

plored the terrible and abominable scandals which the untimely enforcement of the rule caused throughout the church, and he urged that the reasons which had led to its introduction not only existed no longer, but had even become arguments for its abrogation. He declared it to be the source of numerous evils, chief among which was promiscuous and unbridled licentiousness, and he added that the already scanty ranks of the priesthood were deprived of the accessions which were so necessary, since men of a religious turn of mind were prevented from taking orders by the universal wickedness which prevailed under the excuse of celibacy, while pious parents kept their sons from entering the church for fear of debauching their morals. On the other hand, those who sought a life of ease and license were attracted to the holy calling which they disgraced. He was even willing to permit marriage in orders, arguing that it was only a question of canon law, in which faith and doctrine were not involved.<sup>1</sup> Wicelius was equally severe in his denunciations of the clerical licentiousness attributable to the rule of celibacy, and concluded his tract by attacking the supineness, blindness, and perversity of the prelates who suffered such foulness to exist everywhere among the priesthood, in contempt of Christ, and to the burdening of their consciences.<sup>2</sup>

It was already evident that both the great objects for which the council of Trent had been assembled were failures; that it would effect as little for the purification of the church as for the reconciliation of the heretics. Maximilian proba-

<sup>1</sup> Quare nimis rigida et intempestiva hujus constitutionis exactione, gravissima et abominanda in ecclesia scandala existisse videmus. Nam causse illæ quibus maiores ad constitutionem hanc faciendam inductos esse diximus, non solum hodie cessarunt, sed etiam in contrarium sunt conversæ. . . . Sunt igitur hujus constitutionis relaxandæ graves causse, primum quod ea manifeste multorum malorum et incommodorum, præsertim quæ vagam et effrenatam libidinem sequuntur, occasionem præbeat. . . . Tertiam causam et quidem præcipuam adfert præsens ecclesiæ status, et idoneorum ministrorum in-

opia. Plerique enim homines docti et pii ad continentie observationem adstringere se nolunt, quum et infirmitatis suæ rationem habeant et exemplis turpitudinum et scelerum, quæ prætextu cœlibatus passim in oculos et aures incurrunt, moveantur. Quo fit ut paucissimi adolescentes pietatis indole præditi ad theologiæ studium se adjungant, aut a piis parentibus ad hoc studium applicentur. —G. Cassandri Consult. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Wicelii Via Regia.—Both these tracts, as far as they relate to celibacy, are given in the appendix to Henke's edition of Calixtus.

bly felt that under these circumstances no one could deny the necessity of such changes as would at least afford a chance of the reformation that could no longer be expected of the Tridentine canons; and in a negotiation with the Bishop of Vintimiglia, papal nuncio at his court, he lost no time in renewing, with increased energy, the effort to obtain the recognition of married priests. After the departure of the nuncio, he addressed, in November, 1564, a most pressing demand to Pius IV., in which he declared that the matter brooked no further delay; that throughout Germany, and especially in his dominions, there was the greatest need of proper ministers and pastors; that there was no other measure which would retain them in the Catholic church, from which, day by day, they were withdrawing, principally from this cause. He assured the Holy Father that the danger was constantly increasing, and that he feared a further delay would render even this remedy powerless to prevent the total destruction of the old religion. If only this were granted to the clergy, even as the cup had been communicated to the laity, he hoped for an immediate improvement. The bishops could then exercise their authority over those who at present were beyond their control, as unrecognized by the church; and so thoroughly was this lawless condition of affairs understood that a refuge was sought in his provinces by those disreputable pastors who were banished from the Lutheran states on account of their disorderly lives.<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand and Maximilian were actuated in these persevering efforts not merely by the desire of gratifying the wishes of their people, or of remedying the depravity of the ecclesiastical body. It had been a favorite project with the father, warmly adopted by the son, to heal the differences between the two religions, and to restore to the church its ancient and prosperous unity. In their opinion, and in that of many eminent men, the main obstacle to this was the question of celibacy. It was evidently hopeless to expect this sacrifice of the Lutheran pastors, while numerous members of the Catholic church regarded the change as essential to the

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<sup>1</sup> Goldast. II. 381.

purification of their own establishment. The only mode of effecting so desirable a reconciliation was therefore to persuade the pope to exercise the power of dispensation which the council of Trent had admitted to be inherent in his high office. The spirit of the papal court, however, was that which Pallavicini attributes to the council—that the heretics were to be cut off, and not to be cajoled into returning. Pius IV. himself was not personally averse to the plan so persistently urged upon him, but those around him saw greater dangers in concession than in refusal. De Thou, indeed, says that he was inclined to grant the privilege for the territories of Maximilian, but that Philip II., at the instigation of Cardinal Pacheco, fearing an example so dangerous to his turbulent and excitable subjects in the Netherlands, opposed it strenuously, and sent Don Pedro d'Avila to Rome, who persuaded the pope to elude the demand, by keeping matters in suspense, and by holding out prospects of accommodation destined never to be accomplished.<sup>1</sup>

This is probably not strictly correct. Maximilian's demand had perhaps been rendered more pressing than respectful by the necessity of conciliating his people in view of the war with John of Transylvania and the Turks. Its tone was not relished at Rome, nor could the papacy be expected to listen with as much patience to remonstrances from a prince who had just grasped the reins of power as it had to those of the mature and experienced Ferdinand. The response to Maximilian was therefore of the sharpest. Cardinal Comendone was sent to warn him that any interference with the interests of religion would be visited with the severest penalties; in fact, he was threatened with deprivation of the imperial title, and a convocation of the Catholic princes for the purpose of electing a successor.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> De Thou, Lib. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Struvii Corp. Hist. German. II. 1097.

## XXVII.

### THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

THE abrogation of celibacy in England was a process of far more perplexity and intricacy than in any other country which adopted the Reformation. Perhaps this may be explained by the temperament of the race, whose fierce spirit of independence made them quick to feel and impatient to suffer the manifold evils of the sacerdotal system, while their reverential conservatism rendered them less disposed to adopt a radical cure than their Continental neighbors.

In no country of Europe had the pretensions of the papal power been so resolutely set aside. In no country had ecclesiastical abuses been more earnestly attacked or more persistently held up for popular odium, and the applause which greeted all who boldly denounced the shortcomings of priest and prelate shows how deeply the people felt the evils to which they were exposed. Robert Langlande, the monk of Malvern, was no heretic, yet he could dare to assert—

“Right so out of holi chirche,  
Alle yveles springeth,  
There inparfit preesthode is,  
Prechours and techeris.

• • • • •  
And prechours after silver,  
Executours and sodenes,

Somonours and hir lemmannes ;  
That that with gile was geten,  
Ungraciousliche is despended ;  
So harlotes and hores  
Arn holpe with swiche goodes,  
And Goddes folk, for defaute thereof,  
For-faren and spillen.”<sup>1</sup>

And he boldly prophesied their destruction—

“Right so, ye clerkes,  
For youre coveitise, er longe,  
Shal thei demen *dos ecclesie*,  
And youre pride depose.

Leveth it wel ye bisshopes  
The lordshipe of your londes  
For evere shul ye lese,  
And lyven as *levitici*, etc.”<sup>2</sup>

But while the people greeted these assaults with the keenest pleasure, they were attached to the old observances, and were in no haste to see the predictions of the poet fulfilled. A little sharp persecution was sufficient to suppress all outward

<sup>1</sup> Vision of Piers Ploughman,  
Wright's ed., pp. 300, 303.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 325.

show of Lollardism, and there was no chance in England for the fierce revolutionary enthusiasm of the Taborites.

As the sixteenth century opened, John Colet did good work in disturbing the stagnation of the schools by his contempt for the petrified theological science of the schoolmen. He endeavored to revert to the Scriptures as the sole source of religious belief, while he was unsparing in his denunciations of the corruptions which were as rife in the English church as we have seen them elsewhere. Yet Colet carefully kept within the pale of orthodoxy, and seems never to have entertained the idea that the evils which he deplored were to be attacked save by a renewal of the fruitless iteration of obsolete canons.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, however, his friend and disciple, Sir Thomas More, is the best example of this frame of mind in England's worthiest men, the besetting weakness of which made the Anglican reformation a struggle whose vicissitudes can scarce be said to have even yet reached their final development.

More appreciated thoroughly the short-comings of the church, and permitted his wit to satirize its vices with a freedom which showed the scantiest respect for the sanctity claimed by its hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> Yet when Luther came with his heresies to sweep away all abuses, More's gentle and tender spirit was roused to a vulgarity of vituperation which earned for him a distinguished place among the foul-mouthed polemics of the time, and which is absolutely unfit for translation.<sup>3</sup> As regards ascetic observances his views are manifested in his arguing that by the recent marriages of the Saxon reformers God had proved his signal displeasure, for in the old law true

<sup>1</sup> Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* of 1498, p. 170. London, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in his *Epigrams*, he ridicules the bishops as a class:—

"Tam male cantasti possis ut episcopus esse,  
Tam bene legisti, ut non tamen esse queas.  
Non satis esse putet, si quis vitabit utrumvis,  
Sed fieri si vis præsul, utrumque cave."

T. Mori *Opp.*, p. 249. Francofurti, 1689.

And he addresses a parish priest:—

"Quid faciant fugiantve tui, quo cernere possint,  
Vita potest claro pro speculo esse tua.  
Tantum opus admonitu est, ut te intueantur,  
et ut tu  
Quæ facis, hæc fugiant: quæ fugis, hæc faciant."  
Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Responsio ad Lutherum, passim*: a single specimen will suffice—"furious fraterculum et latrinarium nebulonem cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercorebus cacantem cacatumque relinquere."

Luther was himself a master in theological abuse, but More's admiring biographer, Stapleton, boasts that the German was appalled at the superior vigor of the Englishman, and for the first time in his life he declined further controversy—"magis mutus factus est quam piscis." (*Stapletoni Vit. T. Mori, cap. iv.*)

priests could be joined only to the chastest virgins, while God permitted these false pastors to take to wife none but public strumpets.<sup>1</sup> If he accused Luther of sweeping away the venerable traditions of man and of God,<sup>2</sup> he showed how conscientious was this rigid conservatism when he laid his head upon the block in testimony for the principal creation and bulwark of tradition—the papal supremacy.

A community thus halting between an acute perception of existing evils and a resolute determination not to remove them was exactly in the temper to render the great movement of the sixteenth century as disastrous to themselves as possible. How to meet the inevitable under such conditions was a problem which well might tax the acutest intellect, and Wolsey, whose fate it was to undertake the task, seems to have been inspired with more than his customary audacious ingenuity in seeking the solution.

Wolsey, in 1518, had attempted a systematic reformation in his diocese of York, and had revived the ancient canons punishing concubinage among his priesthood.<sup>3</sup> The results probably showed him the utter inefficiency of the worn-out weapons of discipline. Yet he was too shrewd a statesman not to recognize the necessities of the situation; and, in taking the initiative, he commenced by quietly and indirectly attacking the monastic orders. As a munificent patron of letters, it was natural that he should emulate Merton and Wykeham in founding a college at Oxford; and "Cardinal's College," now Christ Church, became the lever with which to topple over the vast monastic system of England.

The development of the plan was characteristically insidious. By a Bull of April 3d, 1524 (confirmed by Henry, May 10th), Clement VII. authorized him to suppress the priory of St. Frediswood at Oxford, and to remove the monks for the purpose of converting it into a "Collegium Clericorum Seculorum."<sup>4</sup> This was followed by a Bull, dated August 21st of the same year, empowering him as legate to make

<sup>1</sup> Respons. ad Lutherum, Perorat.

It should be borne in mind that this was written after his friend Erasmus had publicly given in his adhesion to marriage as the only remedy for sacerdotal corruption.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Lib. i. cap. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkins, III. 669, 678.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, XIV. 15.

inquisition and reformation in all religious houses throughout the kingdom, to incarcerate and punish the inmates, and to deprive them of their property and privileges, all grants or charters to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup> The real purport of this extraordinary commission is shown by the speedy issue of yet another Bull, dated September 11th, conceding to him the confiscation of monasteries to the amount of 3000 ducats annual rental, for the endowment of his college, and alleging as a reason for the measure that many establishments had not more than five or six inmates.<sup>2</sup>

The affair was now fully in train, and proceeded with accelerating momentum. On the 3d of July, 1525, Henry confirmed the incorporation of the college; his letters-patent of May 1st, 1526, enumerate eighteen monasteries suppressed for its benefit, while other letters of May 10th grant seventy-one churches or rectories for its support, and yet other grants are alluded to as made in letters which have not been preserved.<sup>3</sup> In 1528 these were followed by various other donations of religious houses and manors; and during the same year Wolsey founded another Cardinal's College at Ipswich, which became a fresh source of absorption.<sup>4</sup>

Had Henry VIII. entertained any preconceived design of suppressing the religious houses, his impatient temper would scarcely have allowed him to remain so long a witness of this spoliation without taking his share, and carrying the matter out with his accustomed boldness and disregard of consequences. At length, however, he claimed his portion, and procured from Clement a Bull dated November 2d, 1528, conceding to him, for the benefit of the old foundations of the King's Colleges at Cambridge and Windsor, the suppression of monasteries to the annual value of 8000 ducats.<sup>5</sup> This was followed by another, a few days later, empowering Wol-

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, III. 704.—Bishop Burnet says that Wolsey's design in procuring this Bull was to suppress all monasteries, but that he was persuaded to abandon his purpose on account of opposition and dread of scandals.—Hist. Reform. Vol. I. p. 20 (Ed. 1679).

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, XIV. 24.—Confirmed by the king, January 7, 1525 (Ibid. p. 32).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 155-6, 172-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. pp. 240-44, 250-58.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. pp. 270-1.

sey and Campeggi, co-legates in the affair of Queen Katharine's divorce, to unite to other monasteries all those containing less than twelve inmates—thus suppressing the latter, of which the number was very large.<sup>1</sup> Another Bull of the same date (November 12th) attacked the larger abbeys, which had thus far escaped. It ordered the two cardinals, under request from the king, to inquire into the propriety of suppressing the rich monasteries enjoying over 10,000 ducats per annum, for the purpose of converting them into bishoprics, on the plea that the seventeen sees of the kingdom were insufficient for the spiritual wants of the people.<sup>2</sup> The report of the cardinals apparently seconded the views of Henry, for Clement granted to them, May 29th, 1529, the power of creating and arranging bishoprics at their discretion, and of sacrificing additional monasteries when necessary to provide adequate revenues.<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the monks who had been unceremoniously deprived of their possessions did not in all cases submit without resistance, for the Bull of November 12th, 1528, suppressing the smaller houses, was repeated August 31st, 1529, with the suggestive addition of authority to call in the assistance of the secular arm.<sup>4</sup>

Wolsey was now tottering to his fall. Process against him was commenced on October 9th, 1529, and on the 18th the Great Seal was delivered to More. His power, however, had lasted long enough to break down all the safeguards which had for so many centuries grown around the sacred precincts of ecclesiastical property; and the rich foundations which covered so large a portion of English territory lay defenceless before the cupidity of a despot, who rarely allowed any consideration, human or divine, to interfere with his wishes, whose extravagance rendered him eager to find new sources of supply for an exhausted treasury, and whose temper had been aroused by the active support lent by the preaching friars to the party of Queen Katharine in the affair of the divorce. Yet it is creditable to Henry's self-command that the blow did not fall sooner, although it came at last.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, XIV. 272-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 273-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 291-3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 345-6.



It is not my province to enter into the details of Henry's miserable quarrel with Rome, which, except in its results, is from every point of view one of the most humiliating pages of history. The year 1532 saw the proclamation of the king commanding the support of his subjects in the impending rupture, and the oaths of the bishops promising to receive or publish nothing to his prejudice. The following year his long-protracted divorce from Katharine of Arragon was consummated; the annates were withdrawn from the pope, and Henry assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> In 1535 an obedient Parliament confirmed the acts of the sovereign, and forbade the promulgation of any canons by synods or convocations without his approval. The power of the pope was abolished by proclamation; and Universities and prelates rivalled each other in obsequiously transferring to Henry the reverence due to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

The greater portion of the monasteries, which had already experienced a foretaste of the wrath to come, hastened to proclaim their adhesion to the new theological autocracy, and means not the most gentle were found to persuade the remainder,<sup>3</sup> among which the powerful order of the Franciscans was conspicuous. These refused the oath exacted of them, causing no little trouble, and affording a cover for the intrigues of that large body of the clergy who were dissatisfied with the innovations, but afraid of open opposition.<sup>4</sup> This precipitated the ruin of the monastic orders, which could not, under any circumstances, have been long delayed, and a general visitation was considered the most effective means of encompassing their destruction. It was accordingly ordered in 1535, and as their immorality and neglect of their sacred duties had

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, III. 755-62.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 770-82, 789.—Parliamentary Hist. of England, I. 525. In 1532 Henry had complained to his Parliament that the clergy were but half subjects to him, in consequence of their oaths to the pope, and he desired that some remedy should be found for this state of things (Ibid. p. 519).

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, XIV. 487-527. The severest measures were taken to enforce obedience. The Carthusians of the Charter House, for instance, refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy, wherefore the prior and eleven of his monks were executed at various times between the 27th of April and 4th of August, 1535. (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 40—Camden Soc.)

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, I. 182.

passed almost into a proverb, there was not much difficulty in accumulating evidence to justify the measure. The visitation was commanded to examine into the foundation, title, history, condition of discipline, and number and character of the inmates of all religious houses;<sup>1</sup> and, as might have been expected, the report disclosed a state of affairs which called for the immediate removal of so foul a source of corruption and scandal. The visitors had their work assigned them in advance, and they performed it thoroughly; but we cannot assume that the horrors which they described were the creation of their own invention to gratify the wishes and advance the purposes of their master.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, III. 787.

<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest abbeys visited was that of Langdon. Dr. Leighton, the visitor, suddenly breaking open the abbot's door, found him with his concubine, whose male dress was discovered in a coffer. Leighton's account of this little adventure, "scribullede this Satterday" to his patron Cromwell, is full of humor, showing how thoroughly he enjoyed his success, and how fully he was assured that the Secretary would be gratified by it. (*Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 175.)—"But for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found almost all with child; for the dissoluteness of abbots and the other monks and friars, not only with whores but married women; and for their unnatural lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this nature. The full report of this visitation is lost, yet I have seen an extract of a part of it, concerning 144 houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom."—Burnet, I. 190-1.

The good bishop was not likely to diminish or to palliate what he had read, yet we may readily believe the truth of his assertion, nor can it be assumed that the charges were manufactured, like the accusations against the Templars, for the purpose of exciting odium. The monasteries were

not likely to have improved in morality since Archbishop Morton described a similar condition of affairs some half century earlier; nor is there any reason to imagine them better than their Continental contemporaries, whose lapses we have already seen described by censors of their own faith. A short account of "The Manner of Dissolving the Abbeys," by a contemporary (*Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 112), states the result of the visitation in terms even stronger than those of Burnet; and descriptions of the disorders of special houses are very frequent in the private letters of the visitors and commissioners to Cromwell (*Ibid.* Nos. xvii., xxi., xxiv., xlii., xlv., xlvii., xcvi., &c.), which may be the more readily believed, since they also report favorably of many abbeys as well governed, and of the utmost benefit to their neighborhoods through their generous hospitality and charity. It should be added that, in some districts at least, the morals of the laity were no better than those of the clergy (*Ibid.* No. cxx. p. 243).

Nicander Nucius, who visited England about the year 1545, in relating the suppression of the monastic orders, gives as bad an account of their discipline as Burnet (*Travels*, pp. 68-71—Camden Society, 1841). He is not, of course, an original authority, but as an impartial observer his statements are worthy of notice as reflecting the opinions of society at the time.

A portion of the people were ready and eager to welcome the secularization of the religious houses. Their views and arguments are set forth with more force than elegance in the well-known "Beggars' Petition," which calculates that, besides the tithes, one-third of the kingdom was ecclesiastical property, and that these vast possessions were devoted to the support of a body of men who found their sole serious occupation in destroying the peace of families and corrupting the virtue of women. The economical injury to the commonwealth, and the interference with the royal prerogative of the ecclesiastical system, were argued with much cogency, and the king was entreated to destroy it by the most summary methods.<sup>1</sup> That any one should venture to publish so violent an attack upon the existing church, at a time when punishment so prompt followed all indiscretions of this nature, renders this production peculiarly significant both as to the temper of the educated portion of the people, and the presumed intentions of the king.

<sup>1</sup> As published in the Harleian Miscellany, the Beggars' Petition bears the date of 1538, but internal evidence would assign it to a time anterior to the suppression of the monasteries, and Burnet attributes it to the period under consideration, saying that it was written by Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn, that it took mightily with the public, and that when it was handed to the king by Ann Boleyn, "he lik'd it well, and would not suffer anything to be done to the author" (Hist. Reform. I. 160). Froude, indeed, assigns to it the date of 1528, and states that Wolsey issued a proclamation against it. (Hist. Engl. I. 90.)

The tone of that which was thus equally agreeable to the court and to the city, may be judged from the following extracts, which are by no means the plainest spoken that might be selected.

"§ 13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves by all the sleights they may to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own

child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right-begotten children clean beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order.

"§ 16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three-pence a day, and may have at least twenty-pence a day to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? Who is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve-pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar?

"§ 31. Wherefore, if your grace will set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world, to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour, in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, *Gen. iii.*, to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour; tye these holy, idle thieves to the carts to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they will fall to labour, that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good Christian people would give unto us sore, impotent, miserable people your bedemen."

The visitation produced the desired effect. In 1536, after reading the report, Parliament passed without opposition a bill suppressing, for the benefit of the crown, all monasteries with less than twelve inmates or possessing a revenue under £200 per annum. Three hundred and seventy-six houses were swept away by this act, and the "Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue" was established to take charge of the lands and goods thus summarily escheated. The rents which thus fell to the king were valued at £32,000 a year, and the movable property at £100,000, while the commissioners were popularly supposed to have been "as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the king's revenue." Stokesley, Bishop of London, remarked, concerning the transaction, that "these lesser houses were as thorns soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied old oaks, yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom before many years were passed." But Stokesley, however true a prophet in the general scope of his observation, was mistaken as to the extreme facility of eradicating the humble thorns. The country was not as easily reconciled to the change as the versatile, more intelligent, and less reverent inhabitants of the cities. Henry, unluckily, had not abrogated Purgatory by proclamation, and thousands were struck with dread as to the future prospects of themselves and their dearest kindred, when there should be few to offer the sacrifice of the mass for the benefit of departed souls. The traveller and the mendicant, too, missed the ever open door and the coarse but abundant fare, which smoothed the path of the humble wayfarer. Discontent spread widely, and was soon manifested openly. To meet this, most of the lands were sold at a very moderate price to the neighboring gentry, under condition of exercising free hospitality, to supply the wants of those who had hitherto been dependent on conventual charity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, I. 193-4, 222-4;—Parl. Hist. I. 526-7. To our modern notions, there is something inexpressibly disgusting in the openness with which bribes were tendered to Cromwell by those who were eager to obtain grants

of abbey lands (Suppression of Monasteries, *passim*). On the other hand, the abbots and abbesses who feared for their houses had as little scruple in offering him large sums for his protection. Thus the good Bishop Lati-

The plan was only partially successful, and soon another element of trouble made itself apparent. Of the monks whose houses were suppressed, those who desired to continue a monastic life were transferred to the larger foundations, while the rest took "capacities,"<sup>1</sup> under promise of a reasonable allowance for their journey home. They received only forty shillings and a gown, and with this slender provision it was estimated that about ten thousand were turned adrift upon the world, in which their previous life had incapacitated them from earning a support. The result is visible in the act for the punishment of "sturdy vagabonds and beggars," passed by Parliament in this same year, inflicting a graduated scale of penalties, of which hanging was that threatened for a third offence.<sup>2</sup>

This was a dangerous addition to society when discontent was smouldering and ready to burst into flame. The result was soon apparent. After harvest-time great disturbances convulsed the kingdom. A rising, reported as consisting of twenty thousand men, in Lincolnshire, was put down by the Duke of Suffolk with a heavy force and free promises of pardon. In the North matters were even more serious. The clergy there were less tractable than their southern brethren, and some Injunctions savoring strongly of Protestantism aroused their susceptibilities afresh. Unwilling to submit without a struggle, they held a convocation, in which they denied the royal supremacy and proclaimed their obedience to the pope. This was rank rebellion, especially as Paul III., on the 30th of August, 1535, had issued his Bull of excom-

mer renders himself the intermediary (Dec. 16th, 1536) of an offer from the Prior of Great Malvern of 500 marks to the king and 200 to Cromwell to preserve that foundation; while the Abbot of Peterboro' tendered the enormous sum of 2500 marks to the king and £300 to Cromwell (Ibid. 150, 179). The liberal disposition of the latter seems to have made an impression, for, though he could not save his abbey, he was appointed the first Bishop of Peterboro'—a see erected upon the ruins of the house.

lytyll serves withowtt ther capacityes. The bischoyppys and curettes be very hard to them, withowtt they have ther capacityes."—The Bishop of Dover to Cromwell, March 10th, 1538 (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 193). These "capacities" empowered them to perform the functions of secular priests. The good bishop pleads that certain poor monks may obtain them without paying the usual fee.

<sup>2</sup> 27 Henry VIII. c. 25, renewed by 28 Hen. VIII. c. 6.—Parliament. Hist. I. 574.

<sup>1</sup> "They be very pore, and can have

munication against Henry, and self-preservation therefore demanded the immediate suppression of the recalcitrants. They would hardly, indeed, have ventured on assuming a position of such dangerous opposition without the assurance of popular support, nor were their expectations or labors disappointed. The "Pilgrimage of Grace," according to report, soon numbered forty thousand men. Although Skipton and Scarborough bravely resisted a desperate siege, the success of the insurgents at York, Hull, and Pomfret Castle was encouraging, and risings in Lancashire, Durham, and Westmoreland gave to the insurrection an aspect of the most menacing character. Good fortune and skilful strategy, however, saved the Duke of Norfolk and his little army from defeat; the winter was rapidly approaching, and at length a proclamation of general amnesty, issued by the king on the 9th of December, induced a dispersion of the rebels. The year 1537 saw another rising in the North, but this time it only numbered eight thousand men. Repulsed at Carlisle, and cut to pieces by Norfolk, the insurgents were quickly put down, and other disturbances of minor importance were even more readily suppressed.<sup>1</sup>

Strengthened by these triumphs over the disaffected, Henry proceeded, in 1537, to make the acknowledgment of papal authority a crime liable to the penalties of a *præmunire*;<sup>2</sup> and, as resistance was no longer to be dreaded, he commenced to take possession of some of the larger houses. These did not come within the scope of the act of Parliament, and therefore were made the subject of special transactions. The abbots resigned, either from having been implicated in the late insurrections, or feeling that their evil lives would not bear investigation, or doubtless, in many cases, from a clear perception of the doom impending in the near future, which rendered it prudent to make the best terms possible while yet there was time. Thus, in these cases, the monks were generally pensioned with eight marks a year, while some of the abbots secured a revenue of 400 or 500 marks.<sup>3</sup> In an

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, I. 227-34; App. 160.—Wilkins, III. 784, 792, 812.—Rymer, XIV. 549.

<sup>2</sup> 28 Henry VIII. c. 10.—Parl. Hist. I. 533.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, I. 235-7. These pensions were not in all cases secured without difficulty, even after promises had been made and agreements entered into. (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 126.)

agreement which has been preserved, the monks were to receive pensions varying from 53s. 4d. to £4 a year, according to their age.<sup>1</sup> An effectual means of inducing voluntary surrenders was by stopping their source of support, and thus starving them out. Richard, Bishop of Dover, one of the commissioners in Wales, writes to Cromwell, May 23d, 1538: "I thinke before the yere be owt ther schall be very fewe howsis abill to lyve, but schall be glade to giffe up their howseis and provide for them selvys otherwise, for their thei schall have no living." In anticipation of the impending doom, many of the abbots and priors had sold everything that was salable, from lands and leases down to spits and kitchen utensils, leaving their houses completely denuded. The letters of the commissioners are full of complaints respecting this sharp practice, and of their efforts to trace the property. Another mode of compelling surrenders was by threatening the strict enforcement of the rules of the order. Thus, in the official report of the surrender of the Austin friars of Gloucester, we find the alternative given them, when "the seyd freeres seyed . . . as the worlde ys nowe they war not abull to kepe them and leffe in ther howseys, wherfore voluntarily they gaffe ther howseys into the vesytors handes to the kynges use. The vesytor seyde to them, 'thynke nott, nor hereafter reportt nott, that ye be suppressedyd, for I have noo such auctoryte to suppressse yow, but only to reforme yow, wherfor yf ye woll be reformeyd, accordeyng to good order, ye may contynew for all me.' They seyde they war nott abull to contynew," whereupon they were ejected.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1538 the work proceeded with increased rapidity, no less than 158 surrenders of the larger houses being enrolled. Many of the abbots were attainted of treason and executed, and the abbey lands forfeited. Means not of the nicest kind were taken to increase the disrepute of the monastic orders, and they retaliated in the same way. Thus, the Abbot of Crossed-Friars, in London, was surprised in the day time with a woman under the worst possible circumstances, giving rise

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<sup>1</sup> Suppression of Monasteries, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 194, 203.

to a lawsuit more curious than decent;<sup>1</sup> while, on the other hand, the Abbess of Chepstow accused Dr. London, one of the visitors, of corrupting her nuns.<sup>2</sup> Public opinion, however, did not move fast enough for the rapacity of those in power, and strenuous exertions were made to stimulate it. All the foul stories that could be found or invented respecting the abbeys were raked together; but these proving insufficient, the impostures concerning relics and images were investigated with great success, and many singular exposures were made which gave the king fresh warrant for his arbitrary measures, and placed the religious houses in a more defenceless position than ever.<sup>3</sup>

Despite all this, in the session of 1539 all the twenty-eight parliamentary abbots had their writs, and no less than twenty sat in the House of Lords.<sup>4</sup> Yet the influence of the court and the progress of public opinion were shown in an act which confirmed the suppressions of the larger houses not embraced

<sup>1</sup> A letter from John Bartelot to Cromwell shows that the abbot purchased secrecy by distributing thirty pounds to those who detected him, and promising them thirty more. This latter sum was subsequently reduced to six pounds, for which the holy man gave his note. This not being paid at maturity, he was sued, when he had the audacity to complain to Cromwell, and to threaten to prosecute the intruders for robbery and force them to return the money paid. Bartelot relates his share in the somewhat questionable transaction with great naïveté, and applies to Cromwell for protection.—*Suppression of Monasteries*, Letter xxv.

<sup>2</sup> This may have been true, for Dr. London was one of the miserable tools who are the fitting representatives of the time. His zeal in suppressing the monasteries was complemented with equal zeal in persecuting Protestants. In 1543 he made himself conspicuous, in conjunction with Gardiner, by having some heretics burned under the provisions of the Six Articles. His eagerness in this good work led him to commit per-

jury, on conviction of which he was pilloried and thrust into the Fleet, where he died.—*Froude, Hist. Engl.* IV. 295-6.

In fact, Henry's capricious despotism rendered it almost impossible that he could be served by men of self-respect and honor.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, I. 238-43.—See also *Froude's Hist. Engl.* III. 285 et seq. During his visitation (Aug. 27th, 1538), the Bishop of Dover writes to Cromwell, "I have Malkow's ere that Peter stroke of, as yt ys wrytyn, and a M. as trewe as that." (*Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 212.) In a report of Dec. 28th, 1538, Dr. London observes, with dry humor, "I have dyvers other propre thinges, as two heddes of seynt Ursula, wich bycause ther ys no maner of sylver abowt them, I reserve tyll I have another hedd of herse, wich I schall fynd in my waye within thees xiiii. days, as I am creadably informyd." (*Ibid.* p. 234.) Nicander Nunciatus (*op. cit.* pp. 51-62) relates some of the stories current at the time of the miracles engineered by the monks to stave off their impending doom.

<sup>4</sup> *Parl. Hist.* I. 535.



in the former act, as well as all that might thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or resigned,<sup>1</sup> and May 9th, 1540, by special enactment the ancient order of the Knights of St. John was broken up, pensions being granted to the grand prior and some of the principal dignitaries.<sup>2</sup> These measures consummated the ruin of the monastic system in England. Henceforth it was altogether at the king's mercy, and his character was not one to temper power with moderation. In 1539 there are upon record fifty-seven surrenders of the great abbeys,<sup>3</sup> and a large number in 1540, the good house of Godstow being the last of the great monasteries to fall. Of the old monastic system this left only the chantries, free chapels, collegiate churches, hospitals, &c., which were gradually absorbed during the succeeding years;<sup>4</sup> until the necessities of the king prompted a sweeping measure for their destruction. Accordingly in 1545 a bill was brought in placing them all at his disposition. There were some indications of opposition, but the king pleaded the expenditures of the French and Scottish wars, and solemnly promised his Parliament "that all should be done for the glory of God and common profit of the realm," whereupon it was passed.<sup>5</sup> It is computed that the number of monasteries suppressed, by these various measures, was 645; of colleges, 90; of chantries and free chapels, 2374; and of hospitals, 110.<sup>6</sup>

A vast amount of property thus passed into the hands of the court. The clear yearly rental of the suppressed houses alone was rated at £131,607 6s. 4d.—an immense sum in those days; but Burnet states that in reality it was almost tenfold that amount.<sup>7</sup> Small as may have been the good effected by these enormous possessions in the hands of the monks, it was

<sup>1</sup> 31 Henry VIII. c. 13 (Parl. Hist. I. 537).

<sup>2</sup> 32 Hen. VIII. c. 24 (Ibid. 543-44).

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, I. 262-3.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, XIV. XV.

<sup>5</sup> 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4 (Parl. Hist. I. 561).

<sup>6</sup> Parl. Hist. I. 537. Such hospitals, chantries, &c., as were spared by

Henry VIII. were speedily swept away, as soon as Edward VI. succeeded to the throne, by the act 1 Edw. VI. c. 14 (Parl. Hist. I. 583).

<sup>7</sup> This may readily be considered no exaggeration. A letter from John Freeman to Cromwell values at £80,000 the lead alone stripped from the dismantled houses (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 290).

even more worthless under the management of its new masters. Henry admitted the heavy responsibility which he assumed in thus seizing the wealth which had been dedicated to pious uses, and he entertained magnificent schemes for devoting it to the public benefit, but his own necessities and the grasping avarice of needy courtiers wrought out a result ridiculously mean. Thus he designed to set aside a rental of £18,000 for the support of eighteen "Byshopprychys to be new made."<sup>1</sup> For this purpose he obtained full power from Parliament in 1539,<sup>2</sup> and in 1540 he established one on the remains of the Abbey of Westminster. Those of Chester, Gloucester, and Peterboro' were established in 1541, and in 1543 those of Oxford and Bristol,<sup>3</sup> and one of them, that of Westminster, was suppressed in 1550, leaving only five as the result. Splendid foundations were promised for institutions of learning, but little was given; a moderate sum was expended in improving the sea-ports, while broad manors and rich farms were granted to favorites at almost nominal prices; and the ill-gotten wealth abstracted from the church disappeared without leaving traces except in the sudden and overgrown fortunes of those gentlemen who were fortunate or prompt enough to make use of the golden opportunity.

If it be asked what became of the "holy idle thieves" and "sturdy loobies" whom the Beggars' Petition so earnestly desired to be thrown upon the world, the answer may be found in the legislation of Edward VI. A poor-law, the commencement of a series which to this day has pressed upon England with ever increasing weight, was enacted in 1552.<sup>4</sup> This tells its own story, but even more suggestive was another bill for the suppression of vagabondage, the provisions of which mark not only the inhumanity of the age, but the magnitude of the evil caused by the violent acts of Henry. Every able-bodied man loitering in any place for three days without working or offering to work was held

<sup>1</sup> Such is the substance of a memorandum in Henry's own hand-writing (Suppression of Monasteries, No. 131, p. 263).

<sup>2</sup> 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9 (Parl. Hist. I. 540).

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, I. 300.

<sup>4</sup> 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 2 (Parl. Hist. I. 596).

to be a vagabond. He was thereupon to be branded on the breast with a letter V, and adjudged as a slave for two years to any one who might bring him for that purpose before a justice of the peace.<sup>1</sup> Such was the ignominious end of the powerful and wealthy monastic orders of England.

The monastic establishments of Ireland shared the same fate. Rymer<sup>2</sup> gives the text of a commission for the suppression of a nunnery of the diocese of Dublin, in 1535. The insubordination of the island, however, rendered it difficult to carry out the suppression everywhere, and finally, in 1541, it was accomplished by virtually granting their lands to the native chieftains. These were good Catholics, but they could not resist the temptation. They joined eagerly in grasping the spoil, and the desirable political object was effected of detaching them, for the time, from the foreign alliances with the Catholic powers which threatened serious evils.<sup>3</sup>

It is a striking proof of Henry's strength of will and intense individuality of character, that, in thus tearing up by the roots the whole system of monachism, he did not yield one jot to the powerful section of his supporters who had pledged themselves to the logical sequence of his acts, the abrogation of sacerdotal celibacy in general. While every reason of policy and statesmanship urged him to grant the privilege of marriage to the secular clergy, whom he forced to transfer to him the allegiance formerly rendered to Rome; while his chief religious advisers at home and his Protestant allies abroad used every endeavor to wring from him this concession, he steadily and persistently refused it to the end, and we can only guess whether his firmness arose from conscientious conviction or from the pride of a controversialist.

Notwithstanding his immovable resolution on this point,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Edw. VI. c. 3.—Parl. Hist. I. 583. —Burnet, II. 45. In 1538 the Bishop of Dover interceded with Cromwell for licenses to enable some ejected friars to abandon their monastic gowns, "For off trewthe ther harttes be clene from the relygyon the more

parte, so they myght change ther cotes, the whyche they be not abull to paye for, for they have no thenge" (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 197).

<sup>2</sup> Fœdera, T. XIV. p. 551.

<sup>3</sup> Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 543.

his power seemed ineffectual to stay the progress of the new ideas. An assembly held by his order in May, 1530, to condemn the heretical doctrines disseminated in certain books, shows how openly the advocates of clerical marriage had promulgated their views while yet Wolsey was prime minister and Henry gloried in the title of Defender of the Faith. Numerous books were denounced in which celibacy was ridiculed, its sanctity disproved, and its evil influences commented upon in the most irreverent manner.<sup>1</sup>

If the reforming polemics were thus bold while Henry was yet orthodox, it may readily be imagined how keenly they watched the progress of his quarrel with the pope, and how loud became their utterances as he gradually threw off his allegiance to Rome and persecuted all who hesitated to follow in his footsteps. He soon showed, however, that he allowed none to precede him, and that all consciences were to be measured by the royal ell-wand. Thus his proceedings against the Franciscans in 1534 were varied by a proclamation directed against seditious books and priestly marriages. It seems that some unions had taken place, and all who had committed the indiscretion were deprived of their functions and reduced to the laity, though the marriages seem to have been recognized as valid. Future transgressions, moreover, were threatened

<sup>1</sup> Thus "An Exposition into the seventh Chapitre of the firste Epistle to the Corinthians" seems to have been almost entirely devoted to an argument against celibacy, adducing all manner of reasons derived from nature, morality, necessity, and Scripture, and describing forcibly the evils arising from the rule. The author does not hesitate to declare that "Matrimony is as golde, the spirituall estates as dung," and the tenor of his writings may be understood from his triumphant exclamation, after insisting that all the Apostles and their immediate successors were married—"Seeing that ye chose not married men to bishoppes, other Criste must be a foole or unrighteous which so did chose, or you anticristis and deceyvers."

The "Sum of Scripture" was more

moderate in its expressions. "Yf a man vowe to lyve chaste and in povertie in a monasterie, than yf he perceyve that in the monastery he lyveth woorse than he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leve the cloyster and breke his vowe without synne."

The "Obedience of a Cristen Man" is most uncompromising. "Oportet presbyterum ducere uxorem duas ob causas." . . . "If thou bind thy self to chastitie to obteyn that which Criste purchased for the, surely soo art thou an infidele."

The "Revelation of Anticriste" carries the war into the enemy's territory in a fashion somewhat savage. "Keping of virginite and chastite of religion is a devellishe thinge." (Wilkins, III. 728-34.)

with the royal indignation and further punishment—words of serious import at such a time and under such a monarch.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of all this, the chief advisers of Henry did not scruple to connive at infractions of the proclamation. Both Cranmer and Cromwell favored the Reformation; the former was himself secretly married, and the latter, though, as a layman, without any such personal motive, was disposed to relax the strictness of the rule of celibacy. During the visitation of the monasteries, for instance, the Abbot of Walden had little hesitation in confessing to Ap Rice, the visitor, that he was secretly married, and asked to be secured from molestation. The confidence thus manifested in the friendly disposition of the vicar-general was satisfactorily responded to. Cromwell replied, merely warning him to “use his remedy” without, if possible, causing scandal.<sup>2</sup> A singular petition, addressed to him in 1536 by the secular clergy of the diocese of Bangor, illustrates forcibly both the confidence felt in his intentions, and the necessity of the Abbot of Walden’s

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, III. 778.—Bishop Wilkins also prints (III. 696) from Harmer’s “Specimen of Errors” this proclamation, with unimportant variations, as “given this 16th day of November, in the 13th year of our reign,” which would place it in 1521. It is impossible, however, at a time when even the Lutherans of Saxony had scarcely ventured on the innovation, that in England priestly marriage could already have become as common as the proclamation shows it to be. The bull of Leo X., thanking Henry for his refutation of Luther, was dated Nov. 4th, 1521, and we may be sure that the king’s zeal for the faith would at such a moment have prompted him to much more stringent measures of repression, if he had ventured, at that epoch, to invade the sacred precincts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—a thing he would have been by no means likely to do. While hesitating, therefore, to call in question Bishop Wilkins’s critical acumen, I cannot but regard the proclamation of 1521 as apocryphal.

For the same reasons I have been forced to reject a discussion in con-

vocation of the same year (Wilkins, III. 697), in which the question of sacerdotal marriage was decided triumphantly in the affirmative. The proceedings are evidently those of Dec. 1547, in the first year of Edward VI.

<sup>2</sup> MS. State Paper Office (Froude, III. 65). Ap Rice’s report to Cromwell is sufficiently suggestive as to the interior life of the monastic orders to deserve transcription. “As we were of late at Walden, the abbot there being a man of good learning and right sincere judgment, as I examined him alone, showed me secretly, upon stipulation of silence, but only unto you as our judge, that he had contracted matrimony with a certain woman secretly, having present thereat but one trusty witness; because he, not being able, as he said, to contain, though he could not be suffered by the laws of man, saw he might do it lawfully by the laws of God; and for the avoiding of more inconvenience, which before he was provoked unto, he did thus, having confidence in you that this act should not be anything prejudicial unto him.”

“remedy” in the fearful state of immorality which prevailed. There had been a visitation in which the petitioners admit that many of them had been found in fault, and as their women had been consequently taken away, they pray the vicar-general to devise some means by which their consorts may be restored. They do not venture to ask directly for marriage, but decency forbids the supposition that they could openly request Cromwell to authorize a system of concubinage. Nothing can be more humiliating than their confession of the relations existing between themselves, as ministers of Christ, and the flocks intrusted to their spiritual care. After pleading that without women they cannot keep house and exercise hospitality, they add: “We ourselves shall be driven to seek our living at ale-houses and taverns, for mansions upon the benefices and vicarages we have none. *And as for gentlemen and substantial honest men, for fear of inconvenience, knowing our frailty and accustomed liberty, they will in nowise board us in their houses.*”<sup>1</sup>

There appears, indeed, about this period, to have been great uncertainty in the public mind respecting the state of the law and the king’s intentions. Two letters happen to have been preserved, written within a few days of each other, in June, 1537, to Cromwell, which reveal the condition of opinion at the time. One of these complains that the vicar of Mendelsham, in Suffolk, has brought home a wife and children, whom he claims to be lawfully his own, and that it is permitted by the king. Although “thys acte by hym done is in thys countre a monstre, and many do growdge at it,” yet, not knowing the king’s pleasure, no proceedings can be had, and appeal is therefore made for authority to prosecute, lest “hys ensample wponnyched shall be occacion for other carnall evyll dysposed prestes to do in lyke maner.” The other letter is from

<sup>1</sup> MS. State Paper Office (Froude, III. 372). The tendencies thus exhibited by the king’s advisers called forth the remonstrances of the conservatives. In June, 1536, the lower house of convocation presented a memorial inveighing strongly against the progress of heresy, and among the obnoxious opinions condemned was

“that priests were like other men, and might marry and have wives like other men.” A special charge against Cromwell was that these heretical doctrines were openly advocated in books printed “cum privilegio,” thus having the apparent sanction of the crown. (Ibid. pp. 64-5.)

an unfortunate priest who had recently married, supposing it to be lawful. The "noyse of the peopull," however, had just informed him that a royal order had commanded the separation of such unions, and he had at once sent his wife to her friends, threescore miles away. He therefore hastens to make his peace, protesting that he had sinned through ignorance, though he makes bold to argue that "yf the kyngys grace could have founde yt lauffull that prestys mught have byn maryd, they wold have byn to the crowne dubbyll and dubbyll faythefull; furste in love, secondly for fere that the byschoppe of Rome schuld sette yn hys powre unto ther desolacyon."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the influences with which he was thus surrounded, Henry sternly adhered to the position which he had assumed.<sup>2</sup> When, in 1538, the princes of the Schmalcaldic League offered to place him at its head, and even to alter, if possible, the Augsburg Confession so as to make it a common basis of union for all the elements of opposition to Rome, Henry was well inclined to obtain the political advantages of the position tendered him, but hesitated to accept it until all doctrinal questions should be settled. The three points on which the Germans insisted were the communion in both elements, the worship in the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the clergy. Henry was firm, and the ambassadors of the League spent two months in conferences with the English

<sup>1</sup> Suppression of Monasteries, pp. 160-1. It is evident from these letters that there was still a genuine popular antipathy to clerical marriage, and yet that the royal supremacy was so firmly established by Henry's ruthless persecutions that this antipathy was held subject to the pleasure of the court, and could at any moment have been dissipated by proclamation. In fact, the only wonder is that any convictions remained in the minds of those who had seen the objects of their profoundest veneration made the sport of avarice and derision. Stately churches torn to pieces, the stone sold to sacrilegious builders, the lead put up at auction to the highest bidder,

the consecrated bells cast into cannon, the sacred vessels melted down, the holy relics snatched from the shrines and treated as old bones and offal, the venerated images burned at Smithfield—all this could have left little sentiment of respect for worn-out religious observances in those who watched and saw the sacrilege remain unpunished.

<sup>2</sup> He made one exception. Nuns professed before the age of 21 were at liberty to marry after the dissolution of their houses, whereat, according to Dr. London, they "be wonderfull gladde . . . and do pray right hartely for the kinges majestie." (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 214.)

bishops and doctors without result. On their departure (August 5th, 1538), they addressed him a letter arguing the subjects in debate—the refusal of the cup, private masses, and sacerdotal celibacy—to which Henry replied at some length, defending his position on these topics with no little skill and dexterity, and refusing his assent finally.<sup>1</sup> The reformers, however, did not yet despair, and the royal preachers even ventured occasionally to debate the propriety of clerical marriage freely before him in their sermons, but in vain.<sup>2</sup> An epistle which Melancthon addressed him in April, 1539, arguing the same questions again, had no better effect.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding any seeming hesitation, Henry's mind was fully made up, and the consequences of endeavoring to persuade him against his prejudices soon became apparent. Confirmed in his opinions, he proceeded to enforce them upon his subjects in the most peremptory manner, "for though on all other points he had set up the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession," yet on these he had committed himself as a controversialist, and the worst passions of polemical authorship—the true "odium theologicum"—acting through his irresponsible despotism, rendered him the cruellest of persecutors. But a few weeks after receiving the letter of Melancthon, he answered it in his own savage fashion.

In May a new parliament met, chosen under great excitement, for the people were inflamed on the subject of religion, and animosities ran high. The principal object of the session was known to be a settlement of the national church, and as the reformers were as yet in a minority against the court, the temper of the Houses was not likely to be encouraging for them.<sup>4</sup> On the 5th of May, a week after its assembling, a committee was appointed, at the king's request,

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, I. 254–55; Append. 332, 347.

<sup>2</sup> "Nothing has yet been settled concerning the marriage of the clergy, although some persons have very freely preached before the king upon the subject."—John Butler to Conrad Pellican (Froude, III. 382).

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, I. Append. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Yet the moderate party ventured to submit to parliament "A Device for extirpating Heresies among the People," among the suggestions of which was a bill for abolishing ecclesiastical celibacy, legalizing all existing marriages, and permitting the clergy in general "to have wives and work for their living."—Rolls House MS. (Froude, III. 381).



to take into consideration the differences of religious opinion. On the 16th, the Duke of Norfolk, who was not a member of the committee, reported that no agreement could be arrived at, and he therefore laid before the House of Lords, for full discussion, articles embracing—1st. Transubstantiation; 2d. Communion in both kinds; 3d. Vows of Chastity; 4th. Private Masses; 5th. Sacerdotal Marriages; and 6th. Auricular Confession. Cranmer opposed them stoutly, arguing against them for three days, and especially endeavoring to controvert the third and fifth, which enjoined celibacy, but his efforts and those of his friends were vain, when pitted against the known wishes of the king, who himself took an active part in the debate, and argued in favor of the articles with much vigor. Under such circumstances, the adoption of the Six Articles was a foregone conclusion. On the 30th of May the chancellor reported that the House had agreed upon them, and that it was the king's pleasure "that some penal statute should be enacted to compel all his subjects who were in any way dissenters or contradicters of these articles to obey them." The framing of such a bill was intrusted to two committees, one under the lead of Cranmer, the other under that of the Archbishop of York, and they were instructed to lay their respective plans before the king within forty-eight hours. Of course the report of the Archbishop of York was adopted. Introduced on the 7th of June, Cranmer again resisted it gallantly, but it passed both Houses by the 14th, and received the royal assent on the 28th. It was entitled "An Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion," and it stands as a monument of the cruel legislation of a barbarous age. The Third Article was "that Priests after the order of Priesthood might not marry by the Law of God;" the Fourth, "that Vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God," and those who obstinately preached or disputed against them were adjudged felons, to suffer death without benefit of clergy. Any opposition, either in word or writing, subjected the offender to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and a repetition of the offence constituted a felony, to be expiated with the life of the culprit. Priestly marriages were declared void, and a

priest persisting in living with his wife was to be executed as a felon. Concubinage was punishable with deprivation of benefice and property, and imprisonment, for a first offence; a second lapse was visited with a felon's death, while in all cases the wife or concubine shared the fate of her partner in guilt. Quarterly sessions were provided, to be held by the bishops and other commissioners appointed by the king, for the purpose of enforcing these laws, and the accused were entitled to trial by jury.<sup>1</sup> Vows of chastity were only binding on those who had taken them of their own free will when over twenty-one years of age.<sup>2</sup> According to the Act, the wives of priests were to be put away by June 24th, but on that day, as the act was not yet signed, an order was mercifully made extending the time to July 12th.<sup>3</sup>

Cranmer argued, reasonably enough, that it was a great hardship, in the case of the ejected monks, to insist on the observance of the vow of chastity, when those of poverty and obedience were dispensed with, and when the unfortunates had been forcibly deprived of all the advantages, safeguards, and protection of monastic life.<sup>4</sup> The matter, however, was not decided by reason, but by the whimsical perversity of a self-opinionated man, who, unfortunately, had the power to condense his polemical notions in the blood of his subjects.

To comprehend the full iniquity of this savage measure we must remember the rapid progress which the new opinions had been making in England for twenty years; the tacit encouragement given them by the suppression of the religious

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, I. 258-9. Mr. Froude endeavors to relieve Henry of the responsibility of this measure, and quotes Melancthon to show that its cruelty is attributable to Gardiner (Hist. Engl. III. 395). He admits, however, that the bill as passed differs but slightly from that presented by the king himself, with whom the committee which framed it must have acted in concert. According to Strype, "had not the king come himself in person into the parliament house, it would not have passed."—Parl. Hist. I. 536-40.

<sup>2</sup> 31 Henry VIII. c. 6 (Parl. Hist. loc. cit.).

<sup>3</sup> Parl. Hist. I. 540.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. London chronicles the troubles of this class. "I perceyve many of the other sortt, monkes and chanons, whiche be yonge lustie men, allways fatt fedde, lyving in ydelnes and at rest, be sore perplexide that now being prestes they may nott retorn and marye." (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 215.)

Nicander Nucius asserts that many did marry openly—"ἄλλους δὲ γυναῖκας ἐνόμως συνεύουσι εἰσαγομένους." (Op. cit. p. 71.)

houses, and by the influence of the king's confidential advisers; and the hopes naturally excited by Henry's quarrel with Rome and negotiations with the League of Schmalcalden. In spite, therefore, of the comparatively mild punishments hitherto imposed on priestly marriage, which were no doubt practically almost obsolete, such unions may safely be assumed as numerous. Even Cranmer himself, the primate of Henry's church, was twice married, his second wife, then living, the sister of Osiander, being kept under a decent veil of secrecy in his palace. When, after his fruitless resistance to the Six Articles, the bill was passed, he sent his wife to her friends in Germany, until the death of his master enabled him to bring her back and acknowledge her openly;<sup>1</sup> but vast numbers of unfortunate pastors could not have had the opportunity, and perhaps lacked the self-control, thus to arrange their domestic affairs. Even the gentle Melancthon was moved from his ordinary equanimity, and ventured to address to his royal correspondent a remonstrance expressing his horror of the cruelty which could condemn to the scaffold a man whose sole guilt consisted in not abandoning the wife to whom he had promised fidelity through good and evil, before God and man.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, I. 256-7. It was not until 1543 that he ventured to confess this to the king. (Ibid. p. 328.) At his trial in 1556 his two marriages were one of the points of accusation against him. (Ibid. II. 339.)

Sanders, in commenting upon Cranmer's time-serving disposition, which enabled him to accommodate himself to Henry's capricious opinions, and yet to enter fully into the reformatory ideas predominant under Edward VI., does not fail to satirize his connubial propensities. "Son seul déplaisir estoit de ne pouvoir vivre publiquement avec sa concubine comme avec une femme legitime, ce qu'il sçavoit bien que Henri n'eust pas souffert: de sorte qu'il estoit contraint de la tenir cachée dans son palais, et quand il alloit à la campagne, on la portoit avec luy dans une litière fermée. Après la mort de Henri, il s'affranchoit de ce fâcheux esclavage; la jeunesse d'Edouard et

la protection que Seimer accordoit à toutes sortes de Sectes, luy persuaderent de se plonger dans l'incontinence et dans l'heresie: car il vivoit dans un concubinage public avec sa maîtresse, et il dédia un catechisme à Edouard rempli d'une doctrine fausse et impie."—Hist. du Schisme d'Angleterre (trad. Maucroix, Paris, 1676).

<sup>2</sup> Valde autem miratus sum votum sacerdotum in Anglico decreto etiam arctius adstringi quam votum monachorum, cum canones ipsi tantum eatenus velint obligatum esse presbyterum si sit in ministerio; planeque cohorrui legens hunc articulum, prohibet matrimonia et contracta dissolvit, et addit pœnam capitalem. . . . Quis credat in ecclesia in qua lenitas præcipue erga pios esse debet tantam existere posse sævitiam, ut capitales pœnæ constituentur in homines pios propter conjugium.—Melancthon. Lib. I. Epist. 28.

As might be expected, numerous divorces of married priests followed this Draconian legislation, and these divorces were held good by the act of 1549, which, under Edward VI., granted full liberty in the premises to ecclesiastics.<sup>1</sup> Even Henry, however, began to feel that he had gone too far, and the influence of Cromwell was sufficient to prevent the harshest features of the law from being enforced in all their odious severity, especially as the projected marriage with Ann of Cleves and the alliance with the German Lutherans rendered active persecution in the highest degree impolitic. When the comedy of Henry's fourth marriage culminated in the tragedy of Cromwell's ruin (June, 1540), the reactionary elements again gathered strength. There can be little doubt that the atrocity of the law had greatly interfered with its efficient execution and had aroused popular feeling, for now, although the Vicar-General was removed, the Catholics passed with speedy alacrity a bill moderating the act of the Six Articles, in so far as it related to marriage and concubinage. For capital punishment was substituted the milder penalty of confiscation to the king of all the property and revenue of the offenders.<sup>2</sup>

The Six Articles, as thus modified, remained the law of England during the concluding years of Henry's reign, nor is it likely that any one ventured to urge upon him seriously a relaxation of the principles to which he had committed himself thus definitely. The fall of Cromwell and the danger to which Cranmer was exposed for several years were sufficient to insure him against troublesome remonstrants, even if his increasing irritability and capriciousness had not made those around him daily more alive to the danger of thwarting or resisting his idlest humor.

On the 28th of January, 1547, Henry VIII. died, and Edward VI. succeeded to the perilous throne. Not yet ten years of age, his government of course received its direction from those around him, and the rivalry between the protector

<sup>1</sup> 2-3 Edw. VI. c. 21. (Parl. Hist. I. 586.)

<sup>2</sup> 32 Hen. VIII. c. 10.—Burnet, I. 282.—Parl. Hist. I. 575.

Somerset and the chancellor Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, threw the former into the hands of the progressives, as the latter was the acknowledged head of the reactionary party. The ruin of Southampton and the triumph of Somerset, strengthened by his successful campaign in Scotland, soon began to develop their natural consequences on the religion of the country. Under the auspices of Cranmer, a convocation was assembled which was empowered to decide all questions in controversy. When the primate was anxious to again enjoy the solace of his wife's company and to relieve both her and himself from the stigma of unlawful marriage, it is easy to understand that the subject of celibacy would receive early and appropriate attention. Accordingly, on December 17, 1547, a proposition was submitted to the effect that all canons, statutes, laws, decrees, usages, and customs, interfering with or prohibiting marriage, should be abrogated, and was carried by a vote of 53 to 22. No time was lost. Two days afterwards a bill was introduced in the Commons permitting married men to be priests and to hold benefices. It was received with so much favor that it was read twice the same day, and on the 21st it was sent up to the Lords; but in the Upper House it raised debates so prolonged that, as the members were determined to adjourn before Christmas, it was laid aside. This might be the more readily agreed to, since on the 23d an act was approved which abolished numerous severe laws of the former reign, including the statute of the Six Articles, and was immediately followed by another granting the use of the cup to the laity and prohibiting private masses.<sup>1</sup>

The repeal of the Six Articles left the marriage of the clergy subject to the previous laws of Henry, imposing on it various pains and penalties, but with the votes recorded in convocation and Parliament, it is not likely that much vigor was displayed in their enforcement. Those interested could thus afford to await the reassembling of the Houses, which did not take place until November 24, 1548, but they claimed

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Edw. I. c. 1, 12. (Parl. Hist. I. 582-4.)—Wilkins, IV. 16.—Burnet, II. 40, 41.—Ibid. III. 189.

the reward of their patience by an early hearing in the session. On the 3d of December a bill was introduced, similar to that of the previous year, rendering married men eligible to the priesthood; it passed second reading on the 5th, and third reading on the 6th. Apparently encouraged by the favorable reception accorded to it, the friends of the measure resolved on demanding further privileges. The bill was therefore laid aside, and on the next day a new one was presented which granted the additional liberty of marriage to those already in orders. It conceded to the established opinions the fact that it were better that the clergy should live chaste and single, yet "as great filthiness of living had followed on the laws that compelled chastity and prohibited marriage," therefore all laws and canons inhibiting sacerdotal matrimony should be abolished. This bill, after full discussion, was read a second and third time on the 10th and 12th, and was sent up to the Lords on the 13th. Again the Upper House was in no haste to pass it. It lay on the table until February 9, 1549, when it was stoutly contested, and, after being recommitted, it finally passed on the 19th, with the votes of nine bishops recorded against it.<sup>1</sup>

Cranmer and his friends were now at full liberty to establish the innovation by committing the clergy individually to marriage, and by enlisting the popular feeling in its support. During the discussion they had not been idle. Much controversial writing had occurred on both sides, in which Poinset, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, took an active part, while Bale, Bishop of Ossory, distinguished himself on the same side by raking together all the foul stories that could be collected concerning the celibate clergy of ancient and modern times. Burnet declares that no law passed during the reign of Edward excited more contradiction and censure, and the matrimonialists soon found that even with the act of parliament in their favor, their course was not wholly a smooth one. Cranmer ordered a visitation in his province, and directed as one of the points for inquiry and animadversion

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<sup>1</sup> 2-3 Edw. I. c. 31 (Parl. Hist. I. 586).—Burnet, II. 88-9.

"Whether any do contemn married priests, and, for that they be married, will not receive the communion or other sacraments at their hands,"<sup>1</sup> which distinctly reveals the difficulties encountered in eradicating the convictions of centuries from the popular mind. Sanders says, and with every appearance of probability, that the Archbishop of York united with Cranmer in ordering a visitation of the whole kingdom, during which the visitors investigated particularly the morals of the clergy, and used every argument to impel them to marriage, not only declaring celibacy to be most dangerous to salvation, but intimating that all who adhered to it would be regarded as papists and enemies of the king.<sup>2</sup>

The Reformers speedily found that they were not to escape without opposition. The masses of the people throughout England were in a state of discontent. The vast body of abbey lands acquired by the gentry and now inclosed bore hard upon many; the raising of rents showed that secular landlords were less charitable than the ancient proprietors of the soil; the increase of sheep-husbandry threw many farm laborers out of employ; and the savage enactments, already alluded to, against the unfortunate expelled monks show how large an element of influential disaffection was actively at work in the substratum of society. The priests who disapproved of the rapid Protestantizing process adopted by the court could hardly fail to take advantage of opportunities so tempting, and they accordingly fanned the spark into a flame. The enforcement of the new liturgy, on Whitsunday, 1549, seemed the signal of revolt. Numerous risings took place, which were readily quelled, until one in Devonshire assumed alarming proportions. Ten thousand men in arms made demands for relief in religious as well as temporal matters. Lord Russel, unable to meet them in the field,

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, IV. 26. Wilkins places this in 1547, which is evidently impossible. Burnet (II. 102) alludes to it under 1549, which is much more likely to be correct.

<sup>2</sup> Ils leur conseilloyent donc de se marier de peur de brûler, ou de tomber en des pechez dont la seule pensée fait horreur. Enfin, ils leur declaroient

franchement, Qu'ils tenoient pour Papistes et ennemis du Roy tous ceux qui preferoient un celibat dangereux à un mariage pudique et honneste, principalement ayant devant les yeux, le saint exemple de deux archevêques celebres, qui n'avoient point fait difficulté de se marier.—Sanders, Hist. du Schisme, p. 319.

endeavored to gain time by negotiation, and offered to receive their complaints. These were fifteen in number, of which several demanded the restoration of points of the old religion, and one insisted on the revival of the Six Articles. On their refusal, another set was drawn up, in which not only were the Six Articles called for, but also a special provision enforcing the celibacy of the clergy. This was likewise rejected; but during the delay another rising occurred in Norfolk, reckoned at twenty thousand men, and yet another of less formidable dimensions in Yorkshire. Russel finally scattered the men of Devon, while the Earl of Warwick succeeded in suppressing the rebels of Norfolk, when the promise of an amnesty caused the Yorkshiresmen to disperse.<sup>1</sup>

The question of open resistance thus was settled. Cranmer and his friends had now leisure to consolidate their advantages and organize a system that should be permanent. In 1551, he and Ridley prepared with great care a series of forty-two articles, embodying the faith of the church of England, which was adopted by the convocation in 1552. Burnet speaks of it as bringing the Anglican doctrine and worship to perfection. It remained unaltered during the rest of Edward's reign, and under Elizabeth it was only modified verbally in the recension which resulted in the famous Thirty-nine Articles—the foundation stone of the Episcopalian edifice. Of these forty-two articles, the thirty-first declared that "Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law to vow the estate of a single life or to abstain from marriage."<sup>2</sup>

The canon law had thus invested the marriage of the clergy with all the sanctity that the union of man and wife could possess. Yet still the deep-seated conviction of the people as to the impropriety of such proceedings remained, troubling the repose of those who had entered into matrimony, and doubtless operating as a restraint upon the numbers of the imitators of Cranmer. The act of 1549 had to a certain extent justified these prejudices by admitting the

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, II. 117-9.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, II. Append. 217. In the Latin version, "Episcopis, presbyteris

et diaconis non est mandatum ut celibatum voveant; neque, jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere" (Wilkins, IV. 76).



preferableness of a single life in the ministers of Christ, and it was resolved to remove every possible stigma by a solemn declaration of parliament. A bill was therefore prepared and speedily passed (Feb. 10th, 1552), which reveals how strong was the popular opposition, and how uncertain the position of the wives and children of the clergy. It declares "That many took occasion from the words in the act formerly made about this matter, to say that it was only permitted, as usury and other unlawful things were, for the avoidance of greater evils, who thereupon spoke slanderously of such marriages, and accounted the children begotten in them to be bastards, to the high dishonor of the King and Parliament, and the learned clergy of the Realm, who had determined that the laws against priests' marriages were most unlawful by the law of God; to which they had not only given their assent in the Convocation, but signed it with their hands. These slanders did also occasion that the Word of God was not heard with due reverence." It was therefore enacted "That such marriages made according to the rules prescribed in the Book of Service should be esteemed good and valid, and that the children begot in them should be inheritable according to law."<sup>1</sup>

A still further confirmation of the question was designed in a body of ecclesiastical law which was for several years in preparation by various commissions appointed for the purpose. In this it was proposed to make the abrogation of celibacy not a point of law but a matter of faith, for, in the second Title, among the various heresies condemned is that which denies "the lawfulness of marriage, particularly in the clergy." This work, however, though completed, had not yet received the royal assent, when the death of Edward VI. caused it to pass out of sight.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 12 (Parl. Hist. I. 594).—Burnet, II. 192.

It is curious to observe at the present day the "Ritualistic" portion of the English clergy adopt the same line of argument from the marriage service of the Anglican ritual, and

apply it not only to the priesthood but to the whole body of believers. See "The Church and the World," edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, 2d edition, 1866, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, II. 197.

If the Protestants indulged in any day-dreams as to the permanency of their institutions, they were not long in finding that a change of rulers was destined to cause other changes disastrous to their hopes. Even the funeral of Edward, on the 8th of August, 1553, afforded them a foretaste of what was in store. Although Cranmer insisted that the public ceremonies in Westminster Abbey should be conducted according to the reformed rites, Queen Mary, still resident in the Tower, had private obsequies performed with the Roman ritual, where Gardiner celebrated mortuary mass in presence of the queen and some four hundred attendants. When the incense was carried around after the Gospel, it chanced that the chaplain who bore it was a married man, and the zealous Dr. Weston snatched it from him, exclaiming, "Shamest thou not to do thine office, having a wife as thou hast? The queen will not be censed by such as thou!"<sup>1</sup>

Trifling as was this incident, it foreboded the wrath to come. Though Mary was not crowned until October 1st, she had issued writs for a parliament to assemble on the 10th, and as an entire change in the religious institutions of the country was intended, we may not uncharitably believe the assertion that every means of influence and intimidation was employed to secure the return of reactionary members. These efforts were crowned with complete success. The Houses had not sat for three weeks, when a bill was sent down from the Lords repealing all the acts of Edward's reign concerning religion, and after a debate of six days it passed the Commons.<sup>2</sup>

The effect of this was of course to revive the statute of the Six Articles, and to place all married priests at the mercy of the queen; and as soon as she felt that she could safely exercise her power, she brought it to bear upon the offenders. The Spanish marriage being agreed upon and the resultant insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt being suppressed, Mary recognized her own strength, and her Romanizing tendencies,

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *Hist. Engl.* Vol. VI. pp. 58-9. This story derives additional piquancy from the fact that this Dr.

Weston was subsequently deprived of the Deanery of Windsor for adultery.  
<sup>2</sup> 1 Mary c. 2 (*Parl. Hist.* I. 609-10).  
—Burnet, II. 255.

which had previously been somewhat restrained, became openly manifested. On the 4th of March, 1554, she issued a letter to her bishops, of which the object was to restore the condition of affairs under Henry VIII., except that the royal prerogatives as head of the church were expressly disavowed. It contained eighteen articles, to be strictly enforced throughout all dioceses. Of these the seventh ordered that the bishops should by summary process remove and deprive all priests who should have been married or lived scandalously, sequestrating their revenues during the proceedings. Article VIII. provided that widowers, or those who promised to live in the strictest chastity, be treated with leniency, and receive livings at some distance from their previous abode, being properly supported meanwhile; while Article IX. directed that those who suffered deprivation should not on that account be allowed to live with their wives, and that due punishment should be inflicted for all contumacy.<sup>1</sup>

No time was lost in carrying out these regulations. By the 9th of the same month, a commission was already in session at York, which cited the clergy to appear before it on the 12th. Still more summary were the proceedings commenced against offenders of the highest class, designed and well fitted to strike terror into the hearts of the humbler parsons. On the 16th a commission was issued to the Bishops of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), London (Bonner), Durham, St. Asaphs, Chichester, and Landaff, to investigate the cases of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of St. Davids, Chester, and Bristol, who, according to report, had given a most pernicious example by taking wives, in contempt of God, to the damage of their own souls, and to the scandal of all men. Any three of the commissioners were empowered to summon the accused before them, and to ascertain the truth of the report without legal delays or unnecessary circumlocution. If it were found correct, then they were authorized to remove the offenders at once and forever from their dignities, and also to impose penance at discretion. This was scant measure of justice, considering that the marriage of

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<sup>1</sup> Burnet, II. Append. 264.

these prelates had been contracted under sanction of law, and, if that law had recently been repealed, that at least the option of conforming to the new order of things could not decently be denied; yet even this mockery of a trial was apparently withheld, for the *congé d'élire* for their successors is dated March 18th, only two days after the commission was appointed.<sup>1</sup>

During the summer, the bishops went on their visitations. The articles prepared by Bonner for his diocese are extant, among which we find directions to inquire particularly of the people whether their pastors are married, and, if separated, whether any communication or intercourse takes place between them and their wives; also, whether any one, lay or clerical, ventures to defend sacerdotal matrimony.<sup>2</sup> Few of the weaker brethren could escape an inquisition so searching as this, and though some controversy arose, and a few tracts were printed in defence of priestly marriage, such men as Bonner were not likely to shrink from the thorough prosecution of the work which they had undertaken.

When the convocation assembled in this year, it was therefore to be expected that only orthodox opinions would find expression. Accordingly, the lower House presented to the bishops an humble petition praying for the restoration of the old usages, among the points of which are requests that married priests be forcibly separated from their wives, and that those who endeavor to abandon their order be subjected to special animadversion. This clause shows that many unfortunates preferred to give up their positions and lose the means of livelihood, rather than quit the wives to whom they

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, II. 275 and Append. 256.—Rymer (T. XV. pp. 376-77) gives a similar commission dated March 9th, issued to Stephen Gardiner to eject the canons and prebendaries of Westminster in the same summary manner. The proceedings throughout England were doubtless framed on these models.

<sup>2</sup> Art. 2. Whether your parson, vicar, or any other ministring as priest within your parish, have been or is married or taken for married, not yet

separated from his concubine or woman taken for wife? Or . . . whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaining, supporting, or finding the same, in any wise, to the offence of the people?

Art. 3. Whether there be any person, of what estate, condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the marriage of priests, encouraging or bolding any persons to the defence thereof.—Burnet, II. Append. 260.

had sworn fidelity, demanding, as we shall see, much subsequent conflicting legislation. The social complications resulting from the change of religion are also indicated in the request that married nuns may be divorced, and that the pretended wives of priests have full liberty to marry again.<sup>1</sup>

Everything being thus prepared, the purification of the church from married heretics was prosecuted with vigor. Archbishop Parker states that there were in England some 16,000 clergymen, of whom 12,000 were deprived on this account, many of them most summarily; some on common report, without trial, others without being summoned to appear before their judges, and others again while lying in jail for not obeying the summons. Some renounced their wives, and were yet deprived, while those who were deprived were also, as we have seen, forced to part with their wives. We can readily believe that the most ordinary forms of justice were set aside, in view of the illegal and indecorous haste of the proceedings against the married bishops described above, but Parker's estimate of the number of sufferers is greatly exaggerated. According to Dr. Tanner, in the diocese of Norfolk—then estimated at one-eighth of the whole kingdom—there were only 335 deprivations on this account; and at York, from April 27th to December 20th, 1554, there were only fifty-one ejected.<sup>2</sup> It is probable, therefore, that the list throughout England would not exceed three thousand; yet when to these are added the hosts who no doubt succeeded in retaining their positions by a compliance with the law in quietly putting away their wives,<sup>3</sup> it will be seen that the privilege of marriage had been eagerly improved by the clergy, and that an amount of misery which it would be difficult to calculate was caused by the enforcement of the canons.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, IV. 96-7.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, II. 276, III. 225-6.

<sup>3</sup> A specimen of the form of restitution subscribed by those who were restored on profession of amendment and repentance has been preserved—  
"Whereas . . . I the said Robert do now lament and bewail my life past, and the offence by me committed; intending firmly by God's grace here-

after to lead a pure, chaste, and continent life . . . and do here before my competent judge and ordinary most humbly require absolution of and from all such censures and pains of the laws as by my said offence and ungodly behavior I have incurred and deserved: promising firmly . . . never to return to the said Agnes Staunton as to my wife or concubine, &c."—  
(Wilkins, IV. 104).

All this was done by the royal authority, wielding the ecclesiastical power usurped by Henry VIII. Strictly speaking, it was highly irregular and uncanonical, but as the papal supremacy was yet in abeyance it could be accomplished by no other means. At last, however, the kingdom was ripe for reconciliation with Rome. In calling a parliament, the queen issued a circular letter to the sheriffs commanding them to admonish the people to return members "of the wise, grave, and Catholic sort."<sup>2</sup> Her wishes were fulfilled, and ere the year was out Cardinal Pole was installed with full legatine powers, and Julius III. had issued his Bull of Indulgence, reuniting England to the church from which she had been violently severed.<sup>2</sup> An obedient parliament lost no time in repealing all statutes adverse to the claims of the Holy See, but its subserviency had limits, and one class largely interested in the reforms of Henry had sufficient influence to maintain its heretical rights. The church lands granted or sold to laymen were not revendicated. Though the transactions by which they had been acquired were wholly illegal; though no duration of possession could bar the imprescriptible rights of the church, yet the nobles and country gentlemen enriched by the spoliation were too numerous and powerful, and the reclamation of the kingdom was too important, to incur any peril by unseasonably insisting on reparation for Henry's injustice. The abbatial manors and rich priories, the chantries, hospitals, and colleges were therefore left in the impious hands of those who had been fortunate enough to secure them,<sup>3</sup> and the miserable remnants of the religious orders were left to the conscience of the queen,

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Hist. I. 616.

<sup>2</sup> The Bull is dated December 24, 1554 (Wilkins, IV. 111).—Parliament repealed the attainder of Cardinal Pole, November 22d, and on the 24th he arrived in London as legate (Burnet, II. 291-2).

<sup>3</sup> 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary c. 8. (Parl. Hist. I. 624). The title of the bill shows that, though the Parliament was almost exclusively Catholic, it

was disposed to make its obedience to Rome the price for obtaining confirmation of the abbey lands. "A Bill for repealing all statutes, articles, and provisoes made against the See Apostolique of Rome, since the 20th of Henry VIII., and for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity."—In 1555, a papal Bull was read in parliament, confirming this arrangement. (Ibid. p. 626).

who made haste to get rid of such fragments of the spoil as had been retained by the crown.<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal Pole was not remiss in giving the sanction of the papal authority to all that had been done. Convoking a synod, he issued in 1555 his Legatine Constitutions, by which all marriages of those included in the prohibited orders were declared null and void. Such apostates were ordered to be separated by ecclesiastical censures and by whatever legal processes might be required; all who dared to justify such marriages or to obstinately remain in their unholy bonds were to be rigorously prosecuted and punished according to the ancient canons, which were revived and declared to be in full force in order to prevent similar scandals for the future.<sup>2</sup> As the queen by special warrant had decreed that all canons adopted by synods should have the full effect of laws binding on the clergy, these constitutions at once restored matters to their pristine condition.

It was easy to pass decrees; it was doubtless gratifying to eject married priests by the thousand and to grant their livings to hungry reactionaries or to the crowd of needy churchmen whom Italy had ever ready to supply the spiritual wants and collect the tithes of the faithful. All this was readily accomplished, but the difficulty lay in overcoming the eternal instincts of human nature. The struggle to effect this commenced at once.

It was, indeed, hardly to be expected that those who had entered into matrimony with the full conviction of its sanctity would willingly abandon all intercourse with their wives, although they might yield a forced assent to the pressure of the laws, the prospect of poverty, and the certainty of infamous punishment. Accordingly we find that the necessity at once arose of watching the "reconciled" priests, who continued to do in secret what they could no longer practise openly. Some, indeed, found the restrictions so onerous that they endeavored to release themselves from the bonds of the church rather than to submit longer to the separation from

<sup>1</sup> 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 4. (Parl. Hist. pp. 626-8.)

<sup>2</sup> Card. Poli Constit. Legat. Decret. v. (Wilkins, IV. 800.)

their wives; and this apparently threatened so great a dearth in the ranks of the clergy that Cardinal Pole, as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1556, forbade the withdrawal of any one from the mysteries and functions of the altar, under pain of the law.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding all this legislation, royal, parliamentary, and ecclesiastical, the question refused to settle itself, and the convocation which assembled on the 1st of January, 1557, was obliged to publish an elaborate series of articles, which demonstrated that previous enactments had either not been properly observed or that they had failed in effecting their purpose. Thus the prohibition of marriage to those in priests' orders was formally renewed. Such of the married clergy, who had undergone penance and had been restored, as still persisted in holding intercourse with their separated wives, were to be deprived irrevocably of their office and only to be admitted to lay communion—thus reversing the policy of Cardinal Pole's injunctions. As all priests who had been married were obnoxious to the people, they were to be removed from the priesthood; or, at least, on account of the scarcity of ministers, to act only as curates, and to be incapable of holding benefices until a thorough course of penance should have washed away their sins. Even then, in no case were they to officiate in the dioceses wherein they had been married, but were to be removed to a distance of at least sixty miles, and if detected in any intercourse with their wives, they were to incur severe punishment, a single interchange of words being sufficient to call down the penalty. To insure the observance of these rules, all synods were directed to make special inquiry into the lives of these unfortunates, who were thus to exist under a perpetual surveillance, at the mercy of inimical spies and informers.<sup>2</sup> This may perhaps be considered a moderate expiation for men who, in those

<sup>1</sup> "That none of those priests that were, under the pretence of lawfull matrimony, married, and now reconciled, do privilie resorte to their pretensed wives, or suffer the same to resorte unto them. And that those priests do in no wise henceforth with-

drawe themselves from the mynisterie and office of priesthodde under the paine of the lawes."—Pole's Injunctions in Diocese of Gloucester (Wilkins, IV. 146).

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, IV. 157.



days of fierce religious convictions, possessed that flexibility of faith which enabled them to change their belief with every dynastic accident.

If the rigid rules now introduced were successful in nothing else, they at all events succeeded in restoring the old troubles with the old canons. Denied the lawful gratification of human instincts, the clergy immediately returned to the habits which had acquired for them so much odium in times past, and the rulers of the church at once found themselves embarked in the sempiternal struggle with immorality in all its shapes and disguises. The convocation of 1557, which issued the stringent regulations just quoted, was also obliged to promulgate articles concerning the residence of women with priests, and the punishment of licentiousness, similar to those which we have seen reproduced so regularly for ten centuries. Cardinal Pole, too, in his visitation of the same year, directed inquiries to be made on these points in a manner which shows that they were existing, and not merely anticipated evils.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately for the character of the Anglican clergy, the reign of reaction was short. On the 17th of November, 1558, Queen Mary closed her unhappy life, and Cardinal Pole followed her within sixteen hours. The Marian persecution had been long enough and sharp enough to give to heresy all the attractions of martyrdom, thus increasing its fervor and enlarging its circle of earnest disciples; and the sudden termination of that persecution, before it had time to accomplish its work of extirpation, left the reformers more zealous and dangerous than ever. Heresy had likewise been favored by the discontent of the people arising from the disastrous and expensive war with France, which aided the improvident restoration of the church lands in impoverishing the exchequer and in exacting heavy subsidies from the nation, repaid only by cruelty and misfortune. Dread of Spanish influence also had a firm hold of the imagination of the masses, while the church itself was especially unpopular, as the conviction

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<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, IV. 169.

was general that the ill-success of Mary's administration was attributable to the control exercised by ecclesiastics over the public affairs. Under such auspices, the royal power passed into the hands of a princess who, though by nature leaning to the Catholic faith and disposed to tread in the footsteps of her father, was yet placed by the circumstances of her birth in implacable hostility to Rome, and who held her throne only on the tenure of waging eternal warfare with reaction. The reformers felt that the doom of Catholicism was sealed. Emerging from their hiding-places and hastening back from exile, the religious refugees proceeded at once to practise the rites of Edward VI. Elizabeth, however, after ordering some changes in the Roman observances, forbade, on the 27th of December, all further innovations until the meeting of Parliament, which was convoked for January 23, 1559.

Parliament assembled on the appointed day and sat until the 8th of May. It at once passed acts resuming the ecclesiastical crown lands and restoring the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and it repealed all of Mary's legislation concerning the power of the papacy. Several other bills were adopted modifying the religion of the kingdom, with a view of discovering some middle term which should unite the people in a common form of belief and worship.<sup>1</sup> Anxious to avoid all extremes, it negatived the measures introduced by the ardent friends of the Reformation, and among the unsuccessful attempts was one which restored all priests who had been deprived on account of marriage. This, indeed, was laid aside by the special command of the queen herself.<sup>2</sup>

The question of clerical marriage was thus left in a most perplexed and unsatisfactory condition. The Six Articles had been repealed by Edward VI., and had been virtually revived by Mary; but Mary's efforts had been to restore the independent jurisdiction of the church, and she had therefore not continued to regard the Six Articles as in force, the canons of synods and the legatine constitutions of Pole being the law of her ecclesiastical establishment. This was now

<sup>1</sup> 1 Eliz. c. 1, 2, 4. (Parl. Hist. I. 646-76.)

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, II. 386-95.

all swept away, a statute to fill the void was refused, and men were left to draw their own deductions and act at their own peril. Elizabeth refused the sanction of law to sacerdotal marriage, and would not restore the deprived priests, yet she did not enforce any prohibitory regulations, and even promoted many married men. Dr. Parker, the religious adviser of Anne Boleyn who had left him in charge of her daughter's spiritual education, was married, and one of Elizabeth's earliest acts was to nominate him for the vacant primacy of Canterbury, which after long resistance he was forced to accept. The uncertainty of the situation and the anxiety of those interested are well illustrated by a letter to Dr. Parker, dated April 30th, just before the rising of Parliament, from Dr. Sands, afterwards Bishop of Worcester: "The bill is in hand to restore men to their livings; how it will speed I know not . . . Nihil est statutum de conjugio sacerdotum, sed tanquam relictum in medio. Lever was married now of late. The queen's majesty will wink at it, but not stablish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children."<sup>1</sup>

At length Elizabeth made up her mind, and in the exercise of her royal supremacy she asked for no act of Parliament to confirm her decree. Archbishop Parker has the credit of being the most efficient agent in overcoming her repugnance to the measure, and the ungracious manner in which she finally accorded the permission shows how strong were the prejudices which he had to encounter. In June, 1559, she issued a series of "Injunctions to the Clergy and Laity"

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, II. Append. 332.—Sanders does not fail to make the most of this refusal to legalize priestly marriage by act of Parliament, and of the hesitation which rendered the final decision a mere toleration and not an approval. —"Ce nouveau clergé composé d'Apostats et de seculiers ne songeoit qu'aux nopces: il tâcha de faire approuver par les loix le mariage des evêques et des chanoines et des autres ministres de leurs eglises; et de declarer legitimes les enfans qui en estoient issus; mais il n'en pût venir à bout, parceque la chose paroissoit indigne du ministere des autels et prejudiciable à l'Estat.

Edouard VI. par arrest du Parlement avoit cassé toutes les prohibitions canoniques et civiles touchant le mariage des religieux et des clercs. Marie fit revoquer cet arrest; maintenant les Novateurs font tous leurs efforts pour en obtenir le rétablissement, mais en vain. Cependant par tolerance et non par edict ils ne laissent pas de se marier par tout le royaume, une, deux et jusqu' à trois fois, malgré les canons. . . . Comme donc ils se trouvent chargez d'enfans, il faut que pour les élever et les enrichir, ils pillent et les peuples et les benefices."—Hist. du Schisme, pp. 453-4.

which restored the national religion to nearly the same position as that adopted by Edward VI., and it is curious to observe that when she comes to speak of sacerdotal matrimony, she carefully avoids the responsibility of sanctioning it herself, but assumes that the law of Edward is still in force. All that she does, therefore, is to surround it with such limitations and restrictions as shall prevent its abuse, and although this form had perhaps the advantage of establishing the legality of all pre-existing marriages, yet the regulations promulgated were degrading in the highest degree, and the reason assigned for permitting it could only be regarded as affixing a stigma on every pastor who confessed the weakness of his flesh by seeking a wife.<sup>1</sup>

From the temper of these regulations it is manifest that if Elizabeth yielded to the advice of her counsellors and to the pressure of the times, she did not give up her private convictions or prejudices, and that she desired to make the

<sup>1</sup> Royal Injunctions of 1559, Art. xxix. "Although there be no prohibition by the word of God, nor any example of the primitive church, but that the priests and ministers of the church may lawfully, for the avoiding of fornication, have an honest and sober wife, and that for the same purpose the same was by act of Parliament in the time of our dear brother King Edward the Sixth made lawful, whereupon a great number of the clergy of this realm were married and so continue; yet, because there hath grown offence and some slander to the church, by lack of discreet and sober behavior in many ministers of the church, both in chusing of their wives and indiscreet living with them, the remedy whereof is necessary to be sought; it is thought therefore very necessary that no manner of priest or deacon shall hereafter take to his wife any manner of woman without the advice and allowance first had upon good examination by the bishop of the same diocese and two justices of the peace of the same shire dwelling next to the place where the same woman hath made her most abode before her marriage; nor without the goodwill of the parents of the

said woman if she have any living, or two of the next of her kinsfolks, or for lack of the knowledge of such, of her master or mistress where she serveth. And before she shall be contracted in any place, he shall make a good and certain proof thereof to the minister or to the congregation assembled for that purpose, which shall be upon some holyday where divers may be present. And if any shall do otherwise, that then they shall not be permitted to minister either the word or the sacraments of the church, nor shall be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice. And for the marriages of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province and also by such commissioners as the Queen's Majesty thereunto shall appoint. And if any master or dean or any head of any college shall purpose to marry, the same shall not be allowed but by such to whom the visitation of the same doth properly belong, who shall in any wise provide that the same turn not to the hindrance of their house."—(Wilkins, IV. 186.)

See also a letter of Theodore Beza, Zurich Letters, p. 247 (Parker Soc. Publications).

marriage of her clergy as unpopular and disagreeable as possible. Even the haughty spirit of the Tudor, however, could not restrain the progress which had now fairly set in. Those around her who controlled the public affairs were all committed to the Reformation, and were resolved that every point gained should be made secure. When, therefore, in 1563, there was published a recension of the Forty-two Articles issued by Edward VI. in 1552, resulting in the well-known Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, care was taken that the one relating to the liberty of marriage should be made more emphatic than before. Not content with the simple proposition of the original that "Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage," the emphatic corollary was added, "Therefore it is lawful for them as for all other Christian men to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to Godliness"<sup>1</sup>—such as we find it preserved to the present day.

This was not an empty form. Not only the right to marry at their own discretion, thus expressly declared, did much to relieve them from the degrading conditions laid down by the queen, but the revival and strengthening of the article marked a victory gained over the reaction. When, in 1559, the queen appointed a commission to visit all the churches of England and enforce compliance with the order of things then existing, the articles prepared for its guidance enjoin no investigation into opinions respecting priestly marriage, showing that to be an open question, concerning which every man might hold his private belief.<sup>2</sup> After the adoption of the Thirty-nine Ar-

<sup>1</sup> In the English version, as given by Burnet (Vol. II. Append. 217), there are 42 articles, of which this is the 31st. In the Latin edition (Wilkins, IV. 236), there are but 39 articles, this being the 32d, which is the arrangement according to the standard of the Anglican church.

This specific declaration in a special article marks the necessity which was felt to place the matter beyond controversy, as a rule of practice. The Articles on Justification and Works

of Supererogation (Arts. xi. and xix.) would have sufficed, so far as principle was concerned.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, IV. 189-91.—This commission was the commencement of the Court of High Commission, which played so lamentable a part in the troubles of the succeeding reigns. The result of its visitation in 1559 shows how little real conviction existed among the clergy who had been exposed to the capricious persecutions of alternating rulers. Out of 9400

ticles, however, this latitude was no longer allowed. In 1567 Archbishop Parker's articles of instruction for the visitation of that year enumerate, among the heretical doctrines to be inquired after, the assertion that the Word of God commands abstinence from marriage on the part of ministers of the church.<sup>1</sup> With both Catholics and Protestants the matter had thus become definitely a point of belief.

Yet Elizabeth never overcame her repugnance to the marriage of the clergy, nor is it, perhaps, to be wondered at when we consider her general aversion to sanctioning in others the matrimony which she was herself always toying with and never contracting. When she made her favorites of both sexes suffer for any legalized indiscretions of the kind, it is scarcely surprising that she always looked with disfavor on those of the clergy who availed themselves of the privilege which circumstances had extorted from her, and which she would fain have withheld. When Archbishop Parker ventured to remonstrate with her on her popish tendencies, she sharply told him that "she repented of having made any married bishops." This was a cutting rejoinder, but even more pointed was the insolence from which his life-long services could not protect his wife. The first time the queen visited the archiepiscopal palace, on her departure she turned to thank Mrs. Parker. "And you—madam I may not call you, mistress I am ashamed to call you, so I know not what to call you—but, howsoever, I thank you." So in Ipswich, on her progress of 1561, she found great fault with the marriage of the clergy, and especially with the number of wives and children in cathedrals and colleges; and she proceeded forthwith to banish them by an order addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, commanding that in future no woman should resort to the lodgings of such institutions on any pretext.<sup>2</sup> To these influences, perhaps, we may attri-

beneficiaries in England under Mary, but 14 bishops, 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors of parishes had abandoned their preferment on account of Protestantism (Burnet, Vol. II. Append. 217), and of these it is fair

to assume that the higher dignitaries at least had not been allowed to retain their positions.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, IV. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Strickland, Life of Queen Elizabeth, chap. IV.

bute the last relic of clerical celibacy enforced among Protestants, that of the Fellows of the English Universities.

The same spirit which rendered the marriage of a pastor dependent on the approbation of the neighboring squires caused the retention of ancient rules, which prove the profound distrust still entertained as to the discretion and morality of the clergy, and the difficulty with which the Anglican church threw off the traditions of Catholicism. Thus, even in 1571, Grindal, Archbishop of York, promulgates a modification of the canon of Nicæa, forbidding the residence with unmarried ministers of women under the age of sixty, except relatives closely connected by blood.<sup>1</sup>

Although sacerdotal marriage was now fully sanctioned by the organic canon law of the church, yet it was still exposed to serious impediments of a worldly character. When thus frowned upon by her who was in reality, if not in name, Supreme Head of the church; when the wife of the primate himself could be exposed to such indelible impertinence; when the marriage of every unfortunate parson was subjected to degrading conditions, and when it was assumed that his bride must be a woman at service, the influences affecting the matrimonial alliances of the clergy must have been of the worst description. The higher classes of society would naturally model their opinions on those of the sovereign, while the lower orders had not as yet shaken off the prejudices in favor of celibacy, implanted in them by the custom of centuries. Making due allowance for polemical bitterness, there is therefore no doubt much truth in the sarcastic account which Sanders gives of the wives of the Elizabethan clergy. Taking advantage of the refusal of Parliament to formally legalize such marriages—a refusal which could not but greatly affect the minds of the people—he assumes that the wives were concubines and the children illegitimate in the eyes of the law; consequently decent women refused to undergo the obloquy attached to a union with a minister of the church, who was therefore forced to take as his spouse any one

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<sup>1</sup> "No minister (being unmarried) | be their mother, sister, aunt, or niece."  
to keep in his house any woman un- | —Wilkins, IV. 269.  
der the age of sixty years, except she |

who would consent to accept him. The wives of prelates were ostracized; not received at court, and sharing in no way the dignities of their husbands, they were kept closely at home for the mere gratification of animal passion. The members of universities had been wholly unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain the same license, which was only granted to the heads of colleges, under condition that their wives should reside elsewhere, and should rarely pollute with their presence the learned precincts.<sup>1</sup>

Such a state of feeling could not but react most injuriously on the character of the great body of the clergy. It deprived them of the respect due to their sacred calling, and consequently reduced them to the level of such scant respect as was accorded to them. How long this lasted, and how materially it degraded the ministers of Christ as a body, cannot be questioned by any one who recalls the description of the rural clergy in the brilliant third chapter of Macaulay's History of England. In 1686 an author complains that the rector is an object of contempt and ridicule for all above the rank of the neighboring peasants; that gentle blood would

<sup>1</sup> "Or, non seulement les Catholiques mais les Protestans mesme refusoient de telles personnes pour leurs gendres.

Premierement à cause de la honte qui est attachée à la qualité de femme de Prêtre.

En second lieu, parceque par les loix du Royaume ces mariages ne sont point permis, et par consequent les enfans qui en naissent sont illegitimes.

En troisième lieu, c'est que les femmes et les enfans de ces gens-là n'ont aucune part au rang et à la dignité de leurs maris et de leurs peres; car la femme d'un Archevêque, d'un Evêque ou d'un Prelat Anglais ne participe pas plus aux honneurs de son mari que sa concubine. Aussi la Reine ni les Princesses ne reçoivent point les visites des femmes mesme des Archevêques; de sorte que leurs époux sont contraints de les garder chez eux comme des secours d'intemperance. Les honnestes filles dédaignant donc de si desavantageux mariages, ils estoient obligez de prendre des femmes

telles qu'ils les rencontroient. Le Magistrat Civil refrena encore cette licence. Les supposts des Universitez, qui sont en grand nombre en Angleterre, corrompus par l'oisiveté et par l'abondance, vouloient se prevaloir du temps, et se marier; mais l'on y trouva encore trop d'inconvenient; de sorte que l'on restraignit cette liberté aux seuls Principaux, à condition toutefois Que leurs femmes logeroient hors des Colleges et n'y entreroient que rarement."—Hist. du Schisme, pp. 455-6.

The only edition of Sanders's work to which I have access is the translation of Maucroix (Paris, 1676), in which the savage crudities of the original are somewhat softened. Of course much allowance must be made for the statements of so keen a partisan, and one who had suffered so much from those whom he satirized, yet he was a man of too much shrewdness to make statements which his contemporaries could recognize as entirely destitute of foundation.



be held polluted by any connection with the church, and that girls of good family were taught with equal earnestness not to marry clergymen, nor to sacrifice their reputation by amorous indiscretions—two misfortunes which were commonly regarded as equal.<sup>1</sup>

Thus eagerly accepted and grudgingly bestowed, the privilege of marriage established itself in the Church of England by connivance rather than as a right; and the evil influences of the prejudices thus fostered were not extinguished for many generations.

<sup>1</sup> A causidico, medicastro, ipsaque artificum farragine, ecclesie rector aut vicarius contemnitur et fit ludibrio. Gentis et familie nitor sacris ordinibus pollutus censetur: foeminisque natalitio insignibus unicum inculcatur saepius praecipitum, ne modestiae naufragium faciant, aut (quod idem auribus tam delicatulis sonat) ne clerico se nuptas dari patiantur.—T. Wood, Angliae Notitia (Macaulay's Hist. Engl. chap. III.).

Lord Macaulay attributes the degraded position of the clergy to their indigence and want of influence. These causes doubtless had their effect, but the peculiar repugnance towards clerical marriage ascribed to all respectable women had a deeper origin than simply the beggarly stipends attached to the majority of English livings.

## XXVIII.

### THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

THE contest which secured the freedom of marriage for the Anglican clergy was prolonged and intricate. The question was simpler in Scotland, where the Reformation was not exposed to vicissitudes so numerous and so abrupt. It need, therefore, but briefly detain our attention.

Lollardism had not been confined to the southern portion of the Island. It had penetrated into Scotland, and had received the countenance of those whose position and influence were well calculated to aid in its dissemination among the people. In 1494, thirty of these heretics, known as "the Lollards of Kyle," were prosecuted before James IV. by Robert Blacater, Archbishop of Glasgow. Their station may be estimated from the fact that they escaped the punishment due to their sins by the favor of the monarch, "for divers of them were his great familiars." The thirty-four articles of accusation brought against them are mostly Wickliffite in tendency, and their views on the question of celibacy are manifested in the twenty-second article which accuses them of asserting "That Priests may have wives according to the constitution of the Law and of the Primitive Christian Church."<sup>1</sup>

The soil was thus ready for the plough of the Reformation; while the temper of the Scottish race gave warrant that when the mighty movement should reach them, it would be marked by that stern and uncompromising spirit which alone could satisfy conscientious and fiery bigots, who would regard all half-measures as pacts with Satan. Nor was there lacking

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<sup>1</sup> Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 3 (Ed. 1609).

ample cause to excite in the minds of all men the desire for a sweeping and effectual reform. Corruption had extended through every fibre of the Scottish church as foul and as all-pervading as that which we have traced throughout the rest of Christendom.

Not long after the year 1530, and before the new heresy had obtained a foothold, William Arith, a Dominican, ventured to assail the vices of his fellow churchmen. In a sermon preached at St. Andrews, with the approbation of the heads of the universities, he alluded to the false miracles with which the people were deceived, and the abuses practised at shrines to which credulous devotion was invited. "As of late dayes," he proceeded, "our Lady of Karsgreng hath hopped from one green hillock to another: But, honest men of St. Andrewes, if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in good honest company; for if ye knew what miracles were wrought there, ye would thank neither God nor our Lady." In another sermon, arguing that the disorders of the clergy should be subjected to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, he introduced an anecdote respecting Prior Patrick Hepburn, afterwards Bishop of Murray. That prelate once, in merry discourse with his gentlemen, asked of them the number of their mistresses, and what proportion of the fair dames were married. The first who answered confessed to five, of whom two were bound in wedlock; the next boasted of seven, with three married women among them; and so on until the turn came to Hepburn himself, who, proud of his *bonnes fortunes*, declared that although he was the youngest man there, his mistresses numbered twelve, of whom seven were men's wives.<sup>1</sup> Yet Arith was a good Catholic, who, on being driven from Scotland for his plain speaking, suffered imprisonment in England under Henry VIII. for maintaining the supremacy of the pope.

How little concealment was thought requisite with regard to these scandals is exemplified in the case of Alexander Ferrers, which occurred about the same time. Taken prisoner by the English and immured for seven years in the Tower of

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<sup>1</sup> Knox, pp. 15-16.

London, he returned home to find that his wife had been consoled and his substance dissipated in his absence by a neighboring priest, for the which cause he not unnaturally "spake more liberally of priests than they could bear." By this time heresy was spreading, and severe measures of repression were considered necessary. It therefore was not difficult to have the man's disrespectful remarks construed as savoring of Lutheranism, and he was accordingly brought up for trial at St. Andrews. The first article of accusation read to him was that he despised the Mass, whereto he answered, "I heare more Masses in eight dayes than three bishops there sitting say in a yeare." The next article accused him of contemning the sacraments. "The priests," replied he, "were the most contemnors of the sacraments, especially of matrimony." "And that he witnessed by many of the priests there present, and named the man's wife with whom they had meddled, and especially Sir John Dungwaill, who had seven years together abused his own wife and consumed his substance, and said: because I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused as one that is worthy to be burnt: For God's sake, said he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whom ye have abused may be revenged on you." Old Gawain Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, not relishing this public accusation, sought to justify himself, exclaiming, "Carle, thou shalt not know my wife;" but the prisoner turned the tables on him, "My lord, ye are too old, but by the grace of God I shall drink with your daughter or I depart." "And thereat there was smiling of the best and loud laughter of some, for the bishop had a daughter married with Andrew Balfour in that town." The prelates who sat in judgment found that they were exchanging places with the accused, and fearful of further revelations from the reckless Alexander, commanded him to depart; but he refused, unless each one should contribute something to replace the goods which his wife's paramour had consumed, and finally, to stop his evil tongue, they paid him and bade him begone.<sup>1</sup>

All prelates, however, were not so sensitive. When Car-

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<sup>1</sup> Knox, pp. 16-17.

dinal Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, and virtual governor of the realm, about the year 1546 married his eldest daughter to the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, he caused the nuptials to be celebrated with regal magnificence, and in the marriage articles, signed with his own hand, he did not hesitate to call her "my daughter." It is not difficult, therefore, to credit the story that the night before his assassination was passed with his mistress, Marion Ogilby, who was seen leaving his chamber not long before Norman Leslie and Kirkaldy of Grange forced their way into his castle.<sup>1</sup> His successor in the see of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, was equally notorious for his licentiousness; and men wondered, not at his immorality, but at his taste in preferring to all his other concubines one whose only attraction seemed to be the zest given to sin by the fact that she was the wife of one of his kindred.<sup>2</sup>

This is testimony from hostile witnesses, and we might perhaps impugn their evidence on that ground, were it not that the Catholic Church of Scotland itself admitted the abandoned morals of its members when the rapid progress of Calvinism at length drove it in self-defence to attempt a reform which was its only chance of salvation. In the last Parliament held by James V. before his death in 1542, an act was passed exhorting the prelates and ecclesiastics in general to take measures "for reforming of ther lyvis, and for avoyding of the opin sclander that is gevin to the haill estates throucht the spirituale mens ungodly and dissolut lyves."<sup>3</sup> Nothing was then done in spite of this solemn warning, though the countenance afforded to the Reformers by the Regent Arran, strengthened by his alliance with Henry VIII., was daily causing the heresy to assume more fearful proportions. When, therefore, the Catholic party, rallying after the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, at length triumphed with the aid of France, and sent

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan. Rer. Scot. Hist. Lib. xv. Robertson, Hist. of Scot. B. II.—Knox, 71-2.

<sup>2</sup> "In omnia vitia præceps ierat, e multis concubinis, hanc Sempliciam, nec forma decoram, nec fama alioqui

integram, nec alia re quam proccitate insignem, a marito, propinquo suo et gentili, abductam, prope in uxoris justæ loco habebat." — Buchanan. Lib. xv.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkins, IV. 207.