protestations of her innocency for the same; after that she sent her last message to the king; and acknowledged her selfe much obliged to him, that had continued still to advance her. She said, he had from a private Gentlewoman, first made her a marchioness; and then a queen; and now since he could raise her noe higher, was sending her to be a saint in Heaven. She protested her innocency; and recommended her daughter to his care: and her carriage the day she dyed will appear from the following letter, writ by the lieutenant of the Tower, copied from the original; which I insert because the copyser employed by the Lord Herbert hath not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on design.

Sir, these shall be to advertise you, I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and doe they be by the means of rich C-request, and William Cook, and Witspoll, but the number of strangers is not. So and not many of those seemed; and the ambassador of the emperor had a servant there, and honestly put out: Sir if we have not an hour certain; as it may be known in London; I thinke here will be but few; and I thinke a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare her selfe to be a good woman, for all men, but for the king; at the hour of her death, for this morning she sent for me; and at my coming, she said, Mr. Kingston; I hear say, I shall not die at once: and I am very sorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time; and past my pain, I told her it should be noe pain; for it was noe sattler, or short; and then she said, I heard say, the executioner was very good; and I have a little neck; and put her hands about it, laughing heartily; I have seen many men, and all soo women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow; and to my knowledge this
lady hath much joy and pleasure in death; she desired that she might be with her at such time as she received the good word; to the intent she should hear her speak as touching her innocency always; to be clear and in the writing of the she sent for me. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her; and had been since two a clock after midnight: this is the effect of anything that is here at this time, and thus save you well. yours 

William Kingston.

A little before noon, being the 19th of May, she was brought to the Scaffold; where she made a short speech to a great company that came to look on the last scene of this fatal tragedy; the chief of whom were the Dukes of Suffolk & Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell; with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London; she said, she was come to dye; as she was judged by the Law; she would accuse none; nor say any thing on the ground, on which she was judged; she prayed heartily for the King; and called him a most merciful and Gentle Prince; and that he had been always to her a good Gentle Sovereign Lord; and if any would meddle with her cause; she required them to judge the best; and so she took her leave of them, and of the world; and heartily desired they would pray for her. After she had been some time in her Devotions; her last words being: to Christ I recommend my soul; her head was cut off by the Hangman of Calais; who was brought over as more expert at beheading, than any in England; her eyes and Lips were observed to move after her head was cut off; as Spoliman novity; but her body was thrown into a common chest of Elm tree; that was made to put arrows in; and was buried in the chappell within the Tower before, twelve a clock. Her brother with the other four, did all so suffer none of them were quartered; but they were all beheaded, except Smeton, who was Hanged; it was generally said
that he was corrupted in the confession; and had his wife promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales, nor was it been much in the king's favor; and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the queen; but he courageously rejected that unhandsome proposition; and said, that in his conscience he thought her innocent of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of any thing, and he would dye a thousand times, rather than ruin an innocent person.

These proceedings occasioned as great variety of censures, as there were diversity of interests; the popish party said, the justice of God was visible; that she who had supplanted queen Katherine, met with the like and harder measure by the same means; some took notice of her saint justifying herself on the scaffold; as if her conscience had then prevailed. So far if she could not longer deny a thing for which she was soon to answer at another tribunal; but others thought her case of her daughter, made her speak so tenderly; for she had observed that queen Katherine, obstinacy had drawn the king's indignation on her daughter; and therefore that she a lone might bear her misfortune, and derive no share of them on her daughter, she spoke in a style that could give the king no just cause of offense; and as she said enough to justify her self, so she said as much for the king's honour as could be expected; yet in a letter that she wrote to the king from the tower she pleaded her innocence in a strain of such much wit and moving passionate eloquence as perhaps can scarce be parallelled; certainly her spirits were much exalted when she wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary style; yet the copy I take it from, lying among crowne's, well other papers make me believe it was truly written by her.

queen Anne Boleyn, Last Letter written to King Henry.

Sir, your Graces displeasure, and my imprisonment are things I so strange unto me; as what to write, or what to excuse; I am altogether ignorant, whereas you sent unto me (telling me to confess a truth and to obtain your favor) by such
ar one as you know to be my antient profess'd enemy, I now now
erceived this message by him, then I rightly conceived your
meaning: and is as you say, confessing a truth indeed may
procure my safety, I shall with all willingnesse and Duty, per
form your command. But let not your Grace euer f'm
againe that euer your Poxe wise will be brought to acknow-
ledge a fault, where not soe much as a thought thereof pre-
ceded; and to speake a truth never prince had wise more
loyall in Duty, and in all true affection, then you have
ever found in Anne boleyn; with which name and place
I could have willingly have contented my selfe, if God
and your Grace's pleasure had been soe pleased; neither did
I at any time doe saue forget my selfe in my exaltation
or received queene ship; but that I alwayes looked for such
an alteration; as now I finde: for the ground of my pre-
servement, being on noe surer foundacion then your Grace;
saue, the least alteration I knew was fitt and sufficient
to draw that saue to some other object; you have cho-
sen mee from a low estate to be your queene and com-
panson, saue beyond my desert or desire; if then you found
me worthy of such Honour; Good your Grace let not any
light saue nor bad counsell of mine enemies withdraw
your princely favor from mee; neither let the stain that
unworthy stain of disloyall heart towards your good grace
ever cast doe soule a blot on your most Dutifull wife: z
the intant Princess your Daughter; try mee good king,
but let mee have a Lawfull trial, and let not my sworn
enemies sit as my accusers and Judges: yea let me receive
an open trial; for my truth shall sear noe open shame: then
shall you see either mine innocence cleaved your suspicion
and conscience satisfied; the demoning and slander of my
world stoped; or my guilt openly declared: soe that what
soever God, or you, may determine of mee; your Grace
may be freed from an open censue: and mine offence be-
ing doe Lawfully proved, your Grace is at libertie, both
before God and man, not only to execute worthy pun-
ishment on me as on an unlawfull wise; but to follow
Your affection already settled on the party for whose sake I am now as I am; whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your Grace, being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemy the instrument thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his General judgment seat, where both you and my selfe must shortly appear and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever I would may thinke of me) mine innocency shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleaved.

My last and only request shall be, that my selfe & only my selfe may bear the burden of your Graces displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentleman, whose (as I understand) are likewise in strict punishments for my sake; if ever I have found favor in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn, had been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will soe leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions, from my dolefull Prison in the Tower, the 6th of May, your most loyall, and ever faithfull wife,

Anne Boleyn.

Her carriage seemed too free; and all people thought that some freedom and levities in her had encouraged those unfortunate persons to speak such bold things to her, since few attempt upon the chastity of, or make declarations of love to persons of soe exalted a quality, except they see some fruition, at least in their carriage; others thought that a free and joviall temper might with great innocence
though with no discretion, lead on to all those things that were pro-
ved against her; and therefore they concluded her chast, though
indiscreet; others blamed the king, and taxed his cruelty;
in proceeding so severely against a person whose chastity he
had reason to be assured of; since she had resisted his ad-
dresses near five years; till he legitimated them by marriage;
but others accused him; it is certain her carriage had given
just cause of some jealousy, and that being the rage of man.
It was no wonder, if a king of his temper concerning it a-
gainst one whom he had so signal oblige, was transport-
ed into unjustifiable practice.

other's condemned Cranmer, as a man that obsequiously fol-
lowed all the king's appetites; and that he had now divorced
the king a second time; which showed that his conscience,
governed by the king's pleasure, as his supreme law; but what
he did was unavoidable, for what ever motive, drew from her
that confession of the precontract, he was obliged to give sentence
upon it; and that which she confessed being such as made her in-
capable to contract marriage with the king; he could not decline
giving the sentence upon so formal a confession; some load-
ed all that favored the reformation; and said it now appear
ed what a woman their great patroness and supporter-
had been; but to those it was answered, that her faults if
true, being secret, could cast no reflection, on those who
being ignorant of them, made use of her protection; and
the Church of Rome (though not their cause) suffered by the
injured cruelty and ambition of the cursed grime, who
had convened the second council of Nice; and set up the
worship of images again in the East; whom the pope
continued to court and magnifie; after her barbarous
murder of her son; with other acts of unsatisfied spight
and ambition; therefore they had noe reason to thinke the
worse of persons for claiming the protection of a queen
whose faults (if she was at all criminal) were unknown
to them when they made use of her.
Some have since that time concluded it a great evidence of her guilt that during her daughters long and glorious reign, there was noe full nor compleat vindication of her published, for many writers of that time thought it enough to speak Honourably of her; and in general to call her Innocent; but none of them ever attempted a clear discussion of the particulars laid to her charge; thi had been much to her daughters Honor, and therefore since it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt restrained their pens; but others doe not at all allow of Inference; and thinke rather, that it was the great wisdom of that time, not to suffer such things to be called in question since noe wise Government will admit of a debate about the cleerness of the Princes title; for the very attempting to prove it, weakens it more than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it therefore it was prudently done of the queen, and her great ministers knew to suffer any vindication or apology to be written; some indiscretions could not be denied, and these would all have been caught hold of, and triumphed by the busy emissaries of Rome and Spain.

But nothing did more evidently discover the secret cause of this queens ruin then the kings marrying Jane Seymour, the day after her execution, shee of all king Henrys wives, gained most on his affections and esteem; but shee was happy in one thing, that shee did not out live his affection and love; other wise shee might have fallen as signally as her predecessors had done. upon this turn of affairs, a great change of counsell followed.

There was nothing now that kept the emperour and king at a distance but the illegitimation of the lady mary; and if the matter had been adjusted, the king was in no more hazard of trouble from him; therefore it was proposed that she might be again restored to to the kings favor; shee found this was the best opportunity shee could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it; and wrote an Humble submission to the king; and desired again to be admitted to his presence; but her submission had some reserves in them
therefore she was pleased to be more express in her acknowledgments; at this she stuck long, and had almost emboldened her selfe again with her father, she freely offered to submit to the laws of the land about the succession; and confessed the fault of her former obstinacy; but the king would have her acknowledge that his marriage to her mother was free and unprofitable; and to renounce the Pope, authority, and to accept him as supream head of the church of England; these things were of hard digestion with her; and she could not easily swallow them; so she wrote to Cromwell, to be friend her at the kings hand; upon which many letters passed between them; he wrote to her that it was impossible to recover her fathers favor, without a full and clear submission in all points; so in the end she yielded, and sent the following paper, all written with her own hand; which is set down as it is coppyed from the original yet extant.

The confession of me, the Lady Mary, made upon certain points and articles under written; in the which I doe now plainly, and with all my heart confess and declare mine inward sentence, beliefe, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm, for minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination; without change, alteration, or variation; I doe most Humbly beseech the kings Highness, my father, whom I have obstinately and inedientially offended in the deniall of the same; Here to fore, to forgive mine offence therein; and to take mee to his most Gracious mercy.

First, I confess and acknowledge the kings majesty to be my soveraign Lord and King, in the Imperial crown of this realm of England, and doe submit my selfe to his Highness; and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, as become a true and
Faithfull Subject to doe; which I shall allsoe obey, keep, observe, advance and maintain; according to my bounden Duty, with all the power, force, and qualities, that God hath Indued mee with, during my Life.

Item, I recognize, accept, and take, repute, and acknowledge the Kings Highness, to be the Suprem head in earth under chriest of the church of England; and doe utterly refuse the bishops of Rome pretended Authority, power, and Jurisdiction; within this realm of England, Hereetofore usurped, according to the laws and Statutes, made in that behalfe, and of all the Kings true Subjects Humbly received, admited obeyed kept and observed; and allsoe doe utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest and advantage, which I may by any means claim; by the bishops of Rome, laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence at this present time or in any wise hereafter, by any manner of title, colour, mean or case, that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

Item, I doe freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my Duty towards God, and the Kings Highness; and his Laws without other respect, recognize, and knowledge, that the marriage hereetofore had between his majesty, and my mother the late Princess Dowager, was by Gods Law, and mans Law. Incestious and unlawful.

Mary.

Upon this she was received again into favour.

After this a parliament was summoned to meet the 8th of June for to settle an apperent Heir to the crown; and that made to repeal the Statute made for the succession of the crown, to the issue of the king by Anne Boleyn, and the attainder of queen Anne, and her accomplices was confirmed; queen Anne is said to have been inflamed with pride; and carnall desires of her body; and to have confederated her selfe with her complices to have committed divers treasons, to the danger of the Kings' royall person; (with other aggravating words) for which she deserved death; and the inheritance of the crown is established.
one the Issue of Queen Jane, whether male or female, or the Issue of the King by any other Wife, that he might marry hereafter, and the Lady Mary declared illegitimate.

At this time, came a new proposition from Rome to endeavor a reconciliation with the King; but all in vain; for two acts are passed in Parliament; for the utter extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, whom some called a Pope, whose had long darkened God’s word, that it might serve him; pomp, glory, avarice, and ambition, and tyranny, both up on the souls and bodies and goods of all Christians, excluding Christ out of the rule of men’s soul; and Prince, out of their Dominions; and had exacted in England great sums of money by dreams and vanities, and other superstitious ways; upon these reasons his usurpations had been by law put down in these nations, or in this nation.

At this time there are 67 opinions set down, and are either the tenets of the old Hollanders, or the new vestors, together with the Anabaptists opinions, beside all these which they complained of; they complained of some of many unsavoury and indiscreet expressions, which were either censured or design to disgrace the new preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant expressions of some flagitious and injudicious persons who are apt upon all occasions by their heat and folly rather to prejudice than advance their party; and affect petulant George, which they think witty; and are perhaps well entertained by some others; who, though they are more judicious themselves, yet imagining that such jests on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them to much encouragement; many of these jests about confession; praying to Saints, holy water and the other ceremonies of the church, which complain ed off; and the last Article contained sharp reflections on some of the Bishops, as if they had been wanting
in their duty, to suppress such things; this was clearly
levelled at Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, and others who
were noted as the great promoters of these opinions.
The first did it prudently and solidly; the second
zealously and simply; and the third with much in
discreet pride and vanity!

About this time were Articles agreed on about Religion after
much consultation, and long Debating.

1. All bishops and preachers must instruct the people
to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds that were
made by the Apostles, the nicene, and the Athanasius,
Interpret all things according to them; and in the very
Same words; and condemn all Heresies contrary to them
Particularly those condemned by the four first Gener-
all Councells.

2. Of Baptism; the people must be instructed, that it is
a sacrament instituted by Christ for the remission of sins;
without which none could attain everlasting life; and
that not only those of full age; but Infants may and must
be baptized for the pardon of original Sin; and obtain
ing the Gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the
sons of God; and that none baptized, ought to be bapti-
ized again; that the opinions of the Anabaptists, and Pel-
gians were detestable Heresies; and that those of ripe age
who desired baptism, must with it joyn repentance and
contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the Arti-
cles of the Faith.

3. Concerning penance, they were to instruct the people, that it
was instituted by Christ; and was absolutely necessary to salvation, that
it consisted of contrition, confession and amendment of life, with ex-
terior works of charity; which were the worthy fruits of pen-
nance; for contrition it was an inward shame and sorrow:
for sin, because it is an offence to God; which provokes his dis-
pleasure; to this must be joyned a faith of the goodness and mer-
cy of God, wherein the penitent must hope that God will =
Forgive him; and repute him justified; and of the number of his elect children; not for the worthiness of any merit, or work done by him; but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ; that this faith is got and confirmed by the application of the promises of the Gospel, and the use of the sacraments; and for that end confession to a priest is necessary if it may be had, whose absolution was instituted by Christ to apply the promises of free grace to the penitent; therefore the people were to be taught that the absolution is spoken by an authority given by Christ in the Gospel to the priest, and must be believed as if it were spoken by God himself; according to our Saviour's words; and therefore none were to condemn Anicu lar confession, but use it for the comfort of their consciences; the people were also to be instructed, that though God pardoned sin only for the satisfaction of Christ, yet they must bring forth the fruits of penance, prayer, fasting, alms, deeds of restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to others, with other works of mercy and charity and obedience to God's commandments; else they could not be saved; and that by doing these they should obtain everlasting life and mitigation of their afflictions in this life present, according to his scripture.

4. As touching the sacrament of the Altar, people were to be instructed, that under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially given, the very same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary; and therefore it was to be received with all reverence; every one duly examining himself according to the words of Saint Paul.

5. That people were to be instructed that justification signifies the remissions of sins, and acceptance into the favor of God, that is to say, a perfect renovation in Christ; to the attaining which they were to have contrition, faith, charity, which were both to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works necessary to salvation, were not only outward civil works, but the inward motions and graces of God's Holy Spirit to dread fear and love him; to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have patience in all.
adversities, to hate sin, and to have purposes of will not to
sin again; with such other motions and virtues, consenting
and agreeable to the Law of God.

The other Articles were about the ceremonies of the Church.

1. of images; the people were to be instructed, that the
use of them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they
served to represent to men, good examples, and to stir up
devotion; and that therefore it was meet that they should
stand in the church, but that the people might not fall
into superstition, as it was thought they had done in time
past; they were to be taught to reform such abuses, lest
idolatry might ensue, and that in censoring, kneeling,
offering, or worshiping them, the people were to be instruc
ted not to do it to the image, but to God, and his honour.

2. for the Honouring of Saints; they were not to think it
to attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained
of God; but that they were to honour them as persons now in
glory, to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues,
and not fear to dye for the truth, as many of them had done.

3. for praying to Saints; the people were to be taught, that
it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us, and
to correct all superstitious abuses in this matter; they were to
keep the days appointed by the Church for their memories,
unless the King should lessen the number of them, which
if he did was to be obeyed.

4. of ceremonies; people were to be taught, that they were
not to be condemned and cast away; but to be kept as good
and laudable; having mystical significations in them, &
being useful to lift up our minds to God; such were the
vestments in the worship of God; the sprinkling of holy
water; to put us in minde of our baptism, and the blood
of Christ; giving holy bread, in sign of our union in Christ
and to remember us of the sacrament; bearing candles
on candlemas day, in remembrance that Christ was the spi
ritual light; giving ashes on Ash-wednesday days, to put
us in minde of pernance, and our mortalitie; beare palp
on Palm Sunday, to shew our desire to receive Christ in our
hearts; as he entered into Jerusalem, excepting to the cross on
Good Friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death, with
the setting up the Sepulchre on that day, the Hollowing the
font, and other exorcisms and benedictions, and
5. As to Purgatory, they were to declare it good & cha-
ritable to pray for the souls departed, which was said to
have continued in the church from the beginning, and
therefore the people were to be instructed, that it consist-
ed well with the due order of charity to pray for them,
and to make others pray for them in masses and exe-
quises; and to give almes to them for that end, but since y
place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were uncer-
tain by the Scriptures; wee ought to remit them wholly to
Gods mercy; therefore all these abuses, were to be put away
which under the pretence of Purgatory, had been advanced
as if the popes pardons did deliver souls out of it, or masses
said in certain places, or before certain images, had such
efficiency with other such like abuses.

These Articles being thus conceived, and in several places correct-
ed by the kings own hand, were signed by Cromwell, and the Arch
bishop of Canterbury, and 17 other Bishops, forty abbots, & priors
and 50 arch deacons & proctors of the lower House of conven-
cation, among whom Solidore Virgill, and Peter Vunne, signed with
the rest, as appears by the originall yet extent, they being tender-
ed to the king, he confirmed them, and ordered them to be pub-
lished with a Preface in his name: It is said in the preface
that he accounting it the chief part of his charge, that the
word and commandments of God should be believed and obser-
vued, and to maintain unity and concord in opinion and
understanding, to his great regret, that there was great
diversity of opinion risen among his subjects, both about
articles of faith, and ceremonies, he had in his own person taken great pains and study about these things; and had ordered all the bishops and other learned men of the clergy to exam in them; with a long deliberation had concluded on the most special points, which the king thought proceeded from a good, right, and true judgment, according to the laws of God; these would all soe be profitable for the establishing unity in the church of England: therefore he had ordered them to be published, requiring all to accept of them praying God that he would illuminate their hearts; that they might have noe less zeale and love to unity and concord in reading them, then he had in making them to be devised, set forth and published; which good acceptance should encourage him to take further pains for the future, as should be most for the honour of God, and the profit and the quietness of his subjects.

Th: being published, occasioned great variety of censures: those that desired reformation were glad to see soe great a step once made; they rejoiced to see the scriptures, and the antient creeds; made the standards of the faith, without mingling traditions or the decrees of the church: then the foundation of christian faith was truly stated; and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ, were rightly opened, without the niceties of the Schoolmen, or either side; immediate worship of images & saints was all soe removed; and purgatory was declared uncertain by the scriptures; these were great advantages to them; but the establishing the necessity of auricular confession, the corporall presence in the sacrament; the keeping up and doing reverence to images, and praying to saints, did allay their joy; yet they still counted it a victory to have things brought under debate; and to have some grosser abuses taken away.

The other party were unspeakably troubled, four sacraments were passed over, which would encourage all affected people to neglect them; the painful trade by the belief of purgatory was
put down, for though it was said to be good to give alms, for praying for the dead; yet since both the dreadful stories of miseries of purgatory, and the certainty of redeeming souls out of them by masses were made doubtful, that people, charity and bounty that way would soon abate; and in avoid the bringing matters under dispute was a great mortification to them; for all concluded that this was but a preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When these things were sent beyond sea, the papal party made everywhere great use of it; to show the necessity of adhering to the pope; since the king of England, though when he broke of in his obedience to the Apostolick Sea, he pretended he would maintain the catholick faith there; yet was now making great changes in it; but others that were moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper, and prudence in continuing these Articles; and it seems, the Emperor, and the more learned divines about him, both approved of the President and liked the particularst for well, that not many years after, the Emperor published a work not unlike this, called the Interim, because it was to be in force in the Interim, till all things were more fully debated and determined in a Generall council, in which many particularst agreed with these Articles; yet some stricter persons censured this work much, as being a politickall cabal, in which they said there was more pains taken to gratifie persons, and some particular ends, than to assert truth in a free and unbyassed way; such as became Divines; this was again excused, and it was said that all things could not be attained on a suddain; that some of the Bishops and divines, who afterwardst arrived at a clearer understanding of some matters, were not then so fully convinced about them, and so it was their ignorance, and not their cowardize or policy that made them compliant in some things; besides, it was said, that as our saviour did not reveal all things to his disciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the Apostles did not of a suddain abolish all the rites of Judaism; but for some time to gain the
Jews complied with them; and went to the Temple and offered sacrifices; yet the people were not to be over-driven in this change. The clergy must be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and the people were to be better instructed; but to drive them suddenly and doe all at once, might have spoilt the whole design; and totally alienated those who were to be drawn by degrees; it might also much have endangered the peace of the nation; the people being much disposed by the practices of the friars to have rose in arms; therefore these slow steps were thought the safer, and better method.

About this time 1536. the pope had summoned a Generall counsell to be at Mantua; and had cited the king to appear; but the convocation declared against the counsell called by the pope; & it was moved that the convocation should give their sense of it, and they concluded with Gregory Nazianzen's observation in his time; that all assemblies of bishops were to be eschewed for he never saw good come of any of them; and they had increased rather then healed the discontent of the church for the appetite of vain glory and contention. Humor bore down reason; therefore they thought christian princes ought to employ all their endeavors to prevent so great a mischief, and it was to be considered. (1) whose had Authority to call one. (2) if the reasons for calling one were weighty. (3) who should be the judges. (4) what should be the manner of proceeding. (5) what things should be treated of in it. and so the king declared against it; and concludes that the place was neither safe, nor proper, and protested against any council to be held by the popes authority.

But cardinall pool opposes the kings proceedings; and writes his book against him; and many books were written for the king and the king designed sharp tools for pools punishment.

In the next place; instructions were given about the dissolution of monasteries, and about ten thousand persons were set to seek for their livings being turned out of them, the rents of them all arose to about 32000 pounds, and the goods plate jewels, and other movables were valued at above 10000 pounds; and it is Generally said, and not improbably.
The commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the king's revenue; the churches and the cloisters were for the most part pulled down; and the lead, bells, and other materials were also sold; and that must needs have raised great discontent everywhere.

The religious persons that had been undone, went about proclaiming of the sacrilege and injustice of the suppression that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God and his saints, was now invaded, and converted to secular ends; they said the king's severity fell first upon some particular persons of their orders, whose were first delinquent found to be so; but now upon the pretended miscarriages of some individual persons, to proceed against their houses and suppress them, was an unheard of practice; the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded or enriched these houses, and whose provided for their younger children or impoverished friends by putting them into these sanctuaries complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it; the people that had been well entertained at the abbots' table were sensible of their loss; for generally as they travelled over the country, the abbeys were their stage, and the houses of reception to travellers and strangers; the devoutest sort of people of their persuasion, thought their friends must now lie in purgatory without relief; except they were at the charge to keep a priest, who should daily say mass for their souls; the poor that fed on their daily alms were deprived of that supply; this was in the year 1536.

But to compose their discontents, first many books were published, to shew what crimes, cheats, and imposture those religious persons were guilty of; yet that brought not much on the people; for they said why were not the abuses severely punished and reformed; but must whole whole houses, and the succeeding generations be punished for the faults of a few; but most of these reports
were all soe denied, and even those whoe before envied the ease and plenty in which the abbots and monks liued; began now to pity them; and condemned the proceeding against them: but to allay this General discontent, Cromwell advised to sell their Lands at very easy rates to the Gentry in the severall counties, obliging them, since they had them upon such terms to keep up the wanted Hospitality; this drew in the Gentry apace; both to be satisfied with what was done; and to assist the crown for ever, in the defence of these laws, their own interest being soe interwoven with the rights of the crown; (soe that here were bobbin hoods, penny worthes made of them) the commoner sort whoe like those of old, that followed Christ for the house, were most concerned for the loss of a good Dinner on a holy day; or when they went over the country about their busines, were now allsoe in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom their hands were given, were obliged under heavy forfeiture to keep up that Hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent which lay chiefly in their mistakes was appeased.

And to quiet other people, whoe could not be satisfied with such things, the King made use of a clause in the act, that gave him lesser monastries, which empowered him to continue such as he should think fit; therefore on the 17th of August, he by his letters Patents, did of new give back for perpetuall alms five Abbeys; the first of these was the Abby of S. Marie, of bet lesden, of the cistercian order in Bedfordshire, ten more were afterwards confirmed. 16. nunneries were allsoe confirmed in all 38. House; the Patents (in most of which some monnors are excepted that had been otherwise disposed off) are all inrolled; and yet none of our writers have taken any notice of this; it seems these House had been more regular then the rest: soe that in a General calamity they were rather depreciated; then excepted; for two years after this; in the suppressions of the rest of the monastries; they fell under the common rate of other House; by these new endowments they were
Eliged to pay tenths and first fruits, and to obey all the statutes and rules that should be sent them from the king as supreme head of the church. But it is not unlike that some presents to the commissioners, or to Cromwell, made these houses outlive this ruin; for I finde great trading in bribes at this time which is not to be wondered at, when there was so much to be had.

But great disturbance followed upon the dissolution of the other Houses, people were still generally discontented; the suppression of Religious Houses occasioned much out crying, and the Articles then lately published about Religion increased the distress they had received at the Government; the old clergy were also so very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every sparkes; and the Pope’s power of depoising kings had been for almost 500 years, received as an Article of Faith; the same councill that had established transubstantiation had asserted it; and there were many presidents, not only in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, but also in England, of kings that were deposed by popes, whose dominions were given to other princes; this had begun in the 8th century, and had begun in two famous depriations; the one in France of Childerick the 3d, who was deprived, and the crown given to Pepin; and about the same time, those Dominions in Italy, which were under Eastern Emperours renounced their Allegiance to them; In both these the Papes had a great hand; yet they rather confirmed and approved of those treasonable mutations, which then gave the first rise to them; but after popes Gregory the 7th, time, it was clearly assumed as a written prerogative of the papall crown, to depose princes, and absoleue subjects from the oaths of allegiance; and set up others in their stead; and all those Emperours or kings that contested anything with Popes, sate very uneasy and unsafe in their thrones ever after that; but if they were tractable to the demands of the court of Rome, then they might oppress their subjects, and govern as unjustly as they pleased; for they
had a mighty support from that court; this made princes more easily bear the pope’s usurpations, because they were assisted by them in all their other proceedings; and the Swiss having the consciences of people generally in their hands, as they had the power given by their Generall at Rome; soe they disposed people either to be obedient, or sedition, as they pleased. 1536. Now not only their own interests mixed with their zeal for the present Religion, but the Pope’s Authority, gave them as good a warrant to incline the people to rebell, as any had in former times; of whom some were cannonized = for the like practices; for in August the former year 1535 the pope had sumoned the king to appear within 90 days; and to answer for putting away his queen, and taking another wife; and for the laws he had made against the church; and putting the bishop of Rochester and others to death for not obeying these laws; and if he did not reform these faults, or did not appear to answer for them the pope would excommunicate him, and all that favoured him; which accordingly he did; and deprived the king, put the kingdom under an interdict, forbid all his subjects to obey, and other states to hold commerce with him; dissolved all his leagues with foreign princes; commanded all the clergy to depart out of England, and his nobility to rise in arms against him, but now the force of those thunders which had formerly produced great earthquakes and commotions was much abated; yet some storms were raised by this; though not soe violent as in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their Harvest and though some injunctions were published a little before to help it the better afterward; most of the Holy days of Harvest being abolished by the kings Authority; yet the rather inflamed them the more; other injunctions were alfoe published in the kings name by Cromwell his
(152)

The power, which was the first act of pure supremacy done by the King; for in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations; but these it is like were penned by common consent. The substance of them was, that (1) all ecclesiastical injunctions were for a quarter of a year after that, twice every quarter, to publish to the people; that the bishop of Rome unjustly had had no ground in the law of God, and therefore was Good reason abolished in the kingdom; and that the king's power was by the lawes of God supreme over all persons in his Dominions; and they were to doe their utmost endeavours to extirpate the popes authority; and to establish the king's. (2) they were to declare the Articles lately published and agreed to by the convocation, and to make people know which of them were Articles of faith, and which of them rules for the decent and politic order of the church. (3) they were to declare the Articles lately set forth for the abrogation of some superstitions holy days, particularly in Harvest, that. (4) they were noe more to extoll images, or relics, for superstition or gain, nor to exhort the people to make pilgrimages, as if blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that saint, or image; but instead of that the people were to be instructed to the applying of themselves to God's commandments, and doing works of charity; and to believe that God was better served by them when they stayed at Home, and provided for their family than when they went on pilgrimages; and that the money laid out on these were better given to the poor. (5) they were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lords prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English, and every sermon was to explain these; one article a day, till the people were instructed in them; and to take great care that all children were bread up to some trade or way of living. (6) they must take care that the sacraments, and sacramentals be reverently administered in their parishes; from which when
they were at any time absent they were to commit the
cure to the learned and expert curate whoe might in
struct the people in wholesome doctrine; that they meet
daily; that their pastors did not pursue their own pro-
sfits and interest so much, as the Glory of God and
the good of souls under their cure. (7) they should not
sit except on urgent occasions, nor go to taurouns
or Ale houses; nor sit too long at any sort of Games af-
sen their meals; but give themselves to the study of
the scriptures, or some other honest exercise; and re-
member that they must excell others in purity of life
and to be examples to all others to live well and chri-
stianly. (8) because the goods of the church were goods
of the poor, every beneficed person that had twenty
pounds and above, did not reside, was yearly to dis-
tribute the fourtieth part of his benefice to the poor
of the parish. (9) every incumbent that had an hun-
dred pound a year, must give an exhibition for one
scholar at some grammere school or univeisity, whoe
after he had compleated his studies was to be partner
of the cure and charge both in preaching and other
Duties; and for many hundred pounds as any had;
for many students he was to breed up (10) where par
sonage or vicaridge Houses were in great decay, the
incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of
his profits to the repairing of them till they were
finished; and then to maintain them in the state they
were in (11) all these injunctions were to be observed
under pain of suspension and sequestration of the
mean profits till they were observ'd.

These were equally injurifull to the corrupt clergy
and to the laity that adhered to them; and the old doct-
rines; the very same opinions about pilgrimages, Im-
ages, and saints departed and instructing the people
in the principles of the Christian religion in the vulgar tongue; for which the Hollanders were not long ago either burnt or forced to abjure were now set up by the king's authority, from whence they concluded, that whatever the king said of his maintaining the old doctrine, yet he was now changing it; so many secret causes occurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and seditious practices.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire, in the beginning of October 1536, where a churchman disguised into a cobbler, and directed by a monk, drew a great body of men after him, about 2000 were gathered together; they swore to be true to God, to the king, and to the common wealth, and digested their grievances into a few articles which they sent to the king desiring a redress of them.

They complained of some things that related to secular concerns; and some of acts of parliament that were uneasy to them; they also complained of the suppression of so many religious houses; that the king had mean persons in high places about him, who were the councilors; they also complained of some bishops, who had subverted the faith; and they apprehended the jewels and plate of their churches should be taken away; therefore they desired the king would call to him the nobility of the realm; and by their advice reduce their grievances; conclude with an acknowledgment of the king's supremacy over them, and that the tithes, and first fruits of all livings belonged to him of right. When the king heard of this insurrection, he presently sent the Duke of Suffolk, with a commission to raise forces for dispersing them; but within he sent an answer to their petitions; he began with that about his councilors, and said it was never before heard of that the rabble presumed to dictate to their prince what councilors he should choose; that was the princes work & not theirs; that the suppression of religious houses was
done pursuant to an act of parliament; and was not set forth by any of his counsellors; the heads of these religious houses had under their own hands confessed those horrid scandals, which made them a reproach to the nation; and in many houses there were not above four or five religious persons; so it seemed they were better pleased that such disolute persons should consume their rents in riotous and idle living; then that their prince should have them for the common good of the whole kingdom; he also answered their other demands in the same high and commanding strain; and required them to submit themselves to his mercy; and to deliver their captains and lieutenants into the hand of his lieutenants; and to disperse, and carry themselves as became good and obedient subjects; and to put an hundred of their number into the hands of his lieutenants, to be ordered as they had deserved.

When this answer was brought to them it raised their spirits higher; the practiseing clergy men continued to inslam them, they persuaded them that the christian religion would be very soon defaced and taken away in time, if they did not vigorously defend it; that it would come to that; that noe man should marry a wife, receive any of the sacraments; nor eat a piece of roast meat but he should pay for it; that it was better to live under the Turk, then under such oppression; therefore there was noe cause in which they could with more honour, and a better conscience hazard their lives then for the holy faith; this incensed them and kept them together a little longer; they had forded many of the Gentles of the country to goe along with them; these sent a secret message to the Duke of Suffolk, letting him know what ill effects the Kings rough answers had produced; that they had joyned with the people only to moderate them a little; and they knew nothing would be so effectual as the offer of a Generall Pardon; soe the Duke of Suffolk as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, sent to the King to know his pleasure, and earnestly addressed a gentle composing
of the matter without blood: at the same time, the king was adver-
tised from the north, that there was a Genevall, and formidable rising there; of which he had the greater apprehension, be-
cause of their neighbourhood to Scotland; whose king being the kings nephew, was the heir presumptive of the crown; since the king had illegitimated both his Daughters, and though the kings six alliance with France, made him less apprehen-
sive of trouble from Scotland; and their king was at this time in France, to marry the Daughter of France; yet he did not know how far a Genevall rising might invite the king to send orders and to assist the rebels in the north; therefore he resolved, first to quiet Lincolnshire; and as he had raised a great force about London, with which he was march-
ing in person against them; so he sent a new proclamation requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret of fa
cancy of mercy; by these means they were melted away those who had been carried in the stream, submitted to the kings mercy; and promised all obedience for the future others that were obstinate and knew themselves unpardon-
able fled northward, and joined themselves to the rebels there; some of their other leaders were apprehended, (in particu-
lar the coban) and were executed.

But for the northern rebellion, as the parties concerned con-
served being at a greater distance from the court, had equal opportunities to gather themselves into a huge body; so the whole contrivance of it was better laid; one as he commanded in chief; he was a Gentleman of an ordinary condition, but understood how to draw on; and Governed the multitude; their march was called the Pilgrimage of Grace and to pacify the people some priests marched before them with crosses in their hands; in their banners they had a cross, with the five wounds and a chalice; and every one wore on his sleeve the badge of the party
an Emblem of the five wounds of Christ, with the name Jesu
wrot in the midst; all that joyed to them took an oath, that
they entered into the pilgrimage of Grace, for the Love of
God, the Preservation of the kings Person and Issue; the Pu
rifying of the nobility, and driving away all base born &
ill counsellors, and for noe particular profit of their own
nor to doe displeasure to any; nor to kill any for enuy; but
to take before them the cross of Christ, his Faith, the restitu-
tion of the church, and the Suppression of Hereticks, &
their opinions, these were Spicious Pretences; and very apt
to work upon a giddy and discontented multitude; soe peo-
ple flocked about their crosses and standards in great num-
bers, and they grew to be 4000. Strong; they went over
the country without any great opposition; the Arch bishop
of York, and the Lord Darcy, were in Pomfret castle =
which they yeilded to them; and were made to swear their
covenant; they were both suspected of being secret promoters
of the rebellion; the latter suffered for it; but how the
former excused himselfe I cannot give any account; they all
soe took York and Hull; but though they summoned the castle
of Shipton, yet the Earle of Cumberland, whose would not
Degenerate from his noble Ancestors, held it out against all
their force; and though many of the Gentlemen whom he had
entertained at his own cost defended him, yet he made a brave
resistance; Scarboroughe castle was allsoe long besieg'd; but
there Sr Ralph Ewens that commanded it, gave an unexem-
pbled instance of his fidelity and courage; for though his Pro-
visions fell short, soe that for twenty days he and his men
had nothing but bread and water, yet they stood out til they were belied.

This rising in York shewed encouraged those of Lancashire
the Bishoprie of Duresm, and westmoreland to arm against th
in the earle of Shrewsburgh; that he might not fall short of
the Gallantry and loyalty of his renowned ancestors mode
head; though he had noe commission from the King; but he
knew his zeal and fidelity would easily procure him a pardon which he modestly asked for the service he had done; the king sent him not only that, but a commission to command in chief all his forces in the north to his assistance he ordered the Earl of Darby to march; and sent Court, marquess of Exeter; and the earl of Huntingdon and Rutland to joyn him; she also ordered the Duke of Suffolk with the force that he had led into Lancashire to lyse still there left they being but newly quieted should break out again and fall upon his Armies behind, when the Yorkshiremen should meet them before.

On the 20th of October, 1536, she sent the Duke of Norfolk with more forces to joyn the Earl of Shrewsbury, but the rebels were very numerous and desperate when the Duke of Norfolk understood their strength, he saw great reason to proceed with much caution; for if they had got the least advantage of the king's troops, all the discontented of England would upon the report have broken out; he saw their numbers were now such, that the gaining some time was their ruin, for such a great body could not subsist long together without much provision; and that must be very hard for them to bring in, so he set forwards a treaty; it was both honourable for the king to offer money to his distressed subjects or rather distracted subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs; for as their numbers did every day lessen, so the king's forces were still increasing, he wrote to the king that considering the season of the year, he thought the offering some fair conditions might persuade them to lay down their arms, and to submit to the king's mercy. Aske, receiving him, sitting in state with the Arch bishop on the one hand, and the Lord Davy on the other, but would not suffer any proclamation to be made till he knew the contents of it, and when the Heavend told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it; and then
the priests used all their endeavors to engage the people to a firm resolution of not dispersing themselves, till all matters about religion were fully settled.

As they went forwards, they everywhere possessed the ejected monks of their houses, and they encouraged rest; who had a great mind to be in their old nests again; they published all so many stories amongst them of the many growing burdens of the kings Government, & made them believe that impositions would be laid upon every thing that was either bought or sold; but the king hearing how strong they were, sent out a General summons to all the nobility to meet him at northampton the 7th of novebem; and the forces sent against the rebels advanced to Doncaster, to hinder them from coming further southwards, and took the bridge which they fortified; and laid their forces along the river; to maintain the pass.

The writers of that time say, that the Day of Battell was agreed on; but that the night before excessive rains falling; the river swelled soe, that it was unpassable next day; and they could not force the bridge; yet it is not likely the Earl of Shrewsbury; having in all but 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched battle with those whoe were six times his number, being then 30000; therefore it is more likely the rebels intended only to pass the river the next day; which the rain that fell hindered but the Duke of norfolke continued to press a treaty which was hearkened too by the other side, whoe were reduced to great straits; for their captain would not suffer them to spoyle the country, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that; the Duke of norfolke directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as deserters, to spread reports among them; that their leaders were making terms for
themselves, and would leave the rest to be undone; this joyned to their necessities, made many fall of every day; the Duke of nor
folke finding his Arts had noe good an opperation, offered to goe to court, with any whom they would send with their demand
and to interced for them; this he knew would take up some time; and most of them would be dispersed before he could return; soe they sent two Gentlemen whom they had forced to goe with them, to the King to windsor, upon this the King dis
charged the rendezvous at north hampton, and delayed the sending an Army as much as could be; but at last it was
heard, that though most of them were dispersed, yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it for
that noe answer came, he sent the Duke of norfolke to them
with a Generall pardon; six only excepted by name, and four others that were not named, but in this the Kings coun
cells were Generally consented; for every one was now in
fear; and soe the rebels rejected the proposition, the King
soe sent them word by their own messenger, that he took
it very ill at their hands; that they had chosen rather to rise in Arms against him, than to petition him about those things that were uneasy to them, and to appease them a little; the King by new injunctions commanded the clergy
to continue the use of all the ceremonies of the Church, as it was like was intended for keeping up the foure Sacraments
which had not been mentioned in the former Articles, the clergy that were with the rebels met at Pontefret, to draw
up Articles that were to be offered at the treaty that was
to be at Doncaster, where 300 were ordered to come from
the rebels to treat with the Kings commissioners; soe great a number was called, in Hopes that they would disagree about their demands, and soe fall out among themselves; one the 6th
of December they met to treat; and it seems they had soe laid their matter before that they agreed upon these following de
mands,
A Generall Pardon to be granted; a Parliament to be held at York, and court of Justice to be there; that none upon the north of Trent might be brought to London upon any law suit; they desired a repeal of some acts of parliament; those for y last subsidy, for use; for making words misprision of treason; and for the clergy, paying their tenths at first fruits to the king; they desired that the princess mary might be restored to her right of succession, the pope to his wonted jurisdiction; and the monks to their house, again; that the lutherans might be punished; that Audley, the lord chance; and cromwell the lord privy seal, might be excluded from the next parliament; and Lee, and leighton that had visited the monasteries might be imprisoned for bribery & extortion.

But the lords knew that the king would by no means agree to these propositions; rejected them, upon which the rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged; and desperate; so that the Duke of norfolk wrote to the king, that if some content were not given them, it might end very ill; for they were much stronger then his forces were; and both he and the other commanders of the kings forces in their hearts wished that most of their demands were granted, being persons, whose though they complied with the king, and were against the rebellion, yet were great enemies to lutheranism, and wished a reconciliation with Rome, of which the Duke of norfolk was afterwards accused by the lord darcy; as if he had secretly encouraged them to insist on these demands; the king seeing the humour was soe obstinate, resolved to use gentler remedies; and soe sent to the Duke of norfolk a Generall Pardon, with the promise of a parliament; ordering him not to make use of these except in case of extremity.

That was noe easy thing of the Duke, since he might be
(1621) Afterwards made to answer for it, whether the extremity was really such, as to justify his granting these things; but the rebels were become again as numerous as euer, and had resolved to cross the river, and to stroke the king, camp, which was still much inferior to theirs in number, but using failing the second time, made the floor of unpassable this was spoken by the kings party, as little less then a miracle, that Gods providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the progress of the rebels; and it is very probable, that on the other side it made great impressions on the superstitious multitude and both discouraged them, and disposed them to accept of the offer of pardon; and a parliament to be soon called for considering their demands, the king signed the pardon at Richmond the 9th of December, by which all their treasons and rebellions to that day were pardoned; provided they made their Submission to the Duke of norfolke, and the earle of Shrewsbury, and lived in all due obedience for the future.

The king likewise sent a long answer to their demands, as to what they complained, about the subversion of the faith he protested his zeal for the true christian faith, and that he would live and dye in the preservation of it, but the ignorant multitude were not to instruct him what the true faith was; nor presume to correct what he and the whole convocation had agreed on, that as he had preserved the church of England in her true liberties soe he would doe still; and that he had done nothing that was soe oppressive, as many of his progenitors had done upon lesser grounds; but that he took it very ill of them who had rather one church or two should enjoy the profits of their monastries to support them in their dissolute and abominable course of living then that
their king should have them for destroying the great charge he was at, for their defence against foreign enemies, for y laws, it was high presumption in a rude multitude, to take on them to judge what laws were good, and what not, they had more reason to thinke, that he after 28 years reign should know it better then they could, and for his Govern ment he had soe long preserved his subjects in peace and justice had soe defended them from their enimyes; had soe secured his frontier, had granted soe many General pardons; had been soe unwilling to punish his subjects, and soe ready to receive them into mercy; that they could shew noe parallel to his Government among all their former kings; and whereas, it was said, that he had many of the nobility of his counsell in the beginning of his reign and few now, he shewed them in that one instance how they were abused, by the lying slanderus of some disaff ected person; for when he came to the crown there was none that were both noble of his counsell; but now the Earl of Surrey, and the earl of Shrewsbury, whereas now the Duke of norfolke, and susfooke; the marquess of Exeter, the Lord Steward; the earles of oxford & sussex; the Archbishop of canterbury; the bishop of winchester, Hereford; and chichester, were allsoe of it; and he and his whole counsell judging it necessary to have some at the board; whoe understood the law of Eng land, and the treaties with soveraign princes; he had by their unanimous advice brought in his chancellour, and the lord privy seal; he thought it strange, that they whoe were but basts, should thinke they could better judge whose should be his counsellors then himselfe, and his whole counsell; therefore he would have noe such thing at their hands; it being Inconsistent with the Duty of Good sub jects to meddle in such matters; but if they, or any of


in other subjects; could bring any just complaints against him; he was ready to hear it; and if it were true he would punish it according to law; as for the complaints against some of the prelates for preaching against the faith; they could know none of these things, but by the report of others, since they lived at such a distance; that of them themselves had not heard any of them preach; therefore he required them not to give credit to liars; nor misled by those who spread such calumnies and ill reports; and he concluded all with a severe exhortation, adding that such was his love to his subjects, that imputing this Insurrection rather to their folly and lightness than to any malice or vengeful; he was willing to pass it over; move Gently, as they would perceive by his proclamation now the people were come to themselves again; and glad get of the ease easily; and they all cheerfully accepted the kings offers; and went home again to their several dwellings; yet the clergy were not way satisfied; but continued still to practice among them, and kept the rebellion on foot; so that it soon broke out after the Duke of norfolk, and the earl of shrewsbury, were ordered to ly in that country with their forces; till all things were more fully composed; they made them all come to a full submission and (first) to revoke all oaths and promises made during rebellion; for which they asked the kings pardon on their knees (2) to swear to be true to the king, his heirs and successors. (3) to obey and maintain all the acts of parliament made during the kings reign. (4) not to take arms again ut by the kings authority (5) to apprehend all sedition eursions. (6) to remove all the monks, nuns, and friars whom they had placed again in the dissolved monasteries; there were all these orders given to send Ask their captain, and the
Lord Darcy to court, as he was kindly received and well used by the king; he had shewed great conduct in comanding ye rebels; and it seems the king had a minde either to gain him to his service, or which I suspect was the true cause to draw him to a discovery of all those who in the other parts of the kingdom, had favoured or relieved them for he suspected not without cause, that some of ye great abbots, had given secret supplies of money to the rebels for which many of them were afterwards tryed, and attainted; the Lord Darcy was under great apprehensions, and studied to purge himselfe that he was forced to a compliance with them; but pleaded that the long and important services he had done the crown for so years, he being then 80. together with his age and in fivemity, might mitigate the kings displeasure; but he was made prisoner; whether this gave those who had been in armes new jealousies that the kings pardon would not be priovably observed, or whether the clergy had of new prevailed on them to rise in armes, I cannot determine; but it broke out again; though not so dangerous as before; two Gentlemen of the north; Husgrave and Tilley, raised a body of 8000 men; and thought to have surprized Carlile; but were repulsed by those within; and in their return the Duke of Norfolkke fell upon them, and routed them; he took many prisoners; and by martiall Law Hanged up all their captains; and sevall other prisoners upon the walls of Carlile; others at the same time thought to have surprized Hull; but it was prevented; and the leaders of the party were allsoe taken and executed.

Many other risings were in seuerall places of the country, which were all soone repressed; the grounds of them all was, that the parliament which was promised was not called, but the king said they had not kept
conditions with him; nor would he call a parliament till all things were quieted; but the Duke of Norfolk's vigilance every where prevented their gathering together in any great body; and after several unsuccessful attempts, at length the country was absolutely quieted in January following; and then the Duke of Norfolk proceeded according to the martial law against many which he had taken. As he had all those left the court without leave, and had gone amongst them; but was quickly taken; so he and many others were sent to several places to be made publick examples; he suffered at York others at Hull; and in other towns in Yorkshire; but the Lord Davy, and the Lord Hussey, were arraigned at Westminster, and attainted of treason, the former for the northern; and the other for the Lincolnshire insurrection; the Lord Davy was beheaded at Tower Hill; and was much lamented; every body thought that considering his merits, his age, and former services, he had hard measure; the Lord Hussey was beheaded at Lincoln the Lord Davy in his trial accused the Duke of Norfolk that in the treaty of Doncaster, he had encouraged the rebels to continue in their demands; this the Duke denied, and desired a trial by combat; and gave some presumption that the Lord Davy love him still, and said this out of malice; the king did not either believe thy; or would not seem to believe it, and the Duke's great diligence in the suppression of these commotions set him beyond all jealousies; but after those executions, the king wrote to the Duke in July next to proclaim an absolute amnesty over all the north; which was received with great joy, every body being in fear of himselfe, and see this threatening storm was dissipated without the effusion of much blood, save what the sword of justice drew; at the same time the king of Scotland
returning from France with his queen, and touching on
the coast of England; many of the people fell down at his
feet; praying them to assist them, and he should have all
but he was it seems bound up by the French king; and
soe went Home without giving them any encouragament
and thus ended this rebellion, which was chiefly car
veyed on by the clergy under Pretence of Religion.

And now the king was deliver'd of all his apprehensi-
on that he had been in for some years in feare of stirr
at Home; and therefore he orders a new visitation of
monasterie, whereupon some of the Great Abbots Surrend
ed their houses; making confession of Horrid crime
in severall houses; for which the pit of Hell they said
was ready to swallow them up; they confessed they had
neglected the worship of God, liv'd in idleness, glotto
ny and sensuality, with many other woofull expressi on to
curpose.

The Generall forming in which most of these surrender
begins, is that the Abbot and brethren upon full deliber
ation, and certain knowledge; of their own proper motion
for certain just and reasonable causes, specially moving
them in their soules, and consciences; did freely and of
their own accord, give and grant their house to the king.
Divers opinions were about these surrenderers; and some
Abbots were attainted of treason.

But there were great complaints made of the visitors as if they had
practis'd with the abbots and priors to make these surrenderers, 
that they had conspired with them to cheat the king; and had
privately imbezelled most of the plate and furniture; The
Abbess of cleapside complained in particular, of Dr London
one of the visitors that he had been corrupting her nuns,
and Generally it was cryed out, that under hand and ill practi
ces were used; therefore to quiet these reports; and to give some
colour to justify what they were about, all the soull stories if
could be found out, were publish'd to defame these Houses.
battle Abby was represented to be a little Sodom; soe was Christ
church in Canterbury, with several other Houses; but for whoredom
and Adultery, they found Insanities without number, and of
many other unnaturall practises and Secret lusts, with arts
to hinder conceptions, and make Abortions; but noe story be
same for Publick as a discovery made of the Priory of the
present Fryars in London; whoe on a Friday, at eleven of
the clock in the day, was found in bed with a whore he fell
own on his knees, and prayed those whoe surprized him not
to publish his shame; but they had a minde to make some ad
vantage by it, and asked him money, he gave them 30 pound
which he protested was all he had; but he promised them 30
pound more; yet failing in the payment a suit followed on it
and in a Bill which I have seen given to Cromwell, the master
of the rolls, the case is related,
But all the stories of this kinde served only to disgrace those
Bishops and monks that were soe faulty; and the people generally
praid these were pryvileag crimes, which ought to be punished, but
they were noe ways satisfied with the justice of the King; pro
ceedings against whole House, for the faults of a few, therefore
another way was thought on; which indeed proved more effect
ual both for recovering the people out of superstitious fond
ness they had for their Images and Relicks, and for discovering
the secret imposurves that had been long practised in these
Houses; and this was to order the visitors to examine well
all the relics and feigned images to which Pilgrimages
were wont to be made. In this Dr. London did great serv
vice, from Reading he writes, that the chiefe relics of Idolatry
in the nation were there; an Angell with one wing that brought
over the Spears head that pierced our sauiours side; to which
he adds a long inventory of their other relics; and saith
there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper
he also writes from other places, that he had every where
taken down their Images and trinkets; at St. Edmundsbury
as John aprice informed, they found some of the coals that roast
ed St. Laurence, the Savings of St. Edmund's toes; St Thomas
Becket's pen knife and boots, with as many pieces of the cross
of our Saviour, as would make a whole cross; they had also
velicks against rain; and for hindering weeds to spring
but to pursuethis further were endless; the velicks were so
innumerable; and the value which the people had of them may
be gathered from this, that a piece of St Andrews finger =
set in an ounce of silver, was laid to pledge by the house
of west acce for 40 pound; but the visiteres when they
Suppressed the House, did not thinke it to redeem it at
soe high a rate.

for their images, some of them were brought to London; &
were there, at St. Paul's cross in the sight of all the people
broken, that they might be fully convinced of the fugling=
linisters of the monke; and in particular the crucifix
of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the Rod of Grace
to which many pilgrimages had been made, because
it was observed sometimes to bow; and to lift it
selfe up, to shake, and to stir hands, and feet; to voul
the eyes, move the Lips; and bend the brows, all which
were looked on by the abused multitude as the effects
of a divine power, these were now publickly discover
ed to be cheats; for the Springs were shewed, by which
all these motions were made; upon which John Hilsby
then bishop of Rochester made a Sermon, and brooke the
Rod in pieces; there was alsoe another famous impost
ure discovered at Itales in Gloucestershine, wherby the
blood of Christ was shewed in a violl of chrystall; which the
People somtimes saw, but somtimes they could not seeit,
soe they were made believe they were not capable of sof
signall a savour soe long as they were in mortall sin
and soe they continued to make presents till they bribed
Heauen to give them the sight of soe blessed a velick =
is now discovered to have been the blood of a Duck which they renewed every week; and the one side of the rill was so thick that there was no seeing through it; but the other was clear and transparent; and it was so placed near the Altar, that one in a secret place behind could turn either side of it outward; so when they had drained the Pilgrims that came thither of all they had brought with them; then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear side outward; whereupon that went home very well satisfied with their journey, and the experience they had been at; There was brought out of Holywood a huge Image of wood, called David Bathesda, of which one Ellis Price visitor of the Diocese of St. Asaph gave this account, on the 6th of April 1537, that the people of the country had a great superstition for it; and many Pilgrimages were made to it; so that the day before he went there were reckoned to be above five or six Hundred Pilgrims there; some brought oxen and cattle, and some brought money; and it was generally believed that if any offered to the Image, he had power to deliver his soul from Hell; so it was ordered to be brought to London, where it served for fuel to burn many forges. There was an huge Image of our Lady at Worcester, that had been, and was in great reverence, but when it was swept of some veils that covered it, it was found to be the Statue of a Bishop.

Barlow bishop of St. David’s did also give many advertisements of the superstition of his country, and of the clergy and monks of the Diocese; which were guilty of Heathen Idolatry, Gross Impiety and Ignorance; and of abusing the People with many evident Forgeries; about which he said he had good evidence when it should be called for, but that which drew most Pilgrims, and presents in those
Parts was an image of our lady with a taper in her hand which was believed to have burnt nine years, till one for swearing himself upon it it went out; was then much reverenced and worshipped; he found all about the cathedral so full of superstitious consorts, that there was noe hope of working on them; therefore he proposed the translating the Episcopall seat from St. David's, to Caermaerden, which he pressed by many arguments, and in severall Letters, but with noe success; then many rich shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, and Hlinton, with a great many more, were brought up to London, and burnt by Cromwell's order.

But the richest shrine in England was that of Thow as Becket; called St. Thomas of Canterbury the martyr, who being raised up by King Henry the Second, to the Arch Bishopsrick of Canterbury, did afterwards give the King much trouble, by opposing his Authority, and exalting the popes; and though he once consented to the Articles, agreed on at Clavendon, for bearing down the papall and securing the regall power; yet he soon after repented of that only peace of Loyalty of which he was Guilty all the while he was Archbishop; he fled to the Pope, who received him as a confessor for the dearest Article of the Roman belief; the King and Kingdom were excommunicated; and put under an Interdict on his account; but afterwards, upon the intercession of the French king, Henry and he were reconciled and the Interdict was taken off, yet his unequet spirit could take noe rest; for he was noe sooner at Canterbury; then he began to embroil the Kingdom again, and was proceeding by censure, against the Archbishop of York and some other bishops for crowning the Kings son in his absence; upon the news of that, the King being then in Normandy, said if he had faithful servants he would not...
soe troubled with such a priest; whereupon some zealous or
rigious courtiers came over and killed him; for which the
king was made to undergo a severe penance; so that the-
monks were not wanting in their ordinary arts to give
out many miraculous stories concerning his blood, this soon
were a canonization from Rome; and he being a martyr
for the papacy, was more extolled then all the apostles or
primitive saints had ever been; so that for 300 years he
was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven; as
may appear from the accounts in the Fuller book of the off-
nerings made to the three greatest altars in christ's church
in CANTERBURY; the one was to christ, the other to the vir-
gin, and the third to ST. THOMAS. In one year there:
was offered at christ's altar. 3 POUND 2 SHILLINGS 6 PENCE
to the virgin's altar. 63 POUND. 5 SHILLINGS 6 PENCE; but to
ST. Thomas his altar. 83 2. POUND. 12 SHILLINGS 3 PENCE; but
the next year the odds grew greater; for there was not a
penny offered at christ's altar, and at the virgin only;
4 POUND 1 SHILLING 8 PENCE, but at St. Thomas's 95 4 POUND
6 SHILLINGS 3 PENCE; by such offerings it came that his shrine
was of most inestimable value, there was one stone offer-
ned there by Louis the 7th of France, whoe came over
to visit it in a pilgrimage; that was believed the rich-
est in Europe; nor did they think it enough to give him
one day in the kalender; the 29th of December; but un-
nusual Honours were devised for this martyr; of the liber-
tues of the church greater than any that had been given
unto the martyrs for christianity; the day of raising his-
body; or as they called it of his translation being the 7th
of July, was not only a holy day, but every 50th year
there was a jubilee for 15. days, together; and indul-
gence was granted to all that came to visit his shrine.

as appears from the record of the 6th jubile after his
Translation, anno 1420, which bears, that there were then about one hundred thousand strangers come to visit his Tomb; the Jubilee began on twelve a clock on the vigil of the Feast, and lasted 15. days; by such arts they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his Shrine; the riches of that, together with his disloyal practices, made the King resolve both to unshrine and unsaint him at once; and then his Skull, which had been much worshiped, was found an imposture; for the true Skull was lying with the rest of his bones in his Grave; the Shrine was broken down, and carried away; the Gold that was about it, filling two chests, which were so heavy, that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church and his bones were as some say burnt; so it was understood at Rome; but others say, they were so mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards; the King also ordered his name to have been struck out of the Calendar; and the office for his festivity to be Dashed out of all Breviaries; and thus was the superstition of England to Images and relics extirpated.

Yet the King took care to qualify the dispute which the Articles published the former year had given; and though there was no Parliament in the year 1537, yet there was a Convocation, upon the conclusion of which there was printed an explanation of the chief points of Religion signed by 19. Bishops, 8. Arch-deacons, and 17. Doctors of Divinity and Law; in which there was an Exposition of the creed, the 7 Sacraments, the 10. commandments, the Lords Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin; with an account of Justification, and Purgatory; but this work was put in a better form afterwards; where the reader will finde a more particular account of it.

When all these proceedings of the King were known at Rome; all the Satyrical Bens there, were employed to paint him out as the most infamous Sacrilegious tyrant that ever was; they represented him as one that made war
with Heaven, and the Saints that were there, that committed outrage on the bodies of the Saints; which the Heathenish Romans would have punished severely for any that committed the like on those that were dead, how mean or bad soon they had been; all his proceedings against the priests and monks, t were attainted and executed for high treason, were presented as the effects of Savage and barbarous cruelty: he suppressing the monastries, and devouring what the De votion of former Ages had consecrated to God and his Saints was called venereal and impious Sacrilege; now was there any thing omitted that could make him appear to posterity the blackest tyrant that ever wore a crown; they compared him to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, and Dioclesian; but chiefly to Julian the Apostate; this last paralleled them best, and his learning, his Apostacy, and pretence of reforming, were all thought copied from Julian; only they said his manners were worse; these things were every day printed at Rome, and the informations that were brought out of England, were generally addressed to Cardinal Pole, whose life was all too known in some of them; all which posset the king with the deepest and most implacable Hatred to him that ever he bore to any person; and did provoke him to all these severities that followed on his kindred and family.

But the malice of the court of Rome did not stop here for now the Pope published all these Thunders, which he had threatened three years before; the Bull of Deposition is printed in cherubins Bullaevarum Romanum, which since many have the confidence to deny matters of fact, though most pub licly acted; should be found in the collection papers, the substance of it is as followeth: The Pope being God's vicar on earth; and according to Jeremiah's Prophecy set over nations and Kingdoms, to root out and destroy, and having the Supremacy power over all the kings in the whole world, was
bound to proceed to due correction, when milder courses were ineffectual; therefore since King Henry, who had been formerly a defender of the faith, had fallen from it; had contrary to an inhibition made, put away his queen, and married one Anne boleyn; and had made impious and hurtful laws; denying the pope to be the supreme head of the church, but assuming the title to himself, and had required all his subjects under pain of death to swear it, and had put the cardinal of Rochester to death, because he would not consent to these heresies; and by all these things had rendered himself unworthy of his vassall Dignity, and had hardened his heart as Pharaoh did; against all the admonitions of pope Clement the seventeenth, therefore since these his crimes were so notorious; he in imitation to what the Apostle did to Elimas the sorcerer, or magitian; proceed to such censure as he had deserved; and with advice of his cardinals, doth first exhort him, and all his complices, to return from their errors; to annul the acts lately made; and to proceed noe fur ther upon them; which he requires him and them to doe, under the pains of excommunication and rebellion and of the kings losing his kingdom, whom he required within ninety dayes to appeare at Rome, by himselfe or procoy; and his complices within sixty dayes to give an account of their actions; otherwise he would then proceed to a further sentence against them; and declares that if the king and his complices doe not appeare, he hath fallen from the right of his crown; and they from the right to their estates; and when they die they were to be denied christian burial; he puts the whole kingdom under an interdict; and declares all the kings children by the said Anne, and the children of all his complices to be under the same paines; though they be now under age, and incapacitate them for all honours or employments; and declares all the subjects,
vassals of the King, or his complices, absolved from all oaths or obligations to them; and requires them to acknowledge them not more; and declares him and them infamous, so that they might neither be witnesses, nor make wills, nor require all other persons to have no dealings with him, or them; neither by trading, nor any other way under the pain of excommunication, the annulling their contracts, and the exposing goods so traded in, to all that should catch them; and that all clergy men should within five days after the expiration of the time prefixed, go out of the kingdom, leaving only so many priests, as would be necessary for baptizing infants, and giving the sacrament to such as dyed in penance, under the pain of excommunication and deprivation; and charges noble men, and all others, in his Dominions, under the same pains, to rise up in arms against him; and to drive him out of his kingdom, and that none should take Armes for him; or any way assist him, and declares all other princes absolved from any confederacy made, or to be made with him; and obeys the Emperor, and all kings, and requires other princes, under the former pains to trade not more with him; and in case of their disobedience, he puts their kingdoms under an interdict, and requires all princes and military persons, in the virtue of holy obedience, to make war up on him; and to force him to return to the obedience of the Apostolick See, and to seize on all goods, or merchandizes belonging to the King or his complices, where ever they could find them, and that such of his subjects, that were seized one should be made slaves, and requires all bishops three days after the time that was set down, was elapsed, to intitmate the sentence in all their churches.
with putting out of candles, and other ceremonies that ought to be used in the most solemn and publick manner that might bee; and all whoe hindered the publication of this sentence are put under the same pains; he ordained this sentence to be affixed at Rome, Tournay, and Dunkivke, which should stand for a sufficient publication; and conclude that if any should endeavoue to oppose or enuerate any of the premises, he should incur the indignation of Almighty God; and the Holy Apostle St Peter and St Paul; Dated at Rome the 30th of August 1535.

But the pope found the princes of chriestendom liked the president of using a king in that manner for that he suspended the execution of this Bull till this time; the suppression of abbies, and the burning of Thomas Becket's bones (for it was soe represented at Rome though our writers say they were buryed) did soe inflame the pope that he could forbear noe longer, and therefore by this new sentence he did all he could to make him in his throne.

The preambule of it was, that as our Saviour had pity on St Peter after his fall, soe it became St Peters successors to imitate our Saviour in his clemency, and that therefore though he having heard of King Henry's crimes had proceeded to a sentence against him (here the former Bull was recited) yet some other princes whose hoped he might be reclaimed by Gentles methodes, had Interposed for a suspension of the sentence; and he being easy to believe what he see earnestly desired had upon their intercession suspended it; but now he found they had been deceived in their hopes; and that he grew worse and worse, and had done such dishonour to the saints, as to raise St Thomas of Canterbury's body, to arraign him of High treason, and to burn his body; and sacrilegiously
to rob the richer, that had been offered to his shrine, as
also to suppress St. Austin's Abby in Canterbury, and
that having thrust out the monk, he had put in wild
beasts into their ground; having transformed him
selfe into a beast; therefore he takes of the suspen-
sion; and publishing that Bull commanding it to be
executed; declaring that the affixing of it at Diepe
or bulloign in France; at St. Andrews, or calpeine
(that is coskrume a town near the border of England
in Scotland; or tuam, ov Artisert in Ireland; ov
any two of these should be a sufficient publica-
dated the 17th of December Anno Dom. 1538.

As one man can read these Bolls, but he must conclude
the pope the univerall pauper of the church, whom all are
bound to obey; he hath a full Authority over all Kings to
proceed to the highest censures possible; and since the mat-
ters of fact enumerated in the Sentence as the grounds of
it were certainly true, then the pope is either cleered of
powers of deposing princes; or if otherwise he liyed to the
world when he pretended to it thus, and taught false-
doctrine which cannot Stand with Infallibility; and the
pretended grounds of the Sentence as to matters of fact
being evidently true, this must be a just Sentence; and there
fore all that acknowledged the Infallibility of that See
were bound to obey it; and all the rebellion that followed
during the reign of the king or his children, were founded
on this sentence, and must be justified by it, otherwise the
pope's Infallibility must fall to the ground; but this way to
be said for the Pope, that though he had raised the Jewes
all branches of this sentence Higher, then any of his
predecessors had ever done, yet as to the main he had
very good and Authentick Presidents for what he did
from the Deposition of Emperours or kings, that were
made by former popes, for about 500 years together
this I thought needfull to be more fully opened, because of the present circumstance, we are now in; since hereby every one that will consider things, must needs see that the belief of the popes infallibility doth necessarily infer the acknowledgment of their power of deposing heretical kings; for it is plain that the pope did this, ex cathedra, and as a pastor feeding, and correcting his flock.

But not content with this, he also wrote to other princes, inflaming them against the king; particularly to the kings of France and Scotland, to the last of these he sent a Breve, declaring king Henry an heretic, a schismatick, a manifest adulterer, a publick murderer, a rebel, and convicted of high treason against him the pope his lord; for which crime he had deposed him, and offered his Dominions to him, if he would goe and invade them; and thus the breach between him and the pope was yet reconciled; and at Rome it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him as against the Turk; but cardinal pool, made it more meritorious in his book; yet the Thunders of the vatican had now lost their force; so that these had noe other effect but to enrage the king the more against all such as were suspected to favor their interest; or to hold any correspondence with cardinal pool.

Therefore he first procured a declaration against the popes pretensions to be signed by all the bishops of England; in which after they declared against the popes ecclesiastical jurisdiction upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded that the people ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his Apostles, or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings; and that if the bishop of Rome, or any other bishop assumed any such power, he was a tyrant and usurper of other mens rights; and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ; this was subscribed by 19. bishops (all that were then in England) and 25. Doctors of Divinity and Law.
There is another original paper extent, signed at this time by 8 bishops, from which I conjecture those were all that were then about on duty; it was to show that by the commission which Christ gave to his disciples, they were only ministers of his Gospel to instruct the people in the purity of the faith; but that by other places of scripture, the authority of Christian princes over all their subjects, as well bishops and priests as others was absolute, and that the bishops and priests have charge of souls within their cure; power to administer sacraments; and to teach the word of God, to the which word of God, Christian princes acknowledge themselves subject, and that as the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian princes' office to see them do their duty; and the design of it was to refute those calumnies spread at Rome, as if the king had wholly suppressed all ecclesiastical officers, and denied them any divine authority, making them wholly dependent on the civil power and acting by commission only from him, and therefore they explained the limits of both those powers, in some clear and moderate way that it must have kept the mouths of all opposers, but whether there were any publick use made of this paper, I can by no means discover. See more in the abridgment. Pag. 174, 175.

The king did now set forward the printing of the English Bible, which was finished this year, 1538; and new injunctions were set out by the king about it; see the abridgment, Pag. 176.

This year Prince Edward was born, and great complaints were made by the Popish party, and Queen Jane dyed, which with the birth of the Prince Edward, encouraged all that were for the reformation; but greatly afflicted the king, for of all his wives she was dearest to him, and his grief for her loss is given as the reason why he continued two years a widower; but others thought he had not so much tenderness in his nature, as to be much or long troubled for any thing; therefore the slowness of his marrying was ascribed to some reasons of state; but the birth of the prince was a great disappointment to all those whose Hope rested on the lady manyes, succeeding her father, therefore they submitted themselves with more than ordinary compliance to the king.
But Gardiner fired up the king, and against those called the sacramentaries; for by that name they branded all those that denied the corporal presence in the sacrament; and the king being all his life zealous for the belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament was more easily persuaded to be severe on the head, and against Lambert in particular, who appealed to the king, and was publicly tried at Westminster, where arguments were brought against him; and for he was condemned and burned see the account of it in the abridgment, pag. 178. 179. 180.

And now the popish party gained ground at court, and the king comes to have correspondence with the German prince, and Bonner makes great dissimulation; and a new parliament was called, and the six articles proposed; against which Cranmer gives his reasons; but however an act was passed for them which is universally censured; and an act was made about the suppression of the greater monasteries, which was universally censured see the abridgment, pag. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186.

And another act there was about erecting new bishoprics, many of which the king designed to set up, and an act was set out concerning the obedience due to the king, proclamation, and an act for precedence, and some acts of attainder, but the king, take care of Cranmer, and Cranmer writes his reasons against the six articles; which had like to have brought him into trouble, but he escaped it, the manner how see the abridgment, pag. 192. 193. and now began proceedings about the act of the six articles, and now were all the monasteries of England suppressed, and the dissolution of the great abbeys and monasteries were not sufficient to stop the appetite of some that were about the king; for Hospitals were next looked after, and some were surrendered.

All the monasteries in England being suppressed, the king had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making royall and noble foundations; that ever king of England had; but whether out of policy to give a general content to the gentry by selling to them at low rates; or out of easiness to his courtiers; or out of an unmeasurable ha
his expence; it came far short of what he had given out he
could doe, and what himselfe seemed once to have designed
the clear yearly value of all the suppressed Houses is cap up in
account; then stated to be, viz. 13157 ¼ 6$: 48s. as the rents
were then rated; but was at least ten times soe much in true
value, of which he designed to convert 18000L into a revenue
for 18 bishopricks and cathedrals; but of these he only erect
ed six; great sums were indeed laid out on building &
fortifying many places in the channell, and other parts
of England; which were raised by the sale of Abby Land.
At this time many were offering projects for noble foundati-
ons, on which the king seemed very earnest; but it is very like
that before he was a wave of it; he had se part of himselfe
in his bounty, that it was not possible for him to bring
to any effect.

Anno. 1539, there was a proclamation set out about the
free use of the Scriptures. And the king designt to many
fore of cleere, whose comes over to England, but is much de-
liked by the king; but yet he marries her, and could never love
her.

Anno. 1540. A Parliament was called, wherein Crom-
well speaks as vicegerent; and he is made Earl of Essex,
and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem are suppressed.

June 13th Cromwell is arrested at the counsell table, in his
kings name by the Duke of Norsolleke for high treason; and now
the King falls in love with M° Katherine Howard; and can
never shew great kindness to cromwell in his trouble; but how
soever cromwell's attainder is drawn up, in which are these ex-
pressions, etc. That in the 31st year of the kings reign in the
parish of St. martins, in the fields, when some had put
him in minde to what the king had raised him; he said,
if the lords would handle him soe, he would give them
such a break fast as was never made in England, and
that the proudest of them should know it. Hee was con-
demned for heresie, and treason and many censures were
past upon it.
now allsoe the king designs a divorce from his queen Anne a cleare and the matter is referred to a convocation; and reasons are pretended for it, and the convocation agree to it: but it is censured an account of it you have in the Abridgement. Pag. 205. 206
I shall here only insert the letter the queen sent to her brother about it, as I finde it in the Register.

Anne cleaves Letter to her brother.

Brother,

Brother, because I had rather you knew the truth by my advertisement, than you should be deceived by vain reports, I write these present letters unto you, by which you shall understand, that being advertised how the nobles and commons of this realm desiring the kings highness here to commit the examination of the matter of marriage between me and his majesty, to the determination of the clergy I did the more willingly consent thereunto: and since the determination made, have alsoe allow'd, approved, and agreed unto the same; wherein I have more respected as becometh mee, to truth and good pleasure, than any worldly affection, that might move mee to the contrary; y account you pleased with what I have done, or with what is done, and knew my selfe to have suffered noe wrong, noe injury; but being my body preserved in that integrity which I brought into this realm, and truly discharged from all bond of consent; I finde the kings highness whom I cannot justly have as my husband, to be nevertheless as a most kinde loving and friendly father and brother: and to use me as Honourably, and with as much humanity & liberality, as you, I my selfe, or any of our kin or allies, could wish or desire, wherein I am soe my our part soe well contented and satisfied.
that I much desire my mother, you, and other my allies, to understand it; accept and take it, and so to use your selfe towards this virtuous and noble prince as he may have cause to continue his friendship to wards you, which on his behalfe shall nothing be impaired or altered, for this matter; for so hath it pleased his Highness to signify unto mee, that like as he will shew mee allwayes, a most fatherly & brotherly kindness; and hath soe provided for mee, so will he remaine with you and other, according to such terms as have passed in the same knot of Amity which between you hath been concluded; this matter notwithstanding in such wise, as neither you nor any of our friends, shall have just cause of discontentment; thus much I have thought necessary to write unto you; lest you want of true knowledge, ye might otherwise take this matter; then give out, and in other sort care for mee, then yee should have cause; only I require this of you; that yee so use your selfe, as for your unwrarding; in this matter I have not the worse; whereunto I trust you will have regard.

July, 9th sentence was given against Cromwell; I shall hearad a reflection upon Cromwells misfortune; which may justly a bate the Haughtiness of liosty men; the day after he was attainted, being required to send to the king, a full account under his hand, of the business of his marriage; which account he sent; and with it he concludes in these addres scords —— I a most woefull prisoner, ready to take the death when it shall please God and your majesty and yet the snail flesh inciteth mee continually to call fo your Grace for mercy, and Grace for mine.
offence; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you,
written at the Tower; this Wednesday the last of June
with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your
Highness most Heavy, and most miserable prisoner
and poor slave. Thomas Cranwell, and a little
below, the most Gracious Prince. I cry for mercy
mercy, mercy. See his trial, condemnation and suff
erings, in the Abridgment. Pag. 201. 202. 203. 204

July 10th. report is made to the Parliament that the con
vocation had judged the King's marriage null with Anne
of Cleve; by the law of God, and the Land; and the
Queen Consents to it; See of Abridgment Pag. 205.

July 16th. an act is made about the Incontinency of priests
and another about Religion, and subsidies are granted by
the clergy to the King, and also by the Laity with much
Grumbling. Cranwell, after six weeks imprisonment
was brought to his execution; and designs are made
against Cranwell.

And now a Commission sits about Religion, whose drew
up a declaration of the Christian doctrine; for the necessary
condition of a Christian man, and make an explanation of
faith; and though good works were indeed absolutely ne
cessary to salvation, yet the purchase of Heaven was on
ly by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; they also
explain the Apostles' Creed; and the Seven Sacraments, &
the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer, and the
true Mary, and free will, and justification, and good-
works; and set it forth in a book called the Institu-
tion of a Christian Man; and it was set forth and pub-
lished by the King's Authority; but it was variously cen-
sured; there was also a correction of the Mass book &
other offices; see more of this in the Abridgment, Pag. 209. 210. 211.

But as they went on with these things, there arose a persecution
of Protestants, set on by the Papists, wherein Doctor Barnes =
Of Gerard, and of Jerome, all suffered in which appeared —

Bonners malice. New bishopricks were now founded, but these foundations are censured, but when they were settled, the matters of the church were now put into a method, as the bishop's book of the institution of a Christian man was, the standard of religion; so that whatsoever was not agreeable to that, was judged heretical; whether it leaned to the one side or the other.

Thus matters went this year, and with this the series of the history of the reformation made by this king ends; for it was now digested and formed into a body; what followed was not a third, but now and then some remarkable things were done, sometime in favor of the one, and sometimes of the other party; for after Cromwell fell the king did not go on so steadily in any thing as he had done formerly; Cromwell had an ascendant over him, which after Cardinals would say, fell, none beside him else ever had; they knew how to manage the king's uneasy and impetuous humour, but now none had such a power over him; the Duke of Norfolk was rich and wealthy, and made his court wealthy; but had not so great a genius, so the king did rather trust and fear then esteem him; Cardinal was only a tool; and being of an abject spirit, was employed, but not at all reverenced by the king; Cranmer retained always, his candor and simplicity; and was a great prelate; but neither a good courtier, nor a statesman; and the king esteemed him more for his virtue then for his Dexterity and cunning in business; so that now the king was wholly left to himself, and being extremely humorous and impatient, there were more extrems committed in the last years of his government, then had been for his whole reign before; France forsook him; Scot made war against him, or upon him, which might have been fatal to him, if their king had not died in the beginning of it, leaving an infant Empress, but
a few days old behind him; who was an unfortunate princess, yet mother to him in whom that happy and long desired union of these kingdoms began.

In this year the Bible was set up in English in all churches, for to be read by all; though they were forbidden to make dispute about any place that were in it; yet they could not be hindered, neither could they forbear, for whose could hear the words of the institution of the Sacrament drunk ye. all of it, or St. Paul’s discourse against worship in any unknown tongue and not from thence he led to consider, that the people were deprived of the cup, which by churfs express command was to be drunk by all; and that they were kept in a worship to which the unlearned could not say amen, since they understood not what they said, either in the collect or Hymns; so the King had many complaints brought him of the abuses that were said to have risen, from the liberty given the people to read the scriptures, upon which Bonner (no doubt having obtained the King’s leave) set up a new advertisement, in which he complained of these abuses in the reading of the Bible, for which he threatened the people he would remove the Bibles out of the churches, if they continued as they did to abuse so high a favour; yet these complaints produced no further severity at this time.

There was a rule all so given about church men’s house keeping.

1541, the King goes to York; and learning and reformation begins in Scotland; for the clergy were now both ignorant and cruel there; and Patrick Hamilton Abbot of St. Mary, was the first to suffer there; and the King’s confessors of Scotland favered the reformation and one Forres a Benedictine monk suffered there; and the reformation further made a progress there but there was a further persecution in Scotland about it and the King was wholly guided by the clergy; there all so suffered one Rizzell and Kennedy a young man of 17 years of age & George Buckanor.

King Henry having married his new Queen Katherine Howard was much taken with her, that on all Saints day, after his return from York to London, he received the Sacrament, and openly gave God thanks for the good life he led, and trusted
Hill to lead with her, and desired his Ghostly father to join with him in the same thanksgiving; but this joy lasted not long, for the next day the Archbishop of Canterbury came to him, and gave him a dole full account of the queen's life as it had been brought to him by one John Russell, which was afterwards confessed by her of the rest and others.

1542. A new Parliament was called, and an act passed in both houses, in it they petitioned the king. (1) not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a means to shorten his life. (2) to pardon every thing that had been spoken against the queen. (3) that the queen and her accomplices might be attainted of high treason. (4) that the king would not trouble himself to give his consent to this act in his own person, but by his Letters Patent under his hand and seal; see the Abridgment.

Censures were past upon it; and acts were made about Hospital and the bishops design to suppress the English bible.

Benedict by an order from the king, sets out new injunctions on his clergy. (1) that all should observe the king's injunction, that every clergyman should read and study a chapter of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the Gloss, or some approved doctor, which having once studied they should retain it in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it to him or any whom he should appoint. (2) that they should study the book set forth by the bishops of the institution of a Christian man, that such as did not reside in their benefices should bring their curates to him, or his officers to be tried. (3) that they should often exhort their parishioners to make no private contracts of marriage. (4) that they should marry none that were married before, till they were sufficiently assured that the former husband or wife were dead. (5) that they should instruct the children of their several parishes, and teach them to read in English, that they might know how to believe, and pray and live according to God's word and will. (6) that they should reconcile all that were in enmity; and in that be good example to others.
the communion whose did not confess to their own curates. (10) that none should be suffered to goe to taverne or ale houses, and use unlawfull games on sundays, or holy days, in time of divine service. (11) that twice every quarter, they should declare the seven deadly sins, and the ten commandments. (12) that noe priest should goe but in his habit. (13) that noe priest should be admitted to say mass without shewing his letters of orders to the bishop or his officers. (14) that they should instruct the people to beware of blasphemy, or swearing by any part of christ's body; and to abstinence from scolding, or railing, adultery, fornication, chatter, or drunkenness, and if they should prescnt at the next visitation those who were guilty of those sins. (15) that noe priest should use unlawfull games, or goe to ale house, or taverne, but upon urgent necessity. (16) noe playes or interludes to be acted in the churches. (17) that there should be noe sermons preached, that had beene made within this 200 or 300 years; but when they preached they should explain the whole gospel and epistle for the day, according to the minde of some good doctor allowed by the church of England; and chiefly to insist on those places that might stir up the people to Good works; and to prayer; and to explain the use of the ceremonies of the church, that there should be noe railing in sermons, but the preacher should calmly and weffly set forth the excellency of vertue and the vileness of sin; and should alsoe explain the prayers for the day; that soe the people might pray with one heart and should teach them the use of the sacraments, particularly of the mass; but should forbear the reciting of fables, or stories, for which noe good writer could be vouched; and when the sermon was ended, the preacher should in few words resume the substance of it. (18) that none be suffered to preach under the degree of a bishop; whoe had not obtained a licence; either from the king or by their ordinaries.
These injunctions, especially when they are considered at their full length, will give great light into the temper of men at that time, and particularly inform us of the design & method in preaching, as it was set forward; then, concerning which the reader will not be ill pleased to receive some information.

In the time of Popery there had been but few sermons, but incidents, for their discourse, on the Holy days, were rather panegyrics on the saint, or the vain magnifying of some of their relics, which were laid up in such or such places; in Lent there was a more solemn and serious way of preaching, and the scribes, who chiefly maintained their credit by their performance at that time, used all the force of their skill and industry to raise the people into heats, by passionate and affecting discourse; yet these tended generally to raise the value of some of the Laws of the church, such as abstinence at that time, consecration with other corporal severities, or some of the little devoties, that both inflamed a blinde devotion, and drew money, such as indulgencies, pilgrimage, or the enriching of shrines, and relics of the saints; but there was not that pains taken, to inform the people of the Hatefulness of vice, and the excellency of Holiness; or of the wondrous love of love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him; and the design of their sermons was rather to raise a present Heat (which they knew afterwards how to manage) then to work a real reformation on their heares; they had all soe intermixt with all divine truths, soe many fables, that they were become very extrananent; and that alloy had soe embased the whole, that there was great need of a good discerning to deliver people from those Prejudices; which these mixtures brought upon the whole christian doctrine; therefore the reformers studied with all possible care to instruct the people.
in the fundamentals of Christianity, with which they had been so little acquainted; from hence it came that the people ran after those new preachers with wondrous full zeale. It is true there seems to be very foul and indiscreet reflections on the other party in some of their sermons, but if any have applied themselves much to observe what sort of men the friars & the rest of the popish clergy were at that time, they shall find great causes and excuses for those heat, and as our Saviour laid open the hypocrisies and impositions of the scribes and Pharisees in such a style which such corruptions extorted for there was great cause given to treat them very roughly, though it is not to be denied, but those preachers had some mixtures of their own resentments for the cruelties and ill usage they received from them; but now the reformation made a greater progress; much pains was taken to send eminent preachers over the nation, not confining them to particular charges, but sending them with the king's license up and down to many places; many of these licenses are involved; and it is likely many were granted that were not so carefully preserved; but provision was all so made for peoples daily instruction; and because in that ignorant time, there could not be found a sufficient number of good preachers, and in a time of so much yuggling they would not trust the instruction of the people to every one, therefore none was to preach except he had gotten a particular license for it from the king, or his Diocesan; but to qualify this, a book of Homilies was printed, in which the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays, and Holy days of the year were set down, with an homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical paraphrase on these parcels of scripture; to these are added many serious exhortations; and some short explanations of the most obvious difficulties; that shew the compiler of them was a man both of good judgment and Learning; to these were also added sermons upon several occasions, as for weddings,
(193)

christenings, and funerals; and these were to be read to the people; by such as were not licensed to preach; but these who were licensed to preach, being oft accused for their sermons, and complaints being made to the king, by hot men, on both sides, they came generally to write and read their sermons; from thence the reading of sermons grew into a practice in the church; in which if there was not that heat and fire, the passions of the hearers were not so much wrought on by it; yet it hath produced the greatest treasure, of weighty grave and solid sermons; that ever the church of God had, which doth in a great measure compensate the seeming flatness to vulgar ears that is in the delivery of them.

The Inscriptions take notice of another thing, which the sin of an Hisrovian oblige mee to give an account of, though it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time; these were the stage plays and interludes that were then generally acted and often in churches; they were representations of the corruptions of the monks; and some other seats of the Popish clergy; the poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed; if there lies not some hidden wit in these ballads (for so they were not) which at this distance is lost, but from the representing the immorality and disorders of the clergy they proceeded to act the pageantry of their worship, this took with the people much; who being provoked by the miscarriages and cruelties of some of the clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their religion exposed to publick scorn; the clergy complained much of this, and said it was an introduction to Atheism, and all sort of irreligion: so as once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to that petulant humour; the grave and learned sort of reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not suitable to the Genius of true religion; but the
Politickall men of that party made great use of them, in encouraging them all they could, for they said contempt being the most operative and lasting ascension of the minde, nothing would more effectuallly drive out many of those abuses which yet remained, then to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people.

In the end of this yeare a war breaks out between England and Scotland; and the Duke of norfolke was sent to make an inroad into Scotland, and the Scottish Army was defeated, and many taken prisoners, whose when they came into England, better conceyved of the reformation then in their owne country, and said it was a better way of worshipping God then their own.

1543, a new parliament was called; and Cranmer promote a reformation, and an act was made about it; a league was made between the king and the Emperor; and a treaty for the match with the queen of Scotland, about which there were different interests there; but the French party prevails, and a war was made by the king of England with France.

In July, the King marrieth Katherine Parve; whoe had been formerly married to rebel Lord Latimer, there was also a new persecution of the protestants, Anthony Parsons, Robert Testwood, and John Marbeck was the chiefe; Marbeck was soe in genious, that he because poore, and had not money to buy a bible; set, and wrote out one; the persecutors of these were perswaded; two suffered, but Marbeck was releas'd, an account of which you haue in the abridgment.

And now there was a conspiracy against Cranmer, which was discoverd to him by the king; and one of them discovered whose he was, the king bid Cranmer next time that he saw him, tell him that he was a knaue to his face; Cranmer answered, that such language did not become a Bishop; but the King suddeny commanded him to doe it; yet such was his modesty and christian temper of minde; that he could not obey soe harsh a command; and soe he passed the matter over.

1544, the parliament met; and an act was made about the succession; and an act against conspiracies; and the King had now a war both with France and Scotland.
which was successfully, and the Town of Bolleigh was taken 1549. The German Princes mediate a peace; and now church dissenters were given to the reformers. In Scotland at this time there was a persecution; and Mr George Wishart, suffered for religion there. In November a new Parliament was held; and chapters and chantervies were given to the king; and the king made a speech to both the Houses; and the king now confirms the rights of the university; and peace was made with France; and a new design was made for the reformation, but Shaxton apostatizeth 1540. Mistress Anne Askew, fell into troubles; and suffered = death for the true religion; for she induced the rack, and was put with some others, and a new design there was against manner; but the king's care was great towards him, and delivered him; and another design was against the queen, from which she was delivered. And now the Duke of Norfolke falls under a disgrace.

1547. The Earl of Surrey was executed; the Duke of Norfolke submitted to the king; but when the Parliament met the Duke was attainted; but his death was prevented by the kings; for now in this year the king sickens; and his latter will was a forgery; the latter part of his reign, was full of severities against some persons; for some Carthusian monks were executed for denying his supremacy; and Hall a priest, and three other monks were executed; Fisher also had his trial and death; and Howell, and Cardinall Bourchier were severely proceeded against; and some attainders there were with out hearing the parties. See the Abridgment pag. 266, 267, 268.

Thus having gone through the reign of King Henry, we may conclude, that he is rather to be reckoned among the greatest of the good princes; he exercised severity so much on both parties that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults; I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet I cannot ranke him with the worst.

The end of the first Book of the life of King Henry the Eighth.
(196)

Book the 2d

of the Life and reign of king Edward the Sixth.

The order of the coronation of king Edward the Sixth.

Sunday, February 13, at the Tower

This day the Lord protector, and others, his executors, whose names be hereuntoo ascribed; upon mature and deep deliberation had among them; did finally resolve, that for as much as divers of the old observances and ceremonies aforesaid were used at the coronations of the kings of this realm were by them for sundry respects to be corrected; and namely for the tedious length of the same, which should be weary and hurt some, beadventure to the kings majesty; being yet of tender age, fully to endure and hide it; and also for that many points of the same, were such as by the laws of the realm, at this present were not allowable; the kings majesty's coronation should be done and celebrated upon Shrove Sunday next ensuing; in the cathedral church of westminster; after the form and order ensuing:

first the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, shall shew the king to the people at four parts of the great pulpit, or stage to be made for the king; and shall say on this wise, sirs, here I present king Edward; nightfull, and Undoubted Heir, and Inheritor, by the laws of God and man, to the royal Dignity, and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration in unction and coronation, is appointed by all the nobles and peers of this land, to be this day; will you serve at this time, and give your good will and assent to the same consecration, in unction and coronation, as by your Duty of Allegiance you be bound to do.

The people to answer, yea, yea, yea, king Edward; king Edward; king Edward; king Edward;
This done, the Archbp. of Canterbury, being vested, as he should go to mass, with the Bishops of London and Winchester, on both sides, with other Bishops; the Bishop of London, and the Dean of Westminster, in the Bishops absence, to go in order before the King: the King shall be brought from his seat by them that assisted him, to the church to the high Altar; where after his prayer made to God for his space; he shall offer a pall, and a pound of Gold, 24 pound in coyn, which shall be to him delivered, by the Lord's great Chancellour; then shall the King fall Prostrating before the Altar; and owe him the Arch Bishop shall say this collect: Deus Humiliatum S.C. then the King shall rise and go to his chair to be prepared before the Altar; his face to the Altar, and standing; one shall hold him a book; and the Arch Bishop standing before the king, shall ask him with a loud and distinct voice, in manner and form following.

Will ye grant to keep the people of England, and others your realms and Dominions, the laws and Liberty of your realm, and others your realms and Dominions.

I grant and promit

you shall keep to your strength and power, to the church of God, and to all the people, Holy peace and concord.

I shall keep

You shall make to be done a great strength and power equal and rightfull justice, in all your Dooms and Judgments with mercy and truth.

I shall doe

Doe you grant to make noe laws, but such as shall be to the honour and Glory of God; and to the good of the common wealth; and that the same shall be made by the consent of your people, as hath been accustomed

I grant and promit

Then shall the King rise out of his chair; and by them that before assisted him, be led to the High Altar; where he shall make a solemn oath upon the Sacrament laid upon the
said Altar, in the sight of all the people to observe the premises, and laying his hand again on the book, shall say,

The thing which I have before promised, I shall observe and keep; so God help me, and those Holy Evangelists, by me, bodily touched upon this Holy Altar.

That done, the king shall fall again grovelling before the high Altar; and the said Archbishop, kneeling before him; shall with a loud voice begin; veni creator spiritus, &c.

which done, the said Archbishop standing shall say over the king Te invocamus; and at the end shall kneel again; and then shall the king rise; and be set in the chair again; and after a little pause; and assisted with those that did before the office, goe again to the High Altar, where he shall be unclothed by his great chamberlain, unto his coat of crimson satin, which, and all his shirt shall be opened before & behind on the shoulders, and the botch of the Armes, by the said great chamberlain, to the intent that on those places he be annointed; and while he is in the annointing =

St. Anthony Dewry, and St. William Herbert, must hold a pall over him; and first, the said Archbishop shall annoint the king, kneeling, in the palmes of his hands, saying these words

ungatur manus, with this collect; RESPIRIS omni potens Deus, after he shall annoint him in the breast, in the midst of his back, on his two botch of his Armes, and on his head making a cross; and after making another cross on his head with Holy Cynsm; saying as he annointeth the place, as fore

said, ungatur caput ungantur scapule &c. during which time of anniction, the queen shall continually sing, ungebant regem; and the Psalm, Domine in virtute tua Letabitur rex; and it is to be remembered that the bishop, or Dean of westminster after the kings In Anniction shall dry all the places of his body where he was annointed, with cotton; ou
One Linnen cloath, which is to be burnt, and furthermore the places opened for the same is to be cloathed by the Lord great chamberlin; and on the kine's hand shall be put by the said Arch bishop of Canterbury, a pair of Linnen gloves, which the Lord great chamberlin shall before see prepared.

This done the King shall rise; and the Archbishop of Canterbury shall put on the King a Tabret of Tantewton white, shaped in manner of a Dalmatick; and he shall put upon the King's head a quive; the same to be brought by the great chamberlin; then the King shall take the sword he was given withall; and offer it himselfe to God; laying it on the Altar in token that his Strength and power should first come from God; and the same sword shall be taken against the Altar, and delievered to some great Earl, to be vended of the Bishop, or Dean of Westminister, for a hundred shillings; which sword shall be born naked, afterward before the King.

Then the King shall sit in his chair before the Altar, shall be crowned with St Edwards crown; and there shall be brought by the Bishop or Dean of Westminister, Royall Sandals and Spurs, to be presently put on, by the Lord great chamberlin; and the Spurs again immediately taken off; that they doe not cumber him.

Then the Arch bishop with all the Peers and nobles, shall convey the King, sustayned as before, again into the pulpit; setting him in his Seige Royall; and then shall the Arch bishop begin, Te Deum Laudamus, which done the Arch bishop shall say unto the King; Sante vetrine a modicum; and the King being thus set, all the Peers of his realm and Bishops holding up their hands, shall make unto him Homage, as followeth: first the lord protector alone; then the Arch bishop of Canterbury, & the lord Chancellor, so two and two, as they be placed.
I. n. become your liege man of Life and Limb; and of earthly worship; and faith and truth. I shall bear unto you against all manner of folke; as I am bound by my allegiance and by the laws, and statutes of this realm: So help us God, and all Hallows; and then every one shall kiss the kings left cheek; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their fidelity, shall with one voice, on their knees, say, wee offer to sustayn and defend you and your crown, with our lives and lands and goods, against all the world; and then with one voice to cry: God save King Edward, which the people shall cry accordingely; then shall the king be led to his travayrs, to hear the High mass, and soe depart home crowned, in order as he set forth accordingly.

Earl Hertsford,


An account of the removing of Images out of the churches in the begining of the reign of Edward the 6th.

The people were weary of popish superstition, and some were so full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the slow motion of the state for a reformation in it.

Therefore the curate and churchwardens of St Martin in Tuomungar Lane in London, took down the Images and pictures of the Saints, and the crucifixes out of their church; and painted many texts of scripture upon the walls; some of them according to a perverse translation, as the complaint hath it; and in the place where the crucifix was, they set up the kings armes, with some texts of scripture about it; upon this the bishop and lord mayor of London complained to the counsell; and
the curate and churchwomans being cited to appear answer-
ed for themselves, that the roofs of their church being bad
they had taken it down; and that the crucifix and im-
ages were so rotten, that when they removed them they fell
to powder; that the charge they had been at in repairing
their church was such, that they could not buy new im-
ages; that they had taken down the images in the chanell
because some had been Guilty of Idolatry towards them.
In conclusion, they said, what they had done was with a
good intention; and if they had in any thing done amiss,
they asked pardon and submited themselves. Some were
for punishing them severeely, for all the papists reckon-
ed that this would be a leading case to all the rest of
this vaing; and if this were easily passed over, others
would be from that remissness animated to attempt such
things every where; but on the other hand, those at court
who had designed to set forward a reformation, had a
minde only soe far to check the Heat of the people as to
keep it within compass, but not to dishearten their friends
too much; Evanmey, and his party were for a general
removing of all images; and said, that in the latter time,
order being given to remove such as were abused
-to superstition; upon that there were great contentions in
many places, what images had been soe abused, and w-
not; and that these disputes would be endless, unless all
were taken away.

An account of the progress
of image worship

In the purest times of Christianity, they had noe images at all
in their churches; one of the first counsells, namely that of
Blivra in Spain, made a cannon against the paintings, which
they worshiped on the walls; Epiphanius, was Highly dis
pleased when he saw a veil hanging before the door
of a church, with a picture on it; which he considered
soe little as not to know well whose picture it was; but thought it might be Christ, or some other saint; yet he tore it, and gave them of the place money to buy a new veil in its room afterwards, with the rest of the pomp of Heathenism. Image came to be set up in the churches; and yet soe as there was noe sort of worship payed to them; but in the time of Pope Gregory the first; many went into extreame about them, some were for breaking them, and others worhiped them; some thought the middle way the best, neither to break, nor to worship them; but to keep them only to put the people in minde of the saints; afterwards there being subtle questions started about the unity of Christ's person and will; the Greek Emperours Generally inclined to have the animosities raised by these removed; by some comprehensive words, to which all might consent; which the interest of state as well as religion seemed to require; for their Empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent; but the bishops were stiffe and peremptory; soe in the 6th General council they condemned all whoe differed from them; upon this the Emperours that succeeded would not receive the councell; but the bishops of Rome ordered the pictures of all the bishops whoe had been at that council to be set up in the churches; upon which the Emperours contended against these, or any pictures in churches; and herein that happened which is not unusuall, that one controversy rising occasionally out of another, the parties forsook the first contest, and fell into sharp conflicts about the occasional differences; for now the Emperours and popes quarrelled most violently about the use of images; and ill names going a great way towards the defaming of an opinion; the popes and their party accused all that were against images, as favoring Judaism, or mahometanism, which was then much spread in Asia and Africa; the Emperours and their party accusing the others of Gentilism and Heathenish Idolatry; upon this occasion Gregory the third
First assumed that rebellious pretension to a power to depose the Emperor from all his Dominions in Italy; there was an General council at Constantinople that condemned the use of worship of images, and soon after another at Nice did establish it; and yet at the same time Charles the great though not a little Uncheked in Interest to the Bishops of Rome holding both the French and Imperial crowns, by the favor of the Pope, wrote on Employed Alcimus (a most learned Country man of ours, as the times went) to write in his name against the worship of images; and in a council at Frankfort it was condemned, which was all done afterward in another Council at Paris; but in such age, of ignorance and superstition, any thing that wrought so much on the senses and imaginations of the people, was sure to prevail in conclusion. And this had in a course of seven more ages been improved by the craft and imposture of the monks for wonderfull; that there was no sign of Divine Adoration that could be invented, that was not applied to these images, so in King Henrys time that temper was found, that such images that had been abused to superstition should be removed; and for other images, external worship, such as kneeling, censing, and praying before them, was kept up; but the people were to be taught, that these were not at all intended to the image, but to that which was represented by it; and upon this, there was much subtle Arguing; Among examiners papers, I have seen several Arguments for a moderate use of images; but to all these they opposed the Second Commandment, as plainly forbidding all visible objects of Adoration, together with what was in the Scriptures, against the Idolatry of the Heathens; and what the Fathers had written against the Gentiles; and they added that how execrable a usage that Practice might have been, in such dark and barbarous Ages, in which the people knew
Little move of Divine matters, then what they learned from their images; yet the Horrible abuses which followed on the bringing of them into churches, made it necessary now to throw them all out; it was notorious, that the people every where Doted on them; and gave them Divine Honor, now did the clergy whose were generally to Guilty themselves of such abuse, teach them how to distinguish a right; and the acts of worship which were allowed were such, that beside the Scandal, such worship had in it; and the Danger of drawing people into Idolatry; it was in it selfe Incendiary to offer up such external parts of Religion, adoration to Gold, Silver, wood or Stone; see Examiner and others being resoluted to purge the church of this abuse, got the worst part of the sentence, that some had designed against the curate and church wardens, to be mitigated into a reprimand, and as it is entered in the counsell books, in respect of their submission and of some other reasons, they did mitigate their offence (these were examiners Arguments against Images) they did pardon their imprisonment; which was at first determined, and ordered them to provide a crucifix; or at least some painting of it, till one were ready; and to beware of such rashness for the future but no mention is made of the other Images.

The carriage of the counsell in this matter discovering the inclinations of the greatest part of them; and Dr. Ridley, having in his Lent Sermon preached against the superition in his Lent Sermon, preached against the superition that was generally had for Images and Holy water; it raised a great heat over England, see that Gardiner, hearing that on may day, the people of Portsmouth had removed and broken the Images of Christ, and the Saints, wrot about it with great warmth, to one captain Vaughan, that waited on the protector, and was then at Portsmouth, he desired to know whether he should send one to preach against it, though he thought, that was the casting precious stones to hogs as were these Holland, he said that Luther had set out a book against those who removed Images; and himselfe had seen-
them still in the Lutheran churches, and he thought the removing images, was one design to subvert religion, and the state of the world: he argued for them from the kings image on the seal, careys image on the coin brought to christ: the kings armes carried by the heralds, he condemns false images; but for those that were against true images, he thought they were set with the devil; vaughan, sent his letter to the protector with one from gardiner to himselfe, whoe finding the reason in it, not soe strong, but that it might be answered, wrote to him himselfe; said he allowed of his zeal against innovation, but that there were other things that needed to be looked to as much; great difference there was between the civil respects due to the kings armes, and the worship given to images; there had been a time in which the abuse of the scripture, was thought a good reason to take them from the people, yea to burn them; though he looked upon them as more sacred then images, which if they stood merely as remembrances he thought the hurt was not great; but it was known that for the most part it was otherwise; and upon abuse the brozen serpent was broken, though made at Gods commandment and it being pretended that they were the books of the people; he thought the bible a much more intelligible and useful book: there were some too vash, and others too obstinate, the magistrate was to steer a milder course between them; not considering the antiquity of things soe much as what was good and expedient. Gardiner wrote again to the protector, complaining of cuyle, and others: who published books to the dishonour of the late king, and that all were running after novelties, and often inculcates it; that things should be kept in the state they were in, till the king were of age; and in his letters reflects both on the archbishop of cantebury, and the bishop of duesme, for consenting to such things.
But finding his letters had no effect on the protector, he wrote to Kidley, that by the law of Moses, we were no more bound not to have images, then not to eat blood puddings; then God and Idoll might have been used promiscuously in former times as King and Tyrant were; yet there was a great difference between these, according to the notions wee now haue, he cites Pope Gregory, whose was against both adoeing and breaking them; and says, the worship is not given to the image (soe there is noe Idolatry), but to him represented by it; and as the sound of speech did by the ear beget notions in us, soe he did not see, but the sight of an Image might stir up Devotion; he confessed there had been abuses, as there is in euery thing in mens hands; he thinks Imagery and graving to be of as good use for Instruction, as writing or printing and because Kidley had alfo preached, against the Superstition of Holy water to drive away Devils, he added that a uertue might be in water, as well as in chrits Garment of Peters Shadow, Elisah's Staffe; Pope Marcellus, ordered Equiting to use it; and the late King used to bless cramp rings both of Gold and Silver, which were much esteemed every where and when he was abroad were often desired from him, this Gift he hoped the young King would not neglect; he believed the Invocation of the name of God might give such a uertue to Holy water, as well as to the water of Baptism. For Kidleys answer to this, I never saw it, soe these things must here pass without any reply, though it is very probable, a very ordinary reader, will with a very small measure of common sense and learning, see how they might have been answereing; the thing most remarkable here is about these cramp rings, which King Henry used to bless, of which I never met with any thing before I saw this letter; but since I understand the office of Blessing of these rings is extant as it was prepared for Queen
merry use, as shall be told in her reign; it must be left to con-
jecture, whether he did it as a practice of former kings, or
whether upon his being made supreme head of the church, he
thought fit to take on him, as the pope did to consecrate such
things, and sent them about, where to be sure fancy and flan
tery would raise many stories, of the wondrous effects of
what he had so blessed, and perhaps these might have been
as true as the reports made of the virtuies of Agnae, Dei’s
touched Beads, blessed Pebbles, with such other goodly wares
which the Fryers were wont to carry about, and distribute
to their Benefactors; as things highly sanctified; they did
move more fully; and have laid some things together, that
fell not out till some months after this; in the year 1547,
being the first step that was made towards, a reforma-
tion in this reign.

of the examination of soull masse
and obits

The next thing that was inquired into was the use and
lawfulness of soull masses, and obits; which came to be
amongst the first things that were reformed, Christ had
instituted the sacrament to be celebrated in remem-
brance of his death; and it was a sacrament only to
those that did participate in it; but that the consecra-
ting of the sacrament could be of any use to depart-
ced soulls, seemed a thing not easy to be conceived; for
if they are the prayers of the living that profit the
dead, then these would have done as well without a
mass; but the people would not have esteemed have
prayers soe much, nor have payed soe deare for them.
soe that the true originall of soull masses was thought
to be only to increase the esteem and wealth of the
clergy; it is true in the primitive church there.
was a commemoration of the saints departed in the daily sacrifice; so they termed the communion; and such as had given any offence at their death were not remembred in it, so that for few slight an offence, as leaving a priest Tuto to one children, which might distract them from their spiritual care, one name was to be left out of the commemoration; in Cyprian time, which was a very disproportionate punishment to the offence, if such commemoration had been thought useful or necessary to the souls departed; but all this was nothing to the private masses for them; and was indeed nothing at first but an honourable mention of such as had dyed in the faith; and they believably then Generally; that there was to be a thousand years on earth of Glory; and that the saints should rise, some sooner and some latter to have their part in it; they prayed in General for their quiet rest; and their speedy resurrection yet these prayers growing (as all superstitions do, even) to be more considered; some began to frame an hypothesis to justify by that of the thousand years being Generally exploded; and in St Austin's time they began to fancy, there was a state of punishment even for the good in another life; out of which some were sooner, and some were later freed; according to the measure of their repentance for their sins in this life; but he tells us this was taken up without any sure ground, and that it was not very certain; yet by visions, dreams, & tales; the belief of it was so far promoted, that it came to be Generally received in the next Age after him; and then as the people were told, that the saints interceded for them, so it was added, that they might intercede for their departed friends; and this was the foundation of all the trade of soul masses and chairs; now the Deceased King Henry had acted like one who did not believe that these things
signified much; otherwise he was to have but ill reception in purgatory, having by the subversion of the monasteries deprived the departed souls of the benefit of the many masses; were said for them in their house; yet it seems at his death he would make the matter sure; and to shew he intended as much benefit to the living as to himself being dead; he took care, that there should be not only masses and obits; but so many sermons at windsor; and a frequent distribution of alms for the releas of the poor; but upon this occasion he came to be examined what value there was in such things.

For now men minds were much distracted; the people especially in towns and market places of trade, began generally to see into many of the corruptions of the doctrine and worship, and were weary of them; some preached against some abuses; Glaston at Paul's cross taught, that the observance of lent, was only a positive law; others went further, and plainly condemned most of the former abuses; but the clergie were as much engaged to defend them; they were for the most part such as had been bred in monasteries and religious house; for these being pensions reserved for the monks when their houses were surrendered and dissolved; till they should be otherwise provided; the court of augmentations took care, to ease the king of the charge by remitting them; on recommending to them to such small benefices as were at the kings disposall; and such as purchased those lands of the crown, with the charge of paying the pensions to the monks, were all so careless to ease themselves, by procuring benefices for them; the benefices were generally very small; so that in many place three or four benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one man; and this gave some co.
for the abuse of one man, having many benefices, that have a care of souls annexed to them; and that not only where they are so contiguous that the duty can be discharged by one, and so poor that the maintenance of both will scarce serve for the incouragement of one person, but even where they are very remote and of considerable value; this corruption that crept in, in the dark ages of the church, was now practised in England, out of necessity by an act made in King Henry the 8th time; that now might hold two benefices without a dispensation, but no dispensation could enable one to hold three; yet that was not at this time much considered; the excuses make for this, were that in some places, they could not finde good men for the benefices, but in most places, the livings were brought to nothing, for while the Abbies stood, the Abbots allowed those whom they appointed to serve the cure in the churches that belonged to them (which were in value, above the half of England), a small stipend, or some little part of the vicarage tithes; and they were to raise their substance out of the fees they had by the sacraments, and other sacramentals; and chiefly for singing masses for the poor that dyed, for the Abbies had the profit of it from the rich; and masses went generally for two pence; a Groat was thought a great bounty; soe they all concluded themselves undone, if these things were not drawn; this engaged them against any reformation; since every step that was made in it, took their bread out of their mouths, but they being generally very ignorant, could oppose nothing with the force of reason or learning; soe although they were resolved to comply with any thing, yet in their hearts they abhorred all reformation; and murmured against it; where they thought they might doe it safely; some preached for the old abuses, as much as the others did against them. But examner being now delivered from that too awfull subjection that he had been held under by King Henry resolved
to go on more rigorously in purging out abuses: he had the pro-
tester firmly united to him in this design: Drcox, and his ches,
who were about the young king, were all so very careful to
influse right principles into him, and as he was capable of un-
standing what was laid before him, so he had a early
liking to all good and generous principles: and was of so
excellent a temper of minde: that as he naturally loved
truth; so the great probity of his manners: he was very
inclinable to truse and cherish true religion: cranmer had
several bishops on his side: Holgate of York, Holbeach of lin-
coln, Goodrich of Ely: and above all Ridly, elect of Rochester;
and old latimer, was now discharged of his imprison-
ment: but heath, then bishop of worcester, was in great
perplexity: lest if he consented to the reformation, latimer
would have his place again: other of the bishops were:
ignorant and weak men, whose understood religion little
and valued it less: and so though they liked the old super-
position best, because it encouraged ignorance: most and
that was the only support of their power and wealth, yet
they resolved to swim with the stream.

It was designed by cranmer and his friends to carry
on the reformation but by slow and safe degrees: not hazar-
ding to much at once: they trusted in the providence
of God, that he would assist them in so good a work: they
knew the corruption they were to throw out to be such
that they should easily satisfy: the people with what they
did; and they had many learned men, whose had now for
diverse years been examining these matters.

Therefore a visitation was concluded to be made all over
England: divided into six seuerall circuits, or precincts:
the first was London, and westminster, norwich, and Ely;
the second Rochester, canterbury, chichester, and winchester
the third Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester, the 4th York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester, the 5th Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Winchester, and the 6th Wales, Worcester, and Hereford; for every circle there were two Gentlemen, a civilian and a Divine, and a registrar; and since the minds of the people were held in great suspense by the controversies, they heard, for variously tossed in the pulpits, that for quieting these things, the king did require all bishops to preach nowhere but in their cathedrals; and that all other clergy men should not preach but in their collegiate or parochial church, unless they obtained a special lycence from the king to that effect; the design of this was to make a distinction between such as preached for the reformation of abuses, and such as did not, the one were to be encouraged by licence to preach where ever they desired it, but the other were restrained to the places where they were incumbents.

Two things only remained to be done at present, the one was to draw up some Homilies for the instruction of the people, which might supply the defect of their incumbents together with the providing them with such books as might lead them into the understanding of the Scriptures, the other was to select the most eminent preachers they could finde, and send them over England with the visitors, who should with more authority instruct the nation in the principles of religion, therefore some were appointed to compile those Homilies, and twelve were at first agreed on; being about those arguments which were in themselves of the greatest importance. the (1) was about the use of the scriptures. the (2) of the misery of mankind by sin. the (3) of their salvation by christ. the (4) of true and lively faith. (5) of good works. (6) of christian love and charity. (7) against swearing, and chiefly perjury. (8) against apostacy, or declining from God. (9) against
the fear of death (18) an exhortation to obedience (11) against whoredom and adultery, setting forth the state of marriage, how necessary and honourable it was; and the (12) against contention, chiefly about matters of religion, they intended to set out more afterwards; but these were all that were at the time finished; the chief design in them was, to acquaint the people with the method of salvation according to the Gospel, in which there were two dangerous extremities at that time that had divided the world; the greatest part of the ignorant commoners, seemed to consider their priests, as a sort of people who had such a secret trick of saving their souls; as mountebanks pretend in the curing of diseases, and that th'ere was nothing to be done but to leave themselves in their hands, and the business could not miscarry; this was the chief basis and support of all the superstition which was so prevalent over the nation; the other extremity was of some corrupt Gospelers, who thought if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits and intercession they could not perish, which way, sooner they led their lives; these Homilies therefore specially came was taken to rectify those errors; and the salvation of mankind was on the one hand, wholly ascribed to the death and sufferings of Christ, to which sinners were taught to fly, and to trust to it only, and to no other device for the pardon of sin; they were at the same time taught, that there was no salvation through Christ, but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the rules of the Gospel; the whole matter was so ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining eternal happiness for the understanding of the new Testament, Erasmus's paraphrase, which was translated into English, was thought the most profitable and easiest book; therefore it was
resolved, that together with the bible, there should be one of these in every parish church over England, they next considered the Articles and injunctions that should begin to the visiters, which were as followeth.

To renounce the pope's power, and assert the king's supremacy; teaching the Elements of Religion in the vulgar tongue, about benefices of the clergy, and the taxes on them for the poor, for scholars and their mansion houses, with the other injunctions for the strictness of church men's lives, and against superstition, pilgrimages, images, or other vites of that kind, and for register books, to be renewed, as when they were in King Henry's time, and to these many others were added.

That the curate should take down such images, as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them; but that private persons should not do it; that in the confession, in Lent they should examine all people, whether they could recite the elements of Religion in the English tongue; that at the high mass they should read the Epistle and Gospell in English, and every Sunday and holy day, they should read at mattins one chapter out of the new Testament, and at Even-song a psalter out of the old in English; that the curate should often visit the sick, and have many places of Scripture in English in a readiness with that to comfort them; that there should be no more processions about churches, for avoiding contentions of precedence in them; and that the Latine formerly said in the processions, should be said there after in the quire in English, as had been ordered by the late King; that the holy day being instituted at first that men should give them selves wholly to God; yet God was generally more dishonoured upon it, then on the other days, by idleness, drunkenness & quarrelling; that people thinking that they sufficiently Honour ed God by hearing mass and mattins, though they understood nothing of it to their edifying; therefore, these after the holy day should be spent according to God's holy
will, in hearing and reading his holy word, in publick and private prayers, in amending their lives, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, and consoling themselves to their neighbors; yet the curates were to declare to their people, that in Harvest-time they might upon the Holy and Fastianall days labour in their Harvest; the curates were to admit none to the communion who were not reconciled to their neighbors; that all dignified clergy men should preach personally twice a year; that the people should be taught not to disjibe any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated; but to beware of that superstition of sprinkling their Beads with Holy water, or the sprinkling of bells, or using of blessed candles, for driving away Devils, that all monuments of Idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches; and there should be a pulpit in every church for preaching; and that there should be a chest with a hole in it, for the receiving the oblations of the people for the poor; and that the people should be exhorted to almsgiving, as much more profitable then what they formerly bestowed on superstitious pilgrimages, taurists, and devotions and images; that all Patrons whose disposed of their livings by Simonical actions should forfeit their right for the vacancy to the king; that the Homilies should be read; that priests should be used charitably and reverently for their office sake; that noe other primer should be used, but that set out by King Henry; that the prime and the Hours should be appointed where there was a sermon or Homily; that they should in biding their prayers, remember the king their Supreme Head; the queen Dowager, the kings two sisters; the Lord Protector, and the council; the Lord, the clergy, and the commons of the realm; and to pray for souls departed this life; that at the Last day wee with them may rest both body and soul; all which injunctions were to be observed, under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or death; the peace being required to assist them.
Besides these there were other injunctions given to the bishops if they should see the former put in execution, and should preach sometimes a year in their Dioceses, once at their cathedral; and three times in other churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for their omission that their chaplains should be able to preach God's word; and should labour oft in it; that they should give orders to none, but such as would doe the same; and if any did otherwise, they should punish them, and recall their licence.

The Article about the strict observance of the holy day seemed a little doubtfull, whether by the holy day was to be understood only the Lord's day; or that, and all other church festivals; the naming it singularly the Holy day, seemed to favor their opinion, that this strict observance of the holy day, was particularly intended for the Lord's day, and not for the other festivals; and indeed the setting aside of large portions of time on the Lord's day for our spiritual edification, and for the service of God, both in publick and private is so necessary to the advancement of true piety; that great and good effects must needs follow on it; but some came afterwards, whose not content to press great strictness on that day, would needs make a controversy about the morality of it, and about the fourth commandment; and framed many rules for it, which were stricter than themselves, or any other could keep; and so could only load men's consciences with many scruples; this drew an opposition from others, who were not ready to these severities, and these contests were by the subtleties of the enemy. To the power and progress of religion soe improved, that instead of all men observing that time devoutly as they ought, some took occasion from the strictness of their own way to censure all as irreverent, who did not in every thing agree to their notion concerning it; others by the heat of contradiction, did too much weaken this great bond and instrument of religion, which is since brought under soe much neglect, that it is for the most part a day only of rest from many bodily labours, but
Perhaps worse employed than if they were at work, so hard a thing it is to keep the due mean between the extremes of superstition on the one hand, and of irreverence on the other.

The form of the bidding of prayer, was not begun by King Henry, as some have weakly imagined, but was used in the times of Popery, as will appear by the form of bidding the heads, in King Henry the 7th, time, as followeth in the end of this section, where the way was first for the preacher, to name, and open his text, and then to call on the people to go to their Prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after which all the people said their Beads in a General Silence, and the minister kneeling down likewise, and said his; all the changing King Henry the 8th made in this, was that the Pope and cardinals names being left out, he was ordered to be mentioned, with the addition of his title of Supreme head of the church; that the people of hearing that repeated by their Priests, might be better persuaded about it; but his other titles were not mentioned; and this order was now renewed; only the prayer for departed souls was changed from what it had been; it was formerly in these words, yee shall pray for the souls that be departed abiding the mercy of Almighty God; that it may please him the rather at the contemplation of our Prayers, to grant them the fruition of his presence, which did simply their being in a state where they did not enjoy the presence of God, which was avoided by the more General words now prescribed.

The form of bidding prayer, before the time of reformation, in the time of Popery by the bedch on Sunday; taken.
taken out of the festivall; and
printed anno, 1509 — —
you shall kneel down on your knees; and lift up your heart
making your prayers to Almighty God, for the good, state and
peace of all holy church; that God maintain, secure and keep
it; for our Holy Father the pope; with all his true college
of cardinals, that God for his mercy them maintain, and
keep in the right believe, and it hold and increase; and
dall misbelieve be less and destroyed; allsoe ye shall pray
for the Holy hand; and the holy eros, that Jesus christ dy-
ed on for the redemption of mens souls, that it may
come into the power of Christian men the more to be Hon-
sured for our prayers; allsoe ye shall pray for all arch-
bishops, and bishops, and especially for the Archbishops
of cantebury, our metropolitan; and for the bishop of
our diocesan; that God of his mercy give to them grace
to govern and rule holy church, that it may be to the honour
and worship of him, and salvation of our souls; allsoe ye shall
pray for Abbots, priors, monks, canons, fryers, and for
all men and women of religion, in what order estate or de-
gree that they stand in, from the highest estate to the low-
est estate; allsoe ye shall pray for all them, that have
charge and cure of Christian mens souls; as curates, par-
sions, vicars, priests and clarks; and especially for the
parson and curate of this church; and for all the priests
and ministers that believe therein, or shall believe therein;
and for all them that have taken any order; that Almighty
God give them Grace of continuance; well for to keep
and observe it, to the Honour and wealth of their souls;
allsoe ye shall pray that unity and peace may be in all
Christian realms, and in especial for the good estate, peace,
and tranquility of this realm of England; for our liege
lord the king; that God of his great mercy send him grace
to govern and rule this realm; that God be pleased — —
and worshipped, and to the profit and salvation of this land: all ye shall pray for our leige lady, the queen, my lord prince, and all the noble progeny of them; for all dykes, barles, barrows, knightes, and esquires; and all the lords, of the kings council, which have any rule or governance in this land; that God give them grace, and to council, rule, and govern, that God be pleased, the land defended, and to the profit and salvation of all the realm; all ye shall pray for the peace both on the land and on the water, that God grant love and charity among all christian people; all ye shall pray for all in parishes, whether that they be on land or on water, that God save them from all manner of perils; and for all the good men of the parish for their wives, children, and men, that God them maintain safe and keep; all ye shall pray for all true tithers; that God multiply their goods and increase; for all true tillers, that labour for our sustenance, that till the earth, and all for all the grains and fruits that be sown or done in the earth; or shall be done; that God send such weather that may grow increase and multiply to the help and profit of all mankind, all ye shall pray for all true shipmen and merchants, wheresoeuer that they be on land or on water; that God keep them from all perils, and bring them home in safety, with their goods, ships and merchandise to the help, comfort and profit of this realm; all ye shall pray for them that finde any light in this church, or give any behoof, book, bell, chalice, or vestment, surplice, water doth, or towell, bands, vests, lamp, or light, or any other adornments whereby Gods service is the better served, sustained and maintained in reading or singing, and for all them that therefore have counselled; that God reward and yeild it them at their most need; all ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers, that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem; to st. katherine, or st. james, or to any other place, that God of his grace give them time and space well for to go and
to come, to the profit of their lives and souls; also ye shall pray for all them that be sick or diseased in this parish, that God send them health, the rather for our prayers; for all the women that be in our ladies hands, and with children in this parish, or in any other; that God send to them fair deliverance, to their children right ship name and christendom and to the mothers purification; and for all them that would be here and may not for sickness or travel, or any other lawfull occupation; that they may have part of all the good deeds that shall be done here in this place, or in any other, and ye shall pray for all them that be in good life that good them hold long therein; and for them that be in Debt, or deadly sin, that Jesus Christ bring them out thereof; the rather for our prayers; all so ye shall pray for him or her that this day gave the holy bread; and for him that first began, and longest holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of Doom; and for all them that doe well, or say you good, that God yeild it them at their need; and for them that otherwise would; that Jesus Christ amend them; for all these, and for all christian men and women, ye shall say a Pater noster, Ave Maria, Deus mis creatur noster, Gloria patri, with all the other prayers; furthermore, ye shall pray for all christian souls, for Archbishops and bishops souls; and in especial for all that have been bishops of this Diocess, and for all curates, parsons, and vicars souls; and in especial for them that have been curates of this church; and for ye souls that have believed in this church, all so, ye shall pray for the souls of all christian kings and queens; and in especial for the souls of them that have been kings and queens of the realm of England; and for all these souls that to this church have sinned, book bell chalice or vestment, or any other thing by the which the service of God is better done, and Holy church worshiped; ye shall also pray for your fathers soul, for your mothers soul for your brethren and sisters souls, and for your kind
(221) reds souly, and for your friends souly, and for all the souly we be bound to pray for, and for all the souly that be in the pains of purgatory, there abiding the mercy of Almighty God, and in especiall for them that have most need, and least help; that God of his endless mercy lessen and minish their pains, by the means of our prayers; and bring them to his euerlastinge bliss in heaven.

And all souly of the souly N. or of them that upon such a day this week we shall have the Anniversary; and for all christian souly, see shall devoutly say, a patre nospe, Ave maria, with other prayers of the church. Amen.

The party that opposed the reformation, finding things, got thus engaged the lady mary to appear for them; she therefore wrote to the protector, that she thought all change of religion, till the king came to be of age, were very much contrary to the respect they owed the memory of her father; if they went about to shake what he had settled; and against their duty to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom; and judge his authority in such points, before he was capable of judging them; she gather this to have been the substance of her letter from the answer which the protector wrote; in it he wrote that he believed not that her letter flowed not immediately from her selfe; but from the instigation of some malicious persons; he protests they had noe other design; but the glory of God, and the honour and safety of the king; and that what they had done was noe well considered, that all good subjects ought rather to rejoice at it; then finde fault with it; and whereas she had said, that her father had brought religion to a Godly order and quietness to which both spirituality and temporality did without compulsion give their assent; she remembers her, what opposition the stiffe necked papists gave him; and what rebellion they raised against him; which he wonders how she came soe soon to forget, adding, that death had prevented him, before he
had finished these General orders, which he had designed; and that
no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but all was left for
uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders if God
did not help them; and that himselfe and many others could witness
what great regret their late makers had, when he saw he must die be-
sore he had finished what he intended; he wondered that hee who
had been well bred, and was learmed, should esteem true religion
and the knowledge of the scriptures new sancledness or faney=
he desired shee would turn the heaue and look on the other side, &
would with an Humble spirit, and by the assistance of the grace of
God consider the matter better.

November 12th 1547. an act was made about the Lords Supper, and
had the royall assent; by it first the value of the holy Sacrament
commonly called the Sacrament of the Aulter, and in the scripture
the Supper and Table of the Lord, was set forth together with:
its first institution, but it having been of late maruously abused;
some had been thereby brought to a contempt of it; which
they had expressed in Sermons discourse, and songs
(in words not fit to be repeated) therefore whosoever-
should so offend after the first of may next was to suffer
fine and imprisonment at the kings pleasure; and the
Justices of peace were to take Information, and make pre-
sentments of persons so offending within three months
after the offences were committed, allowing the witnesses-
for their own Purgation, and it being more agreeable
to Christ's first Institution, and the practice of the church
for 3000 years after Christ; that the Sacrament should be
given in both the kindes of bread and wine; rather then
in one kinde only; therefore it was enacted, that it should
be commonly given in both kinds, except necessity did
otherwise require it; and it being allsoe more agreeable
to the first Institution; and the Primitive practice of
the Priest and the People should receve together; then
that the Priest should receve it alone; therefore the
day before every Sacrament an exhortation was to be
made to the People to prepare themselves for it; in
which the benefit and danger of worthy and unworthy receiving were to be expressed; and the priests were not without a lawful cause to deny it to any who humbly asked it.

This was an act of great consequence; since it reformed two abuses that had crept into the church; the one was, denying the cup to the laity; the other was the priests communicating alone. In the first institution it is plain, that as Christ bid all drink of the cup; and his disciple, all drank of it; so Saint Paul directed every one to examine himself that he might eat of that bread and drink of that cup from whence the church for many ages continued this practice, and the superstition of some whole received alone in one kind, was severely censured; and such were appointed either to receive the whole sacrament, or to abstain wholly; it continued thus till the belief of the corporal presence of Christ was set up, and then the keeping and carrying about the cup in procession not being so easily done; some began to lay it aside; for a great while the bread was given dipped in the cup to represent a bleeding Christ, as it is in the Greek church to this day; in other places the laity had the cup given them, but they were to suck it through pipes, that nothing of it should fall to the ground; but since they believed that Christ was in every crumb of bread, it was thought needless to give the sacrament in both kinds; so in the council ofConstant the cup was ordered to be denied the laity — though they acknowledged it to have been instituted and practiced otherwise; to this the Bohemians would not submit, though to compel them to it much blood was shed in that quarrel, and now in the reformation this was everywhere one of the first things with which people were possessed; the opposition of the Roman church herein to the institution of Christ being so evident the false all private masses were put down.
At first this sacrament was all so understood to be a communion of the body and blood of Christ of which many were to be practitioners; while the fervour of devotion lasted, it was thought a scandalous and consuurable thing, if any had come unto the Christian assemblies; and had not stayed to receive these holy mysteries; and the denying to give any one the sacrament was accounted a very great punishment. Soe sensible were the Christians of their ill condition when they were hindered to partake of it; but afterwards, the course Devotion thickening, the good bishops in the fourth and fifth centuries complained of it, that soe few came to receive yet the customs being to make oblations before the sacrament, out of which the clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the church; the priests had a mind to keep up the use of these oblations; and soe persuaded the laity to continue them; and to come to the sacrament though they did not receive it; and in process of time they were made to believe, that the priest received in behalf of the whole people, and whereas this sacrament was a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross; and soe by a phrase of speech was called a sacrifice; they came afterwards to fancy, that the priest consecrating and consuming the sacrament was an action of it selfe expiatory, and that both for the dead and living; and therefore an infinite number of severall sorts of masses, some were for commemorating the saints; and those were called the masses of such saints; others for a particular blessing, for rain and health, and the like; and indeed for all the accidents of Human life, where the addition or valuation of a collect made the difference. Soe that all the trade of massing was now removed. An intimation all soe was made of exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to set about; these abuses in the mass gone great advantages to those whoe intended to change it into a communion; but many instead of managing them prudently made uncomely jests about them; and were carry, ed.
by a lightness of temper to make songs and playes of the
mass; for now the press went quick, and many books were
printed this year about matters of religion, the greatest
number of them being concerning the mass, which were
not written in soe decent and grave a stile as the matter
required. Against this act only five bishops protested, many
of that order were absent from the parliament, soe the
opposition made to it was not considerable.

The next thing was an act made about the admission
of bishops, and the ancient usage of Electing bishops.

At first bishops were chosen and ordained by the other =
bishops in the countries where they lived: the apostles by the
spirits of discerning which was one of the extraordinary gifts =
they were endued with, did ordain the first fruits of their labors
and never left the election of pastors to the discretion of people.
Indeed when they were to ordain deacons who were to be trust-
ed with the distribution of the publick alms; they appoint-
ed such as the people made choice of; but when st paul gave
directions to timothy and titus, about the choice of pastors
that depended on the people by them was, that they should
be blameless, of good report; but afterward, the poverty of
the church being such; that churchmen lived only by the
free bounty of the people; it was necessary to consider =
them much, soe that in many places the choice began amongst
the people, and in all places it was done by their approbati-
on and good liking; but great disorders followed upon this
as soon as by the emperours turning christians, the wealth
of church benefices made the pastoral change more desira-
ble, and the vast numbers of those that turned christians
with the tide, brought in great multitudes to have their
rights in these elections. The inconvenience of this was
felt early in phrygia, where the council of laodicea,
made a canon against these popular elections; yet in other parts of Asia; and at Rome, there were great and often contests about it; in some of these many men were killed. In many places the inferior clergy chose their bishops; but in most places the bishops of provinces made their choice. Yet so as to obtain the consent of the clergy and people, the Emperors by their laws made it necessary that it should be confirmed by the metropolitan; they reserved the elections of the great see to themselves, or at least the confirmation of them, thus it continued till Charles the great's time; but then the nature of church employments came to be much altered, for though the church had the predestined lands with the other rights belonging to them by the Roman law; yet he first gave bishops and abbots great territories, with some branches of royal jurisdiction in them, who held these lands of him according to the feudal leaves; this as it carried churchmen off from their humility, and abstraction from the world, which became their function; so it subjected them much to the humours and interest of these princes, on whom they had their dependance; the popes, who had made themselves heads of the hierarchy, could not but be glad to see churchmen grow rich and powerful in the world; but they were not so well pleased to see them made so much the more dependant on their princes; and we doubt by some of these princes that were become patrons of churches, the bishoprick were either given for money, or charged with reserved pensions upon this the popes filled the world with complaints of simony and of inflaming churchmen to court interest, and so would not suffer them to receive justities from their prince, but set up for free elections as they called them, which they said were to be confirmed by the see apostolick for the canons, secular or regular, in cathedral churches were to chose their bishops; and their election was to be con
firmed at Rome: yet princes in most places, got some hold of these elections: so that still they went as they had a mind they should; which was oft complained of as a great bawdry on the church and would have been more universally condemned, if the world had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there should have been set up either the popular or synodical elections, in which faction was like to play all; king Henry had continued the old way of election by the clergy; but so that it seemed to be little better than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenious way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the king, rather than under the thinne court of an involuntary election; but upon this act great advantage were taken to disparage the reformation, as Subjecting bishops wholly to the pleasure of the court.

Some farther advance in the reformation

The next thing that came under consideration was the great contradiction that was in most of the sermons over England, some were very earnest to justify and maintain all the old rites, that yet remained, and others were no less hot to lay them aside: so that in London especially, the people were wonderfully divert ed by this variety among their teachers; their ceremony of candle, mass, and their observance of Lent, with the rites used on palm Sunday, Good Friday and Easter, were now approaching those that were against them condemned them as superstitious additions to the worship of God, invented in the dark ages, when an outward pageantry had been the thing that chiefly was looked after; but others set out the good use that might be made of these things; and taught that till they were abolished by the king's authority they ought to be still observed, but it had been declared that fasting in Lent was only a po sitive law; several directions were all set to give about the use of the ceremonies, and some hints as if they were not to be
long continued; and all wakes and plough munday were suppressed since they drew great assemblies of people together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling.

The country people generally avoided all these shows, processions and assemblies, as things of diversion; and judged it a dull busines only to come to church for divine worship and the hearing of sermons; therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of these rites, but others observing that they kept up all these things just as heathens did their plays and feastivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the christian religion; and therefore were earnest to have them removed; this was so effectually represented to the counsell by Cranmer, that an order was sent to him about it, which transmitted his orders all over the province to bonner and others, and by it the carrying of candles on candlemas day; of aske, on Ash Wednesday day; and palms on Palm Sunday were forbidden to be used any longer 1548; to these were added as things forbidden; the creasing to the cross on Good Friday; taking Holy bread and water.

February 11. 1548, there was a letter sent from the counsell to the Archbishop for a more considerable change; and the Generall removing of all images, and taking them away, there were every where great heats about the removing of images, which had been abused to superstition; some affirming and others denying that their image had been so abused; there were in the churches some images of Joe Strange a nature that it could not be denied that they had been abused, such was the image of the blessed Trinity; which was to be censured the day of the Innocents; by him that was made the bishop of the children, this shews it was used on other days in which it is like it was censured by the bishop, where he was present; how this image was made can only be gathered from the prints that were of it at that time, in which the father is represented sitting on the one hand as an old
man with a triple crown and vayes about him; the son on the
other hand as a young man, with a crown and vayes, and the
blessed virgin between them; and the Emblem of the Holy Ghost
a Dove spread over her head; soe it is represented in that
book of the Hours, according to the use of Sarum; printed
anno. 1526. the Impiety of thy did raise horror in most
men's minds; when that unconceivable mystery was soe grossly
expressed; besides the taking the virgin into it was done
in pursuance to what had been said by some blasphemous
fryars of her being assumed into the Trinitty. In ano-
other Edition of these, it is represented by three faces form-
ed in one head; these things had not been set up by any
publick warrant; but having been soe long in practice they
stood upon the generall plea that was for the keeping of the
traditions of the church; for it was said that the promise
made to the church were the same in all ages, and that
therefore every age of the church had an equal right to
them; but for the other images it was urged against them
that they had been all consecrated with such rites & pray-
ers, that it was certain they were every one of them su-
persitions; since it was prayed that they might be soe
blessed and consecrated, that whosoever worshipped them
might by that Saints prayers and said whom they repre-
sented obtain every thing that he desired; soe they ve-
olved upon an interieor removal of all images, and the
protectour with the counsell wrote to Cranmer, that for
puting an end to all these contests, and that the living
images of Christ might not quarrell about the dead ones;
it was concluded they should all of them be taken down
and that all the rich shrines, and the plate belonging
to them should be brought into the Kings use, and that
the cloaths that covered them should be converted to the
use of the poor; soe the churches were emptied of all these
pictures and statues which had been for divers ages, chiefes
object of the people's worship.
And now the greatest care of the reformers was to finde the best men they could that should be licensed by the kings Authority to preach to whom the counsell sent a letter in the begining of May, intimating that by the restraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the rash contentions of indiscreet men; and not to extinguish the lively preaching of the word of God, made after such sort as the Holy Ghost should for that time put in the preachers minde; they are therefore charged to preach sincerely & with that carriage and moderation that the time and place should require; and particularly, that they should not set the people on to make innovations; or to run before those whom they should obey; but should persuade them to amend their lives, and keep the commandments of God; and to forsake all their old superstition; and for the things not yet changed they ought to wait patiently; and to conclude that the prince did either allow or suffer them; and in delivering things to the people, they were ordered to have a speciall regard to what they could bear.

But this temper was not observed, some plainly condemned it as a political painting; and said why should not all these superstitions be swept away at once? to this it was answered by others, that as christ forbid the pulling up of the tares, lest with them they should pull up good wheat, so if they went too forwardly to the changing of things they might in the hast change much for the worse, and great care was to be had not to provoke the people to much left in the infancy of the king; or in some ill conjunction of affairs, they might be disposed to make commotions and the compliance that both christ and his apostles gave to the Jews when they were to advocate the mosaical Law, were often insisted on; it was said, if they whose were cloathed with a power of miracles, for the more effectual conviction of the world, condescended so far; it was much more reasonable for them whose had
not that Authority over men's consciences, and had no immediate Sines to shew from Heaven, to persuade the People, rather by degrees to forsake their old mistakes, and not to precipitate things by an over Hast.

This Winter there was a Committee of selected Bishops & Divers, appointed for examining all the Offices of the Church and for reforming them.

The thing they first examined was the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which being the chiefest Symbol of Christian communion, was thought to deserve their chiefest care; and here they managed their Inquiries in the same manner that was used in former reigns; in which any thing that was considered in order to a change; it was put into several Questions or Queries; to which every one in Commission, was to give his answer in Writing; it is noe wonder, if the Confusion of placed in Queen Mary's reign have deprived us of most of these Papers, yet there is one set of them preserved, relating to some questions, and examiners hand is over every one of them.

Quest. (1) whether the Sacrament of the Alter was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himselfe; Ans: the Sacrament of the Alter was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received of every man for himselfe, according to the Apostle, see being many are one bread, & are all made to drink into one Spirit, and Mat. 26 take eat, take drink every one of you, and do it in remembrance of mee; and it is noe move to be received of one man for another; then one to be head for another.

Quest. (2) whether the receiving the Sacrament by one man doth avail and profit another. Ans: the receiving the Sacrament by one man doth avail and profit him only that receiveth the same, and not another, unless it be by mutual participation and spiritual communion between them.
and as the health and good liking of one member doth in part strengthen the body, and other members of the same, and in the mystical body the good living of one man stirreth another to the same.

Quest. (3) What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass? (Ans.) The oblation and sacrifice in the mass, is not so called because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people (for that was done but once by him selfe upon the cross) but it is so called, because it is a memory and representation of the very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross with thanksgiving, therefore, and devout prayer. — It is in giving thanks unto the Father, as Christ himselfe did at his supper, taking the bread and wine into his hand, and with the words of consecration, consecrating the same, and with giving thanks, and singing an hymn.


The mass consisteth in Christ's institution, comprizeth more then the communion of the body and blood to be ministered and received under both kinds of bread and wine, according as is declared by the Evangelists.

Quest. (5) What time did the accustomed order begin first in the church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament? (Ans.) According to exame, I thinke the use that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ — the custom began that the priest alone should receive the sacrament of necessity, when the people falling from devotion would not come to the communion, but
saved more for their worldly business, then for Godly receiving the sacrament, for in the beginning they received it daily, by frequent devotion, after thrice a week, after on the Sundays only, after thrice in the year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; after only once in the year, at Easter by coldness of devotion.

The time is not known; most men ascribe it unto Gregory, who was more than 600 years after Christ; for that every bishop of Rome bringing in his portion (some introitus, some kyrie eleison some gradual), the mass in the said Gregory's time was grown to the full quantity it is now of; and mens prudence began to dep before, and get ground of Christ's institution, but from the beginning it was not so; for Christ did not eat and drink alone at his last supper, but gave the bread and cup to all present; in the primitive church one did not eat alone, and the rest look on; but they did eat together, and drink together, as it is to be seen, Acts. ii. 1. 1 Cor. 11.

Quest (6) whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm. Ans. It is most agreeable to the scripture, and primitive church, that the first usage should be restored again, and that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest.

Quest (7) whether it be convenient that masses, satisfactory should continue (that is to say) priests hired to sing for souls departed. Ans. I think it is not convenient that satisfactory masses should continue; masses, to be said for satisfaction of sin (since Christ is the only satisfaction for all sin) is an abuse not to be continued; and priests to be hired only to sing for departed souls, seemeth to be a superfluous function in the church.

Quest (8) whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people present. Ans. It is very convenient, that the Gospel concerning the death of Christ and our redemption, should be taught to the people in the mass, and a sermon for the edifying of the people; the glad tidings therefore, and the great benefi
that we receive by the death of Christ, and his sufferings (which we see as in a glass, in this holy Sacrament) ought to be set forth and preached to the people, so as it as they come to the holy communion.

Quest. (9) whether in the Mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people might understand. Answr. It is convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the Mass, as the people may understand except in certain secret mysteries, wherein I doubt, for Saint Paul would have all things in the congregation and publick assembly, so to be spoken that they may edifie; and in such a language that the people present may say Amen; in our thanksgiving.

Quest. (10) when the reservation of the Sacrament began; and when the hanging up of the same first began. Answr. The reservation of the Sacrament began; I think, six or seven hundred years ago after Christ; the hanging up I think began of late time.

Polidore Virgil doth write, that Innocent the third decreed the Sacrament to be kept, to be in a readiness for the sick; and Honorius the third, confirmed the same, adding that it ought to be reserved; commanding also the priests that they should often instruct the people, venerently to bow down at the elevation time; and when it is borne to the sick as for the hanging up of the Sacrament over, or setting it upon the Alter, is of a latter time, not yet received in divers places of Christendom. — That Christ used rites and prayers at the institution, and distribution of the Sacrament the Scripture declareth; but what rites and prayers they were we know not, but I think we ought to use such rites and prayers as are agreeable to the word of God.

By the act about the Sacrament, it was only provided that all who came to receive should be admitted, but priests were not forbid to consecrate if none were to communicate, which was the thing now inquired into.

It is certain there was no part of worship more corrupted then the Sacrament was; the first institution was so plain, and simple; except in the words, this is my body: there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that afterward were
brought in; the Heathens had their mysteries, which the priests concealed with hard and dark woods, and dressed up with much pomp and thereby supported their own esteem with the people; since they looked on these to be of so high a nature; that all those whom had the ordering of them were accounted sacred persons; the primitive Christians retained the first simplicity of divine institutions for some ages, but afterwards, as their number increased, they made use of some things, not unlike these the Heathens had practised to draw the Gentiles more easily into their belief; since externall means make deep impressions in the vulgar, and these that were thus brought over, might afterwards come to like these things for their own sake, which were at first made use of only to gain the world, others finding some advantage in such services, that were easy, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by counteracting and complying with the follies that were in vogue, contributed liberally to the improving of them and after the Roman Emperors turned Christians, much of the vast wealth of which they and their people were masters, was brought into the church, and applied to these superstitions; yet it became not for universally corrupted, till by the invasion of Gothers and Vandals, and other barbarous nations, the Roman Empire was broken and divided into many kingdoms, these new conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to sensible things; and learning being universally extinguished, gross superstition took place; for more refined superstition would not serve the turn of Darker Ages; but as they grew in ignorance, they continued in the belief and practice of more absurd things.

The high opinion they had of the sacrament, being much raised by the belief of the corporal presence in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull wits of the priests, and the wealth of the people were employed, to magnifie it with all the pomp possible; all the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole office was in an unknown tongue; a great part of it was to be secret by whisheved to make it appear the more wonderfull charm
but chiefly the words of consecration were by no means to be heard by the people, it being sabled that when the words were spoken aloud, some shepherds had repeated them over their bread, which was then upon presently turned into flesh; besides, that it was but suitable, that a change that was not to be seen, should be made by word, not to be heard; the priest was not to approach it, but after so many bowings, crossings, and kissings of the altar, and all the while he went through with the office; the people were only now and then blessed with a short blessing; the Lord be with you; and even that in Latin; then after consecration the bread was lifted up, and all the people worshipped it, as if Christ had appeared in the clouds; it was oft exposed on the altar and carried about in procession, with the ceremony of carrying flambeaux before it; which the greatest person accounted it an honour to the priest; the priest that carried it, all the while going under a rich canopy.

This was also thought most effectual for all the accidents of life; and whereas it was first only intended to be a commemoration and communion of the death of Christ, that seemed almost forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable; that which brought in most custom was treader which was a method of delivering souls out of purgatory by saying 30 masses a year for them; and whereby it was observed that men on the anniversaries of their birth-days, wedding, or other happy accidents of their lives were commonly in better humour, so the favours were more easily obtained; they seemed to have the same opinion of God and Christ; so they ordered it that three of these should be said on Christmas day, three on Epiphany, three on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, three on the
Annunciation, three on the resurrection, three on the ascension; three on Whitsunday; three on Trinity Sunday; three on the assumption of the blessed virgin; and three on her birthday. Hoping these days would be the means to procure to the blessed virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their desires; yet the most unaccountable part of all was, the masses on the saints days; praying that the intercessions of the saints might make the sacrifice acceptable; that the saints for whose honour these oblations were solemnly offered, would by his merits procure them to be accepted; and that the sacrifice might bring to man a great indulgence, being offered up by the suffrage of that saint if the sacrifice was of Jesus Christ, and was of its own nature expiatory; how this should be done in honour to one saint, and become of greater use the more his intercession was a thing very hard to be understood; there were many pieces of ridiculous pageantry all these used in it, as the laying the host in the sepulchre, made for chrest on good Friday, and that not only the candles that were to burn at the Easter celebration, but the very fire that was to kindle them; was particularly consecrated on Easter Eve; some masses were believed to have a peculiar virtue in them, for in the mass book printed at London, Anno 1550, there is a mass for avoiding sudden death, which Pope Clement made in the college, with all his cardinals, and granted to all who heard it 270 days of indulgence, charging them that they should hold in their hand a burning candle all the while it was saying; and for five days after should likewise hold a candle kneeling, during the whole mass; and to those that did so for sudden death should doe no harm and it is added, that this was certain and approved in Avignon; and all the neighbouring places; all this I have opened the more largely, to let the reader plainly understand...
what things were then in the sacrament, that required reformation; and I have gathered these things out of the mass-book then most used in England; and best known by the name of the mass, after the use of Sarum.

The first step these deputies bishops and divines made, was to reform this; but they did not at once mend every thing that acquired it; but left the office of the mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a communion; it began first with an exhortation to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used, only after the advice given concerning confession, it is added that such as desired auricular confession should not censure those who were satisfied with a General confession to God and that those who used only confession to God and to the church should not be offended with those who used auricular confession to a priest, but that all should keep the rule of charity; every man being satisfied to follow his own conscience; and not judging another man in things not appointed by God.

This was previously censured; those that were for the old superstition were much troubled, to have confession thus left indifferent and a general confession of sins to be used; with which they apprehended the people would for the most part content themselves; in the scripture there was a power of binding and loosing of sins given to the Apostles; and St. James exhorted those to whom he wrote to confess their faults one to another; afterwards penitents came to be reconciled to the church; when they had given publick scandal, either by their apostacy or ill life, by an open confession of their sins; and after some time of separation from the other pure Christians in worship, and abstaining from the sacrament; they were admitted again to their share of all the privileges that were given in common to Christians; but according to the nature of their sins, they were beside that publick confession put under such rules.
it might be most proper for curing those ill inclinations in them and according to the severall ranks of sins; the time and degree of this penitence was proportioned; and the counsellors, that met in the fourth and fifth centuries, made the regulating these penitentiary canons, the chief subject of their consultations; in many churches there were penitentiary priests, who were more expert in the knowledge of these rules, and gave directions about them; which were taken away in Constantinople upon the indiscretion of which one of them had been guilty, for secret sins there was noe obligation to confess; all the canons were about publick scandals; yet for these the devout people generally went to their priests for their counsel; but were not obliged to it; and soe went to them for the disbursements of their minds; as they did to physicians for the diseas of their bodies.

About the end of the 5th century, they began in some places to have secret penance; either within monasteries, or other places, which the priests had appointed; and upon a secret confession and performing that penance imposed absolution was also given secretly; whereas in former times confession and absolution had been performed openly in the church; in the 7th century it was every where practised; that there should be secret penance for secret sins; which Theodore archbishop of Cantebury, did first bring into a method, and under rules; but about the end of the 8th century, the commutation of penance and exchanging it for money, or other services of the church came to be practised; and then began pilgrimage to holy places, and afterwards the going to the holy war, and all the severities of penance were dispensed with to such as undertook these; this brought on a great relaxation of all ecclesiastical discipline; afterwards cruises came in use against such princes as were deposed by popes; and to these was likewise added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all rules of penitents were dispensed with, to such as put
with the cross; but penitents being now no more publick, but only private, the priests managed it as they pleased; and so by confession entered into all men's secrets; and by absolution had their consciences so intirely in their power, that the people were generally governed by them; yet because the secular priests were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under such an association as was needful to manage those designs for which this was thought an excellent engine; therefore the friars were employed everywhere to hear confessions and give absolutions; and to bring in customers to them, too new things were invented; the one was a reserving of certain cases; in which such as were guilty of them could not be absolved but by the popes, or those deputed by them; and the friars had faculties in the popes' names, to absolve in such cases; the other was on some occasion, the use of certain new secrets, by which men were to obtain great indulgences; either by saying such prayers, or performing such impositions — and these were all trusted to the friars, and whom were to trade with them; and bring all the money they could get by that means to Rome; they being bred up to a voluntary poverty; and expecting great rewards for their industry, sold those secrets with as much cunning, as mountebanks use in selling their tricks; only here was the difference, that the inefficacuallness of the mountebanks' medicines was soon discover'd, so that their trade must be soon in one place; whereas the other could not be so easily found out; the chief price of that religion of those ages, being to believe all that their priests taught them; by them indulgences of many years, Hundred thousands, and millions of years, and of all sins whatsoever, were granted to such as devoutly said such collects, but it was always under stood that they must confess and be absolved, which is the meaning of those expressions, concerning their being in a state of Grace; and so the whole businesse was a cheat.

But now all this trade was laid aside, and confession of secret sins was left to all men's free choice; since it was
certain that the confession to a priest was nowhere enjoyed in the Swi

y Shall Here set down a briefe collection of the
chieste indulgences in the English office, prin
ted at Paris, 1526.

Folio. 38.
To all them that be in the state of grace, that daily say devoutly
this prayer before our blessed Lady, if pity she will shew them her
blessed visage, and warn them the day and hour of death, and
in their last end the angels of God shall yeild their souls to
Heaven, and he shall obtain 5000 years, and see many leaves
of pardon, granted by the holy fathers popes, of Rome.

Folio. 42.
Our holy father Sixtus the 4th pope, hath granted to all them
that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our lady, the
summe of 11000 years pardon

Folio. 44.
Our holy father the pope Sixtus, hath granted at the instance
of the high most excellent princess Elizabeth, late queen of
England, and wife to our Sovereign Leige Lord Henry the 7th
(God have mercy on her sweet soul, and all christian souls) that
every day in the morning after three tollings of the Ave bell
say three times the whole salutation of our lady, Ave maria
Gratia, that is to say, at six of the clock in the morning;
three Ave maries, at 12 of the clock at noon; and three Ave
maries, at 6 of the clock at noon, for every time soe doing
is granted of the spirituall treasure of holy church 500 days
of pardon, together quote; and alsoe our holy father the Arch
bishop of Canterbury and York, with other nine bishops of
this realm; have granted three times in the day, forty days
of pardon, to all that be in the state of grace, able to receive
pardon, the which began the 26th day of March Anno 1492
In Henry 7th, and the summe of the indulgence and pardon for e
In Henry 7th, and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for e
In Henry 7th, and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for e
In Henry 7th, and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for e
In Henry 7th, and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for e
our Holy Father the Pope Boniface hath granted to all them that devoutly say, this lamentable contemplation of our blessed Lady standing under the cross weeping, and having compassion with her sweet Son Jesus, seven years of pardon, and forty lents, and all the Pope John 22d hath granted, 300 days of pardon.

Soli. 50.

These be the 15° 0°°°, the which the Holy virgin St. Bridget was wont to say daily before the holy Rood, in St. Paul's church at Rome; whereof, saith this a whole year, shall deliver 15° souls out of purgatory of his next kindred, and convert other 15° sinners to good, and other, 15° righteous men of his kind shall preserve in good life, and what ye desire of God, ye shall have it, if it be to the salvation of your souls.

Soli. 54.

To all them that before the image of pity, say, five pater = noster, and five Ave maria, and after called, pitiously beholding those Flame's of Christ's Passion, are granted, 32° 5°° years of pardon, and Sixtus the 4th Pope of Rome, hath made the 4th and the 9th prayer, and hath doubled his fore said pardon.

Soli. 56.

The Epistle of our Saviour, sendeth our holy Father, Pope Leo to the Emperour, carolo magno; of the which wee finde written; whose that behaveth this blessing upon him; and saith it once a day, shall obtain 40 years of pardon, and 80 Lentings, and he shall not perish with sudden death.

Soli. 57.

This prayer made by St. Austin, affirming whose that saith it daily kneeling, shall not dye in sin, and after this life, shall goe to the everlasting joy and bliss.

Soli. 58.

Our Holy Father the Pope John 22d hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer, after the elevation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 8000 days of pardon for deadly sins.
our Holy Father the Pope Boniface, the 6th, hath granted all them
that say devoutly this prayer following, between the Elevation of our
Lord, and the three Agens Dei, 10000 years of Pardon.

our Holy Father Sixtus the 4th hath granted to all them that
be in the State of Grace, saying this prayer following immediately
after the Elevation of the Body of our Lord, clean remission
of all their sins perpetually enduring; and all see John
Pope of Rome, at the request of the queen of England;
hath granted, to all them that devoutly say this prayer, he
love the image of our Lord crucified, as many days of
pardon, as there were wounds in the Body of our Lord, in
the time of his bitter Passion, the which were 546.

These five petitions and prayers, made by St. Gregory, and
hath granted unto all them that devoutly say these five prayers
with five Pater nosters, five Ave marias, and a credo. 5000 =
years of Pardon.

These three prayers be written in the chapter of the Holy Cross
in Rome, otherwise called, Sacellum Sancte crucis Septem Roma
norum; who that devoutly say them, they shall obtain 10000
years of Pardon for deadly sins, granted by our Holy Father
John 22d. Pope of Rome.

Who that devoutly behemoth these Above of our Lord Jesus
Christ shall obtain 6000 years of Pardon of our Holy Father St.
Peter, the first Pope of Rome; and of 30 other Popes of the
Church of Rome, successors after him; and our Holy Father:
Pope John the 22d, hath granted into all them very contrite
and truly confessed, that say these devout prayers following in
the commemoration of the bitter Passion of our Lord Jesus
Christ, 3000 years of Pardon for deadly sins, and other 3000
for venial sins; and say first, a Pater noster, and Ave maria.
our Holy Father Pope Innocent the 2d, hath granted to all them
that say this prayer devoutly in the worship that the wounds that
our Lord had in his blessed side, when he was dead, hanging
on the cross, 4000 days of pardon.

This most devout prayer, said the holy father St. Bernard daily
kneeling, in the worship of the most holy name Jesus, and it is
good to believe, that through the invocation of the most excel-
lington name Jesus; St. Bernard obtained a singular vaward of
perpetual consolation of our Lord Jesus Christ; and these
prayers written in a table, that hanged at Rome, in St. Peter's
church, nigh to the High Altar there; as our Holy father the
Pope Eueningly, is wont to say the office of the mass, and
which that devoutly, with a contrite heart, daily say this orison
if he be that day in the state of eternal Damnation: then
this eternall Pain shall be changed him in temperval Pain of
Purgatory; then if he hath deserved the pain of purgatory
it shall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite mercy of God

of the reformation of the offices of
the Church.

In the primitive church, when the extraordinary Gists ceas
ted the bishops of the seuevall churches put their offices and prayers
into such a method, as was nearest to what they had heard
or remembered from the Apostles; and these liturgies were
called by the Apostles names; from whose forms they had
been composed; as that at Jerusalem, carryed the name
of St. James; and that at Alexandria, the name of St.
marke; though those books, that wee have now under those
names, are certainly noe interpolated; that they are
of noe great Authority; but in the foureth century
we have these liturgies first mentioned, the council of Nicea, appointed the same offices of prayers to be used in the morning and the evening, the bishops continued to draw up new additions, and to put old forms into other methods; but this was left to every bishop's care, nor was it made the subject of any publick consultation, till some time, when in their dealings with heretics, they found they took advantage, from some of the prayers that were in some churches; upon this, he tells us, it was ordered that there should be no prayer's used in the church but upon common advice, after that the liturgy came to be more carefully considered. Formerly the worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued till superstition had so infected the church; that those forms were thought too naked, unless they were put under more artificall rules; and dressed up with much ceremony. Gregory the great, was the first that took much care to make the church musicke very regular; and he did so but the liturgy, in another method then had been formerly used; yet he had no such fondness of his own compositions, but left it to Austin the monk, whom he sent over into England; when he consulted him in it, either to use the roman or savenish rituals, or any other as he should finde they were most likely to edifie the people. After this in most sees there was great variations, for as any prelate came to be cannonized, or held in high esteem by the people, some private collects, or particular forms that he had used were practised in his, or perhaps as his fame spread in his neighbour diocess; In every age there were notable additions made; and all the writers almost in the 8th and 9th centuries, employed their fancy to finde out
mysticall significations, for every rite that was then used, and for as a new rite was added; it was noe hard matter to adde some new mystery to it; this had made the offices swell out of measure and there was a great variety of them, missalls, breuaries, rituals, pontiffically, portos, pies, gradually, Antiphonally, Sal teries, Hours, and a great many more; every religious orders had their peculiar rites, with the saints that belonged to their order, and services for them; and the understanding how to officiate, was become noe hard a piece of the trade, that it was not easy to learn it exactly, without a long practice in it; soe now it was resolved to correct and examine these and it was resolved here in England, that there should be a new liturgy.

I do not finde it was ever brought under consideration whether they should compose a form for all the parts of divine worship; or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those whoe were to officiate; which some have called since that time, the worshipping by the spirit; of this way of serving God they did not then dream; much less that appointing of forms of prayer was an intravinghing on the kingely office of Christ, but though what ever praying in the spirit might have been in the Apostles time (where, yet every man brought his psalme, which are a sort of prayers; as well as praises; and these look like some written compoures, as st. Paul expresseth it) that now to pray-

with warm affections and sincere devotion was spiritual worship and that where it was the same thing, that was to be daily asked of God; the using the same expressions, was the sign of a ready devotion, that was fixt on the thing prayed for; whereas y heat that new words raised, lookd rather like a warmth in the fancy; nor could it agree with the principle of a reformation that was to disgest the church-men of that unlimited authority which they formerly exercised over mens consciences, to leave them at liberty to make the people pray after them as they pleased; this being as great a resignation of the people when their devotion depended on the sudden heats of their passions; as the former supervision had made of their faith and conscience to them, soe it being resolved to bring the whole worship of God under
et former; they set one General rule to them selves (which they after wards declared) of changing nothing for novelty, save or mostly be cause it had been formerly used; they resolved to retain such things as the primitive church had practised, cutting off such abuses as the latter ages had grafted on them; and to continue the use of such other things, which though they had been brought in, not soe early, yet were of good use to beget devotion, and were so much recommended to the people by the practice of them, that the laying these aside, would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made; and therefore they resolved to make noe change without good and weighty reasons, in which they considered the practice of our Saviour, who did not only comply with the vices of Judaism himselfe; but even the prayer he gave to his disciples was framed according to their former; and his two great instituti ons of baptism and the Eucharist, did consist of rites that had been used among the Jews; and since he whoe was deliver ing a new religion, and was authorized in the highest manner that ever any was; did yet soe far comply with received practise, as from them to take those which he sanctified for the use of his church; it seemed much fitter for those whose had noe such extraordinary warrant to give them authority in what they did when they were reforming abuses, to let the world see, that they did it not from the itch and desire of change, or any affection of novelty; and with those resolutions, they entered on their work.

In the search of the former offices, they found an infinite deal of superstition; in the consecration of water, salt, bread, incense, candles, five bells, churches, images, alters, crosses, vessels, garments, palm flowers; all looked like the rites of Heathenism; and seemed to spring from the same fountain; when the water, or salt were blessed, it was expressed to be to this end, that they might be health both to soul and body; and Devils (whoe might well laugh at these tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were sprinkled; and that Holy bread was bless ed to be a defence against all diseases and snare of the Deuill.
and that holy incense the Devils might not come near the smoke of it, but that all whose smelled at it, might perceive the vertue of the Holy Ghost; and the they were blessed so, that all whose were covered with them, might defend to obtain the remission of sins; all those things had drawn the people to such confidence in them, that they generally thought that without those harder testes of true holiness they might upon such superstitious observances be sure of Heaven, for all these they resolved to cast out; as things which had no warrant in scripture, and were vain devices to draw men from a lively application to God through Christ according to the method of the Gospel. Then the many rites in sacramentall actions were considered; all which had swelled up to an infinite heap; and as some of those which had no foundation in scripture were thrown out, so the others were brought back to a greater simplicity. In no part of religion, was the corruption of the former offices more remarkable, than in the priests granting absolution to the living and the dead. To such as confessed the absolution was thus granted: — I absolve thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost — to which this was added — And I grant to thee, all the indulgences given, or to be given thee, by any prelate with the blessing of them; all the sprinkling of Holy water, all the devout beatings of thy breast, the contritions of thy heart, thy confessions, and all thy other devout confessions; all thy fasting, abstinence, alms, giving, watching, Discipline, prayers, and pilgrimmages, and all the good thou hast done, or shalt doe; and all the evils thou hast suffered, or shalt suffer for God, the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; the merits of the blessed and glorious virgin Mary, and of all other saints; and the suffrages of all the Holy catholic church; turn to thee for the remission of sin, and all other thy sins; the increase of thy merits, and the attainment of ever lasting rewards — when extremem action was given to dyng person; they applied it to the ears, nose, lips, and other parts with this prayer — by this Holy unction, and his own most tender mercy; and by the intercession of the blessed virgin and all the saints may God pardon thee, what ever thou
...as in the other parts, and when the dead body was laid in the grave; this absolution was said over it — the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave to St. Peter and his other disciples, power to bind and loose, absolve thee from the guilt of all thy sins; and in so far as is committed to me in my weakness, be thou absolved before the tribunal of our Lord; and may thou have eternal life and live for evermore — this was thought the highest abuse possible, when giving the hopes of heaven and the pardon of sins, which were of all the other parts of religion the most important, there were such mixtures; and that which the scripture had taught could be only attained by Jesus Christ; even that upon the sincere belief and obedience of his Gospel, was now assibed to so many other procuring causes; these things had possessed the world with that conceit, that there was a trick for saving souls, besides the plain method which Christ had taught; and that the priests had the secrets of it in their hands; so that those who would not come under the yoke of Christ, and be saved that way; needed only to apply themselves to the priests, and purchase their favor, and the business would be done.

There was also a vast number of holy days, formerly observed with so many prayers and hymns belonging to them and so many lessons, that were to be read, which were many of them such impudent forgeries, that the whole breviary and missall, being full of these, a great deal was to be left out, there is in the whole breviary, scarce one saint, but the les sons concerning him, contain some ridiculous legend, such as indeed could not be well read in a vulgar tongue without scorn and laughter of the heauens; and for most part the prayers and hymns doe relate to these lying stories; many of the prayers and hymns were in such a style, that the pardon of sin, grace and heaven, were immediately desired from the saints as if these things had come from their bounty, or by their merit or were given by them only in some of the addresses to them.
The reformers having thus considered the corruptions of the former offices, were thereby better prepared to form new ones; but the priests had officiated in some garments which were appropriated to that use, as surplices, copes, and other vestments; and it was long under consideration whether they should continue; it was objected that these garments had been parts of the train of the mass; and had been superstitiously abused, only to set it off with the more pomp; on the other hand it was argued, that as white was anciently the colour of the priests garments in the mosaical dispensation, so it was used in the African churches in the 4th century; and it was thought a natural expression of the purity and decency that became priests, besides, the clergy were then extreme poor generally; so that they could scarce afford themselves decent cloaths, the people also turning to the other extreme of submitting to much to the clergy, were now inclined as much to dispise them, and to make light of that holy function; so that if they should officiate in their own mean garments, it might make the divine offices grow allso into contempt, and therefore it was resolved to continue the use of them; and it was said, that their being blessed, and used superstitiously, gave as strong an argument against the use of churches and bells, but that as St. Paul had said, that every creature of God was good; and even the meat of the sacrifice offered to an idol; then which there could be no greater abuse; might lawfully be eaten; and therefore they saw no necessity, because of a former abuse, to throw away habits, that had so much decency in them; it had been formerly in use.

After the consecration of the sacrament, all elevation was forbidden, which had been first used as a viti expressing how Christ had been lifted up on the cross; but was after the belief of the corporeal presence, made use of to show the sacrament; that the people might all fall down and worship it; it was ordered that the whole office of the communion, except the consecutivie prayer, should be used on all holy days; when there was no communion to put people in mind of it, and of the sufferings of Christ; the bread was to be
unleavened, round; but we print on it; and somewhat thicker than it was formerly; and though it was antiently put in the people's hands; yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to supernatural uses; it was ordered to be put by the priests into their mouths. It is clear that Christ delivered it into the hands of the Apostles; and it soe continued for many ages, as appears by severall remarkable stories of Holy men carrying it with them in their journeys; in the Greek church where the bread and wine were mingled together; some began to thinke it more decent to receive it in little spoons of Gold, then in their hands; but that was condemned by the counsell in Trullo; yet soon after they began in the Latine church, to appoint men to receive it with their hands, but women to take it in a linenen cloth; which was called their Dominickall, but when the beliefe of the corporeal presence was received, then a new way of receivings was invented; among other things to support it, the people were now noe more to touch that which was conceived to be the flesh of their Saviour, and therefore the priests thumb, and fingers, were particularly annointed; as a necessary disposition for the holy a contact; and soe it was by them put into mouths of people.

In Baptism there was besides, the forms which wee still retain, a cross at first made on the childe's forehead and breast, with an adjuration of the Devil to goe out of him, and come at him noe more, then the priests was to take the childe by the right hand, and to place him within the font; there he was to be dipit thrice, once on the right side, once on the left, and once on the breast, which was to be discreetly done; if the childe was weak it was sufficient to sprinkle water on his face then was the priest to put a white vestment, or chrysm on him, for a token of innocency, and to annoint him on the head with a prayer for the Vocation of the Holy Ghost. In confirmation the bishop was to sign them with the sign of the cross, and to lay his hands on them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; the sick whoe desired to be annointed might have the vocation on their foreheads, or their breasts,
only with a prayer, that as their body was outwardly anointed with oil, soe they might receive the Holy Ghost, with health, and victory over sin and death; at funerals they recommended the souls departed to God's mercy, and prayed that his sins might be pardoned; that he might be delivered from Hell, and carried to Heaven; and that his body might be raised at the last day.

They also took care, that those who could not come, or be brought to church, should not therefore be deprived of the use of the sacraments. In the primitive church, they sent portions of the sacrament, to those who were sick, or in prison; and did it not only without pomp or procession, but sent it often by the hands of boys, and other lackers; as appears from the famed story of Seraphim, which as it seems they did not believe it was the very flesh and blood of Christ; so when any doctrine was received, it was a natural effect of that belief to have the sacrament carried by the priest himself with some pomp and adoration; the Antients thought it more decent and suitable to the communion of saints; to consecrate the elements only in the church; and to send portions to the sick, there by expressing their communion with the rest; the reformers considering these things, steered a middle course; they judged the sacraments necessary where they could be had, as appointed by Christ.

As for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it was thought by our reformers; that according to the minde of the primitive church, none should be denied it in their extremities; it never being more necessary than at that time to use all means that might strengthen their faith; and quicken the devotion of dying persons; it being also most expedient, that they should then profess their dying in the faith, and with a good conscience; and in charity with all men; therefore they ordered the communion to be given to the sick; and that before it was so given, the priest should examine their consciences; and upon the sincere profession of their faith,
and the confession of such sins as oppressed their consciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power, for the con-
pleating of their repentance, as the forgiving injuries, and de-
aling justly with all people, he should give them the peace of the church in a formal absolution; and the Holy Eucharist, but that they might obtain the pomp of vain processions on the one hand; and the Indecency of sending the sacrament by common hands on the other. they thought it better together a congregation about the sick person, and there to consecrate and give the sacrament to the assembly, whereas Christ promise of being in the midst of two or three, that were gathered together in his name, should have put an end to the weak exceptions some have made to these private communions.

The use of the cross was still retained in baptism, since it had been used by the antient christians as a publick declaration that they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ, though they acknowledged this had been strangely abused in the latter ages, in which the use of the cross was thought to have some magickall virtue in it; and this had gone so far, that in the roman pontificall, it was declared that the crosett cross was to be worshiped with the superiour degree of adoration called hatria, but it was thought fit to retain it in some parts of worship, and the rather because it was made use of among the people to desame reformers, that they had not veneration for the cross of Christ, and therefore as an outward expression of that in the sacrament of baptism; and in the office of confirmation, and in the consecration of the sacramentall elements; it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the sign of the cross was not made with the opinion of any virtue or efficacy in it; to drive away evil spirits, or to preserve one out of Dangers, which were thought virtues that followed the use of it in the roman church: for in baptism as they used the sign of the cross, they added an adjuration to the evil spirit not to violate it: and in the making it said, receive the sign of thy cross.
both in thy forehead, and in thy heart, and take the faith of the Heav-

enly precept; thus a sacramental virtue was annexed to it, which g

reformers thought could not be done, without a warrant from a

divine institution; of which it is plain there is none in scripture

but they thought the use of it only as an expression of the belief

of the church; and as a badge of christianity, with such words

added to it as could import no more, noe more was liable to

noe exception.

The use of oyle was taken on noe many occasions from the antient

christians; whose as Theophilus saith, began early to be annointed, 

understood those words of St. Paul, of Gods annointing and seal

ing; litterally; it was all noe antiently applied to the receaving

of penitents; but it was not used about the sick from the Apostle

time till about the tenth century; and then to what St. James

wrot to those in the dispersion; for the sending for the Elders

for those that were sick, whose should annoint them with oyle

and their sins should be forgiven them; and they should recover

they came to give it to those that were dying; but not while there

was any hope of life left in them; though it is cleer that what

St. James wrot, related to that extraordinary gift of healing

by imposition of hands, and annointing with oyle; which yet

continued in the church, when he wrot that Epistle; and it is plain

that this passage in St. James, was not soe understood by the Anti-

ents, as it is now in the roman church; since the Antients though

they used oyle on many other occasions, yet aplyed it not at all to

the sick; till after noe many Ages, that gross superstition had noe

disposed the world to new rites, that there could be noe discovery

or invention more acceptable then the addition of a new cere-

mony; though they were then much oppressed with the old ones

Articles, to be followed, and observed

according to his majesties injunctions

and proceedings, by king Edward & 6th

1 That all parsons, vicars, and curates, omit in the reading of the

injunctions, all such as make mention of the popish mass, soe as

to extoll it; of images, chanteries, of candles upon the Aultar,

or any other such like things
or for an uniformity, that no minister doe counterfeit the popish raps; as to kiss the Lords table, washing his fingers at every time in the communion, blessing his eyes with the paten, or sudary, or crossing his head with the paten, shuffling of the book from one place to the other, laying down, and licking of the chalice of the communion holding up his fingers, hand, or Thumbs, turned towards his Temples, breathing upon the bread or chalice; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion, ringing or sauerying bells or setting any light upon the Lords board at any time, and finally to use noe other ceremonies then are appointed in the kings book of common prayers; orckelling otherwise then as in ye said book.

3. that none buy or sell the Holy communion, as in truentals, or such other
4. that none be suffered to pray upon beads; and see the people be di
5. that after the Homily, every Sunday the minister exhaut the people
6. to receive noe corpse, but at the church yard, without bell, or cry
7. that the common prayer, upon wednesdays and fridays, be dili
gently kept according to the kings ordinances, exhorting such as may conveniently come to be there
8. that the curates every sixth week at the least, teach and declare
9. that noe man maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the six Articles, bed rolls, image, relics, lights, Holy bells, Holy bread, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres, paschal, creeping to the cross following of the font of the popish manner, oyle chrism, beads, or any other such abuses, and superstitions, contrary to the kings majesties proceedings
10. that within any church or chappell, be not used any more then one communion upon any day, except christmas and easter days
11. that none keep the abrogate Holy days, other then those that have their proper and peculiar service
12. that the church wardens, suffer noe buying or selling, gaming
out rauious noise or tumult, or insulting demeanour in the church, church
13. that going to the sick, with the sacrament, the minister have not with him, either light or bells.
when the news of the changes that were made here in England were carried beyond sea, and after Peter Martyrs being with Cranmer, were more copiously written by him to his friends Calvin and Martin Bucer, wrote to the Protector encouraging him to go on with the reformation notwithstanding the wars, as Hezekiah had done in his reformation, he lamented the heats of some that professed the Gospel, but complained that he heard there were few lively sermons preached in England; and that the preachers recited their discourses coldly; he much approved a set form of prayers, whereby the consent of all the churches did more manifestly appear; but he adviseth a more compleat reformation; he taxt the prayers for the dead, the use of chrism and extreme unction; since they were not where recommended in scripture, he had heard that the reason why they went not further, was because the times could not hear it; but this was to doe the work of God by political maxim; which thought they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in matters in which the salvation of souls was concerned, but above all things, he complained of the great impiety and vices that were so common in England, as swear and drinking and uncleanness, and prayed him earnestly these things might be looked after; thus Calvin.

Martin Bucer, wrote also a discourse congratulating the changes then made in England, which was translated into English by Sir Phillip Hobbes brother; in it he an swered the book that Cardiner had written against him, which he had formerly delayed to doe; because King Henry had desired he would let it alone, till the English and Germans had conferred about religion; the book did give by relate to the marriage of the clergy; Bucer shewed from many fathers, that they thought every man had not the gift of chastity; which Cardiner thought every man might have that pleased; he taxed the open lewdness of the Roman clergy; whose being much set against.
narrative, which was God's ordinance, did gently pass over the
iniquities which the forbidding it had occasioned amongst them;
but particularly taxed Gardiner himselfe; that he did not pay his
rents payed him out of the revenues, he taxed him all for his
state and pompous way of living; and showed how indecent
was for a church man to be sent in embassies; and that st.
Aubrose, though sent to make peace was ashamed of it; and tho-
ught it unbecoming the priesthood; both sagius and he be-
ning both forced to leave Germany, upon the business of the
interim; cranmer invited them over to England; and sent
them to cambridge; as he had done Peter Martyr to oxford;
but sagius not agreeing with this Air, dyed soon after; an
learned in the orientall tongues, and a good exposer of the scripture.

How singing of Psalms
was brought in

The psalms for the Psalms and prayers taken out of the Bible, was for
the singing Psalms, which were translated into verse; and much sung by
all who loved the reformation; and were in many places used in church;
in the Antient church the christians were much exercised in
repeating the Psalms of David; many had them all by heart &
used to be reciting them when they went about their work; &
those who retired into a monastical course of life, spent many
of their hours in repeating the Psalter; the daily prayers put them
verse, as being easier for the memory; other devout hymns
became to be all for in use, patroianzen among the Greeks, and pru-
dentius among the Latine, laboured on that Argument with the
greater success; there were other hymns that were not put in
verse, the choice of which was that most antient Hymn, wee use
now after the Sacrament; and the celebrated Ambrosian hymn
that begins Te Deum laudamus, but when as the worship of
the departed saints came to be dressed up with much pomp
Hymns were all for made for their Honour; and the Latine-
tongue, as well as presody, being then much decayed, these
came to be cast into a fire, and were generally in a phantastical affected pile; for now at the reformation, some poets such as the times afforded, translated David's Psalms into verse, & it was a sign by which mens affections to the work were every where measured, whether they used to sing these or not; but as the poetry then was now, and not raised to that justness to which it is since brought; so this work which then might pass for a tolerable compofure; hath not since that time been reviewed or changed, as perhaps the thing required; hence it is that this piece of divine worship by the meanness of the verse hath not maintained its due cream. Another thing that some thought deserved to be considered in such a work was, that many of the Psalms being such as related more especially to David, victories, and contained passages in them not easily understood. It seemed better to leave out those, which it was not so easy to sing with devotion; because the meaning of them either lay hid; or did not at all concern the christians.

A consideration of the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament:

And now the reformation was to be carried on to the establishing of a form of doctrine, which should contain the chief points of religion; in order to which there was this year, 1549, great inquiry made into many particular opinions; and chiefly concerning the presence of Christ in the Sacrament; there was noe opinion for which the priests contended more ignorantly and eagerly; and the people generally believed more ignorantly and blindly; but yet firmly; as if a strong belief were nothing else but working very hard; the priests because they counted it the chief support now left; of their falling dominion which being kept up might in time retrieve all the rest; for while it was believed that their character qualified them for so strange and mighty a performance; they must needs be held in great reverence; the people because they thought they received the very flesh of Christ, and noe notwithstanding
(249)

we famous express declaration to the contrary, that the flesh profiteth nothing) looked on those who went about to persuade them otherwise, as men that intended to rob them of the greatest privilege they had; and therefore it was thought necessary to open this fully before there should be any change made in the doctrine of that church.

The Lutherans seemed to agree with that which had been the doctrine of the Greek church, that in the sacrament there was both the substance of bread and wine, and Christ's body likewise only many of them defended it by an opinion that was thought a kin to the Eutychian heresie; that his human nature by virtue of the union with the Godhead was every where, though even in this way it did not appear that there was any special presence in the sacrament more then in other things; those of Switzerland had on the other hand taught that the sacrament was only an institution to commemorate the suffering of Christ; this because it was intelligible, was thought by many to lose and mean nothing and not equal to the high expressions that are in Scripture, of its being the communion of the body and blood of Christ; the princes of Germany saw what mischief this was like to follow on the diversity of opinions in explaining the sacrament, and as Luther being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill, to see his doctrine be rejected; so by the indecent way of writing in matters of controversy to which the Germans are too much inclined, this difference turned to a direct breach among them, the hand of grace of Hesse had laboured much to have these diversities of opinion laid asleep; since nothing gave their common enemies such advantage, as their quarrelling among themselves; Martin Bucer, was of a moderate temper, and had found a middle opinion in this matter, though not so easy to be understood; he thought there was more then a remembrance, to wit, a communication of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament; and that in general, a real presence ought to be asserted; and that the way of explaining it ought not to be anxiously enquired into, and with him Calvin agreed, that it was truly the body and blood of Christ, not
Significantly, but really present, the advantage of these General expressions was that thereby they hoped to have silenced the debate between the German and Helvetian Divines; whose doctrine came likewise to be received by many of the cities of the Empire; and by the Elector Palatine, and among Martin Bucer's Papers I met with an original paper of Luther's, in which he was willing to have the difference thus settled.

Those of the Augsburg confession should declare that in the Sacrament there was truly bread and wine, and those of the Helvetian confession should declare, that Christ's body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities in the way of explaining it, in which divines might use their liberty the difference should end.

But how this came to take so effect, I do not understand. It was all so thought that this way of expressing the doctrine would give least offence, for the people were scarce able to bear the opinion of the Sacraments being only a figure, but where in this real presence consisted, was not so easy to be made out; some explained it more intelligibly, in a sense of law, that in the Sacrament there was a real application of the merit of Christ's death to those who received it spiritually; so that Christ, as crucified was really present; and these had this to say for themselves, that the words of the institution do not call y Elements simply Christ's body and blood; but his body broken and his blood shed; and that therefore Christ was really present as he was crucified; so that the importance of really, was effectually, others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the presence were needless curiosities, and apt to beget differences; that therefore the Doctrine was to be established in General words, and to save the labor both of explaining and understanding it, it was to be esteemed a mystery; this seems to have been Bucer's opinion; but Peter Martyr inclined more to the Helvetians.

There were Publick Disputations held this year, both at Oxford and Cambridge upon this matter. (1) that in the Sacrament of
Tanks giving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. (2) The body and blood of Christ is not naturally, or corporeally in the bread and wine, nor are others used to lay under the bread and wine. (3) The body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally.

I shall here offer to the reader in short, the substance of the arguments used in that Disputation, and in the book, which were at this time written on this subject.

The manner of the presence of Christ in the sacrament explained according to the Scripture.

Christ in the Institution, took bread and gave it; i.e., that his word, 'this is my body,' could only be meant of the bread; now the bread could not be his body literally; he himself also calleth the cup the fruit of the vine; St. Paul calleth it the bread of the new break, and the cup that I was bless, and speaking of it afore it was blessed, calleth it the bread and the cup; for the reason of the expression this is my body, was considered, the disciples to whom Christ spoke thus were Jews, and they being accustomed to the mosaicall rites, must needs have understood his words in the same sense they did Moses his words, concerning the Paschal Lamb; which is called the Lord's Passover. It was not that literally; for the Lord's Passover was the angels passing by the Israelites, when he smote the first-born of the Egyptians; so the Lamb was only the Lord's Passover as it was the memorial of it; and thus Christ substituting or Bubalist to the Passover, or Paschal Lamb, used such an expression calling it his body in the same manner of speaking as the Lamb was called the Lord's Passover, this was plain enough, for his disciples could not well understand him in any other sense, than that to which they had been formerly accustomed; In the scriptures many such figurative expressions occur frequently; In baptism that other sacrament instituted
by Christ he is said to baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and such as are baptized are said to put on Christ, which were figu- 
ration expressions; as all one in the Sacrament of the body, Super-
the cup is called the New Testament in Christ's blood; which is an 
expression full of figure; furthermore it was observed that the 
Sacrament was instituted for a remembrance of Christ and his 
death, which implied that he was to absent at that time when he 
was to be remembered, nor was it simply said that the elements 
were his body and blood, but that they were his body broken 
and his blood shed; that is, they were these as suffering on the cross; 
which as they could not be understood literally, for Christ 
did institute this Sacrament before he suffered on the cross; for 
now Christ must be present in the Sacrament, not as Glorified in 
Heaven, but as suffering on the cross; from these places where 
it is said Christ is in Heaven; and that he is to continue there, 
they argued that he was not to be any more upon earth, and 
these words in the 6th of St. John, of eating Christ's flesh, and 
drinking Christ's blood; they said were to be understood not of 
the Sacrament; since many receive the Sacrament unworthily; and 
of them it cannot be said that they have eternall life in them. 
But Christ there said, of them that received him in that sense 
was meant in that chapter, that all that did see eat his flesh 
had eternall life in them; therefore these words can only be un-
derstood figuratively of receiving him by faith, as himselfe there 
explains it; and see in the end of that discourse, finding some 
were startled at that way of expressing himselfe, he gave a key to 
the whole; when he said his words were Spirit and life, and 
that the flesh profited nothing, it was the spirit that quick 
ened; it was ordinary for him to teach in parables; and the 
receiving of any Doctrine being oft expressed by the pro-
phets by the figure of eating and drinking; he upon that occa-
sion of the people coming to him, after he had fed them 
with a few loaves, did discourse of their believing in these 
parch expressions; which did not seem to relate to the Sac-
rament; since it was not then Instituted; they also 
argued from Christ appealing to their senses of his Heavens
in his miracles, and especially in his discourse upon his resurrection,
hat the Testimony of sense was to be received, where the object was
uly applied; and the sense not vitiated, they all so alleged natural
reasons against a bodyes being in more place, than one; or
being in the place in the manner of a spirit, so that the substance
of a compleat body could be in a crumb of bread, or drop of wine
and argued that since the Elements after consecration would
nourish, might putrefy, or could be poisoned, these things clearly
witnessed, that the Substance of bread and wine remained in sacrament
from this they went to examine the antient fathers, some of them
called it bread and wine, others said it nourished the body as
martyr; others that it was digested in the stomach, and
went into the Draught, as Origen; some called it a figure of chris-
body; soe Tertullian, and St Austin; others called the Elements
yge and signe; soe almost all the antient liturgie, and greek
fathers, Generally in the creeds of the church, it was professed
that Christ still sat on the right hand of God; the fathers
argued from thence, that he was in Heaven, and not on earth
and the maccionites and other hereticks, denying that Christ had
a true body, or did really suffer; the fathers appealed in that to
the Testimony of sense as infallible; and St Austin, giving rule
concerning figurative speaches in scripture, one is this, that
they must be taken figuratively, where in the litterall sense, the
thing were a crime, which he applyes to those words of eating
chris flesh and drinking his blood; but that on which they
put the stress of the whole cause as to the Doctrine of the
fathers, was the reasoning that they used against the Doctrine
of the Eutichians, who said, that Christ's body and humane
nature was swallowed up by his Divinity; the Eutichians ac-
guing from the Eucharist being called Christ's body and blood
in which they said Christ's presence did convert the substance
of the bread and wine, into his flesh and blood; so in like
manner said they, his Godhead had converted the manhood
into it selfe; against this Galasius bishop of Rome, and theodoret
one of the learnedest fathers of his age, Argue in plain words that the substance of the bread and wine, remained as it was formerly in its own nature and form; and from their opinion of the presence of Christ's body in it, without converting the elements they turn'd the argument to shew how the Divine and human nature can be together in Christ, without the one being changed by the other; Peter Martyr had brought over with him, the copy of a letter of St. Chrysostome, which he found in a manuscript at Florence, written to the same purpose, and on the same argument, which was the more remarkable, because Chrysostome had said higher things in his sermons and commentaries concerning Christ being present in the Sacrament than any of all the fathers; but it appeared by this letter, that those high expressions, were not other than rhetorical figures, of speech, to beget a great reverence to that institution, and from hence it was reasonable to judge that such were the like expressions in other fathers; and that they were nevertheless less of Chrysostome's mind, touching the presence of Christ in this Sacrament; that Epistle of his doth lie still unpublished; though a very learned man now in France, hath procured a copy of it; but those of that church know the consequence that the printing of it would have; and so it seems are resolved to suppress it if they can. From all these things it was plain, that though the fathers believed there was an extra ordinary virtue in the Sacrament; and an unaccountable presence of Christ in it, yet they thought not of transubstantiation; nor anything like it; but when darkness and ignorance creeped into the church, the people were apt to believe any thing that was incredible; and were willing enough to support any such opinions as turned religion into externall pagantry; the priests alsoe knowing little of the scriptures, and being only or chiefly conversant in those writings of the antients, that had highly extolled the Sacrament; came generally to take up the opinion of the corporall presence; and being soon apprehensive of the great esteem it would bring to them, cherished it.
such; in the 9th century Bertram, Rabanus, Maurus, Amalarius, and Joannes Scotus, all wrote against it; nor were any of them convicted or condemned for these opinions; it was plainly and strongly contradicted by some Homilies, that were in the Saxon tongue; in which not a few of Bertram's words occur, particularly, in that which was to be read in the churches on Sunday; but in the 11th or 12th century, it came to be universally received; as indeed any thing would have been that advanced the dignity of priesthood, and it was further advanced by Pope Innocent the third; and so established in the 4th council of Lateran, the same council in which the rooting out of Heveticks, and the Pope's power of deposing Heretical princes; and giving their Dominions to others were all confirmed.

But there was another curious remark made of the progress of this opinion, when the Doctrine of the corporall presence was first received in the western church, they believed that the whole Loafe was turned into one entire body of Jesus Christ; so that in the distribution, one had an eye, an ear, another a tooth, a finger, or a toe; a third a collop, or a piece of tripe; and this was supported by pretended miracles; suited to that opinion; for sometimes, the Host was said to bleed; parts of it were said to be turned to pieces of flesh; this continued to be the Doctrine of the church of Rome for near 300 years; it appears clearly in that renunciation that they made Beringarius Swear; but when the Schollmen began to form the Tenets of that church, by more Artifical and subtle rules; as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Christ, to be thus mangling his body, and eating it up in Gobbits; so the maxims they set about the extension of matter, and of the manner of spirits filling a place made them think of a more decent way of explaining this prodigious mystery; they taught that Christ was in my Host and Challice; that there was one entire body in every crumb and drop, so that the body was noe more broken, but upon every breaking of the Host, a new whole body—