentiful years, appears to have been about 5s. the quarter. During the middle of this period, it averaged 8s. ; towards the close it had increased to 15s. and upwards. A law, passed in 1594, allowed the exportation of wheat, when the price was not more than 20s., of peas and beans at 13s. 4d., barley and malt 12s. : these were reckoned fair average prices. The mixture of

rye and wheat sown together, was called miscelin. But there were many years in which, from scarcity, the price of wheat increased to two or three pounds, and in one of the closing years of the century, for a short time, to five pounds the quarter. Raleigh computed that the value of corn imported, at this period, was equal to two millions annually. The chief consumption was of bread made from inferior grain. The allowance to a baker, in 1495, was 2*s.* per quarter: in 1592, when the best wheat was 21*s.* 4*d.*, it was 6*s.* 10*d.* per quarter of flour, reckoned thus; fuel, 6*d.*; two journeymen and two boys, 1*s.* 8*d.*; yeast, 1*s.*; candles and salt, 4*d.*; himself, family, and house rent, 2*s.*; the miller's toll, 1*s.* 4*d.* Bakers, living at Stratford, were allowed to sell bread from carts in London, being two ounces heavier in the penny loaf than bread baked in the city. There were large mills on the river Lea in that neighbourhood.

The improvement of agriculture, during this century, mainly proceeded from the progress of manufactures and commerce, with the advance of the general state of society. Agriculture and commerce mutually benefit each other; to think these interests are really opposed, is a great mistake. The English manufacturers and farmers are reciprocally the best customers to each other; but if undue advantages are given to either class, the other must suffer.

The increase of flocks, and of inclosures for pasture, excited much discontent at this period; it doubtless produced inconvenience, which ever must be the case during a state of transition; but it was another evidence of the general prosperity of the country.

Among the evils remaining from feudal times, the practice of purveyance severely oppressed the agriculturist. By this power, the queen's officers could take any rural produce at certain prices, usually below the market rate: a large proportion was often resold for their own profit; or they took money from the farmers as bribes not to remove the articles. An anecdote is told

of a farmer, who made his way to court, and insisted upon seeing the queen: when he saw her pass, he made his best reverences, observing aloud, so as to attract her attention, that this was indeed a fair, well-shaped lady, more so than his daughter Madge, who was reckoned the fairest in his parish: but it could not be she that took all his poultry, and sheep, and corn; that must be a very monstrous-sized person who could consume all that her purveyor required. The queen never countenanced malpractices in her officers, and being not displeased with the compliment to her personal appearance, ordered the complaint to be inquired into, and that the guilty purveyor should be punished. This evil became so notorious, that it was partly done away before the end of her reign.

Another proof of progress in the state of society, and which strongly indicated increased feelings of security, was the increase of gardens and orchards during the sixteenth century; but as yet, in general, they consisted only of enclosed pieces of ground near the mansion house, with a limited assortment of flowers, trees, and vegetables. The real progress of English gardening rather belongs to the next century, though Harrison, in 1586, speaks of great improvements in the preceding forty years, having sorts of fruit trees in comparison of which most of the old trees are nothing worth. He speaks of near three hundred sorts of "simples," "not one of them being common," as growing in his own little garden, of about three hundred square feet. Another evidence of this progress, even in London, appears in the account of Henry VII. "for making an arber at Baynard's Castle, 5s." The palace gardens of Elizabeth are described as having groves, ornamented with trellis work, cabinets of verdure, walks embowered with trees, columns and pyramids of marble, statues, and fountains.

DRESS.

A considerable number of pictures remain, which

were executed during the seventeenth century, representing the costume of that period. The engraving already given on page 79, is from an old picture representing sir Thomas More and his children; it affords a good idea of a respectable family in the reign of Henry VIII. In the middle are sir John More in his robes as a judge, and his son, sir Thomas More, as chancellor. On one side are two females standing, Elizabeth, daughter of sir Thomas, and her companion, Margaret Gige. Behind is the youthful wife of sir John. On the other side is Alice, the wife of sir Thomas; before her are Cecilia and Margaret, daughters of sir Thomas; John More, a youth, standing by the side of his father; the figure next him is Paterson, the fool or jester kept by sir Thomas, afterwards given by him to the lord mayors of London. Various pieces of furniture, books, a clock, and a viol, are represented.

The articles of dress, worn by persons of rank, are described in the directions given to a chamberlain, "how to dress his sovereign," at the commencement of this period. "At morne, when your soverayne will arise, warme his shirte by the fyre, and se ye have a fote shete made in this manner: fyrst, set a chayre by the fyre, with a cuyschen under his fete, then sprede a shete over the chayre, and se there be redy a kerchife and combe; then warm his petycote, his doublet and his stomachere; and then put on his hosen, and his shone or slyppers; then stryke up his hosen mannerly, and tye them up; then lace his doublet, hole by hole, and laye the neck clothe, and kimbe his heed; then look ye have a basyn and an ewer with warme water and a towell, washe his handes; then knele upon your knee, and aske your soverayne what robe he will were, and put it upon him; then do his gyrdell about him, and take your leve mannerly." The obsequious chamberlain was then to go to the church, or chapel, and make "the soverayne's closet" ready; then to the chamber, and make the bed; to beat the feather bed, "but loke ye waste no feders." The process of putting

to bed was similar, but of course reversed, and concluded with driving out the "dogge or catte." Such was the process with Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

The following anecdote, from Camden, shows what ridiculous fashions were often in vogue, and the increasing desire of the middle classes to imitate their superiors. Sir Philip Calthrop bought on a time as much fine French tawny cloth as should make him a gown, and sent it to the tailor's to be made. Johu Drakes, a shoemaker of Norwich, coming to the said tailor's, and seeing the knight's gown cloth lying there, liking it well, caused the tailor to buy him as much of the same cloth, and price, to the same intent; and farther bade him to make it of the same fashion that the knight would have his made of. Not long after, the knight coming to the tailor's to take measure of his gown, perceiving the like cloth lying there, asked of the tailor whose it was. Quoth the tailor, "It is John Drakes', the shoemaker, who will have it made of the self-same fashion that yours is made of." "Well," said the knight, "in good time be it! I will," said he, "have mine made as full of cuts as thy shears can make it." "It shall be done," said the tailor; whereupon, because the time drew near, he made haste to finish both garments. John Drakes had no time to go the tailor's till Christmas-day, for serving of customers, when he had hoped to have worn his gown; perceiving the same to be full of cuts, he began to swear at the tailor for making his gown after that sort. "I have done nothing," quoth the tailor, "but that you bid me; for as sir Philip Calthrop's garment is, even so have I made yours." "By my latchet," or shoe tie, quoth John Drakes, "I will never wear gentleman's fashion again!"

Laws were frequently passed to check excess in apparel. Only the higher classes of laymen were permitted to wear coats or gowns of costly materials; but a gown of some sort was worn by all engaged in civil occupations, unless of the lowest classes. The

forms of the gowns varied, and they were often richly ornamented with gold, pearls, jewels, and lace. Furs were much valued: also the feathers of birds, frequently the whole skin." Henry VII. paid 1*l.* 4*s.* for an "estryche" (ostrich) skin for a stomacher, whether for himself or his queen does not appear.

The hose assumed the form of trowsers, usually tight about the leg. Silk hose or stockings are mentioned as early as the reign of Henry VIII., but they were scarce articles even twenty years later, when a pair of knit silk hose was presented to the queen by her silk woman, in the third year of her reign. It was considered an article of value, and she is said to have declared roundly, that she never would wear cloth stockings again. Knitted worsted stockings were also esteemed. The dress of Mary Stuart, at her execution, is described; she wore blue worsted stockings with silver clocks; a head dress of fine lawn, edged with bone lace: a mantle of black satin, faced with sable; her pourpoint was of black figured satin; a bodice of crimson satin, and a skirt of crimson velvet.

The frame for making stockings was invented, in 1599, by William Lee, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and was a curious specimen of mechanism at that period.

The female costume then, as in other days, was still more fantastic than the garb of men; the representations are numerous, and must be familiar to the reader. Stubbes describes the gowns: "Some with sleeves hanging down to the skirts, trailing on the ground, and cast over the shoulder like cow-tails; some with sleeves much shorter, cut up the arm, drawn out with sundry colours, and pointed with silk ribbons."

The upper articles of female dress were usually of costly materials. Velvet, satin, cloth of gold, and embroidered work are enumerated in the descriptions of dress in the higher ranks: the middle classes wore gowns of woollen, often costing from 10*s.* to 14*s.* the yard, with such ornaments on their heads and necks as

they could afford. The women usually wore caps or coifs, sometimes a sort of bonnet ; the variety of form



was endless. The coverings for the head, worn by men, were also various ; to encourage the cappers, who were home manufacturers, a law was passed, in 1571, ordering that all persons, above six years of age, under the degree of nobility, should wear caps of wool, knit and dressed in England, under a penalty of four groats.

Farmers and countrymen wore clothes of russet cloth or leather ; the citizens were dressed much as the children of Christ's Hospital, in London, now are attired : yellow stockings or hose were common.

Serving men often wore liveries of the colours adopted by their masters, if persons of rank ; but blue was the colour usually worn by men servants. The jackets of the London firemen and watermen, preserve

the costume of this period: badges, with armorial bearings, or some device assumed by noble families, were commonly worn on the sleeve. The number of retainers, or serving men, was very great. The Tudor princes limited the number by severe laws, to break down this remnant of feudal customs, and lessen the mass of idle, useless followers, ready at all times to insult or injure any one who displeased their master. Lord Burghley, who may be considered as an economist, and having a well regulated family, had a hundred servants. But, at that period, in addition to the common servants, and to young persons who were in the family to receive instruction, rather than as servants; it was usual for retainers to grow grey, and to be kept till they died in their services. Fidelity was thus encouraged. Shakspeare has well described one of these retainers, but rather as a specimen of a past age, than as common in his own day. The aged Adam offers the son five hundred crowns, saved in his father's service, and declares,

“ Master, go on: and I will follow thee
To the last gasp, with truth and loyalty.
From seventeen years, till now almost fourscore,
Here lived I.”

That fashion which causes the bond between master and servant to be dissolved continually, is indeed a bad one. It proceeds from covetousness that thinks to save, and from pride that refuses to obey; with selfish desire for indulgence, that shrinks from needful services, if out of the common course; but in the result, the master spends more, and the servant has to endure much more, than if mutual forbearance, and due consideration, were not too often forgotten by both. The injunctions of holy writ on this subject, are very clear and strong; and are for the welfare of both classes. Servants are exhorted to obedience, not with eye service; masters are to forbear threatening, and to do that which is just and equal.

Harrington's orders for household servants, in 1566

and 1592, show earnest desire to preserve decorum in a numerous family, and this, at a time when the manners were far less polished than at the present day. Absence from prayer, oaths, and unseemly conduct, were subject to fines.

Proceeding to the close of this period, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the ruff, the stomacher, and the farthingale, or large round petticoat, became common. The ruff led to the invention of starch, which was severely censured by some of the writers of the day. The use of it was first taught by a Flemish woman, named Plasse, who came to London in 1564, and taught the art, charging each scholar four or five pounds for instruction; the starch was then made by the starcher herself, and was frequently coloured red, blue, or purple. The kirtle was a sort of under gown, the skirt of the upper robe being drawn to each side.

Beneath the finery which appeared in the garb of both sexes, too often there was only a scanty supply of dirty body linen, though these articles were frequently made of costly materials. Stubbes describes men's shirts of cambric and lawn, wrought with needlework, the meanest costing a crown, but sometimes as much as ten pounds. A lady's shift is described, in a ballad, as one half of fine holland, the other of needlework. On new year's day, 1530, the lady Elizabeth presented her brother, prince Edward, with "a shyrt of cam'ye, of her own woorkynge." In 1577, the earl of Essex, then a student at Cambridge, paid Mrs. Croxton, in Cheapside, 40s. for four shirts, at 10s. apiece; and 10s. for six handkerchiefs. Also, for a broad riding hat, 8s. Handkerchiefs were often wrought with silk and gold. It is needless to say, that such linen seldom visited the wash tub, or the running stream then resorted to for cleansing linen.

The variety of articles of dress, worn even by children, is shown by a letter from lady Brien, who had the care of the princess Elizabeth, upon the death of her mother. The governess applies, "that she may

have som rayment ; for she hath neither gown nor kertel, nor petecot, nor no manner of linnin for smokes, nor cerchefes, nor sleeves, nor rayls, nor body-stychets, nor handcerchers, nor mofelers, nor begins." The last article was a close cap worn by children.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, the male dress became more inelegant. Large trunk hose, long waisted doublets, with short cloaks and ruffs, are seen in the pictures of those times. The doublets were sometimes quilted or stuffed with five or six pounds of wool : the breeches were also stuffed ; and so large, that the seats of the parliament house being found too narrow for the new fashion, others of greater width were fixed. The cloaks were of all lengths and colours, and for general use, took the place of gowns ; they were often of costly materials, lined and bordered with fur. The anecdote of Raleigh's attracting the notice of queen Elizabeth, by spreading his new plush cloak over a dirty puddle, that she might step upon it, is well known. The covering for the head varied from the flat cap of the citizen, to hats rising in a peak or sharp point, a foot or more above the head. The best hats, felted of beaver, came from abroad, and cost 20s. or 30s. each. They were ornamented with feathers and embroidery, and even with gold bands, of "massie goldsmiths' work."

The hair was worn in divers fashions, "sometimes polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length, like women's lockes, many times cut off above or under the ears, round as by a wooden dish." The variety of beards was great, some shaven from the chin, not a few cut short, some made round, like a rubbing brush ; others with a peak, or now and then suffered to grow long, "the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalf as the tailors."

False hair began to be worn towards the close of the sixteenth century ; it was then dangerous for children, with fine locks, to wander into lonely places. The addition was made by tying in false locks, rather than

by periwigs. The queen of Henry VII., as early as 1494, paid for frontlets, 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The barber of that monarch was paid 2*l.* 12*s.* for shaving the king from the 25th day of March to June 25th.

The armour, worn by nobles and the military, was chiefly plate armour, often elegant in form and workmanship. Henry VII. paid for garnishing a sallett, or head piece, 38*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* As the use of fire-arms prevailed, armour was less trusted to.

The clergy wore their official costume. The higher orders, in the days of popery, like Wolsey, indulged in splendid apparel, often in addition to their sacerdotal robes. The latter were costly: the father of queen Catherine Parr left to the abbey of Clairvaux, the vast sum of 1,600*l.*, equal to 20,000*l.* at the present day, "to buy copes and vestments." After the Reformation, these fine trappings quickly disappeared. Queen Elizabeth enforced the use of the surplice, or white robe, in the public services; but in common life, the clergy were required to wear black gowns, "befitting scholars."

Physicians and lawyers wore their dress made full, and of a grave character. They usually walked with canes or staves. Swords or daggers were worn by all ranks of laymen, excepting the lower orders. The serving man, when attending his master abroad, frequently carried a short sword, and a small round shield or buckler. Street frays were common, and whatever weapons were at hand were used, both for attack and defence. Even the apprentices had their bats or clubs ready. When attending their masters or mistresses at night, they usually carried lanthorns; the nobility were attended by torch-bearers.

The variety of jewellery, worn by men and women, was very great; the forms were often elegant, highly wrought, and expensive. The list of articles, presented to queen Elizabeth by her courtiers, contain many articles of this description. Three may be inserted, without much selection. In 1582, "a juell,

being a shipp of golde, garnished with six faire dyamondes, and other small dyamondes and rubyes; the sayles spredd abrode, with a word enamuled on them." "A juell of golde, being a catte and myce playing with her, garnished with smale dyamondes and perle." "A flower of golde, garnished with sparckes of diamonds, rubyes, and ophales, with an agathe of her majesti's phisnamy (portrait) and a perle pendante, with devices painted in it." These articles were carefully delivered to the officers whose duty it was to take charge of them. Rings, chains, and other ornaments, were prized by all ranks. The beaus, as well as the belles, of Elizabeth's reign, wore jewels, or ribands in their ears.

During the "twelfth night reign" of the lady Jane Grey, she had the crown jewels delivered to her: these, and other valuables, she was afterwards required to give up. Mary seems to have looked very sharply after them; for sundry articles not being forthcoming, the lord treasurer had to apply for her majesty's gracious acquittance of what were deficient. Some are very singular to appear in a list of royal possessions: "A little piece of a broken ring of gold;" "Four old halfpence of silver;" "xvid., two farthings, and two halfpence;" "A pair of twichers of silver;" "Two shaving clothes, and fourteen pair of gloves of divers sorts." Jane had previously given up coin to the value of 541*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*

Shoes varied in shape and material. In the reign of Mary, square toes were fashionable; an act, however, was passed to limit the width of the toes to six inches. Expensive buckles, and roses on the shoes were introduced. Boots and spurs were often worn by men, when not on horseback. Shoes were commonly fitted for each foot. Shakspeare describes an eager tailor newsmonger, with slippers, in his haste, "thrust upon contrary feet." We read of archers in scarlet boots, with yellow caps. Ladies began to wear corked shoes, or slippers, with raised heels.

Woodstock was noted for gloves. Henry VII., in 1497, paid there 5*s.* 4*d.* for sixteen pair of gloves. But gloves were often richly worked, and sometimes perfumed. One of Elizabeth's ministers wrote to the ambassador in Spain, to send a pair of perfumed gloves for himself, and another for his wife; they were to be scented with orange flowers and jasmine. Then, as in later days, the ambassadors' packages seem to have been used for conveying articles of dress, as well as the public and private despatches. Perfumes were the general remedy for ill scents and the want of ventilation, thus increasing the evil. Elizabeth was very much displeased with ill scents, and would rate a courtier as "a sloven," if he appeared with shoes having the smell of new leather. Mary Stuart complained much of ill scents during one of her abodes at Tutbury. Even now, though our houses are more airy, yet proper ventilation too generally is neglected. Perfumed pockets, scent boxes, and pomanders, or balls of perfumes, were abundant and costly in the sixteenth century; also, oils, tinctures, and pomatums. Among the expenses of Henry VII. is a payment "to a Lumbard," (a foreign merchant,) "for muske and awmber, 17*l.* 5*s.*"

It was common for gentlewomen to wear small mirrors at their girdles, or to have them set in the fans they carried: these fans often were expensive articles; they were sometimes made of ostrich or other feathers. (See page 401.) In 1578, lord North paid for one 33*s.* 4*d.* A fan, presented to Elizabeth, in 1589, was "of swanne down, with a maze of green velvet, embroidered with seed pearles, and a very small chayne of silver gilte; and in the midst a border, on both sides, of seed pearles; sparkes of rubys and emeralds, and thereon a monster of gold, the head and breast mother of pearl."

Articles of dress, at this period, being often so costly, it was common to leave them, by will, to relatives and friends. One person, of middle rank, bequeathed his

best black gown, guarded and faced with velvet; his shepe-coloured gown, guarded with velvet, and faced with coney or rabbits' fur; his short gown, faced with wolf, and laid with billiment, an inferior sort of lace; and another short gown, faced with fox.

In her early days, queen Elizabeth was averse to fine clothes, and unwillingly complied with her sister Mary's orders that she should wear finer apparel; but she soon became fond of splendid garments: at her death, her wardrobe contained three thousand different habits; but any one who looks through the long list of new year's presents to the queen, will observe, that a large proportion of them were gifts on those occasions; and many of them, probably, never were worn by Elizabeth. In those of 1578, we find, "a pettycote of tawney satten, reysed with four borders of embrawdory, silver and golde, with hoopes, lyned with orange, collored sarceonet." "A gowne, with hanging sleeves of black vellat, alov' with small wyer of golde, like scallop shelles, set with spangills, embrawderyed with a garde, with sondry byrds and flowers enbossed with golde, silver, and silke, set with sede perle." In that year, considerably more than a hundred articles of dress were presented to the queen; and in some other years a still larger quantity. It was then customary, at times, to wear the garbs of different nations.

Harrison, in 1586, after describing the vanity and variety of fashionable dress, laments, "how much cost is bestowed, now a daies, upon our bodies, and how little upon our soules! How manie suites of apparell hath the one, and how little furniture hath the other! How long time is asked in decking up of the first, and how little space left wherein to feed the latter!" He then speaks of the difficulty the tailor had in fitting his customers, and what reproachful language he had to bear. That advance in civilization, which teaches mutual forbearance, was then little known, though it is becoming to every rank of life.

The attention paid to dress, and the numerous

changes in the apparel of this century, strongly impress upon the mind the declaration of holy writ, "that the fashion of this world passeth away." Nor is the direction, given by St. Peter, to the females of his day, less important: "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel," etc. 1 Peter iii. 3—6.

TRADES, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE.

In the sixteenth century, trades were followed as regular occupations, after the manner of later times, but on a far more limited scale; the large factories of our days were not then known. In the woollen trade, then the principal manufacture of England, the large clothiers, such as Winchcombe, styled Jack of Newbury, employed hundreds, perhaps thousands of workmen, who wrought mostly in their own houses. The large number of Flemish refugees, sheltered by Elizabeth, gave a new impulse to this trade, and the wealth of the nation was increased thereby. In 1565, thirty masters of these refugees, each with ten servants, were invited to settle at Norwich, and the number of foreigners settled there in 1571, was 3925. In 1575, the Dutch elders there produced a new work, called bombazine. The cutlery trade was much enlarged by these strangers; the neighbourhood of Sheffield became the seat of this manufacture. We find the earl of Shrewsbury sending a box of Hallamshire whittells, or knives, as a present.

The general progress of society caused the demand, for iron to increase largely. The art of casting iron was practised about 1550. This soon became a very important and increasing branch of trade, and consumed large quantities of fuel. The iron works of Sussex and Kent soon cleared those districts, once covered with forests; and had it not been found practicable to smelt the iron stone with pitcoal, the trade must long ago have been extinct in England. The

iron trade now is only carried on in districts where pit coal abounds. But even in Lancashire, in the seventh year of queen Elizabeth, the furnaces were stopped, because the cattle required the tops and croppings of trees for sustenance in winter. The raising of artificial food for their supply was not then practised.

Mining much increased: considerable sums were expended in such adventures, with all the vicissitudes that attend these operations at the present day. A considerable quantity of silver, at one time, was found in Cornwall. But the absurdity of attempting the transmutation of metals still continued, and even increased.

In London, and other large cities, the different trades had their several guilds, or companies; and for the most part the artificers of the same line lived near together. Their rules tended to cramp the progress of trade; the true principles of commerce were then little understood.

Mary, during her short reign, interfered with the progress of commerce, by demanding loans from the merchants, and sometimes stopping exportation. Elizabeth had more enlarged views; she encouraged commercial transactions, and sometimes furnished capital for difficult enterprises.

The progress of commerce, especially with foreign countries, during this reign, was shown by the erection, in 1567, of a building, called the Bourse, in London, principally that the merchants might meet and converse about business. The queen visited it in 1570, after dining in the city, at the house of sir Thomas Gresham, who had been one of the principal promoters of the building, when she expressed her satisfaction, and ordered that from that time it should be called the Royal Exchange. The accompanying engraving represents it as it then appeared.

In foreign commerce, merchants formed companies, to raise capital, to afford mutual protection, and to keep out interlopers. Among these companies were

the Merchants Adventurers, and the Russian company. Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the East India company began; but not in a permanent or connected form. Individuals subscribed sums of money, as best suited their views; fleets were fitted out, and commodities exported, in lieu of which the products of the east were brought home. The cargoes being sold, the amount realized was divided among the adventurers, in proportion to the capital each had supplied. The first fleet sailed in May, 1601, with a charter of privileges, under captain James Lancaster. The capital subscribed was 68,373*l*. The ships returned in September, 1603, when the adventurers realized a handsome profit.

Several other voyages, upon the same principle, followed; the clear profits varied from twice to three times the original outlay. It is to be remarked, that the amount of bullion sent out much exceeded the value of the goods exported.

Foreign commerce was also largely increased by the discovery, or rather re-discovery of America, at the close of the fifteenth century, though this result was indirect, rather than direct, so far as England was concerned. The word *re-discovery* is used advisedly, as there is no reason to doubt, but that the Northmen made continual voyages from Iceland to North America, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries; this, however, does not lessen the merit and perseverance of Columbus. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, plantations or settlements were formed on the main land of North America, in consequence of the voyages and discoveries of Cabot.

Tobacco and potatoes were introduced by sir Walter Raleigh; the latter valuable root being planted by him in Ireland: but Hawkins is said to have brought it first from New Spain, in 1565.

The discovery of Newfoundland, in the reign of Henry VII., has been noticed; among the expenditure of that monarch, is, "To him that found the new isle,

10*l.* ;" and "To the men of Bristol that found the isle, 5*l.*" The mistaken desire to find a northern passage to China and the East Indies, was the principal cause why England profited so little by voyages of discovery ; and their feeble attempts for the colonization of North America were long unsuccessful.

The greatest evil that affected trade and commerce, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, was the increase of monopolies. The sparing or avaricious disposition of that princess, rendered her unwilling to reward her courtiers and officers by direct gifts of money ; but she was more easily prevailed upon to grant monopolies of various commodities. In 1601, this list included a great number of articles, both of manufacture and commerce, from currants and ox shin bones, brushes, paper, glasses, new drapery, and dried pilchards, to seacoal, oil, and importation of Spanish wool. One of the most oppressive was the monopoly of salt, the price of which was thereby raised, in some places, from sixteen pence to fifteen shillings the bushel. One member had the courage to ask, "Is not bread among them? if it be not now, it will be before next parliament." Upon the evils of this system it is unnecessary to enlarge ; the only lawful monopoly is that where skill and attention secures a preference, and which continues no longer than the consumer finds it his interest to support the same.

The improvement of the coin was one of the most valuable proceedings of Elizabeth, and was very beneficial to commerce. The amount of coined money, in circulation at the close of her reign, is estimated at 4,000,000*l.*

Mistaken views still caused interest for money lent to be reckoned usurious, and therefore unfair, if not quite unlawful ; but, in 1571, a law was passed, allowing interest at ten per cent. per annum, to be charged on money borrowed or lent. The most exorbitant advantages were often obtained on loans. One writer describes the manner in which spendthrift heirs were

made to pay fourscore in the hundred, or eighty per cent. in the year. He describes even poor women pledging a silver thimble for sixpence, being compelled to pay a halfpenny a week, if they wished not to lose the article pawned.

TRAVELLING AND INNS.

During the sixteenth century, travelling was mostly on horseback; the state of the roads generally was too bad for wheeled carriages. Females usually rode behind their servants. Even queens, if not good horsewomen, rode behind their officers. Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., the young queen of Scotland, thus made her first entry into Edinburgh. She travelled part of the way from London in a litter, or close carriage, but was usually mounted on horseback when passing a city or large town.

From the expenses of Henry VII., it appears, that six new chariot horses cost 10*l.*: they would be called cart horses now. 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* was paid for hire of a chariot, (a wagon,) with the driver and six horses, for fourteen days. During one of this king's progresses, was paid "to yomen riding in the countre for to serche for the sekenes, 13*s.* 4*d.*" That is, to inquire whether there was any infectious disease in the direction whither the king was going. Also October 1, 1497, paid for a guide from Wells to Bath, in reward, 1*s.* 8*d.* These items show how imperfect the communications in the country were at that period. In 1555, the first general law for repairing the highways of England was passed. It was followed by six more in the reign of Mary, and nineteen in that of Elizabeth.

Both Elizabeth and Mary Stuart were good riders. On several occasions Mary rode in man's apparel. There were coaches for the infirm and sick, or for occasions of state. Queen Elizabeth rode in one on some state occasions. Sir William Cecil, chancellor of Cambridge, rode thither in a coach, to attend the queen

in 1564, having hurt his leg: but it was thought disgraceful for a man to ride in a coach, if in health. These coaches were only ornamented wagons. They had neither springs nor glass windows: but were often richly carved, and had canopies and curtains. At the sides were projecting seats called boots, usually occupied by attendants. One of these vehicles is represented in the view of Nonsuch palace, page 214. A privy seal of queen Mary describes "one wagon of tymbre work for ladies and gentle women of our prevye chamber, with wheeles and axeltrees, strakes, nayles, clowts, and all manner of work, there too apperteyninge, fine redde cloths to kever and line the same wagon, fringed with redde sylke, and lyned with redde buckerum, paynted with redde colours; collers, drawghts of red lether, hamer clothes with our armes and badges of our colours, and all other things apperteyninge unto the same wagon."

Hired wagons were sometimes used for travellers; but regular stage conveyances were not known. Relays of post horses were kept on the great road for the accommodation of travellers, who could proceed on horseback with tolerable rapidity when the weather was fine, and the roads good. Essex came post from Ireland when he heard that the queen was displeased by his proceedings, and arrived before any intelligence of his designs had been received. Among other particulars relative to travelling, may be mentioned sir Robert Carey's winning 2000*l.* by wagers gained by his going on foot in twelve days from London to Berwick. Post horses were established at Norwich about 1568. No one was to have them except by warrant from the queen, the duke of Norfolk, the privy council, or the mayor, nor to use any one horse for more than twelve or fourteen miles; but the computed miles were longer than our measured miles. The charge was twopence each mile, and sixpence for the guide. The charge for horses let by the day was one shilling for the first day, and eightpence each day afterwards.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, a great part of travelling was in pilgrimages; sometimes matters of business were connected with these journeys, but they were more frequently excursions of pleasure, and even of immorality. Latimer and Erasmus have fully described the real character and results of pilgrimages. After the abolition of monasteries, travellers had no places of resort excepting inns; of these the larger ones usually retained the form of an open courtyard, with galleries around, communicating with the various ranges of apartments, as represented in the engraving on the next page.

The innkeeper now became a personage of considerable note and importance in the town. In country places, where the living was a scanty provision for the incumbent, sometimes that personage also was the tavernkeeper, and entertained travellers. Harrison says, that before the Reformation it was common for those who desired good wine to purchase it from "the cleargie and religious men," as it was known that they would neither drink nor be served of the worst; and that the merchant would fear future punishment, if he served them with other than the best. A writer of the latter part of the century, enumerates the many attentions a traveller receives at an inn. He closes with saying, "Should he object to any charge, the host is ready to alter it." Harrison, in 1586, describes that "ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets;" no charge for his bed was made to a horseman, but a foot traveller had to pay a penny. He says, "Every man may use his inn as his own house in England." In large towns there were as many as from twelve to sixteen inns; in some instances, 30*l.* or 40*l.* was expended in "gorgeousness of their verie signes," to tempt travellers.

The danger to travellers from thieves was considerable. In 1599, both horsemen and footmen, "disguising themselves with beardes that they carry about them in their pockets, do frequent and use about Layton and Snaresbrook, near London." Salisbury

Plain was very dangerous, from the resort of thieves and highwaymen. A particular account of robbers at Gad's Hill, near Rochester, in 1590, shows that Shakespeare describes the robbers connected with prince Henry, from his own times. The leader wore "a vizard grey bearde;" he administered an oath to the persons robbed, that they should not raise the hue and cry, and gave them a watchword to pass other thieves of the same company. There were companies of thieves in other counties. The carriers of Ludlow were robbed of 300*l*. A party of twenty clothiers were set upon in Berkshire, but they lost not more than 10*l*. In other places, from Cambridge across the country to Somersetshire, were similar gangs of robbers. In Warwickshire, a robbery was committed on a Mr. Spencer, in his own house, wherein about twenty-four persons were concerned.

There was no regular, speedy, national conveyance for letters. They were sent by such opportunities as offered, or by the carriers of goods. In cases of importance, special couriers were employed. In 1577, the expense of sending lord North's sister in a litter, from Kirtling, near Newmarket, to London, was 37*s*. 9*d*. The expense of a foot post from the same distance, varied from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*.; but the messenger was at least two days on the route: the letter would now be carried for a penny in a few hours!

A large expense was incurred by the numerous communications of the government during the reign of queen Elizabeth, especially with Scotland. There were postmasters at different stations on that line, who were responsible for the forwarding of the despatches. The superscription of the letters is often curious, urging the messenger to use the utmost haste. In his northern correspondence, lord Burghley had the covers regularly marked with the time of the arrival of the messenger at the different post stations. One instance is as follows:—

"To sir Raff Sadler and sir James Crofts, knights

at Barwicke W. Cecill, for liff, liff, liff, 25th of November, at Westminster.

"Received at Styelton, the xxvi day of November, at six of clocke at nite.

"Received at Neverke the xxvii day of November, at ix of the clocke in the morning.

"Received at ——— the xxviii day of November, at ii of the clocke at afternoon.

"Received at Newcastell, the first of December, at xi of the clocke before noon."

A letter now (1841) posted at Westminster at six o'clock on the 25th of November, would reach Newcastle, a distance of 278 miles, early the next day, and this for the cost of one penny; while the speed is likely to be still farther increased, for the letters sent to Lancaster, a distance of 241 miles, by railway, reach that place twenty-one minutes after eight the next morning!

A letter from the council at Greenwich to the earl of Shrewsbury, in May, 1550, has this inscription: "Hast, for thy lyf, post, hast, for thy lyf, post, hast, hast, for thy lyf, hast, hast, hast, for thy lyf, post, hast." This was only to tell the earl to prepare suitable entertainment for the marquis de Mayne, afterwards duke of Guise, who was shortly to pass through the north on his way to Scotland. Such injunctions, as they became more frequent, would by degrees, lose their effect.

MEDICINE.

Medical science and practice were in a very imperfect state, though they had made considerable advances. It is to be apprehended that many persons in this century "died of the doctor," although the practitioners might use their best skill to effect a cure. A minute account is given of the illness and death of the earl of Derby, in 1594, which shows extraordinary medical treatment. Besides rhubarb and manna, and a variety of other drugs, with medical and surgical outward ap-

plications, "his honour took bezoar stone and unicorn's horn." The statement, in conclusion, gives ten reasons, "which caused many to suppose his honour to be bewitched." The third is, that he dreamed he was stabbed; the eighth, that "he fell into a trance twice when he should have taken his physic." The latter may have tended to prolong, rather than to shorten his life!

At Norwich, in 1578, the plague was communicated by the queen's attendants in her progress. During its prevalence, every person coming from an infected house was to carry a white wand, two feet in length, in his hand; and the inscription, "Lord, have mercy on us," was written over the door of every infected house.

Lord Burghley was often afflicted with the gout, numerous remedies were recommended, amongst them were medicated slippers, oil of stag's blood, and tincture of gold. The latter remedy seems to have proceeded from some alchymist, which was almost the only form in which chemical researches were then pursued. The objects principally sought were two; the transmuting of baser metals into gold, and the producing an elixir which would prolong life, if it did not quite prevent death. In 1574, a plan for transmuting iron into copper and quicksilver, was urged so plausibly upon the government, that a corporation was formed for the purpose, and several leading men about the queen subscribed a capital to carry on the undertaking. It proved a mere delusion. One of the principal persons concerned, was sir Thomas Smith, of whom Strype says, "As chymistry is but an handmaid of physic, and usually accompanieth it; so he was as well skilled in that art also, and had apartments in his house for his skill and laboratories, which were going to his greate cost; but especially in labouring to transmute coarser metals into those of more fineness and greater value." But sir Thomas, when he had bought experience, said of alchymists, "Trust little to the words, and

promises, and accounts of men of that faculty. Fain they would be fingering of money ; but when it is once in their hands, we must seek it in the ashes."

Magnetism and electricity were known ; the former was practically employed in the mariner's compass, but no farther use was made of either discovery. Skill in astronomy and mathematics frequently led to surgical studies, as in the case of Dr. John Dee, who was consulted even by the queen and her chief courtiers.

Cristofer Langton, writing on "physyche," did not hesitate to personify physic as addressing the physicians of that day in severe terms, "Whereas, before I was authour of helthe to everye man sekyng for me ; now I am not only a commune murtherer and a commune thefe, but also a mayntayner of parricides," etc.

There were many who wrote rules for health, often ridiculous, sometimes mischievous. Sir Thomas Eliot speaks of colds as being only lately known in England. He rightly disapproves of the warm coverings for the head, then used, so that even boys and young men wore two caps. Another physician laments the increase of witchcraft, which he considers more dangerous than the plague. But at the close of this century, Reginald Scot published the "Discovery of Witchcraft," which did much to meet the foolish ideas on this subject. He relates many amusing stories of imposition and credulity ; among the cheats was one who confessed that her conjuration to restore health was muttering these words over the sick :

" Thy loaf in my hand,
And thy penny in my purse,
Thou art never the better,
And I am never the worse."

LAWS AND CONSTITUTION.

It is not intended to enter far into this subject here ; reference has frequently been made thereto in the preceding pages. The principal feature to notice, is the decline of the feudal powers and customs, and a greater

attention to the forms of legal proceedings. The royal prerogative was strongly asserted, and became almost absolute, during the reigns of the house of Tudor; but it is important to remark, that this was usually administered under the forms of legal proceedings. Henry VII., as well as the succeeding monarchs, humbled many by process of law. An instance of this appears in the "Plumpton Correspondence." Empson caused legal proceedings to be instituted against sir Robert Plumpton, who had been knighted by Richard III., and put into possession of his estate by an award of that monarch. As there was an opening to raise a legal question to his title, this was done. The first warning was in May, 1501, when Plumpton was cautioned that Empson was taking means to secure favourable jurors. We cannot go through all the proceedings, but, a verdict being given against him, sir Robert determined to keep possession of his "place" by force, and wrote immediately to his wife, to lay in provisions and prepare accordingly. He was not driven to this extremity, but had to attend farther proceedings in London. His wife, the granddaughter of an earl of Westmoreland, wrote in most despairing terms of their circumstances; she sent to borrow money by her husband's directions; but the answer was, "He hath it not to len;" "as for wood, there is none that will bey, for they know ye want money—tha will bey none without they have timmer tres, and will give nothings for them." Nor could a purchaser be found for land, "and your lenten stoufe is to bey, and I wote not what to do." She had not money to purchase the salt fish, then the only food allowed in Lent. She adds, "Sir, for God's sake, take an end, for we are brought to begger staffe, for ye have not to defend them withall; sir, I send you my mare, and iiij*s.* iiij*d.* by the bearer hereof, and I pray you send me word as sone as ye may."

The difficulties of sir Robert Plumpton increased; on the death of Henry VII., he lost the protection from arrest, which he enjoyed as a nominal servant of that

monarch, and was imprisoned in "the counter in the Paistres," where he "paid for every maile of meate" *iiijd.* for himself, and *iid.* for his servant. His wife soon after came to share his imprisonment. The disgrace and death of Empson, however, changed the circumstances of the suit, and a compromise was effected with the other parties, the particulars of which need not be noticed.

During the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the same employment of legal proceedings was common. If a person suffered for political causes, it was under a process for high treason, accounted regular at that day. If a nobleman was to be humbled, it was by a prosecution under some obscure or obsolete statute, which, if in any way abated, was so by the exercise of the royal prerogative.

The humbling of the aristocracy, though for a time it was effected by the prerogative, gave additional strength to the commonalty. The house of commons was more attentive to its privileges, and more inclined to assert them; and the personal character and interference of the monarch alone kept down the rising spirit of liberty. Yet the house of commons always retained the power of taxation: this was a right upon which Elizabeth did not infringe; the attempt to do so by weaker monarchs was successfully resisted. This independence of the commons increased in strength, as the wealth of the middle classes increased; and herein the peaceful policy of Elizabeth did much for the advantage of her subjects.

Even the complaints of crime, at the close of this century, indicate the increased wealth of the people at large: they were rather crimes against property than against the person. Fleetwood, the recorder of London, states his having taken in one day, "seventy-four roogs, whereof some were blynd, and yet great usurers, and very riche." He also mentions "an alehouse neere Byllingesgate," where there was "a schole house sett upp to learne younge boyes to cutt purses." He says

they conferred the degrees of "a publique ffoyster, and a judiciall nypper." In the description of England, in Hollinshead's Chronicles, are the names of twenty-three sorts of idle vagabonds, beginning with "rufflers," and ending with "walking mortes and kinchen coves."

The administration of justice improved, though it did not become wholly independent. The judges were removable at the pleasure of the monarch; and they were usually inclined to favour the crown: but there were some decided cases of opposition to the will of the monarch, as in the cases of sir Thomas More and judge Hales. There were also instances of corruption and undue favouritism: of this evil, Latimer spoke openly, and in strong condemnatory language, when pleading before Edward VI., charging that monarch solemnly to look to it.

Fleetwood complained of retainers of the court, who when they had done amiss, and were complained of, "they then runne unto me, and no othere excuse or answere can they make, but saye, 'I am a jyntylman, and being a jyntylman I am not thus to be used as a slave, and a colions handes.'" The reports of this active and worthy official are very amusing.

An account of the prisoners in the Tower, in the reign of Edward VI., shows how the process of law was subject to the royal prerogative. The duke of Norfolk had been confined ten years; Edward Courtenay twelve. Two prisoners had been pardoned; but the bill for their pardon was "steyde by the lorde chanceler. Robert Allen hath bene there twelve monethes and more, for matters of astronomie, and suspicions of calculation." Another was imprisoned "for suspicion of imbecillynge of certeyn jewels and money" of the duchess of Somerset. Still all this was preferable to the murderous atrocities of the feudal times. On the subject of law, as well as others at this period, England was in a state of transition; much evidently depended upon the course pursued in the next half century.

The nobility had increased, but not much; in 1586,

there was no duke, only one marquess, twenty earls, two viscounts, and forty-three barons. Elizabeth was very reluctant to create peers of the realm. The main policy of the Tudors was to keep down the power of the aristocracy, which had inflicted such evils upon the nation by their contests, during the preceding century. The effort to re-establish this ascendancy troubled the short reign of Edward: similar attempts would no doubt have been made subsequently, had not the sceptre been held by a firm and powerful hand."

EDUCATION.

That onward progress of the mind, which, under the Divine blessing, led to the Reformation in England, caused increased attention to education. The deficiency that prevailed in this respect, immediately before the Reformation, is shown by a plan devised early in the sixteenth century, to discover the writer of a seditious placard. The aldermen of London were to go round their wards, and to require all persons who could write, to do so in their presence, and to compare these specimens of handwriting with the placard. At that time the city of London had more than three times the number of inhabitants it has at the present day. In the country, a still smaller proportion would be able to read and write. The learning then most encouraged, appears from some of the expenses of Henry VII. "To a priest for making a prognostication, 1*l*. To an astronomer for a prognostication, 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. To one that showed quintessentia, in rewarde, 2*l*. To a multiplier, in the Tower of London, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*." At that period, alchemy and fortune telling were the sciences, falsely so called, best rewarded.

The desire to keep the people in ignorance was shown not long before, in 1446, by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London ordaining that there should be "five scholes of gramer and no moo," in the city, and that all others should be discontinued,

although the number of inhabitants at that period was very great. But before the downfall of popery, many became convinced that "for the soul to be without knowledge is not good." Several persons endowed schools, instead of leaving wealth to monastic establishments. Among these was dean Colet, who founded St. Paul's school, in 1510, where Greek was first publicly taught by Lilly. He placed the direction and support of his school under the Mercers' Company, assigning as a reason, the integrity he had observed in the conduct of London merchants. Thus he conveyed a strong though tacit censure upon his own ecclesiastical fraternity, and intimated his apprehension that they would probably ere long be cast down from the authority they usurped, by their claims to be considered as "lords over God's heritage," instead of being "examples to the flock."

After the destruction of the monasteries, the number of public schools was largely increased and endowed. Most of the free schools now existing may be traced to the reign of Elizabeth. Westminster and Merchant Tailors' schools were founded early in her reign. And we are to remember that the instruction directed to be given in the free schools was the best then known; the error has been, that a general principle of allowing real improvements to be introduced under proper authority, has not been established: thus many of the advantages the founders intended to confer, have now been lost or misapplied.

During the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the contrast between the papists and the reformers was especially manifested in regard to education. Gardiner, and other bigoted papists, always threw every impediment in their power, in the way of educating the people. Cranmer, Becon, and others who opposed error, did all they could to promote education. In reference to some schools, established at Canterbury, which the Romanists wished to restrict to the higher classes, the primate said, that "to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, was as

much as to say, that God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace but as men shall appoint them to be employed, according to their fancy, and not according to his will and pleasure." During the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, even the highest offices of state were open to men of all ranks, distinguished for their learning, and many of the brightest ornaments of that day rose from the lower orders. But Cranmer declared, that one great error prevailed in most places of education, namely, undue severity, and corporal correction to a cruel extent. Ascham, in his "Schoolmaster," written about 1563, strongly exposes this error. His remarks are well worthy of attention at the present day; he says, this "system of beating and fear is the cause that commonly the young gentlemen of England go so unwillingly to school, and run so fast to the stable. For in very deed, fond schoolmasters, by fear, do beat them into the hatred for learning; and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They find fear and bondage in schools; they feel liberty and freedom in stables, which causes them utterly to abhor the one, and most gladly to learn the other." A visit to some of the most celebrated of our public schools, even at the present time, would exemplify the truth of this remark.

In the preceding centuries, female education was much neglected, but now it was attended to. Young females of the higher ranks were not only instructed in needlework, music, and other accomplishments, they generally were taught some modern languages, and Latin, and even Greek. Not only were the queens, Mary, Elizabeth, and Mary Stuart, and Jane Grey, thus instructed; all who were considered gentlewomen, received more or less of literary instruction. Lady Burleigh, the daughter of sir Thomas Cook, wrote a letter in Greek to the university of Cambridge. Ascham says she spoke that language as fluently as English. Her youngest sister was well skilled in Hebrew. Udal speaks with pleasure of its being "a common thyng to

see young virgins so nowzled and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set al vain pastymes at naught for learning's sake."

Considerable attention was given to penmanship. Edward VI. and his sisters wrote legibly and well. Among the interesting relics of those times, is the copy book of queen Elizabeth when a child : in it is a loose paper on which she tried her pens ; she seems usually to have done so by writing the name of her beloved brother Edward. After receiving the first rudiments of their education, young females, as well as young men, were often placed in some noble family, where they received farther instruction : and while acting as dependents, they were trained in the manners of the age. Literary acquirements did not unfit the females of that day from being generally useful. It was said of the court ladies, "there was in a manner none of them, but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen, with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising."

The classical attainments led to an elaborate display of acquaintance with heathen mythology and fabulous history. Every procession and public exhibition displayed this. The pastrycooks were trained to show their skill in classical devices ; the tapestry on the walls, the pictures and the statues, all had reference to these subjects, of which it may be truly said, "It is hard to touch pitch, and not be defiled."

Elizabeth patronized learning ; her court exemplified this, and it was not altogether of the unprofitable sort just alluded to. Harrison describes every office as having a Bible, or Foxe's Acts, or both, placed in it, besides some histories and chronicles, "to avoid idleness, and to prevent sundry transgressions." The nobility were thereby excited to patronize authors ; Spenser and many others were supported and encouraged. The expenses for the education of the sons of sir William Cavendish, at Eton, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, contain many items illustrative

of that day. A week's charge for food was 5*s.*, two pairs of shoes cost 1*s.* 4*d.*, Esop's fables 4*d.* The whole yearly expense of two boys and their man servant, including clothes, books, and other charges, was 12*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* Parents who have two sons now at Eton, or any other great public school, find the charge increased far beyond the difference in the value of money; while it may be inquired, whether the improvement in the education imparted, has kept pace with the advance of knowledge since that time. In 1514, the expense of a scholar at the university, could be defrayed by five pounds annually: it increased by the end of the century with the general rise in prices. But the fare of what were called poor scholars, was very different from the present day. Lever describes it at Cambridge, about the middle of the century, thus:—"There be divers ther whych rise dayly betwixe foure and fyve of the clock in the mornynge, and from fyve untill syxe of the clocke use commen prayer, wyth an exortacion of God's worde, in a commen chapell; and from syxe unto ten of the clocke, use ever eyther pryvate study or commen lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dinner, whereat they be content with a penye piece of beefe amongst four, havynge a few potage, made of the broth of the same beefe, wyth salte and oatmele, and nothyng elles. After this slender dinner, they be eyther teaching or learninge untill fyve of the clocke in the eveninge, when as they have a supper not much better than theyr dinner. Immediately after the which, they goo, eyther to reasoninge in problems, or unto summe other studye, until it be nine or ten of the clocke; and then beyng without fyre are feyne to walke or runne up and downe haulfe an houre, to get a heate on their fete, when they go to bed. These be mennes, not werye of their paynes, but very sorye to leve theyr studye; and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lacke of necessary exhibicion and relief." At Oxford, some years before, the case according to sir Thomas More, was even worse, he says

that "poore schollers of Oxforde, goe a begginge with bags and wallets, and sing *Salve Regina* at rich men's doores, where for pitie some goode folkes will give their mercifull charitie."

In the reign of queen Mary, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was considered a competent amount for a year's expenses of a young man engaged in the study of the law at the inns of court. But contrast with these accounts of the poor scholar, the expenses of the earl of Essex at Cambridge, in 1577. In one quarter, five pairs of shoes, 5*s.*, and a pair of winter boots, 6*s.* For rushes and dressing the chambers, 4*s.* My lord's commons for the quarter, 54*s.* His lordship's cizinge, 35*s.*; breakfast for the quarter, 23*s.*; meat on fasting nights and times extraordinary, 25*s.*; the laundress for washing, 6*s.* 8*d.* The total of the quarter's charge, 45*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* Expenses of a journey to court, 29*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* Apparel for the same time, 21*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* At the same period, his tutor writes of "his extreme necessitie of apparell," and that there was danger "he shall not only be thrid bare, but ragged."

Ascham, when stating that he did not desire to confine young gentlemen to "the tongues of learning," or that they should be "always poring on a book," gave a list of what he considered gentlemanlike pastimes, which he would have made a part of education, "to ride comely, to run fair at the tilt or ring, to play at all weapons, to shoot fair in bow, and surely in gun, to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim, to dance comely, to sing and play on instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally which be joined with labour, used in open place, and on the daylight, be not only comely and decent, but very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use." Observe, here is no recommendation of idle games of chance, which always lead to gambling. Another extract from Ascham is as applicable to the present time as his own day. "God keep us in his fear, God graft in us the true knowledge of his word, with a

forward will to follow it, and so to bring forth the sweet fruits of it; and then shall he preserve us by his grace, from all manner of terrible days. The remedy of this doth not stand only in making good common laws for the whole realm; but also, and perchance chiefly, in observing private discipline every man carefully in his own house: and namely, if special regard be had to youth, and that not so much in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that which is ill. Therefore, if wise fathers be not aware in weeding from their children ill things and ill company, as they were in grafting them in learning, and providing for them good schoolmasters, what fruit they shall reap of all their cost and care, common experience doth tell."

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

The introduction of printing tended much to fix the English language nearly in its present state. Many extracts from works of the sixteenth century, have already been given: a few may be here added. The first is from Barclay, who wrote his "*Ship of Fools*" in 1508:—

"Who that will followe the graces manyfolde,
Which are in virtue, shall find avancement;
Wherefore ye foles, that in your sinne are bold,
Ensue ye wisdom, and leave your lewde intent,
Wisdom is the way of men most excellent:
Therefore have done, and shortly spede your pace,
To quaint yourself and company with grace."

The next specimen is from Roy, who wrote a severe satire against cardinal Wolsey, about 1526.

"He standeth in the pope's rounge,
Havyng of his bulles a great some,
I trowe, an whoale carte load;
Wherwith men's perses to discharge,
He extendeth his power more large
Then the power of Almighty God.
For whether it be goode or ill,
His pervers mynde he will fulfill,
Supplantynge the trueth by falshod."

Sir Thomas More, a short time before his execution, wrote—

“Ey, flattering fortune, loke thou never so fayre,
Or never so pleasantly begin to smile,
As though thou wouldst my ruine all repayre,
During my life thou shalt me not beguile.
Trust shall I God, to entre in a while,
Hys haven, or heaven, sure and uniforme,
Ever after thy calme, loke I for a storme.”

Sir Thomas Smith, one of the secretaries of state in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, did much to refine and correct the English language. Cheke, Haddon, and Smith, when at Cambridge, about 1542, were considered first-rate masters of the English tongue. Smith was anxious to conform the spelling of words to the sound; and for this purpose, urged some alterations in the alphabet, which he would have increased to twenty-nine letters, but he did not succeed so far as to introduce these innovations. His style was plain and clear, as appears from his orations for and against the queen's marriage, printed by Strype. The following is a sentence from them:—“My masters, say what you will, and call me as it please you, either enemy to strangers, the pattern, or idea, of an old Englishman, home friend, or what you list, I say, and see, that it is England alone that shall make her highness strong; England, and no other, her true patrimony, riches, power, and strength, whereto she must trust; England, her highness's native country alone, being well tilled and governed, shall be better to her majesty, in the end, than all those empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and marshionates; and other rabblements of gay titles, which are but wind and shadows, and makers of cares and costs; which are no profit, but rather hindrance and loss, as at last will be proved, and as you may perceive by these discourses, her predecessors have proved.”

It is unnecessary to multiply specimens. These already given, show that the words, then in use, were nearly

the same as our best and plainest English at the present day. A few words have become obsolete, and some have not now precisely the same meaning as they had three hundred years ago. The chief difference is in the spelling: in the sixteenth century there was no certain rule for the orthography of our language. In the same book, often in the same page, sometimes in the same sentence, the same word will be spelled in different ways; but when given in modern spelling, as in the extract from Smith, there is little appearance of any thing obsolete. To reprint books of this period, and to retain the ancient orthography, does not show how the author wrote, but only how the compositors of the printing offices chose to spell, without the least regard to any regular system.

The encouragement given to classical literature in the reign of queen Elizabeth, led to an affected style being introduced by some writers of that period. It consisted in the use of high-flown metaphorical expressions, interlarded with words from the Latin, Greek, and French languages, so as to be unintelligible to the people in general. Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, in 1548, wrote—"Some nowe adaies, more seeking their own glory then the profit of ye readers, write so French English, and so Latin, that no man, except he be both a Latine man, a French man, and also an English man, shall be able to understand their writing." He then goes on to say, that their readers "haue need of two dictionaries ever by them, one in French, and an other in English." This foppery was ridiculed by all men of sense, when a few years afterwards it was promoted, mainly, by a writer named John Lilly. To converse in this phraseology was called "to speak Euphuism," from the title of a book written by Lilly in this style, called "Euphues and his England." It is a dull story of a young Athenian, who is supposed to have visited England. The following is a specimen: "He caused the sees to breake their boundes, sith men had broke their vowes; and to swell as farre above

their reach, as men had swerved beyond their reason. Then might you see shippes sayle where sheepe fed ; anchors cast where ploughs goe ; fishermen throw their nets where husbandmen sowe their corne ; and fishes throwe their scales where fowles breed their gulles."

This fashion of talking, in far-fetched allusions, and metaphorical antitheses, became so fashionable, that we are told that a lady who spoke not Euphuism, was as little regarded at court as if she could not speak French.

The following rodomontade description of queen Elizabeth doubtless had the best pains of the author. It is given by Barrington in modern orthography :—"Touching the beauty of this prince, her countenance, her majesty, her personage, I cannot think that it may be sufficiently commended, when it cannot be too much marveled at ; so that I am constrained to say, as Praxiteles did when he began to paint Venus and her son, who doubted whether the world could afford colours good enough for two such fair faces ; and I, whether my tongue can yield words to blaze that beauty, the perfection whereof none can imagine ; which, seeing it is so, I must do like those that want a clear sight, who being not able to discern the sun in the sky, are enforced to behold it in the water."

Scott, in one of his historic novels, has introduced a character who speaks "Euphuism ;" but he has caricatured, rather than imitated this style. This is one, among the many instances, in which his novels very much misrepresent facts, characters, and manners.

Among the best writers and poets of this period, may be mentioned sir Thomas More, lord Surrey, Spenser, and several historians. Bacon rather belongs to the next century.

Here may be observed, that English ballads became popular in this century : many are extant, which were written on subjects that interested the public mind. Two singers are incidentally mentioned as having gained twenty shillings a day, by singing ballads at Braintree fair. The term was applied to short pieces

of poetry in general. The Song of Solomon was called the "Ballet of Ballets," in the early English translations of the Bible; nothing irreverent was intended by the use of such a title.

This work may be closed by a specimen from Becon, one of the greatest tract writers of the Reformation. More than forty of his little works were collected, and reprinted under his own superintendence, by Daye, in 1563. They are among the scarcest of the writings of our reformers: very few knew any thing of the writings of this author, till a volume selected from his works was published by the Tract Society, among the writings of the British Reformers: a complete republication of them is very desirable, as they show the real opinions of the leaders of the Reformation on doctrinal and practical matters. Becon was one of Cranmer's chaplains and preachers: the collected edition of his works is dedicated to the prelates of that period.

The extract about to be given, is the conclusion of a tract called the "Praise of Death," which ends the last volume of his works, printed A.D. 1563. It is, "set forth in a dialoge between Manne and Reason." "*Reason.* O Man put the world and al worldly thinges out of thy minde. Sequester thyself fro all carnel affectes. Conforme thy self to y^e will of God. Shew thyself in no poynt disobedient to y^e good pleasure of thy heauenly Father. Be as wel contented to forsake this thy life now, as yⁿ in times past hast bene to enioye it. Consider y^t by the death of the body, yⁿ shalt depart fro a vale of miserye and wretchednes, unto a kingdome ful of al true ioye and perfecte felicitie: fro mortalitie unto immortalitie: fro men and earthy creatures unto glorious aungelles, heauenly spirites, and blessed saintes, where thou shalt no more taste of payne, sorowe, care, miserye," etc.