
**ART. IX.—WARHAM, AN ENGLISH PRIMATE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.**

The subjoined document (for the indication and elucidation of which I am indebted to the Rev. F. A. Gasquet) is preserved in the Record Office, but has hitherto remained unpublished. Mr. Gairdner, in vol. v. p. 12 of the *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, has given a summary of its contents. The interest which it possesses to all students of Reformation history, and the light which it throws upon the character of the writer, warrant the assumption that there may be many who would be glad to read it *in extenso*. The document is a draft of a defence drawn up by Archbishop Warham to meet an impending charge which under the Act of *Praemunire* was being prepared against him. From a reference within the document itself, it seems certain that it was written but a few months at most before the Archbishop’s death.* It was probably amongst the last written acts of his episcopate. That the Archbishop was thus put in danger of his life in his old age, and in the eleventh hour of his day upon earth, is a fact which does not seem to be generally known, nor to have found any published record outside the summary in the volume of State Papers just referred to. Neither in standard historical works nor in the official sources of the time is any allusion to be found to it. But that the charge was in fact being actively prosecuted, and had already practically proceeded so far as the offer to provide counsel, and that the Archbishop on his side had anxiously prepared his defence, this document remains to testify. The silence of historians and the absence of contemporary mention find their most probable explanation in the fact that the prosecution cannot have gone beyond the preparative stage, when the death of the Archbishop put an end to the proceedings. Like Wolsey, he was fortunate enough to escape by passing to a higher tribunal.

* In paragraph 38. As Mr. Gairdner points out in his summary, 1164, the date of the constitutions of Clarendon, plus 400 = 1564. This—31 years = 1533—Warham died in August 1562, so that the 400–31st year had already begun in 1532.
II.

Why was the aged Primate thus threatened? Readers who are at all familiar with the history of the great crisis under Henry VIII. will have little difficulty in making a fair guess at the answer. From the year 1528 the king had for his objective the divorce and contingently the religious policy which was subsequently engrafted upon it. In all the consciousness of his strength, he proceeded, as we know, to work his will upon the nation. With Thomas Cromwell for his counsellor, his method of dealing with those who resisted, or who showed signs of resistance, was sufficiently simple. The formula might be stated as follows. First, propose to them the royal pleasure, and do what can be done to win them to compliance. Secondly, if they refuse, overawe them with the threats of the royal displeasure. *Ira principis mors est!* was often on the lips of the terrified courtiers. Thirdly, if they persist, enter against them a charge of high treason or breach of praemunire, going back, if need be, into the years of the past to find real or fictitious grounds for the indictment. Then, brought thus under the dark shadow of the scaffold, with the axe suspended over their necks, the recalcitrants will have leisure to consider in a clearer light the prudence of being of one mind with their sovereign. If they remain still unconvinced, the axe has only to fall, and the obstinate cease from troubling and the survivors are impressed.

The document we publish was written in the early part of 1532, when the royal reign of terror had already begun. When we hear of Archbishop Warham being threatened with a prosecution, we recognise that the policy of Cromwell is at work, and that the Primate is but one upon the long roll of its unhappy victims. Praemunire was the king’s weapon, and this he was wielding all round to enforce compliance and to silence dissent. The English clergy in Convocation but a few months before had praemunire held over them until they had yielded up both their money and their grudging and guarded assent to the supreme headship. Wolsey had sickened with fear and died before the blow could reach him. The turn of More and Fisher and so many others was still to come. What in the midst of such a setting of events could a praemunire launched
against Warham mean, save that he, too, had entered upon the black list of the opposition, and that the moment had arrived when the king's interest required that his adhesion should be secured, if need be, by the same instrument. This explanation of the proceedings is borne out by the purely ostensible character of the grounds of the indictment. To bring the clergy under praemunire, the king had not hesitated to make use of the almost laughable charge that they had pleaded in the Legatine Court, which he himself had helped to establish. In the charge against Wolsey, the royal disregard of ordinary ideas of justice was if anything more splendid, for the Cardinal was indicted for accepting a post which the king himself some years before had procured for him. In the case of Archbishop Warham, the king had actually to go back no less than fourteen years—back to the quiet days of 1518—to rake up a supposed delinquency on which to base his breach of praemunire. In that year, Archbishop Warham had, it was contended, consecrated Henry Standish to the See of St. Asaph before the latter had shown the Papal Bulls of appointment to the king, taken his oath of fealty to the Crown, and had sued out his temporalities. Both the charge and the offence were entirely novel. From this circumstance as well as from the lapse of time during which it had been left unnoticed, it seems obvious that the prosecution was merely a means to an end, and that the king was seeking not a penalty for a crime, but a crime for a penalty. The name of the Primate of all England was evidently wanted as a patron and abettor of the king's policy, and the screw of praemunire was to be applied for obtaining it. The value of this document, given below, is that it bears witness to the fact that in the face of this ominous threat the Archbishop seems to have well weighed the consequences and to have deliberately chosen his part. The day of compromising and word-splitting was over. His resolution to stand at all hazards by his oath of obedience to Rome is to be found in paragraphs 19, 20, and 33.

III.

This consideration leads to another, which to Catholic readers may invest this document with a special importance.

The sixteenth century, which at its incoming found Eng-
land a Catholic country, left it at its outgoing anti-Papal and Protestant. This change, in its organic sense, may be said to have been practically effected inside the six years, 1528–1534. There is a theory which pretends to predate the Reformation, by assuming that the final separation of this country from Rome, under Henry VIII., was merely the culmination of a tide of anti-Papal feeling which had been steadily rising for centuries, and that the final severance was the natural outcome of a gradual alienation, by which for a lengthened period the nation had been drifting apart from the Apostolic See. Undoubtedly the separation found predisposing causes which prepared the way, in the sense at least of having weakened resistance to its advent, in the social, religious and national dislocation, due to the schism of the West, to the Black Death, and to the Wars of the Roses. No doubt, England had its share of that anti-clerical and anti-curial feeling which was seething through Europe of the early sixteenth century, and which, in fact, as far as human nature goes, is never altogether absent at any period of church history. But otherwise, the theory we have mentioned seems to have but slender foundation in historical evidence. Less than twenty years before the rupture—in 1518—the relations between the Holy See and England were just as close and as cordial as they ever had been, and in fact as they are between the Holy See and any Catholic country at the present time. The Crown was writing to the Pope in terms of respectful loyalty, and England was receiving her bishops by presentation in Consistory and by Papal provision just as Catholic Spain or Belgium are doing at the present day.” There is, therefore, some reason for applying, with certain modifications, to the Reformation in England, the description that Dr. Creighton, in his most recent volume of the “History of the Papacy,” applies to the Reformation in Germany, namely, that the religious revolt “fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky.”

If this be true, the responsibility of the change is narrowed and fixed upon a given period and group of persons, and our interest naturally centres upon the conduct of the ecclesiastical authorities who were in charge when the crisis arose. That,

* See Appendix B, C.
apart from the time-spirit and the friction of old and new learning, the change was largely the result of coercion on one side, and of weak or unwilling compliance and compromise on the other, is the staple of history. That there was much confusion of mind and of self-illusion as to the gravity and the permanence of the issues, may be freely conjectured. But in gauging the nature of the change, and in placing the responsibility, we especially seek to know what was the action and attitude of him who, as Primate of All England, sat in the chair of St. Augustine, and wore upon his shoulders the Roman Pallium as the sworn defender of the See Apostolic in England.

IV.

When the Divorce Question had reached its acute stage, Warham was already an old man and full of years and infirmities. He had behind him the record of a long and honourable life, rich in manifold service to Church and State. He had been appointed to the See of London in 1502, and was, by Pope Julius II. in the following year, raised to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. His primacy had been to a large extent overshadowed by the splendour of Wolsey's Legatine authority, which he seems, despite some friction about testamentary jurisdiction, to have gracefully and dutifully accepted. It allowed him to remain outside the main current of events, and left him free to follow the quiet routine of administrative duty which must have been more grateful to the peaceful and scholarly bent of his character. The whole tenor of his long episcopate was above reproach, and he commanded the respect and veneration of both the Court and the nation. His relations with the Holy See were both loyal and cordial. The letter which Convocation addressed to the Holy See in 1514, describes how earnestly the Archbishop pleaded the Papal cause, and how he had assured them that they could confer upon himself personally no greater favour than to grant all that the Pope had asked of them.* In 1527, the Duke of Bourbon had laid siege to Rome, and the position of the Sovereign Pontiff was one which demanded the succour of the Christian Powers. Catholic England was preparing to move in the matter, and Wolsey, writing to the

* Given in "An Account and Defence of the Protestant made by the Lower House of Convocation," by F. Atterbury.
king, describes the joy of Archbishop Warham when the Legate was able to confide to him the intention of his Majesty to prepare an expedition of relief to the Holy Father.

The burden of the negotiations and intrigues of the divorce had fallen upon the shoulders of Wolsey, the Bishops of Worcester and Winchester, and others. To the Primate belonged the significant and honourable distinction of having been omitted from the list of active agents who could be trusted to handle and push this unsavoury part of the "king's business." But when the prospects of the royal cause began to darken, and the indications at Rome began to set in steadily in the direction of failure, the king, as we know, at Cromwell's suggestion, resolved upon a counterstroke, and planned an attempt to intimidate the Papacy into compliance with his wishes, by threatening to assume the chief control of the Church in England. To convince the Curia that the menace was intended to be something more than mere words, and to give an earnest that the king meant what he said, it was required that the threat should be put, at least partly, into execution. Whereupon it was felt to be necessary to wring from Convocation a recognition of the king as supreme head of the Church in England. Archbishop Warham was the natural chief of Convocation, and thus he, who had so long stood comparatively apart, found himself directly drawn into the midst of the struggle, and standing in the very forefront of the combat. It seems to us who see the issues more clearly in the light of results, that he had given to him in this the hour of his trial, a glorious opportunity of re-enacting the splendid traditions of his See, and of "speaking in the face of kings" in the voice in which St. Anselm and St. Thomas à Becket had spoken to the tyrants of their day.

V.

The Primate's action was on a lower and more commonplace level. It was no doubt the result of deliberate and conscientious calculation. He had to gauge the strength of the Crown with its servile Court and Commons arrayed against him. He had to reckon with the morale of the forces of the English Church in Convocation assembled behind him. He had to guard—and the peaceful and prudent bent of his character would probably do more than help him to guard—against the
danger of precipitating a disastrous conflict, or of unwisely exagagging the issues at stake. He had to give due weight to the fact that both he and Convocation were evidently being asked to play a part in the construction of a diplomatic menace that might in all likelihood never be carried into effect, or pushed to its ulterior consequences. Many minds must have sagely measured the probable duration of the crisis by its cause, and have concluded that it was bound to dissolve in the very first hour of the king's disillusionment. In such a situation we can readily conceive how the average member of Convocation of that day would emphasise the necessity of acting according to the dictates of prudence as well as of principle; how he would appreciate the wisdom of counting upon time, and the duty of staving off schism by exhausting the resources of *economia*, and by going to the uttermost lengths of legitimate concession. There is little to show that Warham with his bishops and his clergy in 1531 realised that they were actually standing at the parting of the ways, or that they recognised in the issue they had laid before them, one of those questions, *stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*, in which a Catholic must needs take his life in his hands, and answer Yes or No at peril of his soul's salvation. They could hardly be expected to foresee what was to happen three years later, and they were not improbably in the position of men who wished to get themselves as soon and as safely as they conscientiously could out of their difficulty, who hoped to do their duty whenever the occasion demanded it, but who felt that the hour of actual test was not yet come. Consequently we miss from Warham's hands the historic weapons of excommunication, interdict, and exile, with which St. Anselm, St. Thomas and St. Edmund baffled the oppressors of their day, and with which they had fought so well the battle of the Church in England. But that the Archbishop had these sacred examples present to his mind, that he treasured and revered them, and that he was firmly resolved, God helping him, when the day of trial should arrive to be inviolably true to them, is recorded with all possible plainness in the document which we now put before our readers.

VI.

In the meantime, the Archbishop and Convocation on one
side, and the king and Cromwell on the other, measured their
strength in a fierce fence of words and of formulæ. This battle
of Church and State was fought decisively upon two dates—
Thursday, February 11, 1531, and Thursday, May 16, 1532
—two Thursdays that must remain for ever sadly memorable
in the history of the Church in England.

On both of these occasions Archbishop Warham was, if we
may use the figure, in command of the Church's forces. On
the first, was made that guarded and qualified recognition
which was afterwards, in the wily hands of the king, un-
scrupulously changed into an open and almost unqualified
recognition of the king as supreme head of the Church in
England. On the second, Convocation practically signed
away its independence, or at least consented to put its liberties
in abeyance, and pledged itself to make no new canons
except by the assent of the Crown. It would be useless
to pretend that these two black Thursdays did not carry the
English Church fatally far on the path which eventually led to
complete separation from Rome. Nor can we acquit the aged
Primate nor those who acted with him of their share in the
responsibility of their acts. They bequeath to us the lesson that
prudential compromises made upon the shifting groundwork of
equivocal terms and meaningless provisos can lead to nothing
but irreparable mischief. At the same time, simple justice to
the Archbishop demands that he shall be judged according to
his lights and intentions. That the separation of this country
from the communion of the Apostolic See flowed from or
followed upon these acts of Convocation over which he pre-
sided, can hardly be questioned. That result is clear to us in the
past, as it could hardly have been to him while it was yet in the
future. If he foresaw and intended it, he would be undoubt-
edly schismatical. But if he neither foresaw nor intended
what was to happen some years later, we, from our point of
vantage, may marvel at his want of foresight, and mourn his
lack of judgment, but we cannot impugn his Catholicity nor can
we put him into the dock with Cranmer. This distinction rests
upon a basis, not of mere charitable conjecture, but of solid
historical fact. The whole movement of the English Reformation,
both as initiated by Henry VIII. and moulded by later
sovereigns, took for its ground and fundamental idea the forma-
tion of a purely national church, and the uniting of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, in the supremacy of the Crown. As Henry VIII. and Cromwell and Cranmer understood it, the English Church was to have for its jurisdictional axis the king instead of the Pope. Now this Anglican confusion of the two powers, which ought each to be distinct and supreme in its own order, and the consequent schismatical casting off of the Pope, was no part whatever of the belief or intention of Archbishop Warham any more than it is that of Cardinal Vaughan at the present day. The document we publish (and which, as written just before his death, we may accept as his final and decisive doctrinal utterance), proves clearly that he not only disbelieved in, but that he utterly abhorred this placing of the spiritual and temporal supremacy in the royal hand. It also bears witness that far from rejecting the authority of the Pope, he was prepared, if need be, to suffer the penalties of praemunire—sequestration and death—rather than swerve for an instant from his allegiance to the Holy See, as set forth in all its fulness and clearness in his oath of consecration.

VI.

If this was the mind and attitude of Warham, who presided over Convocation, may we not safely assume that it was shared by the bulk of those who, in 1531–2, stood shoulder to shoulder with him.

This assumption is borne out by the proceedings of the synod which, on both the occasions referred to, bear upon their face the evidences of a keen and prolonged struggle; the king and his party on one side seeking to impose, under threat of praemunire, a formula which was pregnant with the Anglican principle of the union of the two powers, and the bishops and clergy on the other parrying the thrust, and seeking by every device to safeguard the opposite principle of the radical independence of spiritual jurisdiction. The friction of the two principles is shown in the duration of the debates (7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th February; 12th, 29th April; 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th May, 1532), and by the lengthy negotiations, and by the repeated and significant modifications made in the test formula.

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* See paragraphs 10, 11, 12 of document.
† See paragraphs 20 and 22 of document.
This will be shown more clearly if we put some of the latter side by side.

**THE KING PROPOSES.**

1. The formula—
The English Church and clergy, of whom he [the king] alone is the protector and supreme head.

2. The formula—
The English Church and clergy, of whom he [the king] alone, after God, is the protector and supreme head.

3. The formula—
The English Church and clergy, of whom we recognise His Majesty to be the singular protector and supreme lord, and even, in so far as the law of Christ permits, supreme head.

4. The formula—
Our most invincible king . . . . has provided that we may be able in quietness and peaceful security to minister to God and to duly serve in the care of souls committed to His Majesty and to the people committed to him. (Ut in quiete et secura pace Deo ministriere, et curae animarum eius Maiestati commissae et populo sibi commissio debita in servire possimus.)

[N.B.—Here the actual care of souls is directly ascribed to the king.]

**THE CLERGY.**

1. Reject it absolutely.

2. Remain firm and reject it absolutely.

3. Accept it, first of all in silence, and finally ratify it in form.*

4. The clergy dexterously turn the phrase so as to reserve the care of souls to their own keeping, and thus keep the spiritual and temporal charge distinct. They amend the formula, and make it read:

   Our most invincible king . . . . has provided that we may be able in quietness and peaceful security to minister to God and to duly serve in the care of the souls of the people committed to his Majesty. (Ut in quiete secura pace Deo ministriere, et curae animarum populius Maiestati commissae debita in servire possimus.)

[N.B.—Equivalent to saying: His Majesty has committed to him the people, but we have the care of their souls.]

In like manner, during April and May, 1532, the proposals of the king for the muzzling of Convocation and repealing of former canons were firmly rejected. It was again Warham who secured from the king the modification

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* When Archbishop Warham, after three days' debate, on Thursday morning, February 11, brought down this formula and read it to Convocation, the clergy received it in sullen silence. "Whoever is silent gives consent," said the Archbishop. Some one answered, "Then we are all silent;" and so the formula was accepted (Wilkins, iii. 726). The king was dissatisfied with this silent vote, and in the evening session it was more formally ratified.
of his demands, which in its final form was adopted as a compromise on May 16. It was Warham's last act in Convocation. He died in the August following.

VII.

It is surely difficult to study these negotiations without feeling that the clergy, far from affirming spontaneously their belief in the union of the ecclesiastical and temporal supremacy in the king, were fighting hard, at the peril of their lives, to exclude it. That neither they, nor, for that matter, even the king himself, considered that the formula passed with such provisos could be decisive and tantamount to a rejection of the authority of the Pope, is shown, first, by the king's own assurance to the Nuncio and to the Convocation of York; secondly, by the official Protests of Archbishops Warham and of Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham, declaring that they meant thereby nothing "to the derogation of the Roman Pontiff, or to the injury or prejudice of the Apostolic See;" and thirdly, by the fact that for some time afterwards English Archbishops continued to be presented as usual in the Roman Consistory and appointed by Bulls of Provision from the Pope.

To this protestation, which the Primate made to clear himself before all posterity of schismatical or anti-Papal revolt, the document we publish comes as an interesting supplement and a forcible confirmation. We may deplore the false steps which Convocation under his guidance took in conciliating the willful monarch—steps which were made the starting-point for a much wider departure—but, with this document before us, we may, in fairness, acquit both the Archbishop and his Convocation of beliefs and intentions which were consciously anti-Roman or anti-Catholic.

Finally, the document furnishes us, in paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 16, with a remarkably clear affirmation of the Catholic doctrine, that the spiritual jurisdiction of the English Sees was derived from the Pope; that a See ceased to be void from the moment the bishop-elect was "pronounced in the Pope's Consistory," and that such appointment carried with it all powers of jurisdiction, while episcopal consecration conferred only powers of order.

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WARHAM'S DEFENCE.
(State Papers, Henry VIII., v. 245).

(1)*... in dede I entende to say or doo anything... or discontent the King's highnes, for I have found his grace very... gratiouse and favorable to my Churche and me. But I entende only to doo and say that thing that I am bounde to doo by the lawes of God and Holy Churche and by myn ordre and by myn othe that I made at the tym of my profession. Agenst any of the which I am sur that his grace wel informed wil not advise me, will me or commande me anything to doo or say. And al and every of the premisses saved, I shall be as glad as the lowest and poverest subjecte in his reame to doo anything that his grace wold commande me.

(2) As toouching this matier of Praemunire which dependeth only upon this that I according to the Pope's Holiness' bulls direcct to me as to a Catholique busshop, and according to the prerogative of my churche of Cantorbery belonging to me as to metropolitane consecrated to the busshop of Sancte Asaph, before he had exhibited his bulls the King's grace, and doon his homage and made his othe of fidellite and sued oute his temporallities as it is sayde and surmised. For it is thought I shulde not consecrete any busshop till after he had exhibited his bulles to the King's grace and had doon his homage and made his othe of fidellite to the same; and had sued out as agreed with his grace for the temporallities and also that I shulde not give to a busshoppe his spirituallities until he wer agreed with the King's hyrnness for the temporallities of his busshoprick.

(3) To this, I say that by the law, a thing doon betweene other persons can not be prejudicial to the thirde person which is not bounde to the knowledge thereof. But Archebusshoppes of Cantorebury be not bounde to know whether suche persons to be consecrated busshoppes have exhibited their bulles to the King's grace or have doon their homage and given their othes of fidellite or have sued out their temporallities or not. Wherfore I say that whether he that is to be consecrated busshoppe doo exhibit his bulles to the Kings grace, dooing his homage and feautie or sue his temporallities before his consecration or no, his negligence or oversight therein can not of right be imputed or to be prejudicial to tharchbusshop that doth consecrate hym.

(4) And that th' Archbusshoppes of Cantorebury be not bounde to know whether suche as be to be consecrated bussoppes by him have exhibited their bulles to the Kings highnes dooing their homage and fidellite or have sued out their temporallities or no it may right well apper if the maner and forme used and accustomed in consecrations heretofor be called to remembrance. In the which it hath never be used that th' archbysshop shuld examyn that shulde be consecrated whether he had exhibited his bulles to the Kings grace, and had doon his homage and made his othe of fidellite and had sued out his

* I have numbered the paragraphs for purpose of reference.
temporalities or not. For if the arch... to intromitte with that acte that... the which examination he that shold consecrate... answer he wold. For if he intended to doo th' Archbusshopp any despinisher to put hym to bessoyness, he might say that he had exhibited his bulles to the King's grace, and done his hommage and given his othe of fidelite and sued out his temporalities, when he had not so done. Whereby the Archbusshop might be put to like bessoyness as I am nowe.

(5) And, that no suche question hath be asked or demanded of busshoppes that have be consecrated in tymes passed at the tymc of their consecration by th' archbusshop. I refere me to my brethren, the busshoppes of my province of Canterbury, which (if they be so required) can shew whether any suche question was made to any of themme at the tymc of their consecration.

(6) And, if th archbusshoppes shuld be bounde not to consecrate any busshoppe until they had sent to the Kings grace and knewe whether the person to be consecrated busshop had exhibited his bulles to his highness, done his hommage, and given his othe of fidelite, and sued out his temporalities of his grace or no, that were a grete bondage to Archbusshoppes that they shuld at their proper costs for an other mannes bessoyness send from one ende of this reame to thether as peradventure from Canterbury to Berwik or percase some tymc out of the reame where it shuld fortune the Kings grace then to be, to knowe whether the busshoppe to be consecrated had exhibited his bulles to the King's grace, had done his hommage, had given his othe of fidelite, and had sued out the restitution of his temporalities or not.

(7) And, also many busshoppes have be consecrated before they have sued their temporalities, as it may appere by mater of Records. The tymc of their consecration by the act of my Registre and the tymc of suying out of their temporalities by the Records of the Kyngs Chancellery duly seen and accompted and also as it appereth in the lives of Archbusshoppes of Canterbury for CC yeres passed as Thomas Bradwarden, Archbusshop of Canterbury and William Witteley and others were first consecrated and long tymc after sued to the King for their temporalities as it appereth in the history of their lives.

And, so it hath contynued untill this tymc withoute any trouble of any archbusshop or interruption of suche consecrations to be at their libertie.

(7) And, if the archbusshoppes of Canterbury have be bounden in tymes past to sue to the Kings grace to knowe whether the busshop... s bulles to his Highness and had done his hommage... and had sued out his temporalities or no. I... s requisite it wole appere by som records or actes that th' Archbusshoppes had made such sute to the Kings grace and that som certificate had be made from the King's grace or his officers at his commandment to the archbusshoppe befor this tymc in that behalve.
And, when it can not apper by any records or acts that any suetes or certificates have been be made herto fer in this case, it appeareth evidently that th archebussophs be not bound to knowe whether suche as be to be consecrated busshoppes have exhibited their bulles to the Kings grace and doon their hommage, and given their othe of fidelite, and sowed out their temporalities or not.

(8) And, if it wer requisite that busshoppes to be consecrated shuld firste exhibit their bulles to the Kings grace, doo their hommage, and give their othe of fidelite, to the same, and sue out the restitution of their temporalities before their consecrations: It is to be thought that some wise and well learned men that have been promoted to busshopriche within this reame in tymes past aswel by the Kings grace's does now, as by his most noble progenitours, wold not have be noted nor seem so negligent or so greatly overseeme as to have omitted their dutie towards their prince in that behalve considering that therby they mought fall not only into great damage and daynger but also into grete displeasure of their princes with whom they were before in singular favour and also mought hurt tharchebushop that dyd consecrate them. Which it is to be thought by licyhode they wold be lothe to doo, considering the labours and paynes that he susteyned by reason of their consecration.

(9) And, if this thing had be so requisite as it is surmised, it is thought that suche singular wise princes as have be in tymes past, which had as diligent an eye to the observance of the lawes and customs of this their Reame wold have caused this thing to have be very diligently looked to by their officers, and the same to have been strictly observed, and the omitters and breakers thereof to be extremely punished. But it hath not be herd nor seen at any tyme that any Archebusshop or busshop in tymes past hath be put to any trouble or besoynges for any suche cause.

(10) Item, Almighty God hath ordained in a ... powers, one spiritual and thother tem ... have theyme occupieth them dist ... u ... (r)esist or interrupt any of the said powers as contrarie to th ordinance of God. Wherfor as the Kings grace hath the temporal power to graunte and to deliver oute of his custody the temporalities of busshopriche at his pleasur, so in likewise the archebushop of Cantrebury for the tyme being having the spiritual jurisdiction of al busshopriche within his province of Cantrebury whyle they be voyde in the right of his Church, may at his libertie graunte to him that is lawfully promoted at Rome in the Pope's Consistorie a bishop of any see being voyde the spiritualities of the same busshopriche.

(11) And, if th Archerbusshop of Cantrebury shuld not give the spiritualities to hym so promoted a busshop, til the kings grace had had graunted and delivered to him his temporalities then the spiritual power of the archebussophs shuld hang and depende of the temporal power of the princes, and so shuld be of little or none effecte which is against al lawe. And so there shuld not be II distincute powers
according to Allmuguty Goddes ordinance. For if the archebusshep shuld not give any benefcie til the Kings grace shuld give his consent to him that shuld have it, it were in maner as good not to have the gift of such benefcie which he moughte not give but at another manmys plesseur. And so it were in a maner as good to have no spiritualties as to have such spiritualties as he mought not give but at the princes plesseur.

(12) Also, if the Archebusshep of Cantrebury after that an electe is provided a busshop at Rome in the consistorie and after the presenting of the Popes bulles to hym by the which he is ascertayned that he is a busshop, shuld kepe the spiritualties in his handes til the King's grace had delivered to the said busshop his temporalties, in that case the archebusshep shuld doo to hym that is provided busshop grete injury and wrong, keping from hym his spiritualties, without any reasonable cause. For tharchebusshep hath the exercise of the spiritualties no longer than the busshopriche is voyde. And when any electe is provided a busshop of any see being voyde by the Popes Holiness in his consistorie, and when that appereth to tharchebusshep then the see is no longer voyde, and then no longer can th archebusshep kepe the spiritualties in his handes except he wol doo the busshop wrong.

(13) Item, if th Archebusshep of Cantrebury shuld not graunt the spiritualties til the Kings grace had graunted the temporalties suche Kings have bee in tymes past and may bee hereafter, which have kept and indee will kepe the temporalties of the busshopricches in their hands many yers as King Henry . . . . . . . . Kings have doon. And so be that were elected . . . . . . . . at Rome shuld in this case have nether the temp . . . . busshopriche nether the spiritualties and so shuld he be inforced to goo a begging, which were no smal inconvenience.

(14) And in this behalve I speke against myne owne profit and against the profite of my sucessours. For the lengyr the spiritualties shuld be in myne or their hands, the mor shuld be myne or there profit. And so if I shuld not graunte the spiritualties til the Kings grace had graunted the temporalties. If his grace shuld kepe the temporalties an hole yer or IT in his hands, it shuld be to my grete profite, if I shuld kepe for al that tympe the spiritualties in myne handes which were not to be refused if I mought have them so with good conscience, but better it wer for me and my sucessours to lacke suche a profite, to duc an otherman injury and wrong.

(15) Item, it stondeth not with good lawe or reason that a man shuld be punished for a deed by the which no man hath damage or wrong. But by the consecration of a busshop befor he hath exhbitied his bulles and doun his homage and given his oath of fidelite to the Kings grace, and befor he hath sned oue his temporalties the Kings grace can have no losse no damage, for his highness may at his libertie (notwithstanding the consecration) kepe in his hands the temporalties stil and take the profecte of thym until that the busshop consecrated hath doun his homage and given his oath of fidelite, and hath agreed wth his highness for the restitution of the same temporalties as his
grace in such cases useth to doo. And the said busschopp is no lorde of the Parliament until he have done his homage and hath given his othe of fidelite and hath sued out his temporalties for th acts of consecration giveth to hym no place in the Kings Parliament. Wherfor seeing that the Kings grace hath no loss no damage by th acts of consecration methinketh ther shuld no punishment therupon sue. And diverse Archebusschoppes and busschoppes have be in England which have had only ther spiritual jurisdiction and have lived therupon, and have not had a long tyme after ther temporalties as Bishop Pekam and others.

(16) And as touching hym that is consecrated; he is made no busschopp by his consecration, as paradverture some men thinketh, but he is made and provided a busschopp at Rome in the Popes consistorio, and hath befor his consecration, al things apperteyning to spiritual jurisdiction as a busschopp and by his consecration he hath no jurisdiction given to hym, but only suche thynges as be apperteyning to his order. Which be mer spiritual as consecrating of children, giving of or . . . . consecrating holy oyls, blessing the . . . . . the which the Kings grace taketh any wrong . . . . . . . . . with Kings or princes pleasures to differ consecrations of busschoppes til they had grannted to thyme their temporalties which befor they wold doo, peradverture shuld be long or never at their pleasir it mought folowe that the Churche shuld have no busschoppes and consequently no prestes by thyme, and so al the sacraments of holy Church moughte cease at princes pleasure, for albeit that we have nowe a very gracieous and noble prince, God knoweth what Prince may be in England herafter, which percase mought make gret decay in holy Church and in the religion of Christe, if busschoppes shuld not be consecrated, but only at princes pleasirs by the pretence that they have given temporalties to the Church.

(17) Furthemor, if it wer reason that busschoppes shuld not be consecrated til they had sued out their temporalties which Princes have given to their myters, by like reason, the Pope shuld not be consecrated or crowned til he had sued out his temporalties of the Emperor which Constantine, somtyme Emperor gave to the See of Rome; and so ther shuld be no Pope but at th' emperours pleasure, and til he had grannted to hym hys temporalties.

(18) Item, if ther wer no lawe, it standeth best with good reason that every spiritual man that shuld exercise a spiritual roome shuld endeavour hym selve first to obteyne al suche things as be requisite to his spiritual besoyness and after to obteyne suche things as apperteynth to his temporal besoyness and not temporal things first, and afterwards spiritual things perverting good ordre which is against reason, wherefore if ther wer no lawes, it standeth with reason that a busschopp shuld be consecrated firste and after to sue for his temporalties. And if ther wer a lawe to the contrarie it were not a reasonable lawe to make a spiritual man first to sue for his temporalties and after for his consecration.

(19) Item, it wer according that a spiritual man shuld first give his
oth of obedience to the spiritual hed which is the Pope. Which is not
used to be done but at the tyme of the busshoppes consecration: and
that done, then to doo his temporal dutie and fidelite to his tem-
poral Prince and not to preffir the temporal Prince to the Pope
in a spiritual matter.

but that I was mAundament in the vertue of
the othe of myne obedience of the whiche thes be the words "man-
date optica toto viribus observabo et ab alius faciam observari." And
in so doing, I was but the Pope's commissarie. And the consecra-
ting of the said busshop is principally the Popes deede which com-
manded it to be done. Wherfor I thinke it not reasonable that I
shuld fall into a preumirie for doing of that thing; whereby (if I
had done the contrary) I shuld have fallen into perjury.

(20) And it seemeth not to be a reasonable ordinance by the whiche
a man dooing according to his othe of obedience to the Pope, head of
al Xren men, shuld fall into any penaltie. For a spiritual man which
hath sworn obedience to the Pope, is more bounde to execute his
commandement, namely in a spiritual causse, as the consecration of a
busshop is, than to forbear it and deferr it for any temporal law
made to the contrary. And wher in this case, not dooing the Pope's
commandement, I shuld fall into perjury and dooing his command-
ment I shuld fall into a preumirie, as is supposed, if a man could
not chose but to fall into one of the said dayngers of perjury or pre-
umirie melius est incidere in manus hominum quam derelinguere legem
Dei.

(21) Now al and every of the forsaied reasons deeply considered.
Seeing that another mannes negligence or omission ought not to be
prejudicial to me, ne yet bynde me to any inconvenience.
And seeing that the archebusshoppes of Cantrebry from tyme
out of mind have in possession of the right to consecrate at ther
libertie busshoppes of their province without any interruption or
impediment or any question made to the contrary hertofoor.
And seeing that I have only used my spiritual power in this
behalve, toching the spiritualities, as the Kings grace doth use his
temporal power concernyng the temporalities.
And considering that I have the exercise of the spiritualies no
longer than the busshoprice is voyde, and that I shold doo to the
busshop promoted at Rome enjury, and so knownen enjury, if I shuld
deferr the consecration and hope from hym his spiritualies any
lengyr. And considering that it moughte be a grete decaye in
Christ's faith hereafter, if consecrating of busshoppes and so con-
sequently al sacraments of the Churches shuld depend upon princes
pleasures. Which peradventure hereafter moughte be suche as shuld
not be so good and so gracious as the Kings grace is nowe.
Considering also that it wer to my grete profest to diferr con-
secration a long season. And to withhold the spiritualies, which
profest I were not wise to refuse if I moughte take the same with
good conscience.
And seeing that it is no reason that a man shuld be punished for
doeing of a good deed by the which no man is damaged or wronged as I have showed that the Kings highness hath no maner of damage or wrong by the consecration of the busshep of Sancte Assaph, which is made no lorde of the Kings Parliament, and hath no place given to hym ther by thacte of his consecration, and a good spiritual acte (as a consecration is) can not derogate the Kings grace's crown or regalie.

And considering that it is convenient for a spiritual man fyrst to obtayn al thinges apperteyning to his spiritual bysoyness, and afterwards such things as apperteyneth to his temporal bysoyness and also to give his othe to his spiritual hed, the Pope, which othe is given at his consecration, befor he make his othe to his temporal hed which is the Kings highness.

And finally considering that I have done none other thing but that I was bounde to doo at the Pope's commandement to whome I am sworne to execute his commandement a . . . . . . . . . . . . . . good or godly disposed man that wil judg . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . in this case than it is becomming for me to doo but according to the lawes of the Church and myne othe.

(22) Item, this case that we be in nowe, was one of that articles that King Henry the seconde wold have had Sancte Thomas and other busshep'es to consent unto, and to conforme by ther writing and scales at Claringdon which they denayd. And this article was one of the causes of the exile of Sancte Thomas and finally of his deth and martyrdom. And wher Sancte Thomas is canonised for a sancte and so is takyn over al for speking and laboring and taking his deth to fordoe and destroy the said Article and others which were conceived and written at claringdon, it is to be thought that who so ever labour to the contrarie that Saint Thomas dyed for shal sor displease God and the said saute and grevously offende his conscience.

The words of the said article toching the matier that we be in nowe followeth Cum vacaverit Archeipiscopatus vel Episcopatus vel abbatis vel prioratus de dominio Regis, debet esse in manu eius et inde percipiant omnes redditus et exitus sicut dominicos et faciunt electus homagrium et fidelitatem Dno Regi sicut ligae Dno suo de vita et membris et de honore suo terræ, (salvo ordine suo) prius quam sit consecratus. The which Article amongst others was damned by the Church of Rome. Alexander the thirde then being Pope, as it appereeth by the life of Sancte Thomas in the xxiv lefe of the seconde colum. The words followeth Dominus Papa, lectis et relectis, et diligentem et attens auditis et cognitis singulis consuetudinibus Chirographi eas in audientia omnium reprobavit et ab ecclesia impotens demnaundas consuit. Of the which Articles and customes this was one. And by Sancte Thomas they that observed the said Article, and other put in writing at Claringdon, and they

* An abridgement of 12th Constitution of Clarendon. Wilkins, i. 436.
that exacted counsel or defended the said Articles by the Church of Rome and hym damned he denounced accursed as it appereath in his life where it thus written Scriptum ille in quo continentur non consuetudines sed pravitates quibus perturbatur et confunditur ad prae se ecclesia Anglicana et ipsius scripti auctoritate, invocata Sti. Spiritus gratia publice condemnavitque ut universos auctores, observatores, execlarors, consiliarios, auditors seu defensores curandum se accommodem excommunicamus.\

And besides the premisses, King Henry the Second which put Sancte Thomas to al this trouble for the said Article and other conceived and written at Charingdon which wer the cause of Sancte Thomas martirdom swor solemnly befor certayne legates sent from the Pope that he wold fulfill al suche penance as they wold enjoyne him for dethe of Sancte Thomas. And they enjoyed to fordo and leve up the Statutes of Charingdon and al other evil customs against the liberties of holy Churche. To the which, according to his othe, the said King dyd assent as it appereath by Sancte Thomas life where be this wordes Iuravit Rex quod quicquidque in poenitentia et Cardinales invinet vel satisfactionem plenariam exequetur: qui Cardinales invincunt quod prava statuta de Clarendon et omnes malas consuetudines quae in diebus suis in detrimentum ecclesiae Dei adductae sunt, permitte dimitteret. Ad quae omnia rex secundum suum jussum mandatum assensum praebuit.

(23) . . . . . . . . ng at the tumbe of Sancte Thomas renounced the same . . . . . . . . . Claringdon as il and injuste as it appereath in the life of Saint Thomas fol. xvi. iiiith columnne. Consuetudines etiam quae inter martirem et ipsum Regem totius fuerunt dissensionis materia Rex tanguam vera poenitens pro mortuis devotione et per mortuis virtutem abdicavit malas et iniquas,† &c., of the which abdication and renunciation Herbertus writeth, in this considering that the church of Rome and Sancte Thomas damned this article and others. Which is the case nowe of the which the words be rehearsed afore and be thus. Electus homagium et fideltatem Duo Regi sicut Duo lego suo de vita sua et membris et de honore suo terrem, salvo ordine suo, praestet praisquam sit consecratus. And considering that Sancte Thomas of Cantrebury excommunicated them that observed the said Articles so damned as is afor rehearsed, and rather then he wold consent to ratifie them with

* Taken from "Epistolae S. Thomas," 73, p. 102. Giles.
‡ Rex haue de quo nec agere praesenti chirurgico decerti renunciavit renuit et ilim eius omnem et auctoritatem explostit. And further writeth the said Herbertus touching the said custome put in writing at Charedon as followeth, Si funesti illius Cyriographi consuetudines aliquae momenta et tanguam de stirpe nostri de necvisi amputatis, non sole quondam, spuria vitulamina malae exccrescent, alhve sperandum ad Archipresbiteri martiris successororum instantium per regem elencorum quam evoro et noto mortuis et mortuus cause exteriori, memores imperfectum supplendum et pleve a facie Dei computrescent sanctitas ecclesiastica, quas aut si non libebatur, Altissima disponebat, sive mortuis successores Archipresbiteris his diebus carnis suae exccrescendae procreatione virtutis materia.
his writing and seal, went into exile and after suffered death. And considering that the King then for the same being, which sticked so sore for these Articles at the last left up and abdicated them as ill and unjust, I see not why that I shuld fall into any penalty of presuming consecrating a bishop and granting to him his spiritualities before he had done his homage, given his oath of fidelity, and sued out his temporaries of the King's grace's custody.

(24) Item, if it be objected that the consecration of this bishop is prejudicial to the King's grace's crown and to his regalitie. As to this I say that I would be as lothe as any man living to see anything oneselme or suffer anything to be done by any other that I might withstand which should be prejudicial to his grace's crown, and his regalitie as I am so bounde and with the gladder mynde by as much as I (albeit per case unworthy) by the grace and sufficiency of God, first enuncted his Highness King, and after put the crowne of England on his grace's head at the time of his coronation. And for the great goodness and noblenesse that I have seen in his higness for the time of al his reigne I wold be glad and greatly rejoice to put 111 crownes up upon his grace's head if it lay in my power so to doo, rather than to doo anything prejudicial to the leste part of his grace's crowne or regalitie. And I trust that the Crowne of England was never so weke, that any prejudice, damage or diminution might be done to it by the consecration of a bishop whatsoever tymo it were done. Considering it is a good and spiritual acte and that by a good and a spiritual acte can growe none yll to the Crowne when so ever it be done. And if such things done against the kings lawes as be yll, as killing of a man in the Kings presence (which God forbeide) doe no prejudice to the Kings graces crowne or yet diminisheth any parte of his regalitie much more that of consecration of a bishop (which is a good deed) can do no such hurt.

(25) It is to be thought that the Kings graces according to the grants of noble princes Kings of England and other which reigned nobly and died vertuously and according to Magna Carta, which sayeth *Habent Ecclesia Anglica libertates suas illas suas* the breakers of the which charter were solemnly accused at Paulus Crosse by the mooste parte of the bishoppes of England for that tymo beeing and the same curse confirmed by Pope Innocent the IIIIth. But ecclesia Anglica non habet libertates suas illas suas when the Church hath not his libertie to consecrate bishoppes but at Princes pleasures, for in case it shuld not please princes to have any bishoppes consecrated so the Church should cease.

(26) And for Goddes sake, lett not men only looke upon other princes acts made against the Churche and the liberties of the same, not discerning whether they be good or ill, but let men looke substantially upon the effects of them and also consider what yll fortune or punishment of God hath fallen upon such princes in whose dayes and by whose actuorite such acts (as the case which is layde to my charge) is one and other, were made to the derogation of the lawes and
liberties of the Church. Of the which princes King Henry the
Seconde which was beginner of this case that we be in nowe, and a
many other in Sancte Thomas dayes not long befor his death by
expressse wordes forsake God, and after his death was so nygh spoiled
by them that were about him, that he lay al nakyd until a servaunt
having pite and shame to see his maister which was so grete a mar
of the world, so to lye, cast his cote upon him to cover and hyde his
secrete parts.

(27) Edwarde the thirde also following his predecessours steppes
in this behalve, in his last dayes, his subjets rebellig ayenst him,
and notwithstanding his grete conquestes and his grete triumphs,
finally dyed in poverty, and hate of his nobles and subjets.

Also Richard the seconde maker and confirmer of suche actes as
be afor rehearsed at thende of his reigne renounced the right of the
Crown confessing him selve not to be able and sufficient to occupie
the same and after was in prison in the Castel of Pomefret ther
murdred or miserably famished.

And Henry the IIIIth being of the nymbe of princes aforesaid
was steyken with so grete and so fowle a leprosy and so evil favoured
by reason of his disease, that suche as he loved best and had doon
most for, abhorred him so sor that they wold not com nygh to hym,
as he was miserably died ther is to be rehearsed.

(28) I wil not take on me to judge the judgement of God and say
determinately that the said Kings were punished by the hande of
God for making of suche actes. Yet it may be reasonably thought
that the same was the hole or [some part of them] their punishment.

For wher this Article that is the case ... consecration (which is
surmisit to be a premunire) was one of tharticles that Sancte
Thomas of Cantebury dyed for and for his so dooing for this Article
and others made ayenst the liberties of Goddes Church was rewarded
of God with the grete honour of martirdom, which is the best deth
that can be. Which thing is the example and confort of other to
speake and to doo for the defense of the liberties of Goddes Church.

Then it followeth of likyhood that suche princes as I have rehearsed
making this Article toching the Consecration of a busship and others
ayenst the liberties of the Church of God wer punished by Goddes
hands with an ill deth in example of others to beware to make or to
execute suche articles ayenst the liberties of Christes Church.

(29) And when Sancte Thomas of Cantebury dyed and was and
is a holy martyre, because he wold not consent nor obey to these
Articles and others made ayenst the liberties of the Church, it is
to be thought that they that made contrary actes to the said liberties
and never repented nor reformed themselves were punished by
God with suche manner of sickeness and adversite as I have spoken
of before to cal them to his grace. And thersfor Sancte Thomas
for the tendre love that he had to Kyng Henry the Seconde by
whome he was promoted wrote to certeyne of the said Kings coun-
seile which mought doo much with hym, those words which be
written in Sancte Thomas life, fol. cli. Consulsi Dno nostro regi quib
situs comparatis gratium super ecclesiae dispendio ne (quod absit) percat
ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION. 411

ipsa sit coronam tota sicut et ipsa perier quin in consimili delicto comprehensi sunt. And Sancto Thomas in a certum scriptum of excommunication that he denounced against them that hurted the liberties of the Church of Canterbury, son after his return from exile sayeth that it hath not ben herd that any man hath hurted the Church of Canterbury but that he was punysshed of Crist. A seculus inauditum est quod quis ecclasiem cantuariensem lesrit et non sit correctus a Christo Domino. By the which sanotes saying it may be probably thought that the punishment of the said princes came of the hand of God for making of statutes against the libertie of the Church. I do not spoke of any excommunication or cases.

(30) And in case that there be any statute or acte made that th Archebushop of Canterbury for the tymne beeing shold be restrayned from his liberties and spiritual power to consecrate a bussidt or to graunte to him his spiritualities til the kings grace had delivered him to his temporalds, and that th Archebushop doing the contrary shold fall into a premunire, Pope Martine which was a very good and holy Pope wrote to King Henry the IIIith concerning a tracte of premunire made ayenst the liberties of the Church, in the whiche writing he conteyned these words that followeth of the which I make no mention here for that intent that I wol use and stikke upon themye for my defense norther to thentent to derogate the lawe of this lande or to discontent any man therby high or low, but specially for this causes, first that suche as have the handling of premunire shold loke the more substantially upon the danger of their soules and consciences executing the same, for a man knowing the danger may the better avoy . . . . . . . . may appear by the said Popes writing how streightely lorde Henry Chichely Archebushop of Canterbury because he did not resist . . . . . and spake ayenst the acte of premunire as much as in hym lay of the which writing to the said Archebushop I wol reherser som partes after I have shovwed partes of that the said Pope wrote to the said King, which followeth

Martius episcopus, servus servorum Dei charissimo in Christo filio henrico regi Augliue illustri salutem et Aplicam Ben. Quem omnem divinam et humana ratio vetet dce.

(31) And my lorde where mention is and hath be made to you to defende this matter that is nowe in question by the swerde, I doubt not but that ye beeing noble, wise, and discrete men and goddes knightes wol be right wel advised to drawe yor swordes in any suche case as this is, in the which by the grace of God and the Kings, no neede shalbe to drawe any swordes or to make mention of any such violence seeing that by this consecration ther is nothing doon ayenst the Kings grace's crowne and regalite which shuld provoke or deserve his high displeasure. Spesially wher by that consecration I entended nothing lesse than to displease the Kings grace, I take God to my record.

(32) And ye my lorde seing that this case that I am put to trouble for is one of the Articles that Saincte Thomas of Cantebury dyed for, I trust ye wol not drawe yor swordes to the displeasure of
God and of Sancte Thomas in this behalfe, into whose holy hands I recommende this my cause and the cause of the Churche. For I doubt not but that ye have herde before this tyme howe the knights that exercised their swords ayenst Sancte Thomas for this article and others were punished of God for their great presumption and mysoyning. So as unto this present day the punishment of them remaineth in their blood and generation.

(83) And in case ye shuld be so noted by other folks instigation and ungodly means to drawe your swords in this case and to have me to small paces (which God forbede ye shuld do) yet I thinke it were better for me to suffer the same than ayenst my conscience to confess this Article to be a preumunire for which Sancte Thomas dyed. For I see not howe I shuld graunte it and by my so graunting shuld bring the Churche of Christe into suche perpetual bondage that I and my successors shuld not consecrate a busshop but at princes pleasures, but that thereby I shuld dampe my soule for wher Sancte Thomas saved his soule and is a gloruous sancte in hevyn for the denying of this Article, and others, I see not but that I, doeing expressly contrarie to that that Sancte Thomas dyd (for the which he was a Sancte) and confessing this to be a preumunire; shuld dampe my soule.

... is objected that I am bounde to the knowledge of this Article for ... as it is a lawe of this lande. If this Article be a lawe of this land, it was concevved and put in writing at Claringdon by King Henry theSeconds dayes CCCC save XXXI yeres past. And when it was never put in execution ayenst any Archebussop albeit diverse of theyme have consecrated diverse busshoppes before the same busshoppes had doen their hommage and given ther othe of fidelite to the Kings grace and seued out their temporalties of the same, I thinke that neither by lawe reason or conscience I or any other is bounde to the knowledge or observance of suche a lawe which hath not been used and was never put in execution for the space of iii" almost.

(84) And where it pleaseth you my lوردes to assigne to me lay counselle, my lوردes, I wol not refuse their counselle beeing good, albeit for II causes I think they shal little profite me. One, for laymen have alwayes used and be accustomed to advance their owne lawes rather than the lawes of holy Churche as your lordships may see that laymen dayly encrocheth upon the lawes and liberties of the Churche by preumunire and prohibitions, whom Christ rebuketh in the Gospel saying, Wo worth ye that breke the lawes of God for the mainteyning of your owne lawes. 

Ye nobis qui transgressisti legem Dei propter traditiones vestras. And in this behalf I understand that suche temporal lerned men as have be assigned of counselle with spiritual men lately in cases of preumunire (as it was surmised for th advauncing of their temporal lawes, and for the derogation of the lawes of the Church have consevled theyme and induced theyme to confess and graunte a preumunire. Wherto peradvenrur, they wold advise me in like wise. Which if I wer so minded to confessse, I needed not to have their counselle.

(85) The seconde cause is, I am informed that temporal lerned men
that wold speke ther lernyg for suche as they have be of counsile with; wher they have spoken anything contrarie to the mind of som of the Kings most honorable counsile they have be called foole, and put to silence, and so peradventur they shold be entreated in this case if they shold speke ther mynds for me according to their lernyg whereof I wolde be lothe that any man shold be so rebuked for my cause.

(36) And in as much as this matier tocheith th acte of a bussshoppes consercation which is mer spiritual the nature and condition whereof is best known by spiritual men I desire and require you my lords as you shal answer befor God, that I may have such wise, safe and discrete counsile learned in the spiritual lawe, as can and will give to me godly counsile according to my lernyg and conscience and such . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . shall take counsile at yer assignment peradventur . . . . . . . . counsile assigned to me, which wold not or durst not give to me . . . . indifferent counsile.

(37) Item, if it be sayde that I shuld fynde suerties. To that Sancte Thomas answered in this maner, fo. lxiii. Quis unquam vidit et audivit Contuari. Archiepum indicari, condemnari cogi ad fidei missionem in curia Angliae. And in another place of Sancte Thomas life, fo. xv. Sancte Thomas sayeth Siquidem a sacculo non est auditum quemquam Contuari. Archiepum in curia regnum Anglorum pro quum causas causa indicatum tum propter dignitatem ecclesiae tum propter anciatoritatem personae. And giving of suerties is for suche psons. of whose fleeing or departing cute of the country it is fered, but as for me, if I had be disposed to flee, I mought have fled befor this tyne and befor I had entred this matier. And I thank God and the Kings grace, I have suche promotion to live uppon as I entend not to forsake and go to other places wher I shold have nothing. And beeing her, if I had lost al my goodes yet I trust I shold have som succes and help of my freinds and levers, but fleeing to other places I shuld percasse ther have nother goodes nor freinds.

(38) And wher grete besoynees hath be befor this tyne between princes of this reame, and Archbussshoppes of Canturbury in farr greter causes than thies be, as betweene Sancte Anselme, Sancte Edmunde, Robert Winchelsey, John Peckham, and John Stratford and princes for their tyne beeing, they wer never compelled to give any suerties no yet wer committed to warde.

And I trust that ye, my lords, be as godly disposed and as good Christian men as they wer in the said Archebussshoppes tyne, and that ye wol none otherwise entreate me, than they entreated my predecessors, spetially for the consecration of a freer, which is no deadly syn. And also who soever laye violent handes upon a busshop in tayking hym and after empresonyng hym is a cursed, of the which he cannot be asoile but of the Pope except it be in mortis articulo. And the place or places wher a bussshop takyn is kept as long as the busshop is so kept is interdicted and the II dioeces next adjoyynante also: as it appereth by the lawes of the Churche made in that behalfe. Wherfor, if ye fer the lawes and censures of Holy
Church ye can not take me no emprison me except ye wol be assured, and the place where I shuld be takyn or kept in shalbe interdicted which evry good Christian man which trusteth to be savyd by God and by the Churche owe to drede and grezely fer.

Endorsement written in late 17th century handwriting.

Reasons alleged by the Arch.B.P. of Canterbury why he ought not to know the praemunire because he consecrated the Bp of Assaph before Licence given by the King.

J. MOYES.

APPENDIX.

I.—HENRY STANDISH.

The Bishop of St. Asaph, whose consecration by Warham formed the basis of the charge met by the foregoing document, was Dr. Henry Standish. In the text this bishop is not mentioned by name, but is spoken of as a friar. This fact is sufficient to fix the identity of the prelate referred to. Warham, during the course of his long episcopate, consecrated three successive bishops to the See of St. Asaph. These were David ap Owen (February 4, 1504), Edmund Birkhead (May 29, 1515), and Henry Standish (July 11, 1515). The first was not a friar, but a monk. The second was a Doctor of Canon Law at Cambridge, and is not recorded as belonging to any religious order. The third was a friar minor, and a distinguished member of the Franciscan Province in England. In him, therefore, we have the “freer” whose consecration to the See of St. Asaph was made the ground of indictment against the Archbishop.

Henry Standish was the second son of Alexander Standish, of Standish.* Although a cadet of one of the leading Lancashire families, he gave himself to the Order of St. Francis. In the year 1506 he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and his name appears on the list of English pilgrims ("in forma nobilium," for the 14th of May of that year) preserved in the archives of the English College.† He was already Doctor of Divinity, and Provincial of his Order in

* This was the same family (still staunchly Catholic under the Elizabethan persecution) with whom Laurence Vaux, the last Catholic Warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, took refuge, and to whom he entrusted a large portion of the Church plate (see Laurence Vaux's "Catholicism," edited for the Chetham Society, Introduction, p. xxiv.).

England. On two occasions Dr. Standish came prominently before the public. In 1510 there was a sharp crisis between Church and State on the question whether clerics accused of certain crimes might not be brought before lay judges. Kedermyster, the Abbot of Westminster, championed the immunities of the clergy in a fervid discourse at Paul’s Cross. To the surprise and indignation of a large number of his brethren, the Provincial of the Franciscans took the part of the anti-clericals. Convocation appears to have regarded him as a public mischief-maker, and its Prolocutor said so in no very measured terms.* His popularity with the king and Court would probably not suffer on account of the part he had taken. In Lent, the king usually went to Greenwich, and in March, 1511, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, Dr. Standish received 30s. for preaching there before his Majesty.† He was thus well known to Henry VIII., and stood high in his favour. Like all men in an eminent position, he was held in a very different estimate by different parties. The Bibliotheca Franciscana includes him amongst the great men of the Order, and describes him as “a man illustrious by his piety and learning, and a staunch defender of the Catholic Faith.” In 1518, the See of St. Asaph became vacant, and the king recommended Dr. Standish to the Pope in almost identical terms. But there were others who did not look upon the appointment in the same light. Wolsey had endeavoured to secure the See for W. Bolton, the Prior of St. Bartholomew’s. On the 12th of April, Pacz writes to the Cardinal‡ to say that he has been told that the king is going to promote the appointment of “Freier Standysche, whereof I wolde be rycht sorny for the good service he was like to do the Church.” He adds in Latin, “Nevertheless it seems to me that it will be a hard matter to get over the King in this matter, for his Majesty, when formerly talking to me on the subject, praised him for his learning, and all these Court people are for him on account of the special way in which he has worked for the overthrow of the English Church.”

Whether the above be mere malicious gossip or not, the tactful Cardinal dropped his candidate, and sixteen days later the king wrote his letters of presentation and recommendation to Rome in favour of Standish. The Pope provided Standish to the See, and Warham consecrated him on the 11th of July.

Two years later, and Dr. Standish was again in evidence before the religious world, but this time as the champion of orthodoxy against Erasmus. The new edition of the New Testament by Erasmus had just been issued, and its risky renderings—amongst others the “In principio erat verbum”—kindled the holy indignation of the Franciscan Bishop. He preached at Paul’s Cross on the 31st of July, 1520, a vehement denunciation of the innovator and all his works. On the same day he dined at the Palace, and when, during dinner, the conversation turned upon the sermon, and he was taken to task by

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† Ibid. King’s payments for above dates.
‡ Ibid. A.D. 1518, Nos. 4074 and 4083.
some of the courtiers, Standish roundly abused the writings of Erasmus. Raising his hands and eyes to heaven, in a theatrical attitude, he apostrophised the king, and implored his Majesty to come to the aid of the Spouse of Christ, if no one else would. One of the incorrigible courtiers, mimicking Standish's voice and gesture, begged to be informed what were the dangerous heresies which the bishop had complained of. It must be remembered that we owe the account of this incident to the sharply pointed pen of the very Erasmus who was the object of denunciation, and whose description can hardly be other than an *ex-parte* statement.† That Standish ranged himself on the side of the orthodox party as opposed to the followers of the new learning, is further shown by his action as judge or assessor in several of the heresy trials which took place about this time. In 1524, he was associated with Sir John Baker as ambassador in Denmark.‡ On Sunday, the 5th of January, 1527, when the great Cardinal, proceeding by water, landed at Blackfriars, and amid a splendid retinue and a huge concourse of people, went in procession to St. Paul’s, flanked by the Ambassadors of the chief European Powers—the Imperial on his right and the French on his left—Bishop Standish was there to receive him.§ When the Divorce trouble began, he was one of the four bishops appointed to act for Queen Catherine, and was thus associated with Archbishop Warham, West of Ely, and Blessed John Fisher of Rochester. He is said to have been treated with disfavour by the Queen, who shrewdly suspected that his appointment to her cause was made not in her but in the King’s interest.|| He subsequently assisted at the consecration of Cranmer and at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. He lived to see the storm at its worst and the work of the English Reformation all but completed. The Act of the King’s Supremacy—the famous 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, which severed England from Rome, was passed on November 4, 1534. The summer and autumn of that fateful year was the time of test to the bishops and clergy, and month by month the Commissioners were busy in seeing that the schismatical oath was tendered to them. Blessed John Fisher suffered on the scaffold on June 22 of the following summer, 1535. Blessed Thomas More followed him on the 6th of July. Henry Standish died three days later—July 9th—and was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, in London.

† "State Papers Henry VIII," vol. iii. 3539.
‡ Rymer, xiv. 12.
|| Baines’ "Lancashire," p. 166.
ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.

II.—RECORDS.

The following subsidiary documents referring to this case may be of interest as showing how English bishops were made under Henry VIII., and in the period which immediately preceded the Reformation.

A.

The See of St. Asaph became vacant about the beginning of April 1518. On the 26th of the same month, the King wrote to the Pope the following letter:

To our Most Holy and Most Clement Lord the Pope.

Most Blessed Father,

After most humble commendation and most devout kissing of the blessed feet.

When it was made known to Us, that the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, in Our principality of Wales, was left vacant, and destitute of a Pastor by the death of the Rev. Father in Christ, Edmund, its last bishop, We thereupon thinking to make provision therefor, have considered that the charge and care of the said Church may be worthily entrusted to the Venerable and religious man, Henry Staudysh of the Order of Conventual Friars Minor, professor of Sacred Theology, a famous preacher of the Word of God, and endeared to Us not less by his exquisite learning than by his modest, upright, and circumspect life, and finally by his integrity of morals.

Wherefore, We earnestly commend him to your Holiness, Whom We entreat as a special favour to Ourselves, to deign to appoint the said Henry to the said Church and constitute him thereto as its Bishop and its Pastor—which We trust will be for the honour and wellbeing of the aforesaid Church, as it will be unto Us exceedingly pleasing.

And may health and happiness be given to your Holiness, Whom may the Most High God preserve for long years to come.

From our Royal Palace at Woodstock, the 28th day of April, 1518.

Your Holiness's
Most devoted and most obedient Son, Henry, by God's grace, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland.

B.

The King, according to custom, backed this letter up by another addressed to Cardinal Julian, who was Vice-Chancellor of the Sacred College, and Cardinal Protector for English affairs at the Roman Court.

This supplementary letter is as follows:
Henry, by God’s grace, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland.

To our most dear friend, the Most Rev. Father in Christ, the Lord Julian by Divine Mercy, by the title of St. Laurence in Damaso, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Vice-Chancellor of the same, Legate of Bologna, Protector, &c., of Us and of Our kingdom at the Court of Rome, greeting.

Having lately heard that the Bishopric of St. Asaph’s in Our Principality of Wales has been vacated by the death of the most Rev. Father in Christ, Edmund, its late pastor, We have commended to our Most Holy Lord, the venerable and religious man, Henry Standish, of the Order of Conventual Friars Minor, Professor of Sacred Theology, conspicuously adored by eminence of learning, uprightness of character, and holiness of life, and earnestly entreat that He would deign to raise and promote the same to the aforesaid bishopric.

Wherefore, We also ask your Most Reverend Lordship to be good enough to put the matter forward in the usual way,* and to see that the whole business may be carried through according to the tenor of Our letters. It will be, moreover, especially pleasing to Us, if out of regard to Us, you will extend your favour to the said venerable Father in the expedition of the Bulls.†

Fare ye well,

From Our palace at Woodstock,
28th April, 1528.  Henr.v.

C.

The Cardinal Protector evidently bestirred himself, for in little more than a month he had passed the whole matter through Consistory and was able on the 8th of June to notify the King of its successful issue.‡

Humble Commandation to the Sacred Most Serene and Royal Majesty.

Seeing that lately there was a vacancy in the Church of St. Asaph, in Your Majesty’s Principality of Wales, by the decease of Edmund, its late bishop, you petitioned that provision should be made in the person of the venerable and religious man, Henry.

His Holiness, moved both by your prayers, which ever count much with Him, and by the learning and virtue of the man, has willingly appointed him to the said Church as its Bishop and Pastor. In which affair I (as your Majesty directed) discharged the office of

* “Referre”—i.e., to make the usual relation in Consistory, reporting to the Sacred College the vacancy and state of the church and the merits of the person commended.
† Both these letters are given in the MSS. Collection of the Abbate Marino, preserved at the British Museum, vol. xxvi. p. 525.
‡ This document is in the Record Office; 4220, vol. ii. part ii. “State Papers Henry VIII.”
The Bulls must have quickly followed the Cardinal's notification, for on July 11th Archbishop Warham consecrated Henry Standish at the manor of Otford. The entry in Warham's Register is in four parts.

1. There is given in full the profession of canonical reverence and obedience made by Henry Standish to the Archbishop, in which he promises to obey him "according to the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs."

2. This is followed by the usual Oath of Fidelity and Obedience which Henry Standish took to the Pope, "to be his helper and the defender of the Roman papacy against all men."

3. There is next in order the record of Consecration.

"On Sunday, viz., the 11th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Five hundred and Eighteen, the said Most Reverend Lord and Father in Christ, the Lord William by Divine permission, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, in the chapel of his Manor of Otford situate within the immediate jurisdiction of his Church of Christ, of Canterbury, conferred the gift of Consecration on the said Reverend Father and lord Henry, the assistants being the Reverend Fathers and Lords, Robert of Chichester and John of Calipoli, by God's grace, bishops. There were also present the Venerable men, Masters Walter Stone, Chancellor of the said Most Reverend Father, and Thomas Welles and Clement Broten, professors of Sacred Theology, and Ingelram Bedell, Thomas Millyng, and John Aylul, clerks, and William Potkyn, public notary, and many others."

4. Incorporated in the above, and continuous with it, is the record of the livery of the spiritualities to the new bishop.

The operative clause of the Archbishop's writ addressed to the Dean and Vicars-General is as follows.

"Seeing that Our Most Holy Father and Lord, the Lord Leo X., by Divine Providence Pope has provided our venerable brother the Lord Henry to the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph recently vacated by the death of the Lord Edmund, of good memory, late bishop of the said Church, and has appointed him to the said Church as its Bishop and Pastor, We charge and command you, and each one of you, that you
fully and entirely deliver or cause to be delivered to the said lord Henry, or to his ministers or deputies all registers, documents concerning the spiritualty of the said City and Diocese, now in your hands, reserving to us the Registers, Acts, and transactions done before or for you or any of you during the aforesaid vacancy, and which we desire and command to be integrally transmitted to us, and that you permit the same lord Henry and his officials and ministers in spirituals in the said City and Diocese to freely administer and to dispose of the same.”

It was this livery of spirituals in 1518 which was made a count of the indictment against the Primate in 1532. Its whole tenor is entirely in keeping with the theory of jurisdiction which Warham states so clearly in the document, namely, that the writ of livery did not confer spiritual jurisdiction to a newly appointed bishop, in so much as he had already received it from the Pope in Consistory, and the Primate could not therefore lawfully withhold it. Such a writ could consequently be but an official notification and command to the Dean and Chapter (they would already have received the Papal Bulls to the same effect), to allow the new bishop the free exercise of the jurisdiction already possessed. We have thus a striking example of the harmoniously concurrent character of Papal and Primatial Jurisdiction.

J. M.

* Warham's Register, fol. xxi.