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CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE - -
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death,
OF

The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE
WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the
Universities of Oxon. and Dublin, and one of the
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most
SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES the First,
Second MONARCH of *Great Britain.*

CONTAINING ALSO

The Ecclesiastical History of the Three Kingdoms
of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND,
from His first rising till His Death.

By *P. Heylyn* D.D. and Chaplain to *Charles the First*
and *Charles the Second*, Monarchs of *Great Britain.*

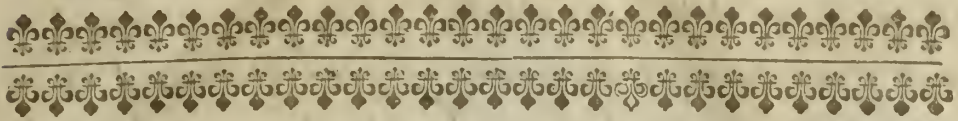
ECCLUS. 44. VERS. 1, 3.

1. *Let us now praise Famous Men and our Fathers that begat Us.*
 3. *Such as did bear Rule in their Kingdoms, Men Renowned for their Power, giving Counsel by their Understanding, and Declaring Prophecies.*
-

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *A. Seile*, and are to be Sold by *George Sawbridge*, *J. Martyn*,
T. Williams, *J. Place*, *E. Brewster*, *J. Starkey*, *T. Basset*, *R. Horne*, *H. Brome*,
J. Wright, *R. Chiswell*, *R. Boulter*, *B. Took.* M DC LXXI.





To the Honourable

Sir JOHN ROBINSON Baronet,

HIS MAJESTIES

Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

SIR,

YOU have here before you the History of an Eminent Prelate and Patriot, a Person who lived the honour, and died a Martyr of the English Church and State, for it was his sad Fate to be crusht, betwixt Popery and Schism; and having (against both) defended the Protestant Cause with his Pen, he after chearfully proceeded to Seal that Faith with his Bloud. Together with the Story of this Great Man, you have likewise that of the Age he lived in, (especially so far as concerned the Church) wherein you will find recorded, many notable Agitations and Contrivances, which it were pity should be lost in silence, and pass away unregarded. These Considerations towards a Gentleman of your Worth, Curiosity, and Loyalty, are warrant enough to justifie me in this Dedication. And yet I must not conceal, that it belongs to you by another right; that is to say, the Care of recommending this Work to the Publick, was committed to a Gentleman, who himself had presented it to your hand, if God had not taken him away, just upon the point of putting his purpose in execution. So

A 2

that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

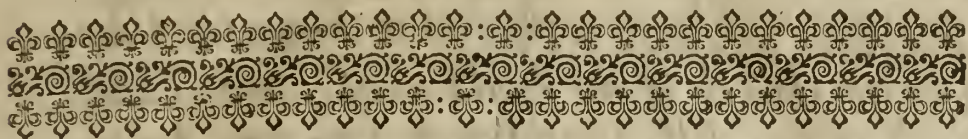
that it seems in me, as well matter of Conscience, as of Respect, to deliver it wholly up to your Patronage and Protection; since in exposing it to the world, I do but perform the will of my dead Father; and in addressing it to your self, together with mine own, I also gratifie that of my deceased Friend. The value of the Work it self I do not pretend to judge of, my duty and interest for the Author forbids it, but for the Industry, Integrity, and good meaning of the Historian, I dare become answerable; And in truth, I hope well of the rest: without which I should not have made bold with Sir John Robinson's Name in the Front of it; who being so nearly related both in bloud and affection to that Incomparable and Zealous Minister of God, and his Prince, cannot besides a Natural, but upon an Honourable Impression, concern himself in the glories or blemishes of this Character, defective in nothing, but that it could not be as ample as his worth. And now having discharged my trust, and duty; as I could do no less, so I have little more to add for my self, but that I am

SIR,

Your most humble and

obedient Servant

HENRY HEYLYN.



A Necessary

INTRODUCTION

To the following

HISTORY.



BEFORE we come unto the History of this Famous Prelate, it will not be amiss to see upon what *Principles* and *Positions*, the *Reformation* of this Church did first proceed; that so we may the better judge of those *Innovations* which afterwards were thrust upon her, and those Endeavours which were used in the latter times to bring her back again to her first Condition.

I. Know therefore, that King *Henry VIII.* having obtained of the *Bishops* and *Clergie*, in their *Convocation*, Anno 1530. to be acknowledged the *Supream Head* on Earth of the Church of *England*, did about three years after, in the 26. of his Reign, confirm the said *Supremacy* to Himself, his Heirs and Successors, with all the Priviledges and Pre-eminencies thereunto belonging, by Act of Parliament. And having procured the said *Bishops* and *Clergie*, in another of their *Convocations*, held in the year 1532. to promise *in verbo sacerdotii*, not to assemble from thenceforth in any *Convocations*, or *Synodical Meetings*, but as they should be called by his Majesties Writ; nor to make any *Canons* or *Constitutions*, *Synodal* or *Provincial*, without his Leave and Licence thereunto obtained; nor, finally, to put the same in Execution, till they were Ratified and Confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*: Procured also an Act of Parliament to bind the *Clergie* to their promise. Which Act, called commonly, *The Act of the Submission of the Clergie*, doth bear this name in *Pulton's Abridgment*, viz. *That the Clergie in their Convocation, should Enact no Constitutions without the Kings assent*, Anno 25. *Henry viii. c. 19.* Which Grounds so laid, he caused this Question to be debated in both Universities, and all the Famous Monasteries of the Kingdom: viz. *An aliquid autoritatis in hoc Regno Angliæ, Pontifici Romano de jure competat, plusquam alii cuicumq; Episcopo extero.* Which Question being concluded in the Negative, and that

Submission of the Clergie,

Character,

and

B

that

Ejection of
the Pope.

that Conclusion ratified and confirmed in the *Convocation, Anno 1534.* there past an Act of Parliament about two years after, Intituled, *An Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishops of Rome.* In which there was an Oath prescribed, for abjuring the *Popes* Authority within this Realm : The refusing whereof was made High-Treason, *Anno 28. Henry viii.*
c. 10.

II.
No Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Church by the Alteration.

2. But this Exclusion of the *Pope,* as it did no way prejudice the *Clergie* in their power of making *Canons, Constitutions,* and other *Synodical Acts,* but only brought them to a dependance upon the King for the better ordering of the same; so neither did it create any diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops in the free exercise of that Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction which anciently belonged to them. For in the Act of Submission before-mentioned, there passed a Clause, that all former Constitutions *Synodal,* or *Provincial,* which were not contrary to the Word of God, the Kings Prerogative Royal, or the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, should remain in force, until they were reviewed and fitted for the use of the Church, by 32 Commissioners, to be nominated by the King for that end and purpose: Which review being never made in the time of that King, nor any thing done in it by King *Edward VI.* (though he had an Act of Parliament to the same effect) the said Old Canons and Constitutions remained in force, as before they were. By means whereof, all causes *Testamentary, Matrimonial,* and Suits for Tythes; all matters of Incontinency, and other notorious Crimes which gave publick Scandal; all wilful absence from Divine Service, Irreverence, and other Misdemeanours in the Church, not punishable by the Laws of the Land, were still reserved unto the Ecclesiastical Courts. Those Ancient *Canons* and *Constitutions* remaining also for the perpetual standing Rule by which the proceedings in those Courts were to be regulated and directed; so as it doth appear most clearly, that it was not the purpose of that King, either to diminish the Authority, or to interrupt the Succession of Bishops, which had continued in this Church, from the first Plantation of the Gospel, to that very time: but only to discharge them from depending on the *Popes* of *Rome,* or owing any thing at all to their *Bulls* and *Faculties,* which had been so chargeable to themselves, and exhausted so great a part of the Treasure of the Kingdom from one year to another.

III.
The manner of Electing and Confirming Arch-Bishops and Bishops, Established by King HENRY VIII.

3. Upon this ground he past an Act of Parliament, in the 25. year of his Reign, *for the Electing and Consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops.* In which it was Enacted, that on the Vacancy of every Bishoprick within this Realm, his Majesty should issue out his Writ of *Conge d' eslire* to the *Dean* and *Chapter* of the Church so Vacant, thereby enabling them to proceed to the Election of another Bishop; that the Election being returned by the *Dean* and *Chapter,* and ratified by the Royal Assent, his Majesty should issue out his Writ to the *Metropolitan* of the Province, to proceed unto the Confirmation of the Party Elected; and that if the Party so Confirmed, had not before been Consecrated Bishop of some other Church, that then the *Metropolitan* taking to himself two other Bishops at the least, should proceed unto the Consecration, in such form and manner, as was then practised by the Church;
so

so that, as to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Consecration, there was no alteration made at all. Those which were Consecrated after the passing of this Statute, were generally acknowledged for true and lawful Bishops, by the Papists themselves; or otherwise Dr. *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Westminster*, had never been admitted to have been one of those who assisted at the Consecrating of *Cardinal Pool*, when he was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, on the death of *Cranmer*. All which recited Statutes with every thing depending on them, being abrogated by Act of Parliament in the time of Queen *Mary*, were revived in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and so still continue. But so it was not with another alteration made in the form of exercising their jurisdiction by King *Edm. VI.* In the first Parliament of whose Reign, it was enacted, that all process out of the Ecclesiastical Courts should from thenceforth be issued in the Kings Name only, and under the Kings Seal of Arms, contrary to the usage of the former times. Which Statute being repealed by Queen *Mary*, and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth*, the Bishops and their subordinate Ministers have ever since exercised all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in their own Names, and under the distinct Seals of their several Offices.

still continuing in effect notwithstanding some Statutes to the contrary by K. EDW. VI.

4. In Doctrinals and Forms of Worship, there was no alteration made in the Reign of King *Henry VIII.* though there were many preparations and previous dispositions to it; the edge of Ecclesiastical Affairs being somewhat blunted, and the people indulged a greater Liberty in consulting with the Holy Scriptures, and reading many Books of Evangelical Piety, then they had been formerly: which having left the way more open to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and divers other learned and Religious Prelates in King *Edwards* time (seconded by the Lord Protector, and other great ones of the Court, who had their ends apart by themselves) they proceeded carefully and vigorously to a Reformation. In the managing of which great business, they took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers; the practice of the Primitive times for their Rule and Pattern, as it was expressed to them in approved Authors: No regard had to *Luther* or *Calvin*, in the procedure of their work, but only to the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, *Christ Jesus* being the Corner-stone of that excellent Structure. *Melancthon*s coming was expected (*Regis Literis in Angliam vocatus*, as he affirms in an Epistle to *Camerarius*) but he came not over. And *Calvin* made an offer of his service to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, (*Si quis mei usus esset*, if any use might be made of him to promote the work) but the Arch-Bishop knew the man, and refused the offer; so that it cannot be affirmed, that the Reformation of this Church, was either *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* in its first original. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the first Reformers of it did look with more respectful eyes upon the Doctrinals, Government, and Forms of Worship in the *Lutheran* Churches, then upon those of *Calvin*s platform; because the *Lutherans* in their Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worship, approach't more near the Primitive Patterns than the other did: and working according to this rule, they retained many of those ancient Rites and Ceremonies, which had been practised; and almost all

IV.
The Reformation of the Church under EDW. VI.

Modelled according to the Scriptures and the Ancient Fathers,

but

with relation rather to the Lutheran than Calvinian Forms,

the *Holy Days* or *Annual Feasts* which had been generally observed in the Church of *Rome*. Nothing that was *Apostolick*, or accounted Primitive did fare the worse for being *Popish*; I mean for having been made use of in times of *Poper*y: it being none of their designs to create a new Church, but reform the old. Such Superstitions and Corruptions as had been contracted in that Church, by long tract of time, being pared away, that which was good and commendable did remain as formerly: It was not their intent to dig up a foundation of such precious stones, because some superstructures of Straw and Stubble had been raised upon it. A moderation much applauded by King *James*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; whose golden *Aphorism* it was, *That no Church ought further to separate it self from the Church of Rome, either in Doctrine or Ceremony, then she had departed from her self, when she was in her flourishing and best estate*, p. 77.

v.
Bishops a distinct Order from that of the Presbytery.

5. The succession of Bishops continued as it did before, but fitted in the form and manner of their Consecrations, according to the Rules laid down with the fourth Council of *Carthage*, celebrated *Anno* 407. or thereabouts, and generally received in all the Provinces of the Western Church, as appears by the Book of *Consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops*, &c. Approved first by the Book of *Articles*, and confirmed in Parliament, *Anno* 5. 6. *Edward VI.* as afterwards justified by the *Articles* of Religion agreed upon in Convocation in Queen *Elizabeths* time, *Anno* 1562. And by an Act of Parliament in the 8th. Year of her Reign, accounted of as part of our Publick Liturgies. And by that Book it will appear, that Bishops were then looked upon as a distinct Order of themselves, and not as a different degree only amongst the rest of the *Presbyters*; For in the Preface to that Book, it is said expressly, *That it is evident to all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders of Ministers in the Church of Christ, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: Not long after which, it followeth thus, viz. And therefore to the intent these Orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, it is requisite, that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, or Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be Called, Tryed and Examined, according to the form hereafter following.* But because perhaps it will be said that the Preface is no part of the Book, which stands approved by the Articles of the Church, and established by the Laws of the Land, let us next look into the Body of the Book it self, where, in the Form of *Consecrating* of *Arch-Bishops*, or *Bishops*, we find a prayer in these words, *viz. Almighty God, giver of all good things, who hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church, Mercifully behold this thy servant, now called to the Work and Ministry of a Bishop, and replenish him so with the truth of Doctrine, and Innocency of Life, that both by word and deed he may faithfully serve thee in this Office, &c.* Here we have three Orders of Ministers, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; the *Bishop* differing as much in Order from the *Priest*, as the *Priest* differs in Order from the *Deacon*; which might be further made apparent in the different *Forms* used in Ordering of the *Priests* and *Deacons*, and the form prescribed for the *Consecration* of an *Arch-Bishop*, or *Bishop*, were not this sufficient.

6. But

6. But though the *Presbyters* or *Priests*, were both in *Order* and *Degree* beneath the *Bishops*, and consequently not enabled to exercise any publick Jurisdiction in *Foro judicii*, in the Courts of Judicature: yet they retained their native and original power in *Foro Conscientiæ*, in the Court of Conscience, by hearing the confession of a sorrowful and afflicted *Penitent*, and giving him the comfort of *Absolution*, a power conferred upon them in their *Ordination*; in the Form whereof, it is prescribed that the *Bishop*, and the assisting *Presbyters*, shall lay their Hands upon the Head of the Party who is to be *Ordained Priest*, the Bishop only saying these words, *viz. Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained; In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* Which words had been impertinently, and unsignificantly used, if the *Priest* received not thereby power to *Absolve* a sinner, upon the sense of his sincere and true repentance, manifested in Confession, or in any other way whatsoever. And this appears yet further by the direction of the Church, in point of Practice; For first, it is advised in the end of the second Exhortation before the receiving of the Communion, that *if any of the people cannot otherwise quiet his own Conscience, he should repair unto his Curate, or some other discreet and learned Minister of Gods Word, and open his grief, that he may receive such Ghostly counsel, and advice, and comforts, as his Conscience may be relieved, and that by the Ministry of Gods Word, he may receive comfort, and the benefit of Absolution, to the quieting of his Conscience, and avoiding all scruple and doubtfulness.* Agreeable whereunto is that memorable saying of *S. Augustine*, *viz. Qui confiteri vult ut inveniatur gratiam, querat sacerdotem.* Secondly, It is prescribed in the *Visitation of the Sick*, That the *Sick person shall make a special Confession, if he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty matter, and that the Priest shall thereupon Absolve him in this manner following,* “ Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church
 “ to *Absolve* all Sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his
 “ great Mercy forgive thee thy Offences; and by his Authority com-
 “ mitted to me, *I Absolve* thee from all thy Sins, in the name of the Fa-
 “ ther, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, *Amen.* Which form of
Absolution, is plainly *Authoritative*, and not *Declarative* only, (such as that is which follows the *General Confession*, in the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer) as some men would have it.

7. Now that the *Penitent*, as well in the time of Health, as in extremity of Sicknes, may pour his Sins into the Bosom of the Priest, with the more security; it is especially provided, by the 113. *Canon* of the Year 1603. “ That if any man Confess his secret and hidden sins to
 “ the Minister, for the unburthening of his Conscience, and to receive
 “ spiritual Consolation and ease of Mind from him, we do not any
 “ way bind the said Minister by this our *Constitution*: but do streightly
 “ charge and admonish him that he do not at any time reveal and make
 “ known to any person whatsoever any Crime or Offence so commit-
 “ ted to his secrecie, (except they be such Crimes as by the Laws of
 “ this Realm his own Life may be called in question for concealing the
 “ same) under the pain of *Irregularity.* And by incurring the condi-
 tion

VI.
The Power
ascribed un-
to the Priest
or Presbyter,

in hearing the
Confession of,

and

giving Absolu-
tion to the Pe-
nitent Party.

VII.
The security
of the Peni-
tent provided
for by the
Church,

tion of *Irregularity*, the party offending doth not only forfeit all the *Ecclesiastical* Preferments which he hath at the present, but renders himself incapable of receiving any other for the time to come. *Confession* made upon such security will be as saving to the *Fame* of the Penitent, as the *Absolution* to his Soul. In which respect it was neither untruly nor unfitly said by a learned Writer, *Dominus sequitur servum*, &c. Heaven (saith he) waits and expects the Priests Sentence here on Earth; for the Priest sits Judge on Earth, the Lord follows the Servant: and what the Servant binds or looseth here on Earth (*Clave non errante*) that the Lord confirms in Heaven.

the Authority of Absolution more fully justified.

VIII. The several Offices which be performed by the Priest,

attired at ordinary times in his Surplice,

and

at extraordinary in his Cope.

8. The like Authority is vested in the Priest or Presbyter at his *Ordination* for officiating the Divine Service of the Church, offering the Peoples Prayers to God, Preaching the Word, and Ministering the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation; Which *Offices*, though they may be performed by the *Bishops*, as well as the *Presbyters*: yet they perform them not as *Bishops*, but as *Presbyters* only. And this appears plainly by the Form of their *Ordination*, in which it is prescribed, that the *Bishops* putting the Bible into their hands, shall pronounce these words, *Take thou authority to preach the Word, and minister the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed.* In the officiating of which Acts of Gods Divine Service, the *Priest*, or *Presbyter* is enjoined to wear a *Surplice* of white Linen Cloth, to testify the purity of Doctrine, and innocency of Life and Conversation, which ought to be in one of that Holy Profession. And this St. *Jerome* tells us in the general, *Religionem Divinam alterum habitum habere in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaeque communi*: that is to say, that in the Act of Ministration, they used a different habit, from what they used to wear at ordinary times. And what this different habit was, he tells us more particularly in his reply against *Pelagius*, who it seems disliked it; and asked him what offence he thought it could be to God, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or those of any inferiour Order, *in Administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint*, did in the ministration of the Sacraments bestir themselves in a white Vesture; so he *advers. Pelag Lib. 2.* with which compare St. *Chrysostom* in his 83. *Homily* on St. *Matthews* Gospel, for the *Eastern* Churches: *And herunto the Cope was added in some principal Churches, especially in the Celebration of the Blessed Eucharist.* Both which appear most evidently by the first *Liturgie* of King *Edward VI.* compared with one of the last clauses of the Act of Parliament, 1. *Elizabeth c. 2.* in which it is provided, *that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers shall be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of England by Authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of King Edward VI.* But this Vesture having been discontinued (I know not by what fatal negligence) many years together, it pleased the Bishops and Clergie in the *Convocation*, Anno 1603. to pass a *Canon* to this purpose, *viz.*
 “ That in *Cathedral* and *Collegiate* Churches the Holy Communion
 “ shall be administered upon principal Feast days, sometimes by the Bishops &c. and that the principal Minister using a decent *Cope*, &c.
Canon 24.

IX. 9. In that part of Divine Service which concerns the offering of the peoples

peoples Prayers to Almighty God, it was required of the *Priest* or *Presbyter*; first, that in all the days and times appointed, he used the Prayers prescribed in the publick *Liturgie*, according to the Act of Parliament, 1 *Eliz.* c. 2. and many subsequent *Canons* and *Constitutions*, made in that behalf. Secondly, “ That he conformed himself to those *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, which were prescribed in that Book, and unto such as should be afterwards ordained by the Queens Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed, and authorized under the Great Seal of *England*, for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the *Metropolitan* of this Realm, as may be most for the advancement of Gods Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christs Holy Mysteries and Sacraments. And thirdly, and more particularly, “ That in his reading of the Prayers and Psalms, he turn his face towards the East, and toward the People in the reading of the Lessons or Chapters, as appears plainly by the Rubrick which directs him thus, “ That after the reading of the Psalms, the Priest shall read two Lessons distinctly, that the people may hear; the Priest that reads the two Lessons standing, and turning himself so as he may best be heard of all such as be present. The Psalms or Hymns to be indifferently said or sung at the will of the Minister; but the *Hymns* for the most part sung with *Organs*, and sometimes with other Musical Instruments; both in the *Royal Chappels* and *Cathedral Churches*. Fourthly, “ That he makes use of no other Prayers in the Congregation; (and therefore neither before nor after Sermon) then those which are prescribed in the said Book of Common Prayer: it being specially provided in the Act aforesaid, that no Priest, nor Minister shall use any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or manner of Celebrating the Lords Supper openly, or privately, or *Mattens*, Evening Song, Administration of the Sacraments, or other *open Prayers* (that is to say, such Prayers as are meant for others to come unto or hear, either in common Churches, or private Chappels, &c.) then is mentioned or set forth in the same Book. Fifthly, “ That all Priests and Deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be lett by Preaching, studying of Divinity, or some other urgent cause. And sixthly, “ That the Curate that ministrereth in every Parish Church, or Chappel, being at home and not being otherwise reasonably lett, shall say the same in the Parish Church or Chappel where he ministrereth, and shall toll a Bell thereto at convenient time, before he begin, that such as are disposed, may come to hear Gods Word, and pray with him; so as in some cases it may be said of the Priest, as the Father doth of Christ, that he is, *Os ipsum per quod loquimur*, The very mouth by which we speak unto our Father which is in Heaven. And though it be intended in the Act of Parliament, and exprest in the Articles of Religion, that the Prayers are to be made in such a tongue as may be understood of the common people; yet it is not meant as is declared in the Preface to the Book it self, but that when men say Morning and Evening Prayers privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves understand. Nor was it meant but that the Morning

The Priest in his officiating the Divine Service of the Church,

Restrained to his appointed Postures,

Not permitted to use any Form of his own Composing.

Tyed to officiate daily both at morning and evening.

but

With a liberty of officiating in the Latin tongue at some times and places.

ning and Evening Service might be used in the Colleges and Halls of either University in the Latine tongue, where all may be supposed to understand it; as appears clearly by the constant and continual practice of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, in which the first Morning Prayers commonly read about six of the Clock, were in Latine: the Morning and Evening Service, with the Psalms of *David*, being Printed in Latine by themselves for that end and purpose.

X.
Presbyters
not to Preach
without be-
ing Licenced,

10. As for the Preaching of the *Word*, that belongs properly and originally (as the performance of all other Divine Offices did of old) to the Bishops themselves, as being the ordinary Pastors of the several and respective Diocesses; and to the Priests no otherwise then by deputation, as *Curates*, and substitutes to the Bishops, as may be proved out of the Instrument of their *Institution*. For when a Clerk is to be admitted into any Benefice, he puts himself upon his knees; and the Bishop laying one Hand upon his Head, and having the Instrument in the other, repeats these words, *viz. Te N. N. ad Rectorem de N. Ritè & Canonice instituimus, curam & regimen animarum Parochianorum ibidem tibi in Domino committentes, & committimus per presentes*; that is to say, that he doth institute him into the said Benefice, according to the Laws and Canons; committing to him by these presents, the care and Government of the Souls of all the Parishioners therein: And therefore it concerns the Bishop not to Licence any man to Preach to the Congregation, of whose good affections to the Publick, abilities in Learning, sobriety of Life and Conversation, and conformity to the Government, Discipline, and Form of Worship here by Law established, he hath not very good assurance. For though the Priest or Presbyter by his Ordination hath Authority to preach the word of God in the Congregation, yet it is with this clause of Limitation, *If he shall be so appointed*; that is to say, sufficiently Licenced thereunto, and not otherwise. And none were *Licenced* heretofore, as was expressly ordered in the injunctions of *Edward VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth*, but either by the Bishop of the Diocess, who is to answer by the Law (for every Minister he admits into the same) for that Diocess only: or by the *Metropolitan* of the Province, for that Province alone: or finally by either of the Universities (upon the well performing of some publick exercise) over all the Kingdom. Considering therefore that every man that could pronounce well, was not found able to indite, and every man that could indite, not being to be trusted in a business of such weight and moment; it seemed good in the Wisdom of the first Reformers to compile some good and profitable Sermons (called by the name of *Homilies*) to be read carefully and distinctly on the Sundays and Holy days for the instruction of the people.

By whom
they were to
be so licen-
ced,

And why they
were directed
to the read-
ing of Homi-
lies.

XI.
Preaching or
Homilizing
only once a
day on the
Sundays and
Holy days.

11. Such course was taken for the peace and edification of the Church by the first *Reformers*, not only in the choice of the men to whom they gave Licences to preach; but in supplying the defect and want of such preaching by the Book of *Homilies*: and they had as great a care too for the keeping of the people in good stomach, not cloying them with continual Preaching, or *Homilizing*: but limiting them to once a day, as appears by the Rubrick after the *Nicene* (or rather the *Constantino-*
politan

polit in Creed.) One Sermon or *Homily* in the mornings of Sundays and other Holy days, for the edification of the elder; and Catechizing by way of question and answer in the afternoon, for the instruction of the younger, was esteemed sufficient. *Lectures* upon the week-days were not raised upon this foundation, but were brought in afterwards, borrowed by *Travers* and the rest, towards the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, from the new fashions of *Geneva*; the *Lecturer* being super-added to the *Parson*, or *Vicar*, as the *Doctor* was unto the *Pastor* in some foreign Churches. Nor were they raised so much out of care and conscience, for training up the people in the ways of Faith and Piety, as to advance a Faction, and to alienate the peoples minds from the Government and Forms of Worship here by Law established. For these *Lecturers* having no dependence upon the Bishops, nor taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience to them, nor subscribing to the Doctrine and established Ceremonies, made it their work to please those Patrons, on whose arbitrary maintenance they were planted, and consequently to carry on the *Puritan* interest, which their Patron drove at. A generation of men neither Lay, nor Clergy, having no place at all in the Prayers of the Church, where we find mention only of Bishops, Pastors, and Curates; nor being taken notice of in the terms of Law, as being neither *Parsons*, nor *Vicars*: or, to speak them in the vulgar proverb, neither flesh, nor fish, nor good red herring: No creature in the world so like them as the *Bats*, or *Keremice*; being neither Birds nor Beasts, and yet both together. Had these men been looked upon in time, before their numbers were increased, and their power grown formidable, before the people went a madding after new inventions, most of the mischiefs which have thence ensued might have been prevented. And had there been more reading of *Homilies*, in which the Reader speaks the sense of the Church; and not so much of *Sermonizing*, in which the Preacher many times speaks his own factious and erroneous sense; the people might have been trained up in no less knowledge, but in much more obedience than they have been in these latter times.

12. As for the Sacraments which were advanced to the number of seven in the Church of *Rome*, this Church hath brought them back to two (as generally necessary to salvation) *Baptism*, and the *Holy Supper*: Four of the rest, that is to say, *Marriage*, *Orders*, *Confirmation*, and the *Visitation* (though not the *Extream Unction*) of the *Sick* being retained under the name of *Sacramentals* in our publick *Liturgie*: Of which the Book of Consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops, &c. is by the Act of Parliament 8 *Eliz. c. 1.* affirmed to be a Supplement, or Additional only (added; put to, and annexed, as the words do vary) to the said Book of Common-Prayer. And of these four, two are reserved unto the Bishop, that is to say, *Confirmation*, and the giving of *Orders*; the other two, *viz. Marriage* and the *Visitation* of the *Sick*, being common to both alike, though executed in the most part by the *Presbyter* only. Of those reserved unto the Bishop, the one is so reserved *ad necessitatem operis*, because it cannot be done without him: the other *ad honorem sacerdotii* (as the Schools distinguish) because it cannot be well done but by him. Touching the first, we have the general consent of all ancient

Lectures upon working days, by whom, and for what ends erected,

and

Of the dangers which arose from the Institution.

XII.
Of Sacraments and Sacramentals.

No Orders to be given but by Bishops only,

and Confirmation reckoned for one of their peculiarities.

The rest promiscuously permitted to the Presbyter also.

XIII.
Penance how far retain'd in the Church of England.

Not only as commemorated on Ash-wednesday yearly,

but

As judicially imposed on scandalous and notorious Sinners in the open Consistory.

Writers, and the example of *Coluthus*, who took upon him the ordaining of *Presbyters*, contrary to the Rules of the Church, and the *Canons* of the most famous Councils. But when the business came to be examined, his *Ordinations* were declared to be null and void, because he was a *Presbyter* only, and not a Bishop; as is affirmed by *Athanasius* in *Apol.* 2. The other grounded on the 8th. Chapter of the *Acts*, as *St. Cyprian* in his 73. Epistle tells us; where *Peter* and *John* are said to have laid hands on them in *Samaria*, which had been before Baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and that by laying on of their hands they did receive the Holy Ghost accordingly, verse 16, 17. *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, &c.* "Which is also done, saith *St. Cyprian* (and *Cyprian* flourish'd in the middle of the third Century) amongst our selves, when they which be already Baptized, are brought unto the *Prelates* of the Church (*Præpositis Ecclesiæ offeruntur*) that by our Prayer and Imposition of our hands they may receive the Holy Ghost, and be strengthened by the Seal of the Lord, Upon which grounds (besides the great antiquity of it) it was retained by the first *Reformers*, as in the *Rubrick* before *Confirmation*, in the *Common-Prayer-Book*. And had it been as diligently practis'd by the Bishops in the declining times of this Church, as it was piously and religiously retained by them, it would have much conduced to their safe standing in the Church, and procur'd a greater veneration to their Persons also. The other two, *viz. Marriage*, and the *Visitation of the Sick*, together with the *Burial of the Dead*, and the *Churching of Women* after Child-birth, are left to the officiating of the Priest, or Parochial Minister, unless the Bishop please to take that work upon himself in some certain cases.

13. But as for *Penance* (one of the seven Sacraments in the Church of *Rome*) we must look upon in a double capacity. First, As it was solemnly performed on *Ashwednesday*, as a preparative to the approaching Feast of *Easter*; the people humbling themselves before the Lord in Sackcloth and Ashes, whence it had the name. And secondly, As imposed on such particular persons, as lay under the censures of the Church. Touching the first, it is related in the beginning of the *Communion*, that in the Primitive Church there was a godly Discipline, "That at the beginning of *Lent*, such persons as were notorious sinners were put to open Penance, and punished in this world, that their Souls might be saved in the day of the Lord, and that others admonished by their example might be the more afraid to offend. The Restitution of which godly Discipline, though they much desired; yet finding that the times were not like to bear it, they contented themselves with prescribing a form of *Communion*, to be observed upon that day, containing a recital of Gods Curses thundred out against impenitent Sinners, to be publickly read out of the Pulpit, by the Priest or *Presbyter*; subjoyning thereunto one of the *Penitential Psalms*, with certain Prayers which had been used in the *Formularies* of the times foregoing; and then proceeding to the Epistle and Gospel (with the rest of the *Communion Service*) appointed for the first day of *Lent* in the publick *Liturgie*. As for the other sort of *Penance*; there was not any thing more

more frequent in the practice of the Church, and the dispensation of the Keys, then the imposing of it by the Bishops and their Officers, upon Adulterers, Fornicators, and such as otherwise have given scandal by their irregular course of life, or by their obstinate inconformity to the *Rites and Ceremonies* here by Law established: upon performance of which *Penance* in the face of the Church, or in the way of *Commutation*, for the use of the poor, they were to have the benefit of *Absolution*, and consequently be restored to the peace and bosom of the Church. And though there be no form prescribed in our *Liturgie*, for the reconciling of a *Penitent* after the performance of his *Penance*, which I have many times wondred at; yet so much care was taken in the *Convocation* of the year 1640. that no *Absolution* should be given, but by the Bishop himself in person, or by some other in Holy Orders, having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister, (being a Master of Arts at the least) and Beneficed within the Diocese, to be appointed by the Bishop, the same to be performed in the open Consistory, or some Church or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving, and taking it upon his knees, Can. 13. Which was as much as could be done in that point of time.

14. Such being the duty of the Priest, we shall next look upon the place and times in which they are to be performed; the place of publick Worship they call generally (according to the style of the ancient Fathers) by the name of the *Church*. For consecrating or setting apart whereof to Religious uses, I find so great authority in the Primitive times, as wil sufficiently free it from the guilt of *Popery*: Witness the testimony which Pope *Pius* gives of his Sister *Eutrepia* in an Epistle to *Justus Viennensis*, Anno 158. or thereabouts, for setting apart her own House for the use and service of the *Church*: Witness the testimony which *Metaphrastes* gives of *Felix* the first, touching his Consecrating of the house of *Cicilia*, about the year 272. And that which *Damusus* gives unto *Marcellinus*, who succeeded *Felix*, for consecrating the house of *Lucinia* for Religious uses: witness the famous consecration of the Temple of the Holy Martyrs in *Jerusalem*, founded by *Constantine* the Great, at which almost all the Bishops in the Eastern parts were summoned, and called together by the Emperors Writ: and finally (not to descend to the following times) witness the 89th. Sermon of *St. Ambrose*, entituled *De Dedicacione Basilicæ*, Preached at the Dedication of a *Church* built by *Vitalianus* and *Majanus*, and the invitation of *Paulinus*, another Bishop of that Age, made by *Sulpitius Severus* his especial Friend, *Ad Basilicam quæ pro rex erat, in nomine Domini consummabitur, dedicandum*, to be present at the Dedication of a *Church* of his foundation: which Dedications, as they were solemnized with Feastings, for entertainment of the company which resorted to them; so were those Feasts perpetuated in succeeding Ages by an annual Repetition, or Remembrance of them: such annual Dedication-Feasts being called in *England*, *Wakes*, or *Revels*, and in some places only *Feasts*, according to the style and phrase of their several Countries. I must confess that there occurs no form of such Consecration in our English *Liturgies*: those times were more inclinable to the pulling down of old Churches, then building of new; witness the demolition of so many

XIV.
Consecration
of Churches
truly Primitive.

Honoured
with Dedicacion
Feasts,

and

Those Feasts
made annually,

and

Of the Form of Consecration observed, but not prescribed since the Reformation.

Hospitals, Chanteries, and Free Chappels in the unfortunate minority of King *Edward VI.* But when the times were better settled, and that new Churches began to be erected, and the old ones to be repaired, some *Bishops* made a Form of *Consecrating* to be used by themselves on such occasions. And others followed a Form composed by Bishop *Andrews*; a man as much averse as any, from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome.* But if the *Convocation* of the Year 1640. had not been so precipitated to a speedy conclusion by the tumults of unruly people, it is probable, if not certain, that a Canon had been passed for digesting an uniform order of such Consecrations, as there was made a body of Visitation-Articles for the publick use of all that exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which every Bishop and Arch-Deacon had before fashioned for themselves.

XV. What kind of Images they are, which were prohibited by the Queens Injunctions.

15. Next to the Consecration of Churches, follows in course the necessary repair and adorning of them; not only required by several Canons and Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the Canons of the Year 1603. and some Rubricks in the Book of Common-Prayer; but also by some Homilies which were made of purpose to excite the people thereunto: that is to say, the Homilies of the right use of the Church, for repairing and keeping clean the Church, and of the time and place of Prayer. The question is, whether the use of painted Images on the Walls or Windows were tolerated or forbidden by the Rule of the Reformation; They which conceive them to have been forbidden by the Rules of the Church, alledge for defence of their opinion, the Queens injunction, published in the first year of her Reign, *Anno 1559.* the Articles of the Regal Visitation following thereupon, and the main scope of the three Homilies against the peril of Idolatry. In the first of which it was ordered, first, "That to the intent that all Superstition, and Hypocrisie crept into divers means hearts might vanish away, no Ecclesiastical persons should set forth or extol the Dignity of any Images, Reliques, or Miracles; but declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God as the very author and giver of the same, and of none other, *Num. 2.* And secondly, That they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all *Shrines,* coverings of *Shrines,* all Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindals* and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all other Monuments of feigned Miracles, Pillgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition; so that there remain no memory of the same, in Walls, Glass-Windows, or elsewhere, within their Churches and Houses; preserving and repairing nevertheless both the Walls and Glass-Windows: and that they should exhort all their Parishioners to do the like, within their several Houses, *Num. 23.* For which last, there follows afterwards a more special *Injunction,* *Numb. 35.* According whereunto this *Article* was framed to the Visitation. *viz.* "Whether in all Churches, and Chappels, all Images, Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindals,* and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned and false Miracles, Pillgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition, were removed, abolished, and destroyed, *Num. 2.* But these objections carried their own answers

The Articles of the Regal Visitation,

in them, it being manifest by the words both of the Articles and Injunctions, that it never was the meaning of the Queen, her Council, or Commissioners, to coademu, abolish, or deface all Images, either of Christ himself, or of any of the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors and other godly Fathers in the Church of Christ; the abuse whereof is ordered to be reformed by the first Injunction, but only to remove such Pictures of false and feigned Miracles, as had no truth of being, or existence in Nature; and therefore were the more abused to Superstition and Idolatry in the times of *Popery*. In answer to such passages as are alledged out of the said Homilies, it is replied; first, that it is confessed in the beginning of the last of the said three *Homilies*, that Images in Churches are not simply forbidden by the new Testament, *Hom. Fol. 39.* And therefore no offence committed against the Gospel, if they be used only for History, Example, and stirring up of pure Devotion in the souls of men; in which respect called not unfitly by Pope *Gregory*, *The Lay-mans Books*. Secondly, The Compilers of those Homilies were the more earnest in point of removing or excluding Images, the better to wean the People from the sin of Idolatry, in which they had been trained up from their very infancy, and were not otherwise to be weaned from it, then by taking away the occasions of it. And thirdly, All that vehemence is used against them; not as intolerable in themselves, but as they might be made in those broken and unsettled times an occasion of falling, before men could be fully instructed in the right use of them; as appears plainly by these passages, *viz. Our Images also have been, and be, (and if they be publickly suffered in Churches, and Chappels) ever will be also worshipped, and so Idolatry committed to them, p. 13. So hard it is, and indeed impossible any long time to have Images publickly in Churches and Temples without Idolatry, fol. 33.* And finally by the passage which before we touched at, where after much vehemency, not only against Idolatry and Worshipping of Images, but also against Idols and Images themselves, the heats thereof are qualified by this expression, *viz. I mean always thus herein, in that we be stirred and provoked by them, to worship them; and not as though they were simply forbidden by the New Testament, without such occasion and danger, ibid. fol. 39.* And thereupon it is first alledged by those of contrary judgment, that all such as lived in times of *Popery*, being long since dead, and the people of this last age sufficiently instructed in the unlawfulness of worshipping such painted Images, they may be lawfully used in Churches, without fear of Idolatry, which seems to have been the main inducement for their first defacing. Secondly, Many of the Eastern Churches, which notwithstanding do abominate the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, retained the use of painted Images, though they reject those which were cut, and carved. Thirdly, That *Images* are still used in the *Lutheran* Churches, upon which our first Reformers had a special eye; and that *Luther* much reproved *Caroloſtadius* for taking them out of such Churches, where before they had been suffered to stand, letting him know, *Ex mentibus hominum potius removendas*, that the worship of Images, was rather to be taken out of mens minds by diligent and painful preaching, then the Images themselves to be so rashly, and un-

and

What is to be said in answer to such passages as are found against them in the Book of Homilies.

advisedly

advisedly cast out of the Churches. That painted Images were not only retained in the Chappels of the Queen, and of many great men of the Realm, in most of the Cathedral Churches, and in some private Churches and Chappels also, without any defacing (witness the curious painted Glass in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, the Parish Church of *Faireford* in the County of *Glocester*, and the Chappel of the Holy Ghost, near *Basingstoke*) but a rich and massy Crucifix was kept for many years together, on the Table or Altar of the Chappel Royal in *Whitehall* (as appears by *Saunders* and *Du Chesne*) till it was broke in pieces by *Pach*, the Queens Fool (when no wiser man could be got to do it) upon the secret instigation of Sir *Francis Knollis*: and finally, it appears by the Queens Injunctions, that the Priests being commanded not to extoll the dignity of any Image, Reliques, &c. and the people diligently to teach, that all Goodness, Health, and Grace ought to be asked and looked for only at the hands of God, whereby all Superstition might be taken out of their hearts, the Images might lawfully remain as well in publick Churches, as in private Houses, as they had done formerly.

XVI.
The Lords
Day built up-
on the same
foundation
with the other
Holy days,

according to
the Book of
Homilies,

and

The Act of
Parliament,
s. 6. of
EDW. VI.

16. As for the times of publick Worship, we must behold them in their *Institution*, and their *Observation*. And first, as for their Institution it is agreed on of all hands, that the Annual Feasts, Saints Days, or Holy Days, as now commonly called, do stand on no other ground then the Authority of the Church, which at first ordained them; some in one Age, and some in another, till they grew unto so great a number, that it was thought fit by King *Henry VIII.* and afterwards by King *Edward VI.* to abolish such of them as might best be spared. Nor stands the Sunday, or Lords Day (according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*) on any other ground then the rest of the Holy days; for in the Homily touching the time and place of Prayer, it is thus doctrinally resolved, *viz.* “As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandment, &c. Which Example and Commandment of God, the godly Christian people began to follow, after the *Ascension* of our Lord Christ, and began to chuse them a standing day in the week to come together in; yet not the seventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords *Resurrection*, the day after the seventh day, which is the first day of the week, &c. This makes the matter clear enough, and yet the Statute 5 and 6 of *Edw. VI.* in which all the Prelates did concur with the other Estates, makes it clearer then the *Homily* doth, “Forasmuch (saith the Statute) as men be not at all times so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort to hear Gods holy Word, and come to the holy Communion, &c. as their bounden duty doth require; therefore to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmities, it hath been wholsomly provided, that there should be some certain days and times appointed wherein Christians should *cease from all kinds of labour*, and apply themselves only and wholly unto the afore-said holy works properly pertaining to true Religion, &c. *Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain times or definite number*

of

“ of days prescribed in Holy Scripture: but the appointment both of
 “ the time, and also of the number of days, is left by the Authority of
 “ Gods Word, unto the Liberty of Christs Church to be determined and
 “ assigned orderly in every Countrey by the discretion of the Rulers
 “ and Ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the set-
 “ ting forth of Gods Glory, and the edification of the people. Now
 for the number and particularities of those days which were required
 to be kept holy to the Lord, they are thus specified and enumerated
 in the Common-Prayer-Book, confirmed by Parliament in that year.
 These to be kept Holy Days, and no other; that is to say, all Sundays in
 the Year, the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord and Saviour, the
 Feast of the Epiphany, &c. Which specification and enumeration, is
 made also in the aforesaid Statute.

17. As for the observation of those days, there was no difference made
 between them by the first Reformers; the same Divine Offices prescri-
 bed for both; the diligent attendance of the people required in both;
 the penalties upon such as wilfully and frequently did absent them-
 selves, were the same for both; and finally the works of necessary labour
 no more restrained upon the one then upon the other. For first it is de-
 clared in the foresaid Homily, that Christian People are not tyed so straight-
 ly to observe and keep the other Ceremonies of the Sabbath day, as were the
 Jews, as touching the forbearing of the work and labour in time of great
 necessity, &c. Secondly, and more particularly in the Statute before-
 mentioned we find it thus, viz. “ That it shall be lawful for every
 “ Husband-man, Fisher-man, and to all and every other person or per-
 “ sons, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition he or they be, upon the
 “ Holy Days aforesaid (of which the Lords Day is there reckoned
 “ for one) in Harvest, or at any other times in the Year, when neces-
 “ sity shall so require, to Labour, Ride, Fish, or Work any kind of
 “ Work at their own will and pleasure. Thirdly, It is ordered in the In-
 junctions of the said King Edw. VI. that it shall be lawful for the people
 “ in the time of Harvest to labour upon Holy and Festival Days, and
 “ save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain
 “ from working on those days, doth grievously offend God. Fourthly,
 We find the like in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, published with
 the advice of her Council, Anno 1559. being the first year of her
 Reign, viz. “ That all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, shall teach and de-
 “ clare unto their Parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet
 “ conscience after Common-Prayer in the time of Harvest labour up-
 “ on the Holy and Festival Days, and save that thing which God hath
 “ sent. And if for any scrupulosity or grudge of Conscience, men shall
 “ superstitiously abstain from working on those days, that then they
 “ should grievously offend and displease God. And as for the practice
 “ of the Court, it was ordered by the said King Edward, “ That the
 “ Lords of the Council should upon Sunday attend the publick affairs
 “ of the Realm, and dispatch answers to Letters for the good order of
 “ the State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded in the
 “ Week before: Provided, that they be present at Common-Prayers.
 “ And that on every Sunday night the Kings Secretary should deliver
 him

XVII.
 What works
 of labour
 were permit-
 ted on the
 Lords Day,
 and the other
 Holy days,

by the Book
 of Homilies.

The Statute
 5. and 6. of
 EDW. VI.

The Injuncti-
 ons of King
 EDW. VI.

and

Of Queen
 ELIZ.

Practised ac-
 cordingly in
 the Court
 from that
 time to this.

“ him a memorial of such things as were to be debated in the Privy Council the week ensuing. Which course of meeting in the Council on Sunday in the afternoon, hath been continued in the Court, from the time of the said King *Edward* the VI. to the death of King *Charles*, without dislike or interruption. If then the Country people in some times and cases were permitted to employ themselves in bodily labour on the Sundays and other Holy days; and if the Lords of the Council did meet together on those days to consult about affairs of State, as we see they did; there is no question to be made but that all manlike exercises, all lawful Recreations and honest Pastimes were allowed of also.

XVIII.
Reverence required of the people at their first entrance into the Church,

According to the practice of the Primitive times,

and

The example of the Knights of the Garter, &c.

and

That example well enforced by Archbishop LAUD,

p. 47.

18. As for the duties of the people in those times and places, it was expected at their hands, that due and lowly reverence should be made at their first entrance into the Church; the place on which they stood, being by Consecration made Holy Ground, and the business which they came about, being holy business. For this there was no Rule nor Rubrick made by the first Reformers, and it was not necessary that there should; the practice of Gods people in that kind being so universal, *Vi Catholicae consuetudinis*, by vertue of a general and continual usage, that there was no need of any Canon to enjoin them to it: Nothing more frequent in the Writings of the ancient Fathers then Adoration toward the East, which drew the Primitive Christians into some suspicion of being Worshippers of the Sun, *Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos versus orientis regionem precari*, as *Tertullian* hath it. And though this pious custom began to be disused, and was almost discontinued, yet there remains some footsteps of it to this very day. For first, It was observed by the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, (who I am sure hate nothing more then Superstitious Vanities) at their approaches toward the *Altar* in all the Solemnities of that Order. Secondly, In the Offerings or Oblations made by the *Vice-Chancellor*, the *Proctors*, and all Proceeders in the *Arts and Faculties* at the *Act* at *Oxon*. And thirdly, By most Country Women, who in the time of my first remembrance, and a long time after, made their obeysance towards the East, before they betook themselves to their Seats; though it was then taken (or mistaken rather) for a Courtesie made unto the Minister; revived more generally in these latter times (especially amongst the *Clergie*) by the Learned and Reverend Bishop *Andrews*, a man as much versed in Primitive Antiquity, and as abhorrent from any thing which was meerly *Popish*, as the greatest *Precisian* in the Pack. Which point I find exceedingly well applyed, and prest in the Speech made by this Arch-Bishop, at the Censure of Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, on June 26. 1637. Who speaking to such of the Lords as were *Knights* of the *Garter*, he accosts them thus, “ And you “ (saith he) my Honourable Lords of the *Garter*, in your great solemnities, you do reverence, and to Almighty God I doubt not: but yet “ it is *versus Altare*, toward the *Altar*, &c. And this your reverence “ you do when you enter the Chappel, and when you approach nearer “ to offer, &c. And Idolatry it is not to worship God toward his *Holy Table*; for if it had been Idolatry, I presume Queen *Elizabeth*, and “ King

“ King *James* would not have practised it, no not in this great Solemnity. And being not Idolatry, but true Divine Worship, you will I hope give a poor Priest leave to worship God as your selves do. For if it be Gods Worship, I ought to do it as well as you, and if it be Idolatry, you ought not to do it more then I.

19. This duty being performed at their first entrance into the Church, it was next required by the *Rubrick*, that they should reverently kneel at the reading of the publick Prayers, and in the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper; that they should stand up at the reading of the Apostles Creed; and consequently at the *Athanasian* and *Nicene* also, which are as Commentaries on that Text; as also at the frequent Repetitions of the *Gloria Patri*, which is an Abridgment of the same. And in the next place it was required by the *Queens Injunctions*, “ That whensoever the Name of *Jesus* shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise, in the Church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowness of countenance, and uncovering the heads of the mankind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been *accustomed*. In which it is to be observed, that though this Injunction was published in the first year of the *Queen*, yet then this bowing at the Name of *Jesus* was lookt on as an ancient custom; not only used in *Queen Maries* Reign, but also in *King Edwards* time, and in those before. And in this case, and in that before, and in all others of that nature, it is a good and certain rule, that all such Rites as had been practised in the Church of *Rome*, and not abolished, nor disclaimed by any Doctrine, Law or Canon of the first *Reformer*, were to continue in the same state in which they found them. But this commendable custom, together with all other outward reverence in Gods publick Service, being every day more and more discontinued, as the *Puritan* Faction got ground amongst us, it seemed good to the *Prelates*, and *Clergie*, assembled in *Convocation*, *Anno* 1603. to revive the same with some enlargement, as to the uncovering of the Head in all the acts and parts of publick worship. For thus we have it in the 18. Canon of that year, *viz.* “ No man shall cover his head in the Church or Chappel in time of Divine Service, except he have some Infirmity; in which case let him wear a night-Cap or Coife. And likewise when the Name of *Jesus* shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed; testifying by this outward Ceremony, and Gesture, their inward Humility, Christian Resolution, and due acknowledgment, that the *Lord Jesus* Christ the true and eternal Son of God is the only Saviour of the world, in whom all Graces, Mercies, and Promises of Gods love to mankind for this life, and the life to come, are wholly comprised. In which Canon, we have not only the Doctrine, that bowing is to be used to the name of *Jesus*, but the uses also; and not alone the custom, but the reasons of it: both grounded on that Text of Scripture, *Phil.* 2. 10. that *at the name of JESUS every knee should bow*, according to such expositions as were made thereof by *St. Ambrose*, and others of the ancient Writers.

20. In matters which were meerly *doctrinal*, and not *practical* also,

XIX.
Kneeling and standing, when required.

The reverence to be used at the name of *Jesus* continued by Injunct. 52.

and

Afterwards renewed by the Canon of the year, 1603.

with

The Reasons for it.

XX.

The moderate proceedings of the first Reformers,

In reference to the Pope

and

The Church of ROME,

Observed and applauded by K. JAMES.

XXL
The Power of the Church asserted in the twentieth Article.

the first *Reformers* carried on the work with the same equal temper, as they did those which were either mixt or meerly *practical*. And first, beginning with the *Pope*, having discharged themselves from the Supremacy, which in the times foregoing he had exercised over them in this Kingdom; I find no Declaration in any publick Monument, or Records of the Church of *England*, that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*, whatsoever some of them might say in their private Writings; some hard expressions there are of him in the Book of Homilies, but none more hard then those in the publick Litany, first published by K. *Henry VIII.* at his going to *Bologne*, and afterwards retained in both Liturgies of King *Edward VI.* In which the people were to pray for their deliverance from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities, &c. This was conceived to be (as indeed it was) a very great scandal and offence to all those in the Realm of *England*, who were well affected to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore in the Liturgie of Queen *Elizabeth* it was quite left out, the better to allure them to the Divine Service of the Church, as at first it did: And for the Church of *Rome* it self, they beheld it with no other eyes, then as a member of the visible Church, which had for many hundred years maintained the *Fundamentals* of the Christian Faith, though both unsound in Doctrine and corrupt in Manners: Just as a man distempered in his Brain, Diseased in all the parts of his Body, and languishing under many putrified Sores, doth still retain the being of a natural man as long as he hath sense, and motion, and (in his lucid intervals) some use of Reason. They tell us in the 19. Article, that the Church of *Rome* hath erred not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but in matters of Faith. But then they lookt upon her as a Member of the Visible Church, as well as those of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, which are there affirmed to have erred also. Erre then she might, and erre she did indeed too grossly, and yet might notwithstanding serve as a *conduit-pipe* to convey to us many of those Primitive Truths, and many of those godly Rites and Ceremonies which she had superstitiously defiled. In which last place it was a very pious rule, that in the Reformation of a Church, abuses being taken away, the primitive Institution should be left remaining; *Tollatur abusus, maneat usus*, as the saying is: and in the first, as piously observed by King *James* in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, that in all Reformations, he would not have any such departure from the *Papists* in all things, that because we in some points agree with them, therefore we should be accounted to be in an error. Let us then see how near the first Reformers did and might come unto the *Papists*, and yet not joyn with them in their Errors to the betraying of the Truth.

21. The *Pope* they deprived of that unlimited Supremacy, and the Church of *Rome* of that exorbitant power, which they formerly challenged over them; yet did they neither think it fit to leave the Church without her lawful and just Authority; nor safe to put her out of the protection of the Supreme Governour. Touching the first, it was resolved in the 20. Article, "That the Church hath power not only to decree Rites and Ceremonies, but also in Controversies of Faith, as the English, *Ecclesia habet Ritus & Ceremonias Statuendi jus, & in fidei controversiis Authori-*

Authoritatem, as it is in the Latin. And so it stands in the Original Acts of the Convocation, Anno 1562. and published in the self-same words both in *Latin* and *English*. Afterwards in the year 1571. by the power and prevalency of some of the *Genevian* Faction the Articles were reprinted, and this Clause left out. But the times bettering, and the Governors of the Church taking just notice of the danger which lay lurking under that omission; there was care taken that the said Clause should be restored unto its place in all following impressions of that Book, as it hath ever since continued: Nor was this part of the Article a matter of *speculation* only, and not reducible to *practice*, or if reducible to *practice*, not fit to be enforced upon such as gain-said the same. For in the 34. Article it is thus declared, “ That whosoever
 “ through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly
 “ break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not
 “ repugnant unto the word of God, and be ordained and approved by
 “ common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may
 “ fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common order of
 “ the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magistrate, and
 “ woundeth the Consciences of the weak Brethren. More power
 then this, as the See of *Rome* did never challenge; so less then this, was not reserved unto it self by the Church of *England*. And as for the *Authority of the Church in controversies of Faith*, the very Articles by which they declared that power (seconded by the rest of the points which are there determined) is a sufficient Argument, that they used and exercised that power which was there declared. And because some objection had been made both by the *Papists*, and those of the *Genevian* party, that a *Papal* power was granted, as at first to King *Henry VIII.* under the name of *Supream Head*, so afterwards to Queen *Elizabeth* and her Successors; it was thought expedient by the Church to stop that clamour at the first; and thereupon it was declared in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergie (who make the representative Body of the Church of *England*) in the 37. Article of the year 1562. “ That
 “ whereas they had attributed to the Queens Majesty the chief Government of all the Estates of this Realm, whether *Ecclesiastical* or
 “ *Civil* in all cases, they did not give unto their Princes, the ministering either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, but that only *Prerogative* which was known to have been given always to all godly
 “ Princes, in Holy Scripture by God himself; that is to say, that they
 “ should rule all *Estates* and *Degrees* committed to their charge by God,
 “ whether they be *Ecclesiastical* or *Temporal*, and restrain with the Civil
 “ Sword the stubborn and evil doers. Less Power then this, as good Subjects could not give unto their King; so more then this, hath there not been exercised or desired by the Kings of *England*. Such power as was by God vouchsafed to the godly Kings and Princes in Holy Scripture, may serve abundantly to satisfy even the unlimited desires of the mightiest *Monarch*, were they as boundless as the *Popes*.

In the 34th.
reduced to
practice,

and

Of the power
ascribed in
Sacred Mat-
ters to the
Kings of
ENGLAND.

22. Next to the point of the *Supremacy*, esteemed the Principal Article of Religion in the Church of *Rome* (*primus & precipuus Romanensis fidei Articulus*) as is affirmed in the History of the Council of *Trent*,

XXII.
The Sacrament of the
Lords Supper
called frequently,

The Sacrament of the Altar, as, viz. by the Act of Parliament,

by

Bishop RIDLEY,

Bishop LATIMER,

and

Some other Martyrs.

the most material differences betwixt them and us relate to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and the natural efficacy of good works, in which the differences betwixt them and the first Reformers seem to be at the greatest; though even in those they came as near to them as might stand with Piety. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they called the Sacrament of the Altar, as appears plainly by the Statute 1 Edward VI. entituled, *An Act against such as speak unreverently against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the ALTAR*: For which consult the Body of the Act it self. Or secondly, by Bishop Ridley (one of the chief Compilers of the Common-Prayer-Book) who doth not only call it the *Sacrament of the Altar*, affirming thus, *that in the Sacrament of the Altar, is the natural Body and Blood of Christ.* &c. But in his Reply to an Argument of the Bishop of Lincoln's, taken out of St. Cyril, he doth resolve it thus, viz. "The word "Altar in the Scripture signifieth as well the Altar whereon the Jews "were wont to offer there Burnt Sacrifice, as the Table of the Lords "Supper: and that St. Cyril meaneth by this word Altar, not the "Jewish Altar; but the Table of the Lord, &c. *Acts and Mon.* part 3. p. 492. and 497. Thirdly, By Bishop Latimer his fellow-Martyr, who plainly grants, "That the Lords Table may be called an Altar, and "that the Doctors called it so in many places, though there be no pro- "pitatory Sacrifice, but only Christ, *part 2. p. 85.* Fourthly, By the several affirmations of John Lambert, and John Philpot, two Learned and Religious men, whereof the one suffered death for Religion under Henry VIII. the other in the fiery time of Queen Mary. This Sacrament being called by both, the Sacrament of the Altar in their several times: for which consult the Acts and Monuments commonly called the *Book of Martyrs.*

XXIII.

The Lords Table ordered to be placed where the Altar stood,

by the Injunctions of Q. ELIZ. 1559. The Book of Orders, 1561.

and

Advertis. of the year 1565.

and

23. And that this Sacrament might the longer preserve that name, and the Lords Supper be administered with the more solemnity, it was ordained in the *Injunctions* of Queen Elizabeth, no Altar should be taken down, but by the oversight of the Curate of the Church, and the Church-Wardens, or one of them at least, and that the Holy Table in every Church be decently made and set up in the place where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth. It is besides declared in the Books of Orders, Anno 1561. published about two years after the said *Injunction*, "That in the place where the Steps "were, the Communion Table should stand; and that there shall be "fixed on the Wall over the Communion Board, the Tables of Gods "Precepts imprinted for the same purpose. The like occurs in the Advertisements published by the *Metropolitan*, and others the High Commissioners, 1565. In which it is ordered, "That the Parish shall provide "a decent Table, standing on a frame for the Communion-Table, "which they shall decently cover with a Carpet of Silk, or other decent covering, and with a white Linen Cloth in the time of the administration, and shall set the Ten Commandments upon the East- "Wall over the said Table. All which being laid together, amounts to this, that the Communion-Table was to stand above the steps, and under the Commandments; therefore all along the Wall, on which the

Ten

Ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the *Altar* had stood before. Now that the *Holy Table* in what posture soever it be plac't, should not be thought unuseful at all other times, but only at the time of the Ministration; it was appointed by the Church in its first *Reformation*, that the *Communion-Service*, commonly called the *second Service*, upon all Sundays and Holy-days, should be read only at the *Holy Table*. For first in the last *Rubrick* before the beginning of that Service, it is ordered, that the Priest standing at the *Holy Table* shall say the *Lords Prayer*, with the *Collect* following, &c. And it is ordered in the first *Rubrick* after the *Communion*, "That on the *Holy Days* (if there be no *Communion*) shall be said all that is appointed at the *Communion* until the end of the *Hommily*; concluding with the general *Prayer* for *Christ's Church Militant* here on earth, and one or more of the *Collects* before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve. No place appointed for the reading of the *second Service*, but only at the *Altar*, or *Communion-Table*.

At the same time the second Service to be said on the Sundays and Holy Days.

24. Here then we have the *Wood*, the *Altar*; *sed ubi est victima holocausti* (as *Isaac* said unto his *Father*) *But where is the Lamb for the burnt-offering?* Gen. 22. 7. Assuredly, if the *Priest* and *Altar* be so near, the *Lamb* for the *Burnt-offering* cannot be far off, even the most blessed *Lamb of God*; which taketh away the sins of the world, as the *Scripture* styles him, whose *Passion* we find commemorated in the *Sacrament*, called therefore the *Sacrament of the Altar*, as before is said: called for the same reason by *St. Augustine* in his *Enchiridion*, *sacrificium Altaris*, the *sacrifice of the Altar*; by the *English Liturgie* in the *Prayer* next after the *participation*, the *sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving* (*sacrificium laudis*;) by *Chrysostom*, Ἀνάμνησις ἡ Θυσία, the remembrance of a *sacrifice*; by many *Learned Writers* amongst our selves, a *commemorative sacrifice*. For thus saith *Bishop Andrews* in his answer to *Cardinal Bellarmine*, c. 8. *Tollite de Missa Transubstantiationem vestram, nec diu nobiscum lis erit de sacrificio*, &c. "Take from the *Mass* your *Transubstantiation*, and we will have no difference with you about the *sacrifice*. And the *King* grants (he means the learned *Prince*, *King James*) the name of a *sacrifice* to have been frequent with the *Fathers*. Which *sacrifice* he sometimes calls *Commemorationem sacrificii*, and sometimes *sacrificium Commemorative*, *A Commemorative sacrifice*. The like we find in *Bishop Morton*, who in his *Book of the Roman sacrifice*, l. 6. c. 5. called the *Eucharist*, a *representative and commemorative sacrifice*, in as plain terms as can be spoken. But what need any thing have been said for the proof hereof, when the most *Reverend Archbishop Cranmer*, one (and the chief) of the *Compilers* of the *publick Liturgie*, and one who suffered death for opposing the *sacrifice of the Mass*, distinguisheth most plainly between the *sacrifice propitiatory*, made by *Christ* himself only, and the *sacrifice commemorative* and *gratulatory* made by *Priests* and *People*: for which consult his *Defence* against *Bishop Gardiner*, lib. 5. p. 439. And finally the testimony of *John Lambert*, who suffered for his *Conscience* in the time of *King Henry VIII.* whose words are these: "Christ (saith he) being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to

XXIV. The Lords Supper frequently called a Sacrifice by

The Ancient Fathers,

By many Learned men amongst our selves.

Some of our godly Martyrs also,

“ be offered up, not only every year at *Easter*, but also every day in
 “ the Celebration of the Sacrament; because his Oblations *once for all*,
 “ made it thereby represented, *Act. Mon.* p. 2. 35. So uniform is the
 “ consent of our Liturgie, our Martyrs, and our Learned Writers in the
 “ name of *Sacrifice*; so that we may behold the *Eucharist* or the Lords
 “ Supper. First, as it is a *Sacrifice*, or the *Commemoration* of that *Sa-*
 and
crifice offered unto God; by which both we and the whole Church do
 obtain remission of our Sins, and all other benefits of Christs Passion.
 And secondly, As it is a *sacrament*, participated by men, by which
 we hope, that being made partakers of that Holy Communion, we may
 be fulfilled with his Grace and heavenly Benediction. Both which occur
 in the next Prayer after the Communion. Look on it as a *Sacrifice*,
 and then the Lords Board not improperly may be called an *Altar*, as it
 is properly called the Table in respect of the *sacrament*.

In what re-
spect.

XXV.
A Real Pre-
sence proved

by

The publick
Liturgie,

By Bishop
RIDLEY,

By Mr. Alex.
Nowel.

25. With the like uniform consent we find the Doctrine of a *Real Presence* in the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper to be maintained and taught in the first Constitution of this Church: and this is first concluded from the words of *Distribution*, retained in the first *Liturgie* of King *Edward VI.* and formerly prescribed in the ancient *Missals*, viz. *The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy Body and Soul unto life everlasting. The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, &c.* Which words being thought by some precise and scrupulous persons to incline too much toward *Transubstantiation* (and therefore not unfit to justify a *Real Presence*) were quite omitted in the second *Liturgie* of that King: the words of *Participation*, *Take and eat this, &c. Take and drink this, &c.* being used in the place thereof. Which alteration notwithstanding, it is affirmed by Bishop *Ridley* (one of the principal Compilers of these two Books) *that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Christ.* And if there be the *Natural Body*, there must needs be a *Real Presence* in his opinion. When this last *Liturgie* was reviewed by the command of Queen *Elizabeth Anno 1558.* the former clause was super-added to the other, which put the business into the same state and condition in which we find it at the first. And when by the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in Convocation, *Anno 1562.* the *sacrifice* of the *Mass* was declared to be a pernicious Imposture, a blasphemous Figment, and that *Transubstantiation* was declared to be repugnant to the plain words of Holy Scripture, to overthrow the Nature of a Sacrament, and to have given occasion to many Superstitions; yet still the Doctrine of a *Real Presence* was maintained as formerly. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of *St. Pauls*, was chosen Prolocutor for that Convocation, and therefore as like to know the true intent and meaning of the Church of *England* in every point which was there concluded, as any other whatsoever; and yet he thought it no contradiction to any of them to maintain and teach a *Real Presence*. For in his *Catechism* publickly allowed of in all the Grammar Schools of this Realm, he first propounds this question, viz. *Cœlestis pars & ab omni sensu externo longè disjuncta, quænam est, &c.* that is to say, What is the Heavenly, or Spiritual part of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which no sense is able to discover?

ver? To which the party Catechized returns this answer, *Corpus & sanguis Christi, quæ fidelibus in cæna dominica præbentur, ab illis accipiuntur, comeduntur, & bibuntur, cælesti tantùm & spirituali modo, verè tamen atque reipsa.* That is to say, the heavenly or spiritual part is the Body and Blood of Christ which are given to the faithful in the Lords Supper, and are taken, eaten, and drank by them; which though it be only in an heavenly and spiritual manner; yet are they both given and taken *truly* and *really* or in very deed. Conform to which we have in brief the Suffrage of the Right Learned Bishop *Bilson*, who lived the greatest part of his time with the said Mr. *Nowel*, by whom we are told in his Book of *True Subject*, &c. p. 779. And he tells it with a God forbid, that we deny not, "That the Flesh and Blood of Christ are truly present and truly received of the faithful at the *Lords Table*."

and

By Bishop
BILSON.

26. A clear explication of which Doctrine was made in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, by whose appointment, with the consent of the *Metropolitan*, some of the Bishops and other learned men of the *Clergie*, it was ordered in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, that the Doctrine of the Sacraments should be added to the Authorized Catechism of the Church, where before it was not: in which addition to the Catechism, it is said expressly, *That the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken of the Faithful in the Lords Supper. Verily and indeed*, saith the English Book, *Vere & reipsa*, or *Vere & realiter*, saith the Latine Translation; by which the Church doth teach us to understand, that Christ is *truly* and *really* present (though after a *spiritual* manner) in that Blessed Sacrament. And that this was the Churches meaning will be made apparent, by the Testimony of some of the most learned men, which have written since; two of which I shall here produce, that *out of the mouths of two such Witnesses*, the truth hereof may be *established*. The first of these shall be the most eminent Bishop *Andrews*, a contemporary of the said Bishop *Bilson*, who in his answer unto Cardinal *Bellarmino*, thus declares himself, *Præsentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram, deinde præsentia nil temere definimus*: We acknowledge (saith he) a *presence* as true and real as you do, but we determine nothing rashly of the manner of it. The second shall be Bishop *Morton*, as great an enemy to the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, as any that ever wrote against it, who could not but be sixty years of age at the death of Bishop *Andrews*; and he affirms expressly, "That the question betwixt us and the *Papists* is not concerning a *Real presence*, which the Protestants (as their own Jesuites witness) do also profess. *Fortunatus*, a Protestant, holding that Christ is in the Sacrament most *Really, Verissime, Realissime*, as his words are. By which it seems it is agreed on on both sides (that is to say, the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*) that there is a *true* and *real* Presence of Christ in the Holy *Eucharist*; the disagreement being only in the *modus præsentia*.

XXVI.

The same confirmed by the words of the Catechism,

As also by the testimony of Bishop AN-
DREWS,Bishop *Morton*.

27. The like Dispute is also raised *de modo descensus*, touching the manner and extent of Christs *Descending* into Hell, which the *Papists* will have to be only partial, and to extend no farther then to the upper Region

XXVII.

The Article of Christs descent made figurative

Region of that infernal Habitation, called by them commonly *Limbus Patrum*. The *Calvinists* will have it to be only figurative, no *descent* at all, and they are sub-divided into three opinions. *Calvin* himself interprets it of our Saviours Sufferings on the Cross, in which he underwent all those torments, even to *Desperation*, which the damned do endure in Hell. Many of the *Calvinian* party understand nothing by Christs *Descent* into Hell, but his *Descending* into the Grave; and then his descending into Hell will be the same with his being buried. Which Tautology in such a short summary of the Christian Faith cannot be easily admitted. And therefore the late Lord *Primate* of *Ireland* not liking either of their opinions, will find a new way by himself; in which I cannot say what leaders he had, but I am sure he hath had many followers. And he, by Christs descending into Hell, will have nothing else to be understood but his *continuing in the state of Separation between the Body and the Soul, his remaining under the power of death during the time that he lay buried in the Grave*, which is no more in effect, though it differ somewhat in the terms, than to say he dyed and was buried, and rose not again till the third day, as the Creed instructs us; and then we are but where we were with the other *Calvinists*. But on the contrary, the Church of *England* doth maintain a *Local Descent*, that is to say, "That the Soul of Christ at such time as his Body lay in the Grave, did *Locally Descend* into the nethermost parts, in which the Devil and his Angels are reserved in everlasting Chains of Darkness, unto the Judgment of the great and terrible Day. And this appears to be the meaning of the first *Reformers*, by giving this Article a distinct place by its self, both in the Book of *Articles*, published in the time of King *Edward VI. Anno 1552*, and in the Book agreed upon in the Convocation of the 5. of *Queen Elizabeth, 1564*. in both which it is said expressly in the self-same words, *viz. As Christ dyed for us and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell*: which is either to be understood of a *Local Descent*, or else we are tyed to believe nothing by it, but what explicitly or implicitly is comprehended in the former Article, in which there is particular mention of Christs Sufferings, Crucifying, Death, and Burial. Now that this is the Churches meaning, cannot be better manifested then in the words of *Mr. Alexander Novel* before-mentioned; who for the reasons before remembred, cannot in reason be supposed to be ignorant of the true sense and meaning of the Church in that particular: and he accordingly in his Catechism publickly allowed of, with reference to a *Local Descent*, doth declare it thus, *viz. Ut Christus corpore in terræ viscera; ita anima, corpore separata, ad inferos descendit, &c.* that is, "As Christ descended in his Body into the bowels of the earth, so in his Soul, separated from that Body, he descended also into Hell; by means whereof the power and efficacy of his Death was not made known only to the dead, but to the Devils themselves: insomuch that both the souls of the unbelievers did sensibly perceive that condemnation, which was most justly due to them for their incredulity: and Satan himself, the Prince of Devils, did as plainly see, that his tyranny, and all the powers of
darkness

by

Calvin,

and

The Lord
Primate,

but

Justified to
be Local,By the Arti-
cles of the
Church of
ENGLAND.The words of
Mr. Alexander
Novel,

and

darkness were opprest, ruined, and destroyed. Which Doctrine (when it began to be decayed, and the *Calvinian Gloss*, to get ground upon it) was learnedly asserted by Dr. *Thomas Bilson*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Book, entituled *A Survey of Christs Sufferings*; in which he hath amassed together, whatsoever the Fathers, Greek and Latine, or any of the ancient Writers have affirmed of this Article, with all the points and branches which depend upon it.

28. The Sufferings of Christ represented in the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, with some of the effects thereof by his descending into Hell, being thus dispatched, we shall next look into that of *Baptism*, in which we shall consider the *necessity* first, and afterwards the *efficacy* of it: And first in reference to the *Necessity*. The first Reformers did not only allow the administration of this Sacrament in *private* houses, but permitted it to private persons, even to women also. For it was ordered in the *Rubrick* of *Private Baptism*, "That when
 " any great need shall compel (as in extremity of weakness) they
 " which are present shall call upon God for his Grace, and say the
 " Lords Prayer if the time will suffer, and then one of them shall name
 " the Child, and dip him in the Water, or pour Water upon him,
 " saying these words, *N. I. Baptize thee in the name of the Father, &c.*
 At which passage when King *James* seemed to be offended in the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, because of the liberty which they gave to *Women* and *Laicks*: It was answered then by Dr. *Whitgift*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, "That the administration of *Baptism* by *Women*
 " and *Lay Persons*, was not allowed in the practice of the Church:
 " but enquired of, and censured by the *Bishops* in their *Visitations*;
 " and that the words in the Book inferred no such meaning. Against
 which when the King excepted, urging and pressing the words of the
 Book, that they could not but intend a permission and suffering of
Women, and private Persons to Baptize: It was answered by Dr. *Bubington*, then Bishop of *Worcester*, "That indeed the words were
 " doubtful, and might be pressed to that meaning, but that it seemed
 " by the contrary practice of this Church (censuring *Women* in this
 " case) That the Compilers of that Book did not so intend them, and
 " yet propounded them ambignously, because otherwise perhaps the
 " Book would not have then passed in the Parliament. But then
 stood forth the Bishop of *London*, (Dr. *Bancroft*) and plainly said,
 " That it was not the intent of those Learned and Reverend men, who
 " framed the Book of *Common-Prayer*, by ambiguous terms to deceive
 " any; but did indeed by those words intend a permission of private
 " persons to Baptize in case of *Necessity*, whereof their Letters were
 " witness, some parts whereof he then read; and withal declared,
 " That the same was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church,
 " as appeared by the Authority of *Tertullian*, and of *St. Ambrose* on
 " the 4th. of the *Ephesians*, who are plain in that point; laying also
 open the absurdities and impieties of their opinions who think there is
 no *necessity* of *Baptism*. And though at the motion of that King it was
 ordered that the words *Lawful Minister* should be put into the *Rubrick*
 (*First let the LAWFUL MINISTER, and them that be present, call upon*

The works of
Learned Bi-
shop Bilson :

XXVIII.
The necessity
of Baptism
maintained
by the first
Reformers:

Justified in
the Confe-
rence at
*Hampton-
Court*,

and

Not gain-said
by any altera-
tion in the
publick Ru-
brick,

and
Of the efficacy ascribed unto it by the Church.

God for his Grace, &c. The said *LAWFUL MINISTER* shall dip it into the Water, &c. yet was the alteration greater in sound then sense, it being the opinion of many great Clerks, that any man in cases of extrem necessity (who can pronounce the words of *Baptism*) may pass in the account and notion of a *lawful Minister*. So much for the necessity of *Baptism*. And as for the efficacy thereof, it is said expressly in the 27. Article, “ To be a sign of *Regeneration*, or *New Birth*, “ whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive *Baptism* rightly, “ are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of Sin, and of “ our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly “ signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace is increased by vertue of Prayer unto God: and, as expressly it is said in one of the “ *Rubricks* before *Confirmation*, That it is certain by Gods word, that “ Children being *Baptized*, have all things necessary for their Salvation, and be undoubtedly saved: that is to say (for so it must be understood) in case they dye before they fall into the committing of *Actual Sins*.

XXIX.
Justification how divided betwixt Faith and Works,

29. Touching *good works*, and how far they conduce unto our *Justification*, the breach was wider at the first breakings out of *Luther* then it hath been since: *Luther* ascribing *Justification* unto *Faith* alone, without relation unto *Works*; and those of *Rome* ascribing it to good *Works* alone, without relation unto *Faith*, which they reckoned only amongst the *preparatives* unto it. But when the point had been long canvased, and the first heats were somewhat cooled, they began to come more neer unto one another. For when the *Papists* attributed *Justification* unto *Works* alone, they desired to be understood of such good *Works* as proceeded from a true and lively *Faith*: and when the *Lutherans* ascribed it to *Faith* alone, they desired to be understood of such a *Faith* as was productive of good *Works*, and attended by them. The *Papists* thereupon began to cherish the distinction between the first and the second *Justification*, ascribing the first unto *Faith* only; the second (which the *Protestants* more properly called by the name of *Sanctification*) to the *works* of Righteousness. The *Protestants* on the other side distinguishing between *Fides sola*, and *solitaria*, between *sola Fides*, and *Fides quæ est sola*; intending by that nicety, that, though *Faith* alone doth *justifie* a sinner in the light of God: yet that is not such a *Faith* as was alone, but stood accompanied with good *Works*.

In what respects ascribed to Faith, by the Church of ENGLAND,

and

In what to Works.

And in this way the Church of *England* went in her Reformation, declaring in the 11. Article, “ That we are accounted righteous before “ God, only for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* by “ Faith, and not for our works or deservings. Which *Justification* by Faith only is further declared to be a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort; for which we are referred to the Book of *Homilies*. And in the Book of *Homilies* we shall also find, “ That we “ may well bear the name of Christian men; but we lack that true “ Faith which belongeth thereunto: For true *Faith* doth evermore “ bring forth good *Works*, (as St. *James* speaketh) Shew me thy *Faith* “ by thy *Works*. Thy Deeds and *Works* must be an open testimony of “ thy *Faith*; otherwise thy *Faith* being without good *Works*, is but the Devils

“ Devils *faith*, the *faith* of the wicked, a phantafie of *Faith*, and not
 “ a true Christian *Faith*. And that the people might be trained up in
 the works of Righteousness, it is declared in the 7th. Article, That
 no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Com-
 mandments, which are called Moral. According whereunto, it is
 ordered by the publick *Liturgie*, that the said Commandments shall
 be openly read in the Congregation upon *Sundays* and *Holy Days* (con-
 trary to the usage of all ancient *Liturgies*) the people humbly pray-
 ing God, *To have mercy upon them for their transgression of those Laws*;
 and no less humbly praying him *To incline their hearts to keep the same*.
 So that, though Faith must lead the way to our *Justification*; yet
 holiness of life manifested in the works of *Charity*, and all other acts of
 godly living, must open the way for us to the Gates of Heaven, and
 procure our entrance at the same, as is apparent by the 25. of St. *Mat-*
thews Gospel, from *verse 34. to 41.*

30. Which being so, it may be well affirmed without any wrong to
 Faith, that good Works are necessary to salvation; and not so only:
 but that they are *efficienter necessaria*, as was maintained publickly in
 the Schools of *Cambridge*, though it was much carpt at by some men that
 did not rightly and distinctly understand the term. And secondly, It
 may be said without any wrong to the *Free Grace and Merits* of Al-
 mighty God, that a reward is due for the *Works of Righteousness* pro-
 ceeding from a *lively Faith*, in a man regenerate; not that the Church
 ascribeth any merit to the works of man, which may deserve eternal
 life, either *ex congruo*, or *condigno*, as the School-men phrase it; for
Deus non coronat in nobis merita nostra sed dona sua, as the Father hath
 it. No reward is due unto good Works, *ratione operis*, in reference
 to the work it self: but *ratione pacti & acceptationis* (though *Bellarmino*
 be otherwise minded) in respect of Gods merciful acceptance, and
 his most gracious promise to reward the same. It was his grace and
 goodness only which moved him to encourage our imperfect and weak
 obedience with the promise of eternal life: yet having made the pro-
 mise, he became our debtor, *Non aliquid debendo, sed omnia promit-*
tendo, Deus se facit debitorem, as St. *Augustine* tells us. And most
 agreeable it is to his heavenly justice, not to be wanting to his promise.
 Such a *Reward* as this for the works of Righteousness, as the Scriptures
 frequently do mention both in the *Old Testament* and *New*, *Gen. 47.*
Psalms 19. 11. Mat. 5. 12. and 10. 41, 42. Mark 9. 41. Apoc. 22. 11. so
 is the same defended in the Church of *England*. And this appears first
 by the *Athanasian Creed*, incorporated into the body of our publick
 Liturgie, as a part thereof. In the close of which it is affirmed, “ That
 “ at Christs coming unto Judgment all men shall rise again with their
 “ bodies, and give an account of their own works, that they which
 “ have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have
 “ done evil into everlasting fire. And secondly, It appears as plainly
 by the Collect for the 25. Sunday after Trinity, where the Church cal-
 led on the Lord, “ To stir up the wills of his faithful people, that they
 “ plenteously bring forth the fruits of good works, may of him be
 “ plenteously rewarded, through *Jesus Christ*. In which we have not

XXX.
Of the efficacy
of good
Works,

and

The Reward
belonging to
them,

and

Of the Do-
ctrine of the
Church of
ENGLAND
in that parti-
cular.

only a reward for the fruit of good works, but a plentiful reward into the bargain, according to the quality of the work it self, and the acceptableness of the person in the sight of God.

XXXI.
The great Divisions in the Church touching Predestination.

31. Next look we on the Doctrine of *Predestination*, and the points depending thereupon, which have given matter of division to the Christian Church in all times and ages, dividing between the general current of the Fathers till St. *Augustines* time, and the learned men which followed him and his authority; between the *Jesuites* and *Franciscans* on the one side, and the *Dominicans* on the other in the Church of *Rome*; between the moderate and rigid *Lutherans* in the Church Protestant; between the *Remonstrants*, and the *Contra-Remonstrants* in the Schools of *Calvin*; and finally between the *Sub-lapsarians*, and the *Supra-lapsarians*, amongst the *Contra-Remonstrants* themselves. Of these the *Sub-lapsarian Calvinists* (for of the dotages of the other I shall take no notice) the *Rigid Lutherans* and the *Dominican Friars* pretend St. *Augustine* for their Patron: and on the other side, the *Remonstrants*, (commonly nick-named *Arminians*) The *Moderate* or *Melancthonian Lutherans*, together with the *Jesuits* and *Franciscans*, appeal unto the general current of the ancient Fathers, who lived and flourished *ante mota certamina Pelagiana*, before the starting up of the *Pelagian* Controversies. And to this general current of the ancient Fathers, the Church of *England* most inclines; teaching according to their Doctrine, that God from all eternity, intending to demonstrate his power and goodness, designed the Creation of the World, the making of man *after his own Image*, and leaving him so made, in a perfect liberty to do or not to do what he was commanded; and that fore-knowing also from all eternity, that man abusing this liberty, would plunge himself and his posterity into a gulph of miseries, he graciously resolved to provide them such a *Saviour* who should redeem them from their sins; to elect all those to life eternal, who by true Faith laid hold upon him, leaving the rest in the same state in which he found them, for their incredulity. It is reported of *Agilmond* the second, King of the *Lombards*, that riding by a Fish-Pond, he saw seven young Children sprawling in it, whom their unnatural Mothers (as *Paulus Diaconus* conceived) had thrown into it not long before. Amazed whereat, he put his Hunting Spear amongst them, and stirred them gently up and down, which one of them laying hold of, was drawn to Land, called *Lamistus*, from the word *Lama*; which in the Language of that people signifies a Fish-Pond, trained up in that Kings Court, and finally made his Successor in the Kingdom. Granting that *Agilmond* being forewarned in a Vision, that he should find such Children sprawling for life in the midst of that Pond, might thereupon take a resolution within himself to put his Hunting Spear amongst them; and that which of them soever should lay hold upon it, should be gently drawn out of the water, adopted for his Son, and made Heir of all his Kingdom: no humane Story could afford us the like parallel case to Gods proceeding in the great work of *Predestination* to eternal life, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The stating of the point by the Church of ENGLAND,

Illustrated by the story of *Agilmond* and *Lamistus*, Kings of *Lombardy*.

xxxii.

32. Now, that such was the Doctrine of the first *Reformers*, may be made

made evident by the *Definition of Predestination*, “ Predestination un-
 “ to life (saith the 17. Article) is the everlasting purpose of God;
 “ whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath
 “ constantly declared by his Council, secret to us, to deliver from
 “ curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of
 “ mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation. In
 which *Definition* there are these things to be observed; First, That
Predestination doth pre-suppose a curse or a state of Damnation, in
 which all mankind was presented to the sight of God. Secondly, That
 it is an act of his from everlasting, because from everlasting he fore-
 saw that misery into which wretched man would fall. Thirdly, That
 he founded it, and resolved for it in the Man and Mediator Christ Je-
 sus, both for the purpose and performance. Fourthly, That it was of
 some special ones alone, *Elect, called forth, and reserved in Christ*, and
 not generally extended unto all mankind. Fifthly, That being thus
 elected in Christ, they shall be brought by Christ to everlasting sal-
 vation. And sixthly, That this Council is secret unto us; for though
 there be revealed to us some hopeful signs of our *Election* and *Predesti-
 nation unto life*: yet the certainty thereof is a secret hidden in God, and
 in this life unknown to us. Nothing obscure in this Definition but
 these words, *Whom he hath chosen in Christ*; which being the very
 words of the Apostle, *Eph. 1. 4.* are generally interpreted by the an-
 cient Fathers, of those who *do believe in Christ*. For thus St. *Ambrose*
 amongst others, *Sicut elegit nos in ipso*, as he hath chosen us in him;
Præsciens enim Deus omnes scit qui credituri essent in Christum. For God
 (saith he) by his general Prescience did fore-know every man that
 would believe in Christ: The like saith *Chrysostom* on the Text. And
 that our first Reformers did conceive so, it appears by that of Bishop
Latimer in his Sermon on the third Sunday after the *Epiphany*, “ When
 “ (saith he) we hear that some be *chosen*, and some be *damned*, let us
 “ have good *hope*, that we be among the *chosen*, and live after this *hope*,
 “ that is uprightly and godly; then shall we not be deceived. Think
 “ that God hath chosen those that *believe in Christ*; and Christ is the
 “ *Book of Life*: If thou believest in him, then art thou written in the
 “ *Book of Life*, and shalt be saved. Secondly, The Doctrine of *Prede-
 stination*, as before laid down, may be further proved out of the last
 clause of the said 17. Article, where it is said, “ That we must receive
 “ Gods promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in ho-
 “ ly Scripture; and that in all our doings, that will of God is to be fol-
 “ lowed, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God.
 Then which nothing can be more repugnant to the Doctrine of *Prede-
 stination*, delivered by the *Contra-Remonstrants* (whether *Supra-lap-
 sarian*, or *Sub-lapsarian*, is no great matter) which restrains *Predesti-
 nation unto Life* to a few particulars, without respect had to their *Faith*
 in *Christ*, or to *Christ's* Sufferings and Death for them: which few par-
 ticulars so *predestinated* to life eternal, shall (as they teach us) by an
 irresistible Grace, be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct
 of the Holy Spirit, be preserved from falling away from grace and
 favour.

Predestinati-
 on how
 defined.

The definition
 explicated.

The explicati-
 on justified
 by the an-
 cient Fathers,

By Bishop
 LATIMER,

and

The last clause
 of the 17th.
 Article.

XXXIII.
The Church
why silent in
the point of
Reprobation.

The absolute
Decree un-
known to Bi-
shop HOOPER,

By Bishop
LATIMER,

and

33. Such is the Churches Doctrine in the point of *Election* or *Predestination unto life*, but in the point of *Reprobation* or *Predestination unto death*, she is utterly silent; leaving it to be gathered upon *Logical Inferences from* that which is delivered by her in the point of *Election* (for *Contrariorum contraria est ratio*, as *Logicians* say) though that which is so gathered ought rather to be called, a *Dereliction*, then a *Reprobation*. No such *absolute irreversible*, and *irrespective* decree of *Reprobation* taught or maintained in any publick Monument or Record of the Church of *England*, by which the far greatest part of mankind are præ-ordained (and consequently præ-condemned to the pit of Torments) without respect had unto their sins, as the *Supra-lapsurians*, or to their credulities, as generally is maintained by the *Sub-lapsurians* in the Schools of *Calvin*. Much I am sure there is against it in the Writings of Bishop *Hooper*, and Bishop *Latimer*, who took great pains in the first carrying on of the *Reformation*; and therefore we may judge by them of the Churches meaning in that particular. For in the Preface to a Book written by *John Hooper*, afterwards Bishop of *Glocester*, containing an Exposition of the Ten Commandments, and published, *Anno 1550*. we shall find it thus, *viz.* “ That *Cain* was no more excluded from the promise of *Christ*, till he excluded himself, then *Abel*; “ *saul*, then *David*; *Judas*, then *Peter*; *Esau*, then *Jacob*: that God “ is said to have hated *Esau*, not because he was dis-inherited of eter- “ nal Life, but in *laying his Mountains and his Heritage waste for the* “ *Dragons of the Wilderness*, *Mal. 1. 3.* That the threatnings of God “ against *Esau*, (if he had not of his wilfull malice excluded himself “ from the promise of grace) should no more have hindered his “ Salvation, then Gods *threatnings* against *Ninive*, &c. That it is “ not a *Christian mans* part to say, That God hath written fatal Laws, “ as the *stoick*, and with necessity of destiny, violently pulleth the “ one by the hair into *Heaven*, and thrusteth the other head-long into “ *Hell*; that the cause of *Rejection*, or *Damnation* is sin in man, which “ will not hear, neither receive the promise of the Gospel, &c. And in a Sermon on the third Sunday after *Epiphany*, we find Bishop *Latimer* speaking thus, *viz.* “ That if the most are damned, the fault is “ not in God, but in themselves; for *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*, God would that all men should be saved, but they themselves “ procure their own *damnation*, and despise the *Passion* of *Christ* by “ their wicked and inordinate living. Thus also in his fourth Sermon Preached in *Lincolnshire*, “ That *Christ* only, and no man else merited “ *Remission*, *Justification*, and eternal felicity, for as many as will be- “ lieve the same; that *Christ* shed as much Blood for *Judas*, as for “ *Peter*; that *Peter* believed it, and therefore was saved; that *Judas* “ would not believe, therefore was condemned; the fault being in “ him only, and no body else. More of which passages might be gathered from the Writings of those godly Martyrs, were not these sufficient. And though the *Calvinian* fancies in the points of *Election* and *Reprobation* got so much ground on this Church, that they began to be obtruded on the people for the Doctrines of it; yet were they vigorously opposed by some of our *Confessors* in Prison in Queen *Maries* days,

days, by Dr. *Harsnet*, and Mr. *Banret* in the Pulpit; and *Peter Baro*, and Dr. *Overald* in the Divinity-Schools of *Cambridge* in *Queen Elizabeths* time; by Dr. *Bancroft*, then Lord Bishop of *London*, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, Anno 1603. being the first year of King *James*: and finally by King *James* himself, refusing (as he did) to admit the nine Articles of *Lambeth*, containing all the points and particularities of the *Calvinian* Doctrines of *Predestination*, and *Reprobation*, among the Articles of Religion here by Law established, when Dr. *Reynolds* in that Conference did desire it of him: But nothing better proves the Churches Doctrine in these points, than the Church it self; by holding forth the universal Redemption of all mankind, by the Death of Christ; the free *co-operation* of the will of man, with the Grace of God in the chief acts of his Conversion; the possibility of falling into grievous sins; Gods displeasure, and consequently from the grace received: all which are utterly destructive of *Calvins* Doctrine in this point, and that not of the whole *Machina* only, but of every part and parcel of that ruinous building; as will appear by the particulars hereafter following.

By King
James.

34. And first the Universal Redemption of all mankind by the death of Christ, hath been so clearly and explicitly delivered by the Church of *England*, that nothing can be more plain. For in the second Article it is said expressly, “ That Christ suffered, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for Original Guilt, but also for the actual sins of men. Agreeable whereunto, it is declared, *Art. 31.* That the offering of Christ once made, is the perfect *Redemption*, *Propitiation*, and *Satisfaction* for the sins of the *whole world*, both *original and actual*. In both which Articles, as well the *sacrifice*, as the effect and fruit thereof, which is the *Reconciliation* of mankind to God the Father, is delivered in general terms, without any *Restriction* put upon them. Neither the *sacrifice*, nor the *Reconciliation* are by the Articles either restrained to this man, or that, or unto one part of the World only, (as for example, *Intra partem donati*) and not to another, but extended to the *whole world*, saith the 31. Article; to mankind; or to men in general, as it is in the second. A clearer Comment on which Text we cannot possibly have (as to the understanding of the Churches meaning) then that which may be found in the publick Liturgie: For first in the authorized *Catechism* of the Church of *England*, the party *Catechized* being asked what he doth learn in his belief, makes answer as to this particular, that *he believes in God the Father, who made him and all the world.*: And secondly, that he believes *in God the Son, who hath redeemed him and all mankind*, &c. It may be secondly proved in that clause in the Litany, *O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us*, &c. Thirdly, By the Prayer of *Consecration* before the *Communion*, viz. “ Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son *Jesus Christ* to suffer death upon the Cross for our *Redemption*, who made there (by his own Oblation, of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction for the sins of the *WHOLE WORLD*, &c.

XXXIV.
Universal Re-
demption
maintained
by the Books
of Articles.

Many plain
passages in the
Publick Li-
turgie.

And

And the testimony of our ancient Martyrs.

And fourthly, By the Prayer or Thanksgiving, after the *Communion*, in which we do most humbly beseech the Lord to grant that by the Merits and Death of his Son Jesus Christ, and through Faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our Sins, and all other benefits of his Passion. Nor was it without some meaning this way, that She selected those words of our Saviour in St. *Johus* Gospel, viz. *God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.* to be used in the preparation of the Communion; as She reiterated some others, viz. *O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the World, &c.* incorporated into the *Gloria in excelsis*, at the end thereof. A truth so clear in the delivery of this Church, that there needs no proof of it from the Writings of private men: or if there did, what could be more express than those words of Bishop *Hooper*, viz. As the sins of *Adam* without privilege, or exception, extended and appertained unto all *Adam's* and every of *Adam's* Posterity; so did the promise of Grace generally appertain as well to every, and singular of *Adam's* Posterity, as to *Adam* himself, as in the Preface above-mentioned: or what can be more positive than that of Bishop *Latimer* in his first Sermon, preached in *Lincolnshire*, viz. The promises of Christ our Saviour are general, they pertain to all mankind. He made a general proclamation, saying, *Qui credit in me, habet vitam eternam, Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life?* especially being seconded with that which before we had, that Christ did shed as much Blood for *Judas*, as he did for *Peter*; which puts the matter high enough without all exception.

XXXV.
The freedom of the Will too much advanced by the Pelagians.

Decryed as much by Luther,

and

The Contra-Remonstrants.

35. Touching *Free-Will*, the powers of Nature, and the celestial influences of the Grace of God, in the conversion of a sinner, the Church of *England* ran after a middle way, between the *Rigid Lutherans*, and the old *Pelagians*. It was the Heresie of *Pelagius* to ascribe so much power to the will of man, in laying hold upon the means of his Salvation, *Ut gratiam Dei necessariam non putaret*, that he thought the Grace of God to be unnecessary, of no use at all. And *Luther* on the other side ascribed so little thereunto, that he published a Book, entitled, *De servo Arbitrio*, touching the servitude of the will; in which he held that there was no such thing as *Free-Will*; that it was a meer fiction, *Et nomen sine re*, a thing only titular, but of no existency in nature, that a man is forcibly drawn to heaven, *Velut inanimatum quiddam*, No otherwise than a senseless stock, or an unreasonable creature. The like we find to be declared by the *Contra-Remonstrants*, in the *Collatio Hagienfis*, by whom there was no more ascribed to the will of man in the work of his own *Regeneration*, or in the raising of himself from the death of Sin, to the life of Righteousness, than they did ascribe unto him in his generation to the life of nature, or in his Resurrection from the Dead to life eternal. For thus they say, *Sicut ad natiuitatem suam nemo de sua quicquam confert; neque ad sui excitationem ex mortuis nemo quicquam confert de suo; ita etiam ad conversionem suam, nemo homo quicquam confert, sed est purum putum opus ejus gratia Dei in Christo, quae in nobis operatur, non tantum potentiam credendi, sed etiam fidem ipsam.* Which monstrous *Paradox* of theirs was afterwards inserted

ed in the Canons of the *Synod of Dort*: against which that divine saying of *St. Augustine* may be fitly used, *Si non est gratia Dei, quomodo salvat mundum? Si non est liberum Arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum?* If there be no grace of God (saith he) by what means can he save the world? if there be no *Free-Will* in man, with what equity can he condemn it? Of the same temper is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: For first, she thus declares against the *Pelugians* in the first clause of the 10th. Article, "That the condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good *Works* to *Faith* and calling upon God. And secondly, she declares thus against *Luther* in the second clause of that Article, *viz.* "That without the Grace of God by Christ preventing, that we may have a good will and working with us; when we have that good will, we have no power to do good works, which are pleasing and acceptable unto God: and thereupon it must needs follow, that by the freedom of mans will, co-operating with *grace preventing*, and by the *subsequent Grace* of God co-operating with the will of man, we have a power of doing such works as may be acceptable and pleasing to our heavenly Father: which may be further evidenced by this Collect after the Communion, *viz.* "Prevent us O Lord in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in thee, we may glorifie thy Holy Name, and finally by thy Mercy obtain life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The temper of *St. Augustine* in it.

Approved and imitated in the Articles of the Church of ENGL.

and

Her Publick Liturgie.

36. Now that both the last clause of the Article, and the whole Collect in the *Liturgie* are to be understood no otherwise then as it is before laid down, appears by this Gloss of *Bishop Hooper* on that Text of *St. John*, *viz.* *No man cometh to me except my Father draw him*, chap. 6. 44. Many (saith he) understand the words in a wrong sense; as if God required no more in a reasonable man, than in a *dead post*, and mark not the words which follow, "Every man that heareth and learneth of my Father cometh to me: God draweth with his word, and the Holy Ghost, but mans duty is to hear and learn, that is to say, to receive the grace offered, consent to the promise, and not repugn the God that calleth. The like occurs in *Bishop Latimers* Sermon on the *Sunday* commonly called *Septuagesima*; in which we find, "That seeing the preaching of the Gospel is universal, it appeareth that God would have all mankind saved; and that the fault is not in him if they be damned: for it is written thus, *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*. God would have all men be saved, but we are so wicked of our selves, that we refuse the same, and will not take notice when it is offered to us. It cannot be denied, but that the same Doctrine is maintained by the *Arminians* (as they call them) and that it is the very same with that of the Church of *Rome*, as appears by the Council of *Trent*, cap. *De fructu justificationis, & merito bonorum operum*, Can. 3. 4. But then it must be granted also, that it is the Doctrine of the *Melancthonian Divines*, or *Moderate Lutherans*, as was confessed by *Andreas Vega*, one of the chief sticklers in the Council of *Trent*, who on the agitating of the point did confess ingenuously that

XXXVI.
The Churches Doctrine vindicated and explained by *Bishop Hooper*,

and

by *Bishop Latimer*;

as also

by the *Lutheran Churches*,

there was no difference betwixt the *Lutherans* and that Church touching that particular. And then it must be granted also, that it was the Doctrine of *St. Augustine*, according to that divine saying of his, *Sine gratia Dei praeveniente, ut volumus, & subsequente ne frustra volumus, ad pietatis opera nil valemus*: so that if the Church of *England* must be *Arminian*, and the *Arminians* must be *Papist*, because they agree together in this particular, the *Melanthonian* Divines among the *Protestants*, yea and *St. Augustine* himself must be *Papist* also.

and

St. Augustine himself.

XXXVII.
The Churches
Doctrine in
the point of
Falling away,Made clear
by some ex-
pressions of
Bishop Hooper,Of Bishop
Latimer.

and

The Con-
ference at
Hampton-
Court.

37. Such being the freedom of the *will*, in laying or not laying hold upon those means which are offered by Almighty God for our Salvation; it cannot be denied, but that there is a freedom also of the will, in standing unto Grace received, or departing from it: Certain I am that it is so resolved by the Church of *England* in the 16th. Article for Confession, in which it is declared, “ That after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from *Grace* given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives; which is the very same with that of the 14th. Article in King *Edward’s* Book of the year 1557. where plainly the Church teacheth a possibility of falling or departing from the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us; and that our rising again, and the amending of our lives upon such a rising, is a matter of contingency only, and no way necessary on Gods part to assure us of. Conform to which we find Bishop *Hooper* thus discoursing in the said Preface to his exposition of the Ten Commandments, “ The cause of *Rejection* or *Damnation* (saith he) is sin in man, which *will not bear*, neither receive the promise of the Gospel; or else after he hath received it, by accustomed doing of ill, *falleth* either into a contempt of the Gospel, and will not study to live thereafter; or else hateth the Gospel, because it condemneth his ungodly life. And we find Bishop *Latimer* discoursing thus in his eighth Sermon in *Lincolnshire*, “ Those persons (saith he) that be not come yet to Christ, or if they were come to Christ, be *fallen again from him*, and so *lost their Justification* (as there be many of us when we *fall willingly* into sin against Conscience) we *lose the favour of God*, our *salvation*, and *finally* the *Holy Ghost*. And before (c. 6.) thus, But you will say (saith he) How shall I know that I am in the *Book of Life*? How shall I try my self to be the *Elect* of God to everlasting life? I answer, First, We may know that we may be one time in the *Book*, and another time *come out again*, as it appeareth by *David*, who was written in the *Book of Life*: but when he sinned, he at that time was *out of the Book* of the *favour of God*, until he repented, and was sorry for his faults: so that we may be in the *Book* one time, and afterwards when we forget God and his Word, and do wickedly, we come out of the *Book*, that is, out of Christ who is the *Book*. Which makes the point so clear and evident on the Churches part, that when it was moved by Doctor *Reynolds* at *Hampton-Court*, that the words, *Nec totaliter, nec finaliter*, might be added into the Clause of that Article, the motion was generally rejected, and the Article left standing in the same terms, in which it then stood. By which we may the better

judge

judge of some strange expressions amongst the most *Rigid* sort of the *Contra-Remonstrants*, especially of that of *Roger Dontelock*, by whom it is affirmed, that if it were possible for any one man to commit all the sins over again which have been acted in the world, it would neither frustrate his Election, nor alienate him from the love and favour of Almighty God: for which consult the *Appendix to the Piece or Declaration, Sententiæ Remonstrantium*, Printed at *Leyden, Anno 1616*.

38. Such is the Doctrine of this Church, and such the Judgment of those Reverend Bishops, and right godly Martyrs in the Predestinarian Controversies, before remembered. And though I have insisted on those two alone, yet in theirs I include the Judgment of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and the rest of those learned men who laboured in the great work of the Reformation. Some difference there had been betwixt *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, on the one side, and *Hooper* only on the other in matter of Ceremony, in which *Hooper* at the last submitted to the other two. But in all the Doctrinal truths of their Religion there was a full consent between them: which appears plainly in this passage of a Letter sent from *Ridley* to *Hooper*, when they were both prisoners for the same cause, though in several places. “But now
 “my dear Brother (saith he) forasmuch as I understand by your
 “works, which I have but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree,
 “and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds
 “and substantial points of our Religion, against which the world so
 “rageth in these our days: Howsoever in times past, in certain by-
 “matters, and circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom, and my sim-
 “plicity (I grant) have a little jarred; each of us following the
 “abundance of his own sense and Judgment. Now I say, be you as-
 “sured, that even with my whole heart (God is my witness) in the
 “Bowels of Christ I love you in truth, and for truths sake, which
 “abideth in us, and I am perswaded by the Grace of God, shall abide
 “in us for evermore. *Acts and Mon. in Edw. VI. fol. 1366*. Now as
 Bishop *Ridley* thus declares himself to be of the same Judgment with
 Bishop *Hooper*, so *Cranmer* the Archbishop doth declare himself to be
 of the same Judgment with Bishop *Ridley*: for being charged in his
 examination with thinking otherwise in the point of the Sacrament
 then he had done about seven or eight years before, he answereth,
 “That he then believed otherwise than he did at that present, and that
 “he did so till the Lord of *London*, Dr. *Ridley*, did confer with him;
 “and by sundry perswasions and Authorities of other Doctors, drew
 “him quite from his opinion, with whom he now agreed, *ibid. fol.*
 1702. Which words though spoken only in relation to such points
 about the Sacrament of the *Altar*, concerning which he was then ex-
 amined by the Popes Commissioners; yet do they signifie withal that
 he relyed very much on *Ridley*s Judgment, and that they were as like
 to be accorded in all other matters of Religion, as they were in that.
 And though *Cranmer* exercised his Pen for the most part against the
 Papists, yet in his Book against *Steven Gardiner, Concerning the Sa-
 crament of Christs Body and Blood*, first published in the year 1551. he
 thus delivereth his opinion in the present Controversies. For speak-

XXXVIII.
 The harmony
 and consent
 in Judgment
 between Bi-
 shop *Hooper*,
 and Bishop
Ridley,

and

Between Bi-
 shop *Ridley*
 and Archbi-
 shop *Cranmer*.

The judgment of Archbishop Cranmer in the point disputed.

ing of the Sacrifice which was made by Christ, he lets us know, " That he took unto himself not only their sins that many years before were dead, and put their trust in him; but also all the sins of those that until his coming again *should truly believe his Gospel*: so that now we may look for no other Priest, nor Sacrifice to take away our sins, but only him and his Sacrifice; that as he dying once was offered for all, so as much as pertained unto him, he took all mens sins unto himself, fol. 372. Which is as much as could be looked for from a man, who did not purposely apply himself to the points in question. Finally, it were worth the learning to know why the Paraphrases of *Erasmus* (a man of a known difference in Judgment from *Calvins* Doctrines in these points) should be translated into English by the care of our Prelates; and being so translated should be commended both by King *Edward VI.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, to the diligent reading of their Subjects of all conditions; which certainly they had not done, if they had not been thereunto perswaded by those Bishops, and other learned men about them, who had a principal hand in the Reformation; which clearly shews how much, as well the Priest as the people were to ascribe unto the Judgment of that learned man, and consequently how little unto that of *Calvin* in the present Controversies.

The authority ascribed to the Works of *Erasmus* by our first Reformers.

XXXIX. The Points which still remain in difference betwixt the Churches.

39. So near this Church comes up unto the Church of *Rome* in Government, forms of Worship, and some points of *Controversie*. And some there are in which they totally disagreed, and stood in opposition unto one another, viz. In the Articles touching the *sufficiency of the Scripture*, *Justification*, the *merit of good Works*, *Works* done before *Justification*, *Works of Supererogation*, the *Fallibility or Infallibility of the Church of Rome*; the *Authority of General Councils*, *Purgatory*, *Adoration of Images*, *Invocation of Saints*, the *Celebrating of Divine Service in the vulgar Tongues*; the nature and number of the *sacraments*, *Transubstantiation*, the *Communion in both kinds*, the *sacrifice of the Mass*, the *single life of Priests*, the *power of National Churches in ordaining Ceremonies*, and of the *Civil Magistrate in matters of Ecclesiastical nature*: In many of which it might be found no difficult matter to atone the differences, whensoever it shall please God to commit the managing of them to moderate and prudent men, who prefer truth before opinion, and peace before the prevalency of their several parties. But whether it be so in all, is a harder question, and will remain a question to the end of the world, unless all parties lay aside their private interest, and conscientiously reserve to yield as much to one another as may stand with Piety. And then what reason can there be, why the breaches in the walls of *Jerusalem* should not be made up? and being made up, why *Jerusalem* should not be restored to its former Honour, of being a *City at unity within it self*? The hopes of which may be the greater, because there are so many points (so far forth as they stand comprised in the Book of Articles) in which the first *Reformers* were so far from being at any difference with the Church of *Rome*, that they did rather joyn with them, in opposing the common Enemy, *Familists*, *Libertines*, *Anti-Trinitarians*,

How far with in the possibility of Reconciliation.

tarians, Anabaptists, and other Hereticks of that Age, who seemed to dig at the foundation of the Christian Faith, and aim at the subversion of humane Society; Of which sort are the *Articles* of the *Holy Trinity*, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the *Divinity* of the *Holy Ghost*, of the Old Testament, of the three *Creeeds*, of Original Sin, of the *Authority* of the Church, of ministring in the Congregation, of hindering the effect of the Sacraments by unworthy Ministers, of Infant-Baptism, and the *Traditions* of the Church; of the Consecration of *Bishops*, and *Ministers*; of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate in making Wars, and punishing *Malefactors* with *Temporal* Death; of the community of Goods, and the exacting of an Oath to find out the truth: Of most of which it may be said in St. *Augustines* language, *His qui contradicit, aut à Christi fide alienus est, aut est Hereticus*; that he who shall deny to give his assent unto them, is either an alien from the Faith, or at least an *Heretick*.

40. And then there are some other things which are not comprehended in those *Articles*, in which, though there were differences between them in point of Judgment, yet the Reformers thought not fit to determine of them positively upon either side, but left them to the liberty of opinion, to be disputed, *Pro* and *Con*, amongst learned men, according as their understandings fancy, or affections should dispose them to it: some points there are of *Philological*, and others of *Scholastical Divinity*, in which there is *Libertas opinandi*, a liberty of opinion left untous, *de quibus, sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias loqui liceat*, in the words of *Tacitus*. In these and such as these St. *Paul* himself seems to leave a latitude, when he gives way, *Ut quilibet abundet in suo sensu*, Rom. 14. 5. that is to say, *Let every man abound in his own sense*, as the *Rhemists* read it; especially, *If he be fully perswaded in his own mind* (touching the truth of what he writes) as our last Translation: Which *liberty* as some have taken, in closing with the *Papists* in some particulars, which are not contrary to the *Faith* and *Doctrine*, or to the establisht *Government*, and *Forms of Worship* of the Church of England, they are not for so doing to be branded by the name of *Papists*; or their writings to be censured and condemned for *Popish*, because perhaps they differ in those matters from the Churches of *Calvins Platform*; *Veritas à quocunque est, est à Spiritu sancto*, as divinely *Ambrose*. Truth is no more restrained to the Schools of *Calvin*, than to those of *Rome*; some truths being to be found in each, but not all in either. And certainly in this the first *Reformers* did exceeding wisely, in not tying up the judgments of learned men, where they might be freed; but leaving them a sufficient scope to exercise their wits and Pens, as they saw occasion. Had they done otherwise, and condemned every thing for *Popish*, which was either taught or used in the times of *Popery*, they must then have condemned the *Doctrine* of the *Trinity* it self, as was well observed by King *James* in the *Conference at Hampton-Court*: And then said he, *You (Dr. Reynolds) must go bare-foot, because they wore hose and shooes in time of Popery*, p. 75. Besides which inconvenience it must needs have followed, that by a general renouncing of all such things as have been taught and used by the Church of *Rome*,

And in what points they, joyn together against the Anabaptists and Sectaries.

XL.
Liberty of Opinion left in other Points by the first Reformers,

and

Their discretion in so doing:

Approved and commended by King James.

the

the Confession of the Church of *England*, must have been like that (both in condition and effect) which Mr. *Craig* composed for the Kirk of *Scotland*, of which King *James* tells us, p. 39. that with his, I renounce and I abhor his Detestations and *Protestations*, he did so amaze the simple people, that they (not able to conceive all those things) utterly gave over all, falling back to Popery, or still remaining in their former ignorance.

XLI.

41. Such was the Moderation that was used by our first *Reformers*, and on such Principles and Positions, did they ground this Church. Which I have laid down here at large, that so we may the better judge of those Deviations, which afterwards were made by factious and unquiet men; as also of the Piety of their endeavours, who aimed at the Reduction of her to her first condition. If the great *Prelate*, whom I write of, did either labour to *subvert* the *Doctrine* or *innovate* any thing, either in the Publick Government, or Forms of Worship, here by Law Established, contrary to the Principles and Positions before expressed; his Adversaries had the better Reason to clamor against him whilst he lived, and to pursue their clamors till the very last. But on the other side, if neither in his own person, or by the diligence and activity of his *subservient Ministers*, he acted or suffered any thing to be justified in point of Practice, or allowed any thing to be Preached or Prayed, or hindred any thing from being Published or Preached, but what may be made good by the Rules of the Church, and the complexion of the times in which he lived; those foul Reproaches, which so unjustly and uncharitably have been laid upon him, must return back upon the Authors, from whom they came, as stones thrown up against the Heavens, do many times fall upon the heads of those that threw them. But whether side deserved the blame for innovating in the *Doctrine*, *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Anglican Church*, according to the first Principles and Positions of it; will best appear by the course of the ensuing History, Relation being had to this Introduction, which I have here placed in the front, as a Lamp or Candle (such as we find commonly in the Porches of Great Menshouses) to light the way to such as are desirous to go into them, that they may enter with delight, converse therein with pleasure, and return with safety.

CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death

OF
The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE

WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the
Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most
SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great Britain.*

PART I.

*Containing the History of his Life and Actions from the day of his
Birth, Octob. 7. 1573. to the day of his Nomination to the
See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633.*

LONDON,

Printed by J. M. for several Book-sellers in London, 1671.

THE HISTORY OF THE

HISTORY OF

Life and Death

OF THE

WILLIAM

OF

THE

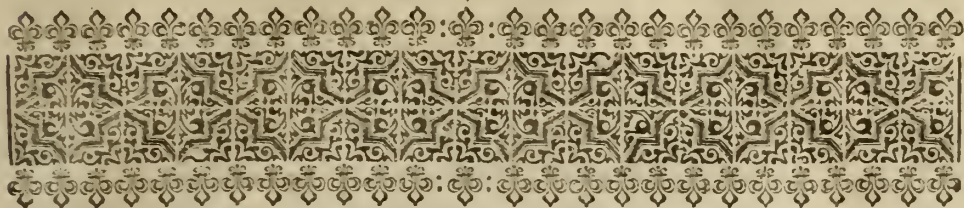
OF CHARLES

OF

1755

BY

THE



T H E
L I F E
O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. I.

*Extending from the time of his Birth, till his being made
Bishop of St. Davids.*



O Recommend unto Posterity the *Lives* and *Actions* of eminent and famous Persons, hath always been esteemed a work becoming the most able Pens. Nothing so much enobleth *Plutarch*, as his committing unto memory, the *Actions* and *Atchievements* of the most renowned *Greeks* and *Romans*; or added more unto the fame of *Diggenes Laertius*, than that which he hath left us of the *Lives* and *Apophthegms* of the old *Philosophers*. Some pains have fortunately been taken in this kind, by *Paulus Javins* Bishop of *Como*, and by *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the days of our Fathers. Nor can we be so little studied in the World, as not

PART I. to know, that even particular persons (I speak not here of Kings and Princes) have had their own particular and distinct *Historians*; by whom their Parts and Piety, their Military Exploits, or Civil Prudence, have been transmitted to the knowledge of succeeding Ages. So that adventuring on the *Life* of this famous *Prelate*, I cannot be without Examples, though without Encouragements. For what Encouragements can there be to such a work, in which there is an impossibility of pleasing all; more than an ordinary probability of offending many; no expectation of Reward, nor certainty of any thing but misconstructions, and Detractions, if not dangers also. Howsoever I shall give my self the satisfaction, of doing my last duty, to the memory of a man so Famous, of such a Publick Spirit in all his actions, so eminently deserving of the Church of *England*: With which profession of my Piety, and Ingenuity, I shall not be altogether out of hope, but that my Labours in this *Piece* may obtain a pardon, if they shall not reach to an Applause.

Anno Dom.
1573.

William Laud Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was born on the 7th. day of *October*, An. 1573. A year remarkable for the bustlings of the *Puritan* Faction, who before they had served an Apprentiship in the Trade of Sedition, began to set up for themselves; and seeing they could not have the countenance of Authority, to justify the advancing of their Holy Discipline, resolved to introduce it by little and little, as opportunity should be given them; which they did accordingly. His *Birth-place*, *Reading*, the principal Town of *Berks*, for Wealth and Beauty; remarkable heretofore for a stately and magnificent *Abby*, founded and liberally Endowed by King *Henry I.* and no less eminent in these last Ages for the Trade of Clothing, the Seminary of some Families of Gentry within that County. And of this Trade his Father was, who kept not only many *Looms* in his house, but many *Weavers*, *Spinners*, and *Fullers*, at continual work; living in good Esteem and Reputation amongst his Neighbours to the very last. His Mother *Lucy Webb*, was Sister to Sir *William Webb* Lord Mayor of *London*, Anno 1591. the Grand-Father of Sir *William Webb* not long since deceased: She was first Married to *John Robinson* a Clothier of the same Town also; but a Man of so good Wealth and Credit, that he Married one of his Daughters to Dr. *Cotsford*, and another unto Dr. *Layfield*, men of parts and worth; and left his youngest Son called *William*, in so good a way, that he came to be *Doctor of Divinity*, *Prebend of Westminster*, and *Archdeacon of Nottingham*, beside some other preferments which he dyed posselt of. Having buryed her Husband *John Robinson*, she was re-married unto *Laud*, this Archbishops Father, to whom she brought no other child than this Son alone; as if she had satisfied that duty which was owing to her second Marriage-bed, by bringing forth a Son, who was to be the Patriach (in a manner) of the *British Islands*.

He was not born therefore of such *Poor and (a) obscure Parents*, as the Publisher of his *Breviat* makes him, much less (b) *E fece plebis*, of the dregs of the People, as both he and all the rest of the Bishops were

(a b) *Brev. I.*
Lord Brook,
p. 3.

were affirmed to be by the late Lord *Brook* (who of all others had least Reason to upbraid them with it) in a book of his touching the nature of that *Episcopacy*, which had been exercised in *England*. A Speech becoming none so ill as him that spake it, whose Father in his best Preferment, was but Keeper of one of Sir *Fulk Grevill's* Parks, though the Son had afterwards the good fortune to succeed that noble Gentleman in his Lands and Honours. But granting that he had been born of as *poor and obscure Parents* as those Authors make him ; yet must it needs add to the commendation of his parts and industry, who from so mean and low a Birth, had raised himself into such an eminent height of Power and Glory, that no Bishop or Archbishop, since the Reformation, had attained the like. The greatest Rivers many times have the smallest Fountains, such as can hardly be found out, and being found out, as hardly quit the cost of the discovery ; and yet by long running and holding on a constant and continual course, they become large, navigable, and of great benefit unto the Publick. Whereas some Families may be compared to the *Pyramids* of *Ægypt*, which being built on great Foundations, grow narrower and narrower by degrees, until at last they end in a small *Conus*, in a point, in nothing. For if we look into the Stories of the Times foregoing, we shall find that poor and obscure Cottages have bred Commanders to the Camp, Judges unto the Seats of Justice, Counsellors to the State, Peers to the Realm, and Kings themselves unto the Throne, as well as *Prelates* to the Church ; when such as do pretend to a nobler birth, do many times consume themselves in effeminate Luxuries, and waste their Fortunes in a Prodigal and Libidinous course ; which brings into my mind the Answer made by Mr. *Pace* (one of the Secretaries to King *Henry 8.*) to a Nobleman about the Court ; For when the said Nobleman had told him, in contempt of Learning, *That it was enough for Noblemens Sons to wind their Horn, and carry their Hawk fair, and to leave Study and Learning to the Children of mean men* ; Mr. *Pace* thereunto replied, *Then his Lordship and the rest of the Noblemen must be content to leave unto the Sons of meaner persons the managing of Affairs of Estate, when their own Children please themselves with winding their Horns, and managing their Hawks, and other Follies of the Country.*

LIB. I.

Anno Domini

1573.

Cam. Rem.
p. 273. last
Edit.

But yet notwithstanding, such was the envy of the Times, that he was frequently upbraided in the days of his Greatness, as well (in common Speech) as scattered Libels, with the *mean* condition of his birth. And I remember that I found him once in his Garden at *Lambeth*, with more than ordinary Trouble in his Countenance ; of which not having confidence enough to enquire the Reason, he shewed me a Paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed sheet of a Scandalous *Libel* which had been stopped at the Press, in which he found himself reproach'd with so base a Parentage, as if he had been raked out of the Dunghil, adding withal, that though he had not the good fortune to be born a Gentleman, yet he thank'd God he had been born of honest Parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind them. And thereupon beginning to clear up his countenance, I told him as presently as I durst,

PART I. that *Pope Sextus* the Fifth, as stout a *Pope* as ever wore the Triple Crown, but a poor mans Son, did use familiarly to say in contempt of such *Libels* as frequently were made against him, That he was *domo natus illustri*, because the Sun-beams passing through the broken walls and ragged Roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely Cottage in which he was born; with which facetiousness of that *Pope* (so applicable to the present occasion) he seemed very well pleased.

1589.

But to go forwards with our Story, Having escaped a dangerous Sickness in his Childhood, he was trained up (as soon as he was fitted for it) in the Free Grammar-School of *Reading*; in which he profited so well, and came on so fast, that before he was sixteen years of age (which was very early for those times) he was sent to *Oxon*, and entred a Commoner in *St. John's College*, and there committed to the tuition of Mr. *Buckridge*, one of the Fellows of that College, and afterwards the worthy *President* of it. It proved no ordinary happiness to the Scholar to be principled under such a *Tutor*, who knew as well as any other of his time how to employ the two-edged Sword of holy Scripture, of which he made good proof in the times succeeding, brandishing it on the one side against the *Papists*, and on the other against the *Puritans* or *Non-conformists*. In reference to the first it is said of him in the general by Bishop *Godwin*, (d) That he endeavoured most industriously both by preaching and writing to defend and propagate the true Religion, here by Law established: Which appears plainly by his Learned and Laborious Piece entituled, *De potestate Papæ, in temporalibus*, printed at *London*, Anno 1614. in which he hath so shaken the foundation of the *Papal Monarchy*, and the pretended Superiority of that *See* over Kings and Princes, that none of the Learned Men of that party did ever undertake a Reply unto it. With like success, but with less pains unto himself, he managed the Controversie concerning Kneeling at the Lords Supper, against those of the *Puritan Faction*; the piety and antiquity of which Religious posture in that holy Action, he asserted with such solid Reasons and such clear Authorities, in a Treatise by him published Anno 1618. that he came off without the least opposition by that Party also. But before the publishing of these Books, or either of them, his eminent Abilities in the Pulpit had brought him into great credit with King *James*; in somuch that he was chosen to be one of the four (Dr. *Andrews* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Barlow* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *King* then Dean of *Christ-church*, and not long after Bishop of *London*, were the other three) who were appointed to preach before his Majesty at *Hampton-court* in the Month of *September* 1606. for the reduction of the two *Melvins*, and other *Presbyterian Scots* to a right understanding of the Church of *England*: In the performance of which Service he took for his Text those words of the Apostle, *Let every soul, &c.* Rom. 13. 1. In canvassing whereof he fell upon the point of the Kings *Supremacy* in causes *Ecclesiastical*; which he handled, (e) (as the most Reverend Archbishop *Spotwood* (who was present at the Sermon) hath informed us of him) "both learnedly and soundly, to the satisfaction of all the hearers; but that the *Scottish* Ministers seemed very much grieved

(d) Et tam scribendo, quam concionando veritatem Evangelicam haud segnitè satagit propugnare. Godwin. Catal. Episc. 584.

(e) Hist. of Scot. lib. 7. p. 497.

“grieved to hear the *Pope* and the *Presbytery* so often equalled in their
 “opposition to *Sovereign Princes*. *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*,
 “*Lib. VII. pag. 497.* And though the other three, with the like abi-
 lities and elocution had discharged their parts, yet gained they nothing
 on the *Scots*, who were resolved, like the *deaf Adder* in the *Psalmist*,
not to give ear unto the Charmers, charmed they never so wisely. But
 whatsoever they lost in the opinion of that proud and refractory Ge-
 neration, they gained exceedingly on the King, and great Preferments
 for themselves, *Bishops Andrews* being not long after removed to the
 See of *Ely*, *Bishop Barlow* unto that of *Lincoln*, *Dr. King* preferred to
 the See of *London*, and *Dr. Euckridge* to that of *Rochester*, where he
 continued till the year 1627. when by the power and favour of this
 his present *Pupil* (then *Bishop of Bath and Wells*) he was translated to
 the rich *Bishoprick of Ely*, in which See he dyed.

LIB. I.
 Anno Dom.
 1589.


Of this man I have spoken the more at large, that finding the temper
 of the *Tutor*, we may the better judge of those ingredients which went
 to the making up of the *Scholar*. Having spent about a year in his
 Colledge, there was raised such a good report of him in the Town of
Reading, that partly by his own proficiencies, and partly by the good
 esteem which was had of his Father, he was nominated by the Mayor
 and others of that Corporation unto a Scholars place in that House,
 according to the Constitutions of *Sir Tho. White*, the Honourable and
 sole Founder of it, who though he had designed the *Merchant-Taylors*
School in London for the Chief Seminary of his Colledge, yet being a
 man of a more publick Spirit, than to confine himself to any one place,
 he allowed two Fellowships to the City of *Coventry*, and as many to
Bristol, two also to the Town of *Reading*, and one to *Tunbridge*. Ad-
 mitted a Scholar of the House on this nomination, at the end of three
 years (according to the Custom of that Colledge) he was made one
 of the Fellows, taking his *Academical Degrees* according to that cus-
 tom also; by which custom those of that Society are kept longer
 from taking their Degrees in the Arts, but are permitted to take their
 Degrees in Divinity much sooner than in other Houses; so that al-
 though he proceeded not Master of Arts till the month of *July 1599.*
 yet at the end of five years only he took the Degree of *Bachelour in*
Divinity, without longer stay; during which interval he was first
 made *Deacon*, and afterwards was put into the Order of *Priesthood* by
Dr. Young then *Bishop of Rochester*, the See of *Oxon.* being vacant, in
 which vacancy it had continued for the space of 11 years, that is to
 say, from the death of *Bishop Underhill*, *An. 1592.* till the Consecra-
 tion of *Dr. Bridges* on the twelfth of *February, An. 1603.* The Patri-
 mony of that Church being in the mean time much dilapidated and
 made a prey (for the most part) to the Earl of *Essex*, to whom it pro-
 ved as miserably fatal, as the Gold of *Tholouse* did of old to the Soul-
 diers of *Cepio*.

1590.
 1593.
 1599.

And now being fallen upon his Studies in Divinity, in the exercise
 whereof he met with some affronts and oppositions, it will be necessary
 to take a short view of the then present Estate of that University, that
 so we may the better discern the Reasons of those affronts and opposi-
 tions

PART I. tions under which he suffered. Know then, that Mr. *Laurence Humphrey*, one of the Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, being deprived of his Fellowship there in *Queen Maries* time, betook himself to the City of *Zurich*, a City of chiefest note amongst the *Switzers*, remarkable for the Preachings and Death of *Zuinglius*; from whence, and from the Correspondence which he had at *Geneva*, he brought back with him at his returning into *England* on *Queen Maries* death, so much of the *Calvinian*, both in Doctrine and in Discipline, that the best that could be said of him, by (f) one who commonly speaks favourably of all that Party, is, that he was a moderate and conscientious Non-conformist. Immediately on his return he was by *Queen Elizabeth* made *President* of *Magdalen Colledge*, and found to be the fittest man (as certainly he was a man of very good parts, and the Master of a pure Latine style) for governing the *Divinity Chair*, as her Majesties Professor in that Faculty; in which he continued till the year 1596. and for a great part of that time was *Vice-chancellor* also. By which advantages he did not only stock his Colledge with such a generation of *Non-conformists*, as could not be wormed out in many years after his decease; but sowed in the *Divinity Schools* such seeds of *Calvinism*, and laboured to create in the younger Students such a strong hate against the *Papists*, as if nothing but Divine Truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations to be seen in the other. And though *Dr. John Holland* Rector of *Exeter Colledge*, who succeeded *Humphries* in the *Chair*, came to it better principled than his Predecessor, yet did he suffer himself to be born away by the violent current of the times, contrary in some cases to his own opinion.

And yet as zealous as Doctor *Humphries* shewed himself against the *Papists* (inasmuch as he got the title of a *Papisto-Mastix*) he was not thought, though seconded by the Lady *Margarets* Professor for that University, to make the distance wide enough betwixt the Churches. A new Lecture therefore must be founded by Sir *Francis Walsingham* Principal Secretary of Estate, a man of Great Abilities in the Schools of *Policy*, and extreme hater of the *Ropes* and Church of *Rome*, and no less favourable unto those of the *Puritan* Faction. The design was to make the Religion of the Church of *Rome* more odious, and the differences betwixt them and the *Protestants* to appear more irreconcilable than before they did. And that he might not fail of his purpose in it, the Reading of this Lecture was committed to Doctor *John Reynolds* President of *Corpus Christi Colledge*, a man of infinite Reading, and as vast a Memory; who having lived sometimes in one of our *English* Seminaries beyond the Seas, declared himself as profest a *Papist*, and as eager in the pursuit of that way, as any other whatsoever: But being regained unto this Church by his Brother *William*, who lost himself in the encounter, he thought he could not sufficiently express his detestation of the errors and corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, but by running to the other extreme, and making himself considerable amongst the *Puritans*. On which account, as he became very gracious to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, so was he quickly made the Spiritual Head of the *Puritan* Faction; in which capacity he managed their business for them

Anno Dom.
1600.

(f) Full.
Hist. lib. 9.
P. 234.

in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, Anno 1603. where he appeared the principal if not onely Speaker, the other three (that is to say, *Spark*, *Chadderton*, and *Knewslubs*) serving no otherwise than as Mutes and Cyphers to make up the mess.

LIB. I.
Anno Dom.
1600.

By the power and practices of these men, the disposition of those times, and the long continuance of the Earl of *Leicester* (the principal Patron of that Faction) in the place of *Chancellor*, the face of that University was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of *England*, according to the Principles and Positions upon which it was at first Reformed. All the *Calvinian* Rigors in matters of *Predestination*, and the Points depending thereupon, received as the Established Doctrines of the Church of *England*; the necessity of the one Sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto mans salvation, not only disputed, but denied; the Article of Christs local descent into hell, so positively asserted in two Convocations, Anno 1552. and 1562. at first corrupted with false Glosses, afterwards openly contradicted, and at last totally disclaimed, because repugnant to the Fancies of some Foreign Divines, though they at odds amongst themselves in the meaning of it; *Episcopacy* maintained by halves, not as a distinct Order from that of the *Presbyters*, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that, for fear of giving scandal to the Churches of *Calvins Platform*; the Church of *Rome* inveighed against as the *Whore of Babylon*, or the *Mother of Abominations*; the *Pope* as publickly maintained to be *Antichrist*, or the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief Articles of the Christian Faith; and then for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the Church must be no otherwise maintained, than by looking for it in the scattered *Conventicles* of the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Albigenses* in *France*, the *Huffites* in *Bohemia*, and the *Wickliffists* among our selves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the *Forms* and *Orders* of this Church, than there had been for points of Doctrine, the Surplice so refused in officiating the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine Service of the Church so slubbered over in most of the Colleges, that the *Prelates* and *Clergie* assembled in Convocation, Anno 1603. were necessitated to frame two *Canons*, that is to say, *Can. 16, 17.* to bring them back again to the ancient practice; particularly, the bowing at the Name of *JESVS*, commanded by the Injunctions of *Queen Elizabeth*, Anno 1559. and used in most Churches in the Kingdom, so much neglected and decryed, that *Airy* (g) *Provost* of *Queens College* writ a Tract against it; the Habits of the Priests, by which they were to be distinguished from other men, (not only by the *Queens Injunctions*, but also by some following *Canons* made in Convocation) so much despised, and laid aside, that *Doctor Reynolds* had the confidence to appear in the Conference at *Hampton-Court* in his *Turkey Gown*, and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the University: And in a word (b) the Books of *Calvin* made the Rule by which all men were to square their Writings, his only word (like the *ipse dixit* of *Pythagoras*) admitted for the sole Canon to which they were

(g) *Cart. Dome. p.*
469.

(h) *Hooker Preface.*

PART I. to frame and conform their Judgments, and in comparison of whom the
Anno Dom. Ancient Fathers of the Church (men of Renown, and the Glories of
 1600. their several Times) must be held contemptible; and to offend a-
 gainst this *Canon*, or to break this Rule, esteemed a more unpardonable
 Crime, than to violate the Apostles *Canons*, or dispute the Doctrines
 and Determinations of any of the four first general Councils; so as it
 might have proved more safe for any man, in such a general deviation
 from the Rules and Dictates of this Church, to have been look'd upon
 as an *Heathen* or *Publican*, than an *Anti-Calvinist*.

(i) *Eamuser-
 go, quia sic
 placet, in
 communes
 errores.*
*Ludo. Vives
 in Aug. de
 Civit. Dei.
 Nisi quod ex
 illa ipsa do-
 ctрина, catho-
 lici Patres
 & veteres
 Episcopi col-
 legerint.*
 (k) *Lib. Can.
 cap. De con-
 cionat. p. 19.*

But *Laud* was of a stronger Metal than to give up himself so tamely,
 and being forged and hammered on a better Anvil, would not be
 wrought on by the times, or captivate his Understanding to the Names
 of Men, how great soever they appeared in the eyes of others. Nor
 would he run precipitately into common Opinions (for common Opi-
 nions many times are but common Errors) as *Calderinus* is reported to
 have gone to (i) *Masi*, because he would not break company with the
 rest of his friends. His Studies in Divinity he had founded on the
 Holy Scriptures, according to the Glosses and Interpretations of the
 ancient Fathers; for doing which he had the countenance and directi-
 on of a *Canon* made in *Convocation*, *Anno 1571*. by which it was ap-
 pointed, That in interpreting the Scriptures, they were to raise no o-
 ther Doctrines from them than what had been collected thence from
 the ancient Fathers, and other godly Bishops of the primitive times.

(k) And laying to this Line the establish'd doctrines and determinati-
 ons of the Church of *England*, it was no hard matter to him to discern
 how much the Church had deviated from her self, or most men rather
 from the Church, in those latter times; how palpably the Articles had
 been wrested from the *Literal* and *Grammatical* sence, to fit them to the
 sence of particular persons; how a different construction had been put
 upon them, from that which was the true and *genuine* meaning of the
 men that framed them, and the Authority which confirmed them; and
 finally, that it would be a work of much glory, but of much more mer-
 rit, to bring her back again to her native Principles. But then withal,
 it was as easie to discern how desperate an attempt it must needs appear
 for a single man, unseconded, and not well befriended, to oppose him-
 self against an Army; how vain a thing to strive against so strong a
 stream, and cross the current of the times; that the disease by long
 neglect was grown so natural and habitual, that more mischief might
 be feared from the Medicine, than from the Malady; that he must
 needs expose himself to many Censures and Reproaches, and possibly
 to some danger also by the undertaking. But these last considerations
 being weighed in the Scale of the *sanctuary*, appeared so light, that he
 was resolved to try his fortune in the work, and to leave the issue
 thereof unto God, by whom *Paul's planting* and *Apollo's watering* do re-
 ceive increase.

1602.

For being thus resolved upon the point, it was not long before he had
 an opportunity to set it forwards. He had before attained unto an high
 esteem for Arts and Oratory, and was conceived to have made so
 good a proficiency in the Studies of Divinity also, that in the year 1602.

he

he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, with the general liking of that College. With the like general consent and approbation he was chosen out of all the rest of that Society to be a *Candidate* for the *Proctorship* in the University, into which Office he was chosen on the fourth of *May*, 1603. which was as soon as he was capable of it by the University Statutes; which Office he discharged with great applause as to himself, and general satisfaction unto others. Doctor *George Abbot* Master of *University* College (who afterwards attained to the See of *Canterbury*) was at that time *Vice-chancellor* of the University, whom with the rest of the Doctors and *Heads* of Houses he accompanied to *Woodstock* Mannor, to present themselves and tender their most humble service to the most Mighty Prince King *James*, succeeding on the 24th. of *March* before to the Crown of *England*: And in this year it was (but whether in reading of the Lecture of Mrs. *May's* Foundation, or some other *Chappel Exercise*, I am not able to say) he maintained the constant and perpetual *visibility* of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of *Rome*, continued in that Church (as in others of the *East* and *South*) till the *Reformation*. Dr. *Abbot* Master of *University* College, and *Vice-chancellor*, was of a different opinion, and could not find any such *visibility* of the Christian Church, but by tracing it as well as he could from the *Berengarians* to the *Albigenses*, from the *Albigenses* to the *Wickliffists*, from the *Wickliffists* unto the *Hussites*, and from the *Hussites* unto *Luther* and *Calvin*; for proof whereof, we may consult a Book of his, entituled, *The Visibility of the Church*, published in those busie Times when this impertinent Question, *viz. Where was your Church before Luther?* was as impertinently insisted on by the Priests and Jesuites. This being his opinion also when he lived in *Oxon*, he thought it a great derogation to his Parts and Credit, that any man should dare to maintain the contrary, and thereupon conceived a strong grudge against him, which no tract of time could either abolish or diminish.

In the next year, *viz.* 1604. he performed his Exercise for *Batchelor of Divinity*, in which he maintained these two Points: First, *The necessity of Baptism*: Secondly, *That there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops*: For which last he was shrewdly ratted by Doctor *Holland* above-mentioned, as one that did endeavour to cast a bone of Discord betwixt the Church of *England*, and the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and for the first it was objected, That he had taken the greatest part of his *Supposition* out of *Bellarmines* Works, as if the Doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, or any necessary Truths, were to be renounced because they are defended by that Learned Cardinal. But misfortunes seldom come alone, if at the least it may be counted a misfortune to be reproach'd for standing up in defence of truth: For not long after, *viz.* Anno 1606. he was questioned by Dr. *Airy*, being *Vice-chancellor* for that year, for a Sermon preached in *St. Maries* Church on the 26th. of *October*, as containing in it sundry scandalous and *Popish* passages; the good man taking all things to be matter of *Poperie*, which were not held forth unto

L I B. I.
Anno. Dom.
1602.
1603.

1604.

1606.

PART I. him in *Calvins Institutes*; conceiving that there was as much Idolatry in bowing at the name of *JESUS*, as in worshipping the *brazen Serpent*, and as undoubtedly believing that *Antichrist* was begotten on the Whore of *Babylon*, as that *Pharez* and *Zara* were begotten on the body of *Tamar*. Which advantage being taken by *Doctor Abbot*, he so violently persecuted the poor man, and so openly branded him for a *Papist*, or at least very *Popishly* inclined, that it was almost made an *Herese* (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a *misprision of Herese* to give him a civil Salutation as he walked the streets. But there will one day come a time, when *Doctor Abbot* may be made more sensible of these Oppressions, when he shall see this poor despised man standing upon the higher ground, and more above him in respect of power, than beneath in place: So unsafe a thing it is for them that be in Authority to abuse their power, and carry matters on to the last extremities, as if they had *Fortune* in a string, and could be sure to lead her with them whithersoever they went.

L. Decad. 3.
Epist.

This scandal being raised at *Oxon*, it was not long before it flew to *Cambridge* also, at what time *Mr. Joseph Hall* (who died Bishop of *Norwich* about the year 1657.) was exercising his Pen in the way of Epistles, in one of which inscribed to *Mr. W. L.* (the two first Letters of his Name) it was generally supposed that he aimed at him, and was this that followeth. "I would (*saith he*) I knew where to find you, "then I could tell how to take direct aims; whereas now I must pore "and conjecture. To day you are in the Tents of the *Romanists*, to "morrow in ours; the next day between both, against both. Our "Adversaries think you ours, we theirs; your Conscience finds you "with both, and neither. I flatter you not: This of yours is the worst "of all tempers: Heat and cold have their uses; Luke-warmness is "good for nothing, but to trouble the stomach. Those that are spi- "ritually hot, find acceptance; those that are stark cold, have a lesser "reckoning; the mean between both is so much worse, as it comes "nearer to good, and attains it not. How long will you halt in this "indifferency? Resolve one way, and know at last what you do hold, "what you should. Cast off either your wings or your teeth, and "loathing this Bat-like Nature, be either a Bird or a Beast. To die "wavering and uncertain, your self will grant fearful. If you must "settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? It is "dangerous deferring that whose want is deadly, and whose oppor- "tunity is doubtful. God cryeth with *Jehu*, *Who is on my side, who?* "Look at last out of your window to him, and in a resolute courage "cast down the *Jezebel* that hath bewitched you. Is there any impe- "diment which delay will abate? Is there any which a just answer "cannot remove? If you had rather waver, who can settle you? "But if you love not inconstancy, tell us why you stagger? Be plain, "or else you will never be firm, &c.

But notwithstanding these false bruits, and this smart Epistle, *Doctor Buckridge* who had been his *Tutor*, and from whom he received his Principles, had better assurance of his unfeigned sincerity in the true Prote-

Protestant Religion here by Law established, than to be so perswa- L I B. I.
 ded of him : he had not else preferred him to the service of Bishop *Anno. Dom.*
Neile, or recommended him to the Colledge, as the fittest man to suc- I 6 0 5.
 ceed him in the *Presidents* place, when he himself was at the point of
 his preferment to the See of *Rocheſter*. So also had the whole Body of
 the University, when they conferred upon him his Degrees in Divini-
 ty, which certainly they had never done, if either they had believed
 him to have been a *Papiſt*, or at the least so *Popiſhly* affected as the Fa-
 ction made him. Neither could he have taken those Degrees (had it
 been so with him) without a most perfidious dissimulation before God
 and man ; because in taking those Degrees, he must both take the
 Oath of *Supremacy*, and subscribe to the three Articles contained in
 the 36. *Canon* of the year 1603. In the first of which he was to have
 abjured the Popes Authority, and in the next to have declared his ap-
 probation of the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship estab-
 lished in the Church of *England* : Which may sufficiently serve to
 over-ballance the Depositions of *Sir. Nath. Brent* and Doctor *Featly*,
 the first of which deposed at his Tryal, *That whilst the Archbishop re- Cant. Doom;*
 mained in Oxon, he was generally reputed to be Popiſhly affected ; the p. 409.
 other, *Not only that the Archbishop was generally reported to be Popiſh*
when he lived in Oxon, but that both he and others conceived so of him.
 But both these men were *Abbot's* Creatures, and had received their
 Offices and Preferments from him ; I need say no more, for had he ei-
 ther been a *Papiſt*, or so strongly biassed on that side, what should have
 hindred him from making an open *Declaration* of it, or stop him from a
 reconciliation with the Church of *Rome* ? His Fellowship was not so
 considerable, but that he might presume of a larger Maintenance be-
 yond the Seas : Nor was he of such common parts, but that he might
 have looked for a better welcome, and far more civil usage there than
 he found at home. Preferments in the Church he had none at the pre-
 sent, nor any strong presumptions of it for the time to come, which
 might be a temptation to him to continue here against the clear light
 of his Understanding. And this may be a further Argument, not only
 of his unfeigned sincerity, but of his constancy and steadfastness in the
 Religion here established, that he kept his station ; that notwithstanding
 all those clamours under which he suffered, he was resolved to
 ride out the storm, and neither to desert the Barque in which he sailed,
 nor run her upon any of the *Roman Shores*. In this of a far better temper
 than *Tertullian* was, though as much provok'd, of whom it is reported
 by *Beatus Rhenamus*, That at first he only seemed to favour *Montanus*,
 or at the least not to be displeas'd with his proceedings : But after-
 wards being continually tormented by the tongues and pens of the
 Roman Clergy, (m) he fell off from the obedience of the Church, and
 became at last a downright *Montaniſt*. All which together make it
 plain, that it was not his design to desert the Church, but to preserve
 her rather from being deserted, to vindicate her by degrees from those
Innovations which by long tract of time, and the cunning practices of
 some men, had been thrust upon her. And being once resolved on
 this, the blustering winds which so raged against him, did rather fix him

(m) *Injuria*
 & contume-
 liis, R. E.
Clericorum
exagitatus in
Montani
partes tran-
sit. B. Rhen.
 in *Tertull.*

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1605.

(n) Collect.
of Speeches,
p. 5.

at the root, than either shake his resolution, or force him to desist from his purpose in it : And therefore it was well resolved by Sir *Edm. Dering*, (n) though his greatest enemy, *That he was always one and the same man ; that beginning with him at Oxon. and so going on to Canterbury, he was unmoved and unchanged ; that he never complied with the times, but kept his own stand until the times came up to him, as they after did.* Such was the man, and such the purpose of the man, whom his good friends in *Oxon.* (out of pure zeal no doubt we must take it so) had declared a *Papist*.

During these Agitations and Concussions in the *University*, there hapned an accident at *Wansteed* in the County of *Essex*, which made as great a noise as his being a *Papist* ; but such a noise as might have freed him from that Accusation, if considered rightly. In the year 1605. he had been made Chaplain to *Charles* Lord *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonshire*, a man in great favour with King *James* for his fortunate Victory at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*, by which he reduced that Realm to the obedience of this Crown, broke the whole Forces of the Rebels, and brought the Earl of *Tir-owen* a Prisoner into *England* with him. For which great Services he was by King *James* made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and one of the Lords of his Privy Council, created Earl of *Devonshire*, and one of the Knights of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*. This Gentleman being a younger Brother of *William* Lord *Mountjoy*, and known only by the name of Sir *Charles Blunt*, while his Brother lived, had bore a strong and dear affection to the Lady *Penelope* Daughter of *Walter* Earl of *Essex*, a Lady in whom lodged all attractive Graces of Beauty, Wit, and sweetness of Behaviour, which might render her the absolute Mistress of all Eyes and Hearts. And she so far reciprocated with him in the like affection (being a compleat and gallant man) that some assurances past between them of a future Marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger Brother, considerable only in his depending at the Court, chose rather to dispose her in Marriage to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, a man of an independent Fortune, and a known Estate, but otherwise of an uncourtly disposition, unfociable, austere, and of no very agreeable conversation to her. Against this *Blunt* had nothing to plead in Bar, the promises which passed between them being made in private, no Witnesses to attest unto it, and therefore not amounting to a pre-Contract in due form of Law.

But long she had not lived in the Bed of *Rich*, when the old flames of her affection unto *Blunt* began again to kindle in her, and if the Sonnet in the *Arcadia* (*A Neighbour mine not long ago there was, &c.*) be not too generally misconstrued, she made her Husband the sole instrument to acquaint him with it : But whether it were so or not, certain it is, that having first had their private meetings, they afterwards conversed more openly and familiarly with one another, than might stand with honour unto either ; especially when by the death of his elder Brother, the Title of Lord *Mountjoy*, and the Estate remaining to it, had accrued unto him : As if the alteration of his Fortune could either lessen the offence, or suppress the fame. Finding her, at his coming back from the Wars of *Ireland*, to be free from *Rich*, legally freed by a Divorce,

Divorce, and not a voluntary separation only, *à toro & mensa* as they call it; he thought himself obliged to make her some Reparation in point of Honour, by taking her into his Bosom as a Lawful Wife. Besides, he had some Children by her, before she was actually separated from the Bed of *Rich* (some of which afterwards attained to Titles of Honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capability of a Legitimation, by his subsequent Marriage, according to the Rule and Practice of the Civil Laws, in which it passeth for a Maxim, That *subsequens Matrimonium legitimat prolem*. And to that end he dealt so powerfully with his Chaplain, that he disposed him to perform the Rites of that Solemnization, which was accordingly done at *Wansted*, Decemb. 26. being the Festival of St. Steven Anno 1605.

LIB. I.
Anno Dom.
1605.

Nor did he want some Reasons to induce him to it (besides the persuasion of his Friends) which might have gained upon a man not so much concerned in it as he was, and may be used for his excuse, if not for his justification also. He found by the averment of the Parties, that some assurances of Marriage had passed between them, before she was espoused to *Rich*; which though they could not amount to a pre-Contract *in Foro Judicii*, in a Court of Judicature; yet he might satisfy himself in the truth thereof *in Foro Conscientiæ*, in the Court of his own private Conscience: And thereupon he might conclude, That being satisfied in the reality and truth of those Assurances, and finding that *Rich* had quitted his pretensions to her by a formal Sentence of Divorce, he might conceive it lawful for him to perform that Service which was required at his hands. He had found also three Opinions touching the lawfulness or unlawfulness of such Marriages, which are made after a Divorce: The first, *That such Marriages are lawful unto neither Party, as long as either of them liveth*; which is the Doctrine of the *Papists*, determined positively in the Council of Trent: The second, *That such Marriages are lawful to the Party wronged, but not unto the Guilty also*; which Opinion is maintained by some of the *Calvinists* and divers of the Ancient Writers: The third, *That both the innocent and the guilty Party may lawfully marry if they please*; which *Maldonate* (o) makes to be the general Opinions of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Ministers, as also of some *Catholick Doctors*. And then why might he not conceive that course most fit to be followed, in which all Parties did agree, than either of the other two, which was commended to him but by one Party only. And though he followed in this case the worst way of the three, yet may it serve for a sufficient Argument that he was no *Papist*, nor cordially affected unto that Religion, because he acted so directly against the Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of *Rome*. If any other considerations of Profit, Preferment, or Compliance, did prevail upon him (as perhaps they might) they may with Charity be looked on as the common incidencies of Humane frailty, from which the holiest and most learned men cannot plead Exemption.

(o) Maldons
in Mat. 19.9

But whatsoever motives either of them had to put a fair colour upon the business, certain it is, that it succeeded well with neither: The Earl found presently such an alteration in the Kings countenance towards

PART I. wards him, and such a lessening of the value which formerly had been
Anno Dom. set upon him, that he was put to a necessity of writing an Apology to
 1605. defend his action: But finding how little it edified both in Court and
 Country, it wrought such a sad impressiion on him, that he did not much
 survive the mischief, ending his life before the end of the year next
 following. Nor did the Chaplain brook it long without such a check
 of Conscience, as made him turn the Annual Festival of St. *Steven* into
 an Anniversary Fast, humbling himself from year to year upon that
 day before the Father of Mercies, and craving pardon for that Error
 which by the persuasions of some Friends, and other the temptations of
 flesh and blood, he had fallen into. And for this purpose he composed
 this ensuing Prayer.

Cant. Doom,
 29.

BEhold thy Servant, O my God, and in the bowels of thy mercy have
 compassion on me. Behold I am become a Reproach to thy holy
 Name, by serving my Ambition and the sins of others; which though I
 did by the persuasion of other men, yet my own Conscience did check and
 upbraid me in it. Lord I beseech thee for the mercies of Jesus Christ,
 enter not into Judgment with me thy Servant; but hear his blood implor-
 ing thy mercies for me: Neither let this Marriage prove a Divorcing of
 my Soul from thy grace and favour; for much more happy had I been,
 if being mindful of this day, I had suffered Martyrdom, as did St.
Steven the first of Martyrs, denying that which either my less faithful
 friends or less godly friends had pressed upon me. I promised to my self
 that the darkness would hide me, but that hope soon vanished away: Nor
 doth the light appear more plainly, than I that have committed that foul
 offence: Even so, O Lord, it pleased thee of thy infinite mercy to deject
 me with this heavy Ignominy, that I might learn to seek thy Name. O
 Lord how grievous is the remembrance of my sin to this very day, after
 so many and such reiterated Prayers poured forth unto thee from a sorrow-
 ful and afflicted Spirit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto me; hearken to the
 Prayers of thy humble and dejected Servant, and raise me up again O
 Lord, that I may not die in this my sin, but that I may live in thee here-
 after, and living evermore rejoyce in thee, through the merits and the
 mercies of Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Amen.

A brave example of a penitent and afflicted Soul, which many of us
 may admire, but few will imitate. And though I doubt not but that
 the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not so mercifully
 dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was so-frequently and re-
 proachfully cast in the way of his Preferment, that he was fain to make
 the Duke of Buckingham acquainted with the story of it, and by his
 means to possess King Charles his gracious Master with the truth thereof:
 So long it was before his Enemies had desisted from pressing this unhap-
 py Error to his disadvantage.

9 Bre. p.4.
 & p.6.

1608.

The Earl of Devonshire being dead, he was by Doctor *Buckridge* his
 most constant friend (*Anno 1608.*) commended to the Service of Do-
 ctor *Richard Neile*, then Bishop of *Rocheſter*, a man who very well un-
 derstood the Constitution of the Church of *England*, though otherwise
 not

not so eminent in all parts of Learning, as some other Bishops of his time: But what he wanted in himself, he made good in the choice of his Servants, having more able men about him from time to time than any other of that Age: Amongst which (not to reckon *Laud*, of whom now I speak) were Doctor *Augustine Linsell* Bishop of *Hereford*, Doctor *Thomas Jackson* President of *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxon.* and Dean of *Peterborough*, Doctor *John Cosen* Prebend of *Durham*, and Dean of *Peterborough* after *Jackson*, Doctor *Benjamin Lany* Master of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and Dean of *Rocheſter*, Doctor *Robert Newell* his half Brother, Prebend of *Weſtminſter* and *Durham*, and Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, Doctor *Gabriel Clarke* Prebend and Archdeacon of *Durham*, Doctor *Eliazer Duncum* one of the Prebends of *Durham* also, Mr. *Barlow* a right ſolid man, but not poſſeſſed of any Dignity in the Church to my beſt remembrance; and ſome others of good note, whoſe Names and Titles I cannot preſently call to mind. In the beginning of the Reign of King *James* (by the power and mediation of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*) he was made Clerk of the Cloſet to that King, that ſtanding continually at his Elbow, he might be ready to perform good offices to the Church and Church-men: And he diſcharged his truſt ſo well, that though he loſt the love of ſome of the Courtiers, who were too viſibly inclined to the *Puritan* Faction, yet he gained the favour of his Maſter, by whom he was preferred to the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards ſucceſſively to the Biſhopricks of *Rocheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Lincoln*, and *Durham*, one of the richeſt in the Kingdom; which ſhews that there was in him ſomething more than ordinary, which made that King ſo bountiful and gracious to him. Nor ſtaid he there, but by the Power and Favour of this his Chaplain, he was promoted in the Reign of King *Charles* to the See of *Winton*, and finally exalted to the *Metropolitan* See of *York*, where at laſt he died about the latter end of *October* 1640. None of his Chaplains received ſo much into his Counſels as Doctor *Laud* (to which degree he was admitted in the year 1608.) whom he found both an active and a truſty Servant, as afterwards a moſt conſtant and faithful friend upon all occaſions.

The firſt Eccleſiaſtical Preferment which fell unto him was the Vicarage of *Stamford* in *Northamptonſhire*: But having put himſelf into the Service of Biſhop *Neile*, he was by him preferred unto the Rectory of *Cuckſtone* in *Kent*, toward the latter end of *May* 1610. On the acceptance thereof he gave over his Fellowship in *October* following, that ſo he might more fully apply himſelf to the ſervice of his Lord and Patron. But *Cuckſtone* proving an unhealthy place, he exchanged it for another called *Norton*; a Benefice of leſs value, but ſituate in a better and more healthy Air: His Patron in the mean time being tranſlated to the See of *Litchfield* on the end of *September*, whoſe Fortunes he was reſolved to follow, till God ſhould pleaſe to provide otherwiſe for him: For firſt the Biſhop, before his going off from the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, which he held *in commendam* with his Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, obtained for him of King *James*, (to whom not otherwiſe known but by his Recommendation) the Reverſion of a Pre-

LIB. I.

Anno Dom.

1608.



1610.

bend

PART I. *bend* in that Church; which though it fell not to him until ten years
Anno Dom. after, yet it fell at last, and thereby neighbour'd him to the Court. And
 1610. on the other side, his good Friend and Tutor Doctor *Buckridge* being
 nominated Successor unto *Neile* in the See of *Rocheſter*, laid a good
 ground for his ſucceſſion in the *Preſidentſhip* of *St. John's* College,
 thereby to render him conſiderable in the Univerſity. But this was
 both ſuſpected and feared by *Abbot*, who being conſecrated Biſhop of
Coventry and *Litchfield* on the third of *December* 1609. and from thence
 removed to *London* in the end of *January* next enſuing, reſolved to
 hinder the deſign with all care and diligence: So natural a thing it is to
 hate the man whom we have wronged; to keep him down, whom we
 have any cauſe to fear, when we have him under. To which end he
 made great Complaints againſt him to *Thomas* Lord *Elſmer*, Lord
 Chancellor of *England* many years before, and newly then made
 Chancellor of that Univerſity, on the death of the Lord Archbiſhop
Bancroft, inſinuating to him, *That he was at the leaſt a Papiſt in heart,*
and cordially addiſted unto Popery; That he kept company with none but
profeſt and ſuſpected Papiſts; and, That if he were ſuffered to have any
place of Government in the Univerſity, it would undoubtedly turn to the
great Detriment of Religion, and Diſhonour of his Lordſhip. The Chan-
 cellor hereupon makes his Addreſs unto the King, informing him of
 all which had been told him concerning *Laud*, which was like to have
 deſtroy'd his hopes to that deſign (notwithſtanding his petition to the
 King to believe otherwiſe of him) if Biſhop *Neile* his conſtant and un-
 moveable Friend, had not acquainted his Maſteſty with the Abilities
 of the man, and the old grudge which *Abbot* had conceived againſt
 him.

This Bar being thus removed, the deſign for the Preſidentſhip went
 on; in the obtaining whereof, he found a greater difficulty than he
 had expected: *Rawlinſon*, once a Fellow of the ſame Houſe, and af-
 terwards Principal of *St. Edmonds Hall*, appearing a Competitor for
 it. Each of them having prepared his Party, the Fellows proceeded
 to an *Election*, *May* 10. *Anno* 1611. The *Scrutiny* being made, and the
 1611. *Election* at the point to be declared, one of the Fellows of *Rawlinſon's*
 Party, ſeeing which way the buſineſs was like to go, ſnatch'd up the
 Paper, and tore it ſuddenly in pieces. The Nomination being thus
 unhappily fruſtrated, an Appeal was made unto King *James*, who
 ſpent three hours in giving Audience to both parties; and upon full
 conſideration of the Proofs and Allegations on either ſide (notwith-
 ſtanding all the former practices and prejudices to incline him other-
 wiſe) he gave Sentence in behalf of *Laud*; which hapning on the 29th.
 of *Auguſt*, being the day of the beheading of *St. John Baptiſt*, by whoſe
 Name that College was entituled by the Founder of it, had given an
 occaſion unto ſome to look upon it as an *Omen* or *Prognofication*, that
 this new Head ſhould ſuffer death by being beheaded, as the other did.
 The King having thus paſſed Judgment for him, he was thereupon
 ſworn and admitted *Preſident*; and being ſo ſworn and admitted, he
 could not for example ſake but inflict ſome puniſhment on the party
 who had torn the *Scrutiny*: But knowing him for a man of hopeful
 Parts,

Parts, industrious in his Studies, and of a Courage not to be disliked, LIB. I. he not only released him from the Censure under which he lay, but *Anno Dom.* took him into special Favour, trusted him in all his weighty busineses, 1611. made him his Chaplain, and preferred him from one good Benefice to another, married him to his Brothers Daughter, and finally promoted him to the very *Presidentship* (which had been the first cause of that breach) and one of the best *Deanries* of the Kingdom. To such others of the Fellows as had opposed him in his Election to that place, he always shewed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees: But if he found any of them to be untractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would find some handsome way or other to remove them out of the Colledge, that others not engaged upon either side might succeed in their places. But notwithstanding all this care, the Faction still held up against him, the younger fry inclining to the same side which had been taken by their Tutors.

But whiles these things were in agitation, there hapned a great alteration in the Church of *England*, by the death of the most Reverend Archbishop *Bancroft*, who died on the second of *November* 1610. and with whom died the *Uniformity* of the Church of *England*. A man he was of eminent parts, and of a most undaunted spirit; one who well knew his work and did it. When Chaplain only to the Lord *Chancellor Hatton*, he piec'd himself with Doctor *Whitgift*, not long after his first coming to the See of *Canterbury*, to whom he proved a great support in gaining the Lord *Chancellor* for him, by whose assistance he was enabled to hold out against the over-ruling Power of the *Earl of Leicester*, the Patron-General of the Faction. In the year 1588. he Preached a Sermon at *Saint Paul's Cross*, and therein made an open Declaration of those manifold Dangers which the prevalency of that Faction would bring upon the Church and State, if they might be suffered; which blow he followed in a Book entituled, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings published and practised within this Island of Britain, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterian Discipline*: And in that Book he made such a perfect discovery of their Plots and Practices, and so anatomized them in every part, that he made them odious unto those who before had been their greatest Patrons. In the year 1593. he published another Treatise, entituled, *A Survey of the Pretended holy Discipline*, in which he so dissected the whole Body of *Calvin's Presbyterian Plat-form*, shewing the incoherencies of it in itself, and the inconsistencies thereof with *Monarchical Government*, that he took off the edge of many (and those Great ones too) who had not only seemed to like it, but had longed for it: The Plot was so laid down by *Whitgift*, that at the same time there should come out two other Books, the one written by Doctor *Thomas Bilson*, Warden of the Colledge near *Winton*, for proof of the Antiquity and perpetual Government of the Church by Bishops; the other by Doctor *Richard Cofens* a right Learned Civilian, in justification of the Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts. By which four Books the *Puritan Faction* was so

PART I. *muzzled*, that they were not able to *bark* in a long time after: nor do they
 Anno Dom. want their several and just Rewards for such good performances, *Bil-*
 1611. *son* being first made *Bishop* of *Worcester*, and not long after *Bishop* of
 Winton, *Bancroft* advanced to the See of *London*, and *Doctor Cosens*
 Vicar-general and Dean of the Arches, within few years after being
 consecrated *Bishop* of *London*, on the eighth of *May* 1597. he kept
 such a watchful eye over it, and held so strict a hand upon it, that
 from a receptacle and retreat of the *Grandeecs* of the *Puritan* party,
 it became almost as free from Faction as any other in the Kingdom:
 And knowing how much the Peace of this Church did depend upon
 it, he managed a secret Correspondency with King *James* in *Scotland*;
 insinuating unto him the necessity of conforming the Churches of
 both Kingdoms in Government and Forms of Worship, and laying
 down a plot for restoring *Episcopacy* to that kirk, without noise or trou-
 ble: Which counsel being advisedly followed by King *James* before
 his coming into *England*, was afterwards so well pursued (though
 not without some violent struggling of the *Presbyterians* of that King-
 dom) that on the 21. day of *October* in the year 1609. the designed
Bishops of *Glasgow*, *Brechen*, and *Gallo-Way* received Episcopal Con-
 secration in the Chappel of *London-house*, by the hands of *Doctor*
George Abbot then *Bishop* of *London*, *Doctor Lancelot Andrews* *Bi-*
shop of *Ely*, *Doctor James Montague* *Bishop* of *Bath* and *Wells*, and
Doctor Richard Neile then *Bishop* of *Rochester*; *Bancroft* himself for-
 bearing to lay hands upon them, for the avoiding of all scruples a-
 mongst the *Scots*, as if he pretended any Jurisdiction or Authority
 over them.

In the mean time, Anno 1603. he carried a chief hand in the *Con-*
ference at *Hampton-Court*, and had the sole management of the *Con-*
vocation of the same year also, in which he passed that excellent body
 of *Canons* and *Constitutions Ecclesiastical*, to serve for a perpetual
 standing Rule to the Church of *England*. Succeeding *Whitgift* in
 the See of *Canterbury*, Anno 1604. he resolved to put the *Canons*
 into execution, and pres'd it with so stout a courage, that few had
 confidence enough to stand out against him: Some of them did, and
 those he either depriv'd or silenc'd, and thereby terrified the rest to
 an open conformity. They saw too plainly that they must not dal-
 ly with his patience, as they did with *Whitgifts*; and that he was re-
 solved to *break* them, if they would not *bow*: And they did wisely
 in so *bowing*; for who could stand against a man of such a spirit, ar-
 med with Authority, having the Law on his side, and the King to
 friend, who had declared publicly in the (p) *Conference* at *Hampton-*
 Court, That if they would not conform, he would either hurry them
 out of the Kingdom, or else do worse? In the year 1608, he was
 chosen *Chancellor* at *Oxon*, and questionless would have set all things
 right in that University, if Sickness and the stroke of Death had not
 prevented his intendments. But die he must; and being dead, there
 was a Consultation amongst some of the *Bishops* and other Great
 men of the Court, whom to commend unto King *James* for his Suc-
 cessor in that see. They knew that *Montague* and *Abbot* would be
 venturing

(p) Conf. at
 Hamp. p. 35.

venturing at it, but they had not confidence enough in either of them, both of them being extremely popular, and such as would ingratiate themselves with the *Puritan* Faction, how dearly soever the Church paid for it: And thereupon it was resolved to fix on *Andrews* for the man; a man, as one says very well of him, of Primitive Antiquity, in whom was to be found whatever is desirable in a Bishop, even to admiration; to whom they found the King to be well affected, for taking up the Bucklers for him against Cardinal *Bellarmino*. The Motion was no sooner made, but it was embraced, and they departed from the King with as good assurance as if the business had been done, and *Andrews* fully settled in the Throne of *Canterbury*. In confidence whereof, some of them retired to their Country Houses, and others lessened their accustomed diligence about the King, and thereby gave an opportunity to the Earl of *Dunbar* (a powerful Minister of State) to put in for *Abbot*, who had attended him in some Negotiations which he had with the *Scots*; and he put in so powerfully in his behalf, that at last he carried it, and had the Kings Hand to the passing of the publick Instruments, before the other Bishops ever heard of the Plot: But when they heard of it, there was no Remedy but Patience; but it was *Patience perforce*, as the Proverb hath it: For much they feared that *Abbot* would unravel all the Web which *Bancroft* with such pains had weaved, and that he was (as the same Author well observes) *better qualified with Merit for the Dignity, than with a spirit answering the Function*. Follow his Character to the end, and you shall be told, "That in the exercising of his Function he was conceived to be facil and yielding: His extraordinary Remissness in not exacting strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, seemed to resolve those Legal Determinations to their first Principle of Indifferency, and led in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future Reduction of those tender Conscienced men, to long discontinued Obedience, was at the last interpreted an Innovation. If *Andrews* had succeeded *Bancroft*, and *Laud* followed *Andrews*, the Church would have been settled so sure on a Foundation, that it could not easily have been shaken; to the preventing of those deplorable Miseries, which the Remiss Government of that Popular Prelate did so unfortunately bring both on the Church and State.

L I B. I.
Anno Dom.
1610.
Hist. of K.
Charles by
H. L. p. 31.

But to go forward where we left, *Laud* was no sooner settled in the Presidentship of his Colledge, but he conceived himself advanced, one step at the least, towards a Precedency in the Church, and therefore thought it was high time to cast an eye upon the Court. His good Friend and Patron Bishop *Neile*, then being of *Rocheſter*, had procured him a Turn before the King at *Theobalds* on the 17th. of September 1609. and by the power and favour of the same man, being then translated unto *Litchfield*, he was sworn one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary on the third of November, Anno 1611. yet so that he continued his dependencies on his former Lord, to whom he was as dear and necessary as before he was; enjoying freely all the accommodations of his House, whensoever his occasions brought him to *London*.

1611.

PART I. Having thus set foot within the Court, he promised himself great hopes
Anno Dom. of some present preferment; but those hopes deceived him. Nothing
 1611. is more uncertain than Court Preferments: Some have them suddenly
 at the first, and then continue at a stand without farther Additions, as
 in the case of Doctor *Young* Dean of *Winchester*: Some attend long,
 and get nothing, as in the Case of Mr. *Arthur Terringham*, and many
 others; and some are in the same case with the Apostles in *St. John* (2)
 when they went a fishing, of whom it is said, *That having caught no-*
thing all the night, they cast their net the next morning on the right side
of the Ship, and then they were not able to draw it for the multitude of
Fishes. And so it was with this new Chaplain; many Preferments fell,
 but none fell to him; For whensoever any opportunity was offered
 for his Advancement, Archbishop *Abbot* (who had before defamed him
 to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, and by his mouth unto the King) would
 be sure to cast somewhat in his dish; sometimes inculcating to
 him all his actions at *Oxon*, and sometimes rubbing up the old sore of
 his unfortunate business with the Earl of *Devonshire*. These Artifices
 so estranged the Kings Countenance from him, that having waited
 four years, and seeing his hopes more desperate than at the first, he was
 upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly into his Col-
 ledge: But first he thought it not amiss to acquaint his dear Friend
 and Patron Bishop *Neile*, both with his resolution and the reasons of
 it. But *Neile* was not to be told what he knew before; and therefore
 answered, That he was very sensible of those many neglects which
 were put upon him, and saw too clearly that he had been too long un-
 der a cloud; but howsoever advised him to stay one year longer, and
 that if he had no better encouragement within that year, he would
 consent to his retirement. In the mean time to keep him up in heart
 and spirit, as he had given him the *Prebendary* of *Eugden* belonging to
 the *Church* of *Lincoln* (to which See he had been translated *Anno* 1613.)
 but the year before; so in the year of his complaint, which was 1615.
 he conferred upon him also the *Archdeaconry* of *Huntington*. It had
 pleased God to dispose of his Affairs, that before the year of expecta-
 tion was fully ended, his Majesty began to take him into his better
 thoughts, and for a testimony thereof bestowed upon him the *Deanry*
 of *Glocester*, void by the Death of the Reverend Right Learned Do-
 ctor *Field*, whose excellent Works will keep his Name alive to suc-
 ceeding Ages: A *Deanry* of no very great value, but such as kept him
 up in reputation, and made men see he was not so contemptible in the
 Eyes of the King as it was generally imagined.

But before we follow him to *Glocester*, we must take *Oxon* in our
 way, in which had hapned no small alteration since we left it last: Do-
 ctor *Henry Holland* Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, and his Majesties Pro-
 fessor for Divinity, having left his Life in the end of the year 1611.
 it seemed good to Archbishop *Abbot* to make use of his Power and Fa-
 vour with King *James*, for preferring to that place his Elder Brother
 Doctor *Robert Abbot*, being then Master of *Baliol* Colledge, and Rector
 of *Bingham* in the County of *Nottingham*: He had before been Fellow
 of it, and Doctor *Lilly* dying so opportunely for the furtherance of his

Preferment in the University, he succeeded Master in his place *March* LIB. I. 9. 1609. being the next Month after his Brother had been advanced *Anno Dom.* to the See of *London*: A man he was of eminent Learning, as his Works 1615. declare, and a more moderate *Calvinian* than either of his Predecessors, which he exprell'd by countenancing the *Sublapsarian* way of *Predestination*; by means whereof he incurred the high displeasure of the *Supralapsarians*, who until then had carried all before them, without gaining any thing on those who liked well of neither: But depending altogether on the will of his Brother, he thought he could not gratifie and oblige him more, than in pursuing his old quarrels against *Laud* and others, whom he knew to be displeas'd by him, which he thus pursued. It hapned that *Laud* Preaching on *Shrove-Sunday*, *Anno* 1014. insisted on some points which might indifferently be imputed either to *Poperie* or *Arminianism*, (as about that time they began to call it) though in themselves they were no other than the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England*: And having occasion in that Sermon to touch upon the *Presbyterians* and their Proceedings, he used some words to this effect, *viz.* That the *Presbyterians* were as bad as the *Papists*: Which being so directly contrary to the Judgment and Opinion of this Doctor *Abbot*, and knowing how much *Laud* had been distast'd by his Brother when he lived in *Oxon.* conceived he could not better satisfy himself, and oblige his Brother the Archbishop, than by exposing him (on the next occasion) both to shame and censure, which he did accordingly: For being *Vice-chancellor* for the year, and Preaching at *St. Peters* upon *Easter-day* in the afternoon, he pointed at him so directly, that none of the Auditors were so ignorant, as not to know at whom he aimed. *Laud* not being present at the first Preaching of the Sermon, was by his friends perswaded to shew himself at *St. Maries* on the *Sunday* after, when it should come to be repeated (according to the ancient Custom of that University) to whose perswasions giving an unwilling consent, he heard himself sufficiently abused for almost an hour together, and that so palpably and grossly, that he was pointed too as he saie: Some of the passages of which Sermon I shall here subjoyn, because howsoever they might bring to him some present and personal disgrace, yet they redounded at the last to the great good and benefit of the University.

Some (said the Doctor in his Sermon) are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, *Noſter es, an Adversariorum? who under pretence of Truth, and Preaching against the Puritan, strike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now established amongst us, &c. That they cannot plead they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritan, but because, being indeed, Papists, they speak nothing against them; If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it; they speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak against another; as against Equivocation, and the Popes Temporal Authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches:*

But

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1615.



But in the Points of Free Will, Justification, Concupiscence being a sin after Baptism, Inherent Righteousness, and certainty of Salvation; The Papists beyond the Seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the Recusants at home make their brags of them. And in all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon any occasion they may step over to them. Now for this speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists, there is a sting in the speech, which I wish had been left out, for there are many Churches beyond the Seas which contend for the Religion established amongst us, and yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery, &c.

After which, having spoken somewhat in justification of Presbyteries, he proceeded thus:

Might not Christ say (saith he) What art thou, ROMISH or ENGLISH? PAPIST or PROTESTANT? Or what art thou? A Mungrel or compound of both: A Protestant by Ordination, a Papist in point of Free Will, Inherent Righteousness, and the like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament, a Papist in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place your selves there, for into this where I am ye shall not come.

It is not to be doubted but that he was much troubled at this harsh usage, and might have been more troubled at it had he stood alone; had not some others of eminent note, been handled in as ill a manner not long before: *Homson*, and *Corbet*, both of *Christ-church*, had been Præcurfours in this case, to the President of *St. John Baptist*, the Præcurfours of *Christ*: Of these, the first, being a grave and Reverend person, an ancient Doctor in Divinity, and one of the *Canons* of the Church, had been Vice-Chancellor of the University, when *Laud* had but newly taken on him the Order of Priesthood; but none of these could priviledge him from feeling the dint of that mans spirit: For Preaching at *St. Maries* in the year 1612. he took occasion to speak of the *Geneva* Notes on the Bible, accusing them as guilty of misinterpretation touching the Divinity of *Christ* and his *Messiahship*, (as my Author (f) hath it) as if symbolizing with *Arrians* and *Jews* against them both. Whereupon he was suspended by this *Dr. Abbot*, Propter conciones publicas minus Orthodoxas, & offensivis plenas; that is to say, for some publick Sermons being less Orthodox, and fuller of offence than they ought to have been. The other, being a man of great wit and able parts, had been Proctor of the University, in the same year in which *Homson* did incur this Censure: And preaching the *Passion* Sermon at *Christ-Church*, Anno 1613. insisted on the Article of *Christs* descending into Hell, and therein grated upon *Calvins* manifest perverting of the true sense and meaning of it: For which he was so rattled up by the Repetitioner, not without *Abbots* setting on (as it was generally conceived) that if he had not been a man of a very great courage, it might have made him ashamed of staying in the University;

(f) Church
Hist. l. 10.
p. 59.

sity; so dangerous a thing it was to touch at any thing in which Geneva was concerned. For the best was, that none of them sunk under the burden of these oppressions, if (like the *Camomile*) they did not rise the higher by it. For *Howson* on the ninth of *May*, 1616. succeeded *Dr. John Bridges* in the See of *Oxon.* from thence translated unto *Durham*, Anno 1627. and left behind him this commendation, (t) that he was a very learned man, and plentifully endowed with all those virtues which were most proper for a Bishop, as *Godwin* tells us of him in his *Continuation.* *Corbet*, being made *Dean* of *Christ-church* in the year 1620. succeeded Bishop *Howson* in the See of *Oxon.* and died Bishop of *Norwich*, Anno 1635. And how it did succeed with *Laud*, the course of this ensuing History will at large inform us.

L I B. I.
Anno Dom.
1615.

(t) *Vir eruditus & virtutibus Episcopalis instructus.*
Godw. in
Continuat.

For he being very sensible of so great an injury, thought it fit to prevent the same by giving an account of it to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; which he did on the Morrow after the Repetition, being the eighteenth day of *April*, desiring his advice, whether he should sit down by the wrong, or make *Abbot* as sensible of it as he was himself. What direction he received in it I am not able to say, but as it seems he was advised to sit down with patience, not to exasperate either of the *Abbots*, and thereby to provoke more enemies against him than he had already. And I conceive that this Advice was given unto him, because I cannot find that he stirred any further in it; the rather in regard that *Abbot* was nominated not long after to the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* in the place of *Dr. Henry Cotton*, who died on the seventh of *May* next following. And yet this Bishoprick was not carried so clearly for him, notwithstanding his Brothers great power and credit in the Court: but that a very strong opposition was made against him; which being overcome at last, he received Episcopal Consecration on the third of *December*, leaving the Chair to *Dr. John Prideaux*, Rector of *Exeter* Colledge, who proved a vehement assertor of all the *Calvinian* rigours in the matter of Predestination, and the Points depending thereupon; as appears by his first Lecture, *De Absoluto Decreto*, and the rest which followed.

Dr. Abbot being thus removed to an higher sphere, it seemed not good to *Laud* to pursue the quarrel, but patiently to attend the year of his expectation; before the expiring whereof the King bestowed upon him the Deanry of *Glocester*, as before was said. At the bestowing of which Deanry his Majesty told him, that he had been informed that there was scarce ever a Church in *England* so ill governed, and so much out of order as that was, requiring him in the general to reform and set in order what he found amiss. Being thus forewarned, and withal forearmed, he makes haste to *Glocester*, where he found the Church in great decay, many things out of order in it, the Communion Table standing almost in the midst of the Quire, contrary to the posture of it in his Majesties Chappel, and of all the Cathedral Churches which he had seen. Which being observed, he called a Chapter of the Prebends, and having acquainted them with his Majesties Instructions, easily obtained their consent to two Chapter Acts: The one, for the speedy Repairing of the Church where it was most necessary:

PART I. necessary : The other, for transposing the Communion Table to the
Anno Dom. East end of the Quire, and placing it all along the Wall, according to
 1616. the situation of it in other Cathedral or Mother Churches, which
 Transposition being made, he recommended to the Prebendaries, the
 Quire-men, Choristers, and the under-Officers of the Church the
 making of their humble reverence to Almighty God, not only at their
 first entrance into the Quire, but at their approaches toward the holy
 Table ; according to the laudable custom of the Primitive times, re-
 tained still in the solemnities of the Knights of the Garter at the Act
 in *Oxon*, in the Chappels of his Majesty, and divers great persons in
 the Realm. His Majesties instructions, the Contents of the two Chap-
 ter Acts, and how he had proceeded on them, I find certified under
 his hand in two Letters ; The one, to his good Friend the Bishop of
Lincoln, bearing date *March 3. 1616*. The other, unto the Bishop of
Glocester (who had shewed himself offended at his proceedings) bear-
 ing date on the twenty seventh of *February* then next foregoing.

The Bishop of *Glocester* at that time was Dr. *Miles Smith*, once of
Brazen-nose Colledge, a great Hebrician, and one that took as much
 pains as any in the last Translation of the Bible, as a reward for which
 he received this Bishoprick. But then withal he was a man that spared
 not to shew himself upon all occasions in favour of the *Calvinian* par-
 ty ; and more particularly in countenancing the Lecturers within his
 Diocess against the lawful Minister of the Parish whenever any com-
 plaint of their proceedings was made unto him. No sooner had he
 heard what the new *Dean* had done about the Communion Table, but
 he expressed his dislike of it, and opposed it with all the power he
 had ; But finding that he could not prevail according unto his desires,
 he is said to have protested unto the *Dean*, and some of the Prebends,
 that if the Communion Table were removed, or any such Innovati-
 ons brought into that Cathedral, he would never come more within
 those Walls ; which Promise or Protestation he is said by some to have
 made good, and not to have come within that Church to his dying
 day : Which if he did forbear upon that occasion, he must needs shew
 himself a man of great pertinacity, and one that feared not to give a
 publick scandal to the Church, and the Court to boot ; This transposi-
 tion being made in the declining of the year 1616. his Palace stand-
 ing near the walls of that Cathedral, and he not dying till the year
 1624. which was eight years after. Seeing how little he prevailed,
 one *White* his Chaplain takes upon him in a Letter written to the *Chan-
 cellor* of that *Diocess*, to acquaint him with the strange Reports which
 were come unto them touching the situation of the Communion Ta-
 ble in the place where the High Altar stood before, and that low obey-
 fances were made to it, assuring him how much the secret Papists
 would rejoyce, in hope that that which they long looked for was now
 near at hand ; In which Letter he also challenged and upbraided the
 Prebends, and other Preachers of that City, that they did not offer
 either by word or deed to resist the *Dean* in those proceedings ; ad-
 miring that no man should have any spark of *Elias* Spirit to speak a word
 in Gods behalf, that the Preachers should swallow down such things

in silence, and that the Prebends should be so faint-hearted as to shrink in the first wetting, especially having the Law on their side against it.

It was not long before this Letter was made a Libel: Either the Letter it self, or a Copy of it, being cast into the Pulpit at St. Michaels Church, where *Prior* the *sub-dean* used to preach; to the end that he and others of the *Prebendaries* might take notice of it. Found by the Parish-Clerk, and by him put into the hands of the Curate, by them communicated unto others, who took Copies of it; and in short time divulged it over all the City. The City was at that time much pestered with the Puritan Faction, which was grown multitudinous and strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean and Prebendaries made amongst them, the dull connivence of their Bishop, and the remiss Government of their *Metropolitan*, so that it seemed both safe and easie to some of the Rabble to make an out-cry in all places, that *Popery* was coming in; that the translating of the Communion Table into an *Altar*, with the worship and obeysance which were done to it, were Popish superstitions, and the like. *Jones*, one of the Aldermen of the City, and a Justice of the Peace withal, caused some of the principal dispersers of this Libellous Letter to be brought before him, committed some of them to prison, and threatned to bind the rest to their good behaviour: But fearing lest his own power might not be sufficient to crush that Faction which had begun to gather strength by long connivence, he advised that the business might be referred to the *High Commissioners*, as men more able to deal with them. Notice hereof being given to the new *Dean* by some Letters thence, bearing date Feb. 21. he addressed this Letter abovementioned to the Bishop of *Glocester*: In which he desired such Favour and Equity at his hands, as that his Lordship would join to reform such Tongues and Pens as knew not how to submit to any Law but their own; that of necessity he was to acquaint his Gracious Majesty, not only with the thing it self, but with the entertainment which it found among Turbulent Spirits; and that he doubted not but that his Majesty would be well pleased to hear how careful his Lordship shewed himself in preserving the Order and Peace of the Church. But fearing that the Bishop, whose Chaplain was the sole cause of the mischief, would not be very forward to redress it, he dispatched the other Letter, abovementioned, to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and in that Letter he desired his Lordship (having first moved that the High Commission would be pleased to take some speedy order in it) to let him have his lawful assistance, to the end that so long as he did nothing but what was established and practised in the Church of *England*, he might not be brought into contempt by turbulent Spirits, at his first entrance on that place, and so be disinabled to do that good service which he owed to the Church of Christ; withal propounding to his Lordship, that if it stood with his good liking, his Majesty might be acquainted with the first success of his endeavours for reforming such things as he found most amiss in that Church, &c.

Whilst these things were thus agitated in the Reformation of the Church of *Glocester*, there were other Actings in the Court, touching

PART I.

A^{no} Dom.

1616.



the Reformation of some things in the *University of Oxon.* *Laud* had before informed the Bishop of *Lincoln* concerning the coarse usage which he had from Dr. *Abbot*, as before was said. Which being represented to his Majesty, it was withal insinuated to him what dangers would proceed by the training up of young Students in the Grounds of *Calvinism*, if some directions were not issued from his Majesty for the course of their studies; that there was no readier way to advance the *Presbyterial* Government in this Kingdom than by suffering young Scholars to be seasoned with *Calvinian* Doctrines; that it was very hard to say, whether of the two, either the Puritan, or the Papist were more destructive of *Monarchical* Government; and finally, that for want of subscription to the three Articles contained in the 36. *Canon*, not only *Lecturers*, but divers other Preachers, in and about the University, positively maintained such points of Doctrine, as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of *England*. Which matter his Majesty having taken into consideration, by the advice of such Bishops and others of the Clergy, as were then about him, upon the eighteenth of *January* he dispatch't these Directions following to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colledges and Halls, the two Professors, and the two Proctors of the University, to be carefully and speedily put in execution.

JAMES REX.

1. That it was his Majesties pleasure that he would have all that take any degree in Schools, to subscribe to the three Articles in the 36th Canon.
2. That no Preacher be allowed to Preach in the Town, but such as are every way conformable both by subscription and every other way.
3. That all Students do resort to the Sermons in St. Maries, and be restrained from going to any other Church in the time of St. Maries Sermons; and that provision be made that the Sermons in St. Maries be diligently made and performed, both before noon and after noon.
4. That the ordinary Divinity A^c be constantly kept with three Repliants.
5. That there be a greater Restraint of Scholars haunting Town-houses, especially in the night.
6. That all Schollars, both at the Chappels, and at the Schools, keep their Scholastical Habits.
7. That young Students in Divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their times in the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviations, making them the Grounds of their study in Divinity.
8. That no man, either in Pulpit or Schools, be suffered to maintain Dogmatically any point of Doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England.
9. That Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and the two Professors, or two of the Heads of Houses, do at such time as his Majesty resorts into those parts wait upon

upon his Majesty, and give his Majesty a just account how these his LIB. I.
Majesties Instructions are observed. Anno Dom.

10. Let no man presume, of what condition or degree soever, not to yield I 6 1 6.
his obedience to these his Majesties Directions, lest he incur such cen-
sures as the statutes of this University may justly inflict upon such
transgressors.

This was the first step toward the suppressing of that Reputation which Calvin and his Writings had attained unto in that University; and a good step it might have been, if Dr. Goodwin, Dean of Christ-Church, who was then Vice-Chancellor, had not been Father-in-law to Frideaux, or rather if Frideaux himself had approved the Articles; or that Dr. Benfield of Corpus Christi, the other Professor for Divinity, a grave but sedentary man, had been active in it. But howsoever being published, though it went no farther, it gave such a general Alarm to the Puritan Faction, that the terrour of it could not be forgotten in 20 years after: Certain I am, that in the year 1636. it was charged by H. Burton of Friday-street for an Innovation, one of the many Innovations introduced by Laud, and others of the Prelatical party, to subvert Religion. But leaving them to the folly of their own affrightments, let us look back unto the King, who being confident that he had left the University in a ready way for coming to an Unity in matters of Doctrine, prepared for his Journey into Scotland, with a like confidence of effecting an Uniformity in Forms of Worship: A matter of consequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able Ministers, such as knew how to wind and turn the Presbyterians of that Kingdom, if matters should proceed to a Disputation: The known Abilities of Laud mark'd him out for one; which though it were like to bring a great Charge upon him, yet he preferred the Reputation before the Charge, and cheerfully embrac'd the Service. Nor was it more welcom unto him, than grateful to the Bishop of Lincoln, assured thereby not only of a trusty Friend; but of a sociable Companion, for that tedious Journey. His Majesty having filled up the List of his Attendants, on the 14th. day of March began his Journey; accompanied by the Queen and Prince as far as Theobalds; and from thence went forward with his Train before appointed. By the way he called in at the City of Lincoln, where it is not to be doubted but that the Bishop gave him as magnificent an Entertainment as the Place and Country would afford: And from this place it was that he dated his Instructions of the 14th. of April, to the Lord John Digby, then going Embassador into Spain, to Treat upon and Conclude a Marriage between Prince Charles, and the Infanta Maria the Second Daughter of that King; one of which Articles was to this effect, That the Espousals being made in Spain according to the Order of the Council of Trent, the Marriage should be solemnized in England, where there should be such a solemnization as by the Laws of this Realm should make the Marriage valid, and take away all scruple touching the Legitimation of the Issue: Which temperament seems to me to have very much in it of Laud's hand and spirit.

PART. I. In the beginning of *May* 1617. his Majesty was come as far as *Berwick*, and from thence visiting the West parts of *Scotland*, came at last to *Edenburgh*, where he soon found that he might have saved himself a great part of his care, and taken such of his Chaplains with him as came next to hand; the *Presbyterian Scots* not being to be gained by Reason, as he had supposed: For he was scarce settled in that City, when the *Presbyters* conceiving that his coming was upon design to work an Uniformity between the Churches of both Kingdoms, set up one *Struthers* to preach against it, who laid so lustily about him in the chief Church of *Edenburgh*, that he not only condemned the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, but prayed God to save *Scotland* from the same. *Laud*, and the rest of the Chaplains who had heard the Sermon, acquainted his Majesty with those passages; but there was no remedy: The *Scots* were *Scots*, and resolved to go their own way whatsoever came of it. For though the Archbishop of *Saint Andrews* had forewarned them, that they should not irritate his Majesty, whom they should find a gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reason, and give way unto it; yet this prevailed nothing with them; they were resolved neither to give Reason to him, nor take any from him, but only to gain them by delays and artifices; For they knew well, that his Majesty had no resolution to stay long amongst them, and that when he was gone they might do what they listed: And therefore when his Majesty, in a Speech made to them at *St. Andrews*, had told them, *That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order matters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they approved or disapproved, except they brought him a Reason which he could not answer*; all that they did was to require a little time of Consultation, which being granted, they returned with this Resolution, *That if his Majesty would grant them a free Assembly, they would therein satisfy his Majesty in all the Points he had propounded.* *Patrick Gallowsay*, one of the chiefest amongst them, passing his word for the performance. But when the King was gone, and the day of the Assembly come, those promises vanished into smook; so that the King gained nothing by that chargeable Journey, but the neglect of his Commands, and a contempt of his Authority. His Majesty therefore took a better course, than to put the point to Argument and Disputation; which was to beat them by the Belly, and to withdraw those Augmentations which he had formerly allowed them out of his Exchequer: Which Pill so wrought upon this indigent and obstinate People, that the next year, in an Assembly held at *Perth*, they pass'd an Act for admitting the five *Articles* for which his Majesty had been courting them for two years together.

But whatsoever the King lost by the Journey, I am sure the Bishop of *Lincoln* got well by it: For *James* the Bishop of *Durham* dying during the Kings abode in *Scotland*, his Majesty bestowed upon him that wealthy Bishoprick; one of the wealthiest in Revenues, but absolutely the greatest in Power and Priviledges. Into this Bishoprick being canonically confirmed on the ninth of *October*, he presently set himself on work to repair the Palaces and Houses belonging to it, which

Hist. Scotl.
l. 7. p. 531.

Idem. p. 534.

which he had found in great decay ; but he so adorned and beautified them in a very short space, that they that saw them could not think that they were the same. Three thousand pounds he is affirmed by Bishop *Godwin* to have disbursed only upon this account, having laid out before no less than a thousand Marks on the Episcopal Houses of the See of *Lincoln*, besides a good round Sum on the House of *Bromley*, the Habitation and Retreat of the Bishops of *Rocheſter*. But that which gave him most content was his Palace of *Durham-house* in the *strand*, not only because it afforded him convenient Room for his own Retinue, but because it was large enough to allow sufficient Quarters for *Buckridge* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Laud* Dean of *Gloceſter*, which he enjoyed when he was Bishop of *St. David's* also ; some other Quarters were reserved for his old servant *Dr. Linſell*, and others for such Learned men of his Acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him ; inſomuch as it paſſed commonly by the name of *Durham Colledge*. A man of ſuch a ſtrange compoſition, that whether he were of a larger and more publick Soul, or of a more uncourtly Converſation, it were hard to ſay.

But to return again to *Laud*: Finding his Majesty reſolved to paſſe thorow *Lancaſhire*, and other Counties of the North-weſt of *England*, in his way to *London*, he obtained leave to go directly unto *Oxon.* and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* was inducted into the Rectory of *Ibſtock* in the County of *Leiceſter* ; a Rectory belonging to the Patronage of the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, of whom he had it in exchange for his *Kentiſh* Benefices. At his return unto the Colledge, he was joyfully welcomed by his Friends, and chearfully received after ſo long an abſence by the greateſt part of that Society : But that which ſeemed moſt agreeable to him at his coming home, was the good News he heard from *Gloceſter*, how all things had been quieted there, and that there was no fear or danger of any further oppoſition to be made againſt him ; for the Rabble being terrified by the ſevere proceedings of *Alderman Jones*, and more affrighted at the noiſe of being brought into the Court of *High-Commiſſion*, began to grow more ſenſible of the error which they had committed, the fury of their firſt heats being abated, and Reason beginning by degrees (as it is ordinary in ſuch caſes) to take place of Paſſion. Nothing elſe memorable in this year, as in relation to his Story, but ſome miſfortunes which beſel the Archbishop, his perpetual enemy ; the greateſt whereof (though perhaps not took moſt to heart) was the death of his Brother the Bishop of *Salisbury*, which produced great ſorrow to his Friends, the rather in regard of the manner and occaſion of it : For after his advancement to the See of *Sarum*, being then near ſixty years of Age, he married the Widow of one *Doctor Cheynel* a Phyſician, who had been one of his Contemporaries in *Baliol Colledge* ; the news whereof being preſented (with ſome circumſtances to his diſadvantage) to his Brother the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he received from him ſuch a ſharp and bitter Letter, ſo full of Reproaches and Revilings, that not being able to bear the burthen of ſo great an inſolency, he preſently took thought upon it, and as preſently died, leaving this life on the ſecond of *March*, the year almoſt expiring with him.

LIB. I.

Anno Dom.

1617.

Godwins Catalog. Episc.

The

PART I. The Archbishop had been off the hook ever since the affront (as he
Anno Dom. conceived) was put upon him in burning his Chaplain Doctor *Mockett's*
 1617. Book, entituled, *De Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, which had given no
 small Reputation to the Church of *England* beyond the Seas; for
 which severity though many just Reasons were alledged, yet it was
 generally conceived, that as the Book fared the worse for the Authors
 sake, so the Author did not speed the better for his Patron the Arch-
 bishops sake, betwixt whom, and Doctor *James Montague* then
 Bishop of *Winchester*, there had been some differences, which the rest
 of the Court Bishops were apt enough to make some use of to his dis-
 advantage.

But having thus fallen upon the burning of this Book, I shall speak
 something of it here, because of some particulars in it which may con-
 duce unto our Story in the times succeeding. This Dr. *Mockett* be-
 ing Chaplain to Archbishop *Abbot*, and Warden of *All-Souls* Col-
 ledge in *Oxon.* had publish'd in the *Latin* Tongue the Liturgy of the
 Church of *England*, the Publick Catechisms, the 39 Articles, the
 Book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and many Do-
 ctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; together with
 Bishop *Jewel's Apology*, Mr. *Noel's* Catechism, and his own Book *De*
Politia, &c. A Collection which the good man published in a pious
 zeal, for gaining Honour to this Church amongst Foreign Nations:
 But then this Zeal of his was accompanied with so little Knowledge
 in the Constitution of this Church, or so much biassed toward those
 of *Calvin's* Plat-form, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but
 to expiate the Errors of it in a Publick Flame: For first, his Extracts
 out of the Book of Homilies were conceived to be rather framed ac-
 cording to his own Judgment, which enclin'd him toward the *Calvi-*
nian Doctrines, as his Patron did; than squared according to the
 Rules and Dictates of the Church of *England*: And possible enough it
 is, that some just offence might be taken at him, for making the Fast-
 ing-days appointed in the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*, to be
 commanded and observ'd *ob Politicas solum Rationes*, for politick con-
 siderations only, as insinuated p. 308. whereas those Fasting-days
 were appointed in the first *Liturgie* of King *Edward* vj. *Anno* 1549.
 (with reference only to the Primitive Institution of those several Fasts)
 when no such *Politick* Considerations were so much as thought on.
 But that which I conceive to have been the true cause why the Book
 was burned, was, that in publishing the 20th. Article, concerning the
 Authority of the Church, he totally left out the first Clause of it, *viz.*
Habet Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias, statuendi jus; & in controversiis
Fidei Autoritatem: By means whereof, the Churches Authority disavowed,
 and consequently a wide gap opened to dispute her Power in all her Canons and Determinati-
 ons of what sort soever. I note this here, because of the Relation
 which it hath to some following passages in the year 1637. when we
 shall find *Laud* charged by those of the *Puritan Faction*, for adding this
 omitted Clause to the rest of that Article.

1618. In the next year (1618.) we find not a little done at home, but
 much

much more abroad; the *Puritan* Faction being discountenanced here, and the *Calvinists* encouraged there. The *sabbatarian* Doctrines by the diligence of Archbishop *Whitgift*, and the severity of Justice *Popham*, had been crush'd at their first starting out; and afterwards not daring to implore the Countenance of Authority, they got footing again in divers places by the cunning of the *Puritan* Faction, the ignorant confidence of some of their Lecturers, and the misguided zeal of some publick Ministers of Justice: And they prevailed so far at last, that the Annual Festivals being turned into days of Labour, and the Lords day wholly taken up in Religious Duties, there was no time left for *lawful Recreations* amongst the People: Which being made known unto King *James* as he passed thorow *Lancashire* the last Summer, he gave some present Order in it, for the ease and comfort of his good Subjects in that County; and that it might not serve only for the present, but the times to come, he published his Royal Declaration to the same effect, bearing date at *Greenwich* May 24. of this present year: In which Declaration there are three things to be observed; viz. the *Motives*, the *Liberties*, and the *Restrictions*. First, for the *Motives* which induced that King to this Declaration, they were chiefly four. 1. The general Complaints of all sorts of People, as he passed thorow *Lancashire*, of the Restraint of those innocent and lawful Pastimes on that day, which by the Rigors of some Preachers and Ministers of Justice, had been laid upon them. 2. The hindrance of the Conversion of many *Papists*, who by this means were made to think, that the *Protestant* Religion was inconsistent with all harmless and modest *Recreations*. 3. That by debarring them from all manlike Exercises on those days, on which only they were freed from their daily Labours, they were made unactive, unable, and unfit for Warriors, if either himself or any of his Successors should have such occasion to employ them. 4. That men being hindred from these open Pastimes, betook themselves to Tipling-houses, and there abused themselves with Drunkenness, and censured in their Cups his Majesties Proceedings both in Church and State. Next for the *Liberties* which were indulged upon that day, his Majesty declares his Pleasure, That after Divine Service being ended, his good People should not be discouraged or letted from any *lawful Recreations*, such as Dancing either Men or Women, Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmless Recreations, nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitsun-Ales*, and *Morris-dances*, and the setting up of *May-poles* and other sports therewith used; and that Women shall have leave to carry Rushes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old Custom, with this *Proviso* notwithstanding, That under the general term of *Lawful Recreations*, he intended neither Bear-baiting nor Bull-baiting, Interludes, nor (at all times in the meaner sort of People prohibited) Bowling. And last of all, for the *Restrictions*, they were these that follow. 1. That these Pastimes should be no impediment or lett to the publick Duties of that day. 2. That no Recusant should be capable of the benefit of them. 3. Nor such as were not diligently present at the time of all Divine Offices, which the day required.

And,

L I B. I.

Anno Dom.

1618.

PART I. And, 4. That the benefit thereof should redound to none but such as kept themselves in their own Parishes. Such was the substance of his *Anno Dom.* Majesty's Declaration about *Lawful Sports*, which raised great clamour at the present, but greater when revived in the Reign of King *Charles* (at what time we shall find *Laud* charged for the Re-publishing of it) so much the greater, by how much the more the *Sabbatarian Doctrines* had prevailed amongst us.

Hist. of Scot.
fol. 530.

This being done for the discountenancing of the *Calvinian* Faction here at home, we must next see what was done abroad on the same account; that which was done abroad in relation to it, being of great concernment to this Church, and therefore necessary to be known in reference to the person of whom I write. The Bishops and conformable Clergy of *Scotland* had pass'd two Acts in the *Assembly* held at *Aberdeen*, *Anno 1616*. the one, for making one Uniform Order or Form of Worship, to be prepared by some Bishops, and other Learned men amongst them, by them to be presented to the King, and being by the King approved, to be by him commended to the use of that Kirk: The other for consulting the Registry of their former *Assemblies*, and extracting out of them such Canons, as being ratified by the stamp of Royal Authority, might pass for current in the same. To speed this business, and strike the Iron whilst it was hot, his Majesty made that chargeable journey into *Scotland*, which before we spake of, with an intent to preside personally to the receiving of some few of the *English* Ceremonies, which had been offered to the consideration of the late *Assembly*, the better to advance his hopes of introducing by degrees the Liturgy of the Church of *England*: Which Ceremonies being reduced to five Articles, and propounded to them at his being there, found such success, and put the King upon such Councils as have been formerly declared. But what he could not compass in the year foregoing, he obtained in this; those Articles being passed an *Assembly* held at *Ferth* in the Month of *August*, and are these that follow.

1. That for the more reverent Receiving of the Holy Communion, the same should be celebrated to the People thereafter kneeling, and not sitting, as had been the custom since the Reformation of Religion.
2. If any good Christian visited with sickness which was taken to be deadly, should desire to receive the Communion at home in his house, the same should not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Minister the night before, and three or four of good Religion and Conversation being present to Communicate with him.
3. That in case of necessity tried and known to the Minister, it should be lawful to Administer Baptism in private Houses, the same being always Ministered after the form in which it should have been in the Congregation: A publick Declaration of it to be made the next Sunday after.
4. That the days of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour Christ, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghost, in regard of those inestimable Benefits which the Church of God had received on them,

them should be publickly solemnized in the Congregation, the Ministers making choice of fit Texts of Scripture agreeable to the occasions, for their several Sermons.

LIB. I.
Anno Dom.
1613.

5. That the Minister in every Parish, having Catechized all Children above eight years of age, according to the short Catechism used in the Church, and taught them to repeat by heart the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should present them to their Bishops in their Visitations, by them to be blessed with prayers for the increase of Grace, and continuance of Gods Heavenly Gifts upon them.

And this indeed was a great step to the work of Uniformity so much desired; which had it been pursued as vigorously by the Bishops of Scotland, as by the King it had been piously begun, the Service which was sent into that Kirk almost twenty years after, had been better welcom'd by the Scots, and drawn less danger upon Laud (who was then Archbishop) for his pious Actings in the same.

But on the other side, the condemning of the five *Arminian* Articles (as they commonly called them) at the *Synod of Dort*, was altogether as much displeasing as the others had been grateful to him; for well he saw the great dangers which might thence ensue to the Church of *England*, whose Doctrines were openly confronted, and her Discipline secretly undermined, by the Decisions and Determinations of that *Synodical* Assembly: In which regard, it will not be unnecessary to make a brief Relation of those stirs and differences which hapned in the *Belgick* Churches, from the time that Doctor *Jacob van Harmine* was made one of the Divinity Professors in the University of *Leyden*, concerning which we are first to know, That at the Alteration of Religion in those Provinces, the *French* (who were most active in it) brought with them *Calvin's* Platform, both for Doctrine and Discipline (as commonly the one makes way to bring in the other) according unto which the *Belgick Confession* was drawn up in the year 1567. Which notwithstanding, such of their Ministers as better liked the *Melanchthonian* Doctrines in the points of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, &c. than they did the other, spared not to publish their Opinions as they saw occasion, as well before as after the establishing of the said Confession, and did it without check or censure: Amongst which we may first reckon *Anastatius Veluanus*, in a Book of his entituled, *Odegus Laicorum*, or the Lay-mans Guide, published in the year 1554. and much commended by *Henricus Antonides* the Divinity Reader in the University of *Franecker*; after whom followed, in the same Opinions, *Johannes Isbrandi*, who openly profess'd himself an *Anti-Calvinian*; *Clemens Martini*, who took his Principles from *Hardinbergius*, one of the first Reformers of the Church of *Embden*; *Gellius Sueranus* in *West-Frisland*, who looked upon those of the other Perswasion as Innovators in that Church; *Holmannus* the Divinity Reader in *Leyden*; *Cornelius Menardi*, a man of good esteem amongst them; and generally all the Ministers successively in the Province of *Utrecht*, some of which had maintained these Doctrines before the birth of *Jacob van Harmine* (better known in these later times by the name of *Arminius*)

PART I.

Anno Dom.
1618.

and all of them before such time as any publick notice had been taken of him; by which it seems, that these Doctrines were of a long standing, and had took deep rooting in these Churches, though they had not gained such a large and general spreading over them as they after did.

For in the year 1603. the Learned *Junius*, one of the Professors for Divinity in the University of *Leyden*, being then deceased, the *Curators*, or Overseers of that University made choice of this *Van Harmine*, the Pastor, (as they phrase it) of the Church of *Amsterdam*, to succeed in his place: But the Inhabitants of that Town, amongst whom he had served in the Ministry for the space of 15 years and more, were so affected to the man, that they would by no means yield unto his departure, till over-ruled by the intreaties of some, and the power of others: A matter very displeasing to the Rigid *Calvinians* informing against him to the State for several *Heterodoxies* repugnant to the received Doctrine of those Churches. *Arminius* for six years before, had by exchange of Letters betwixt him and *Junius*, maintained the *Melancthonian* Doctrines in those points of Controversie before remembered; which Papers being dispersed abroad in several Copies (but not published till after his death, and then published by the name of *Amica Collatio*, &c.) gave the *Calvinians* some fair colour for their information: But the business being heard at the *Hague*, he was acquitted by his Judges, dispatch'd for *Leyden*, and there confirmed in his place; towards which, the Testimonial Letters, sent from the Church of *Amsterdam*, did not help a little; in which Letters he stands commended for a man of unblamable life, (b) sound Doctrine, and fair behaviour, as may be seen at large in the Oration which was made at his Funeral, in the Divinity Schools of *Leyden*, on the 22. of *October*, Anno 1609. During his sitting in that Chair, he drew unto him a great part of that University, who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his extreme diligence in the place, and the clear light of Reason, which appeared in all his Discourses, were so wedded unto his Opinions, that no time nor trouble could divorce them: For *Arminius* dying in the year 1609. as before was said, the heats betwixt his Scholars, and those of the contrary persuasion, were rather increased than abated; the more increased, for want of such a prudent *Moderator* as had before saved and preserved these Churches from a publick Rupture.

(b) Ob vita inculpata, sane doctrina, & morum summam integritatem.

The breach between them growing wider, each side thought fit to seek the Countenance of the State, and they did accordingly; For in the year 1610. the Followers of *Arminius* address their *Remonstrance* (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the substance of them) to the States of *Holland*, which was encountred presently by a *Contra-Remonstrance*, exhibited by those of *Calvins* Party. From hence the name of *Remonstrants*, and *Contra-Remonstrants*, so frequent in their Books and Writings; till the *Remonstrants* were condemned in the *Synod* of *Dort*, and either forced to yield the cause or quit their Country; each Party in the mean time had the opportunity to disperse their Doctrines, in which the *Remonstrants* gained exceedingly upon their Adver-

Adversaries. For the whole Controverſie being reduced to theſe five Points, *viz.* the Method of *Predeſtination*, the *Efficacy* of Chriſts death, the operations of *Grace*, both before and after mans Converſion, and Perſeverance in the ſame; the Parties were admitted to a publick Conference at the *Hague* in the year 1611. in which the *Remonſtrants* were conceived to have had much the better of the day. But theſe Tongue-combates did produce a further miſchief then was ſuſpected at the firſt; for the *Calvinians* hoping to regain by Power what they loſt by Argument, put themſelves under the Protection of *Maurice van Naffau*, Prince of Orange, Commander General of the Forces of the United Provinces, both by Sea and Land. The *Remonſtrants* on the other ſide applyed themſelves unto *John Olden Barnevelt*, a principal Counſellor of State, and of great Authority in his Country: Who fearing the Greatneſs of the Prince, and having (or thinking that he had) ſome cauſe to doubt that he aimed at an abſolute Sovereignty over thoſe Eſtates, did chearfully entertain the offer, in hope to form ſuch a Party by them, as, with the help of ſome other good Patriots, might make a ſufficient Counter-balance againſt that deſign. But *Barnevelts* projects being diſcovered, he was firſt ſeized on by the Prince, together with *Grotius Leidenburgius*, and others of his chief Adherents; and that being done, he ſhewed himſelf with his Forces before ſuch Towns and Cities as had declared in favour of them; reducing them under his Command, changing their Magiſtrates, and putting new Garrifons into them. Next followed the Arraignment and death of *Barnevelt*, contrary to the Fundamental Laws both of his native Country, and the common Union; whoſe death occaſioned a general dejection (as well it might) amongſt thoſe of the *Remonſtrant* Party; and their dejection animated the *Calvinians* to refer their differences to a National Council, which thereupon was intimated to be held at *Dort*, one of the principal Towns of *Holland*.

This Council being thus reſolved on, their next care was to invite to their aſſiſtance ſome Divines out of all the Churches of *Calvins* Platform, and none elſe; which did ſufficiently declare, that they intended to be both Parties and Judges, as in fine it proved: For unto this Convention aſſembled the moſt *Rigid Calviniſts*, not only of the United Provinces, but alſo of all the Churches of *High Germany*, and amongſt the *Switz*, and from the City of *Geneva* whom it moſt concerned. From *France* came none, becauſe the King, upon good Reaſon of State, had commanded the contrary; and the *Scots* much complained that they were not ſuffered by King *James* to ſend their Commiſſioners thither with the reſt of the Churches: For though King *James* had nominated *Balcunquel* to that employment in the name of the *Kirk*, yet that could give them no contentment. From *England*, the King ſent Dr. *George Carleton* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Jof. Hall* Dean of *Worceſter*, Dr. *John Davenant* Maſter of *Queens Colledge* and Lady *Margarets* Profeſſor in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Sam. Ward* Maſter of *Sydney Colledge* in the ſame Univerſity. And this he did, that by the countenance of his power, and by the preſence of his Divines, he might ſupport the Party of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſuppreſs his Adverſaries. On the third of No-

L I B. I.

Anno Dom.

1618.



PART I. *vember* they began the Synod: But things were carried there with
Anno Dom. such inequality, that such of the *Remonstrants* as were like to be elect-
 1619. ed, by their several Classes, were cited, and commanded to appear
 as *Criminals* only, and being come, could not be suffered to proceed to
 a Disputation, unless they would subscribe to such conditions as they
 conceived to be destructive to their Cause, and their Conscience too:
 Which being refused, they were expelled the house by *Bogerman* (who
 sat President there) in a most fierce and bitter Oration, condemned
 without answering for themselves; and finally, for not subscribing to
 their own condemnation, compelled to forsake their native Country,
 with their Wives and Children, and to beg their bread even in deso-
 late places. What influence those quarrels had amongst our selves,
 and what effects that *Synod* did produce in the Church of *England* we
 shall see hereafter, when the same Points come to be agitated and de-
 bated on this side of the Seas.

His Majesty, having thus made himself the Master of his Designs,
 both at home and abroad, and being recovered from a dangerous sick-
 ness which had fallen upon him at *New-Market*, in the year 1619. re-
 solved on such a work of Magnificent Piety, as might preserve his
 name and memory to succeeding Ages: To which end upon *Midlent*
Sunday, *Anno* 1620. accompanied by the Prince, attended by the
Marquess of Buckingham, the Bishops, Lords, and most of the princi-
 pal Gentlemen about the Court, he intended to visit *St. Pauls*. From
Temple-bar he was conducted in most solemn manner by the Lord
 Mayor and Aldermen of *London*: and at his entrance into the Church,
 received under a *Canopy* by the *Dean* and *Canons*, attired in rich *Copes*,
 and other Ecclesiastical Habits; Being by them brought into the
 Quire, he heard with very great reverence and devotion the Divine
 Service of the day most solemnly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and
Sagbuts, accompanied and intermingled with such excellent voices that
 seemed rather to enchant than chant. The Divine Service being
 done, he went unto a place prepared, where he heard the Sermon at the
Cross, preached by the eloquent and religious Prelate, Dr. *John King*,
 Lord Bishop of *London*. The Sermon being ended, the *Collation* be-
 gan; His Majesty attended with all the Lords, and the rest of his
 Train, being entertained by the said Lord Bishop at a sumptuous Ban-
 quet, with no less honour to himself than content to his Majesty. But
 there was more intended by this Visit than Pomp and Ostentation on-
 ly. For his Majesty having taken a view of the ruinous Estate in which
 he beheld that goodly Fabrick, issued not long after a *Commission* for
 repair thereof; and somewhat was done in it both by Bishop *King* and
 Bishop *Mountain*: But the carrying on of this work was reserved to a-
 nother man; For a breach following not long after between *Spain*
 and *England*, and wars soon following on that breach, a stop was made
 to all proceedings in that work till the year 1631. At what time
Laud, being Bishop of *London*, obtained a like Commission from
 the hands of King *CHARLES*, and set his heart so much upon it,
 that in few years he had made a mighty Progress in it, of which more
 hereafter.

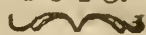
And

And here it was once feared, that this present History might have ended without going further; for on the second of *April*, as he past from *London* towards *Oxon*, he took up his Inn at *Wickham* upon the Rode; where he fell suddenly dead, and was not without much difficulty, and Gods special favour, restored unto his former being. But God reserved him to a life more eminent, and a death more glorious; not suffering him to dye obscurely, like a traveller, in a private Inn; but more conspicuously, like a Martyr, 'on the publick Theatre; for on the 22. of *January* he was installed Prebend in the Church of *Westminster*, after no less than ten years expectation of it; And on the last of the same month he sate as Dean of *Glocester* in the Convocation. The Prince Elector *Palatine*, who married the Kings only Daughter in the year 1612. had the last year most inconsiderately took upon him the Crown of *Bohemia*; not taking with him the Kings Counsel in it as he might have done, but giving him an account of it on the Post-Fact only. The Emperour exasperated with this Usurpation (as by him reputed) gave up his Country for a prey, assigning the Electoral Dignity with the upper *Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the lower to the King of *Spain*, who had possessed themselves of divers good Towns and pieces in it.

For the recovery whereof, and the preservation of the rest, in which his Daughter and her Children were so much concerned; it pleased his Majesty to call a Parliament, to begin on the thirtieth day of *January*, accompanied with a Convocation (as the custom is) on the morrow after. The business of their Convening being signified unto them by the King, the Parliament at their first sitting, which ended *March* 27. bestowed upon his Majesty two Subsidies, but they gave no more; which rather served to stay his stomach than allay his hunger. They had some turns to serve upon him before they would part with any more money, if they did it then. But the Clergy dealt more freely with him in their Convocation, because they had no other ends in it than the expressing of their duty and good affections. In testimony whereof they gave him three entire Subsidies of four shillings in the pound at their first sitting; and would not have been wanting to his Majesty in a further addition, in the second or third, if his Majesty had required it of them. Encouraged with which supplies, and the hopes of greater, he sent some Regiments of old *English* Souldiers for the defence and preservation of the *Lower Palatinate*, under the command of that Noble Souldier, Sir *Horatio Vere*.

When the Commons bestowed upon him the said two *subsidies*, he took them only as a bit to stay his stomach, as before was said, giving himself some hopes that at the next Session they would entertain him with a better, and more costly dinner; but then they meant that he should pay the reckoning for it. For at their re-assembling on the 17. of *April*, instead of granting him the supplies he looked for, they fell to pick quarrels with his Servants, and one of his chief Ministers of State, not only questioning Sir *Giles Mompesson*, and Sir *Francis Michael*, but even the Lord *Chancellor Bacon* also. These men (supposing them to have been as criminal as their enemies made them) were notwithstanding

LIB. I.
Anno Dom.
1620.




PART I.

Anno Dom.

1620.



standing such as acted under his Commissions, and therefore not to have been punished by his own Authority only. The giving of them over to the power of the Parliament, not only weakned his own Fre-rogative, but put the House of Commons upon such a Pin, that they would let no Parliament pass (for the times to come) without some such Sacrifice. And so fell *Bacon*, Lord *Chancellor of England*, Lord *Verulam*, and Viscount of *St. Albans*; a man of good and bad qualities, equally compounded, one of a most strong brain, and a Chymical head; designing his endeavours to the perfecting of the Works of Nature, or rather improving Nature to the best advantages of life, and the common benefit of mankind. Pity it was he was not entertained with some liberal Salary, abstracted from all affairs both of Court and Judicature, and furnished with sufficiency both of means, and helps for the going on in his design, which had it been, he might have given us such a body of Natural Philosophy, and made it so subservient to the publick good, that neither *Aristotle* nor *Theophrastus* amongst the Ancients, nor *Paracelsus*, or the rest of our later Chymists would have been considerable. In these Agitations held the Parliament till the fourth of *June*, without doing any thing in order to his Majesties Service, who thereupon adjourned them till the fourteenth of *November* following, before which time we find *Land* mounted one step higher, and ready to take place amongst the Bishops in the House of *Peers*: And therefore here we will conclude the first Part of our present History.



THE
L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. II.

Extending from his being made Bishop of St. Davids till his coming to the See of Bath and Wells.

IT is an observation no less old than true, that *Patience and Perseverance overcome all difficulties*: And so it hapned unto *Laud*. Anno Domini. 1621. He had with most incredible patience endured the baffles and affronts which were put upon him by the power and practices of his enemies. Nor did he shew less patience in his so long and chargeable attendance at the Court, for which he had so small regard, that he was rather looked upon as the Bishop of *Durbams* Servant than the Kings. But notwithstanding these cross winds he was resolved to ride it out, neither to shift his sails, nor to tack about, but still to keep his way, and to stem the current till he had gained the Port he aimed at. His Majesty had been made acquainted by long experience with his great abilities, his constancy, courage, and dexterity, for managing affairs of moment. And thereupon entering into speech with him, in the beginning of *June* he was pleased to take notice of the long and unrewarded service which he had done him, telling him, that he looked on the *Deanry* of *Glocester* but as a Shell without a Kernel. This gave him the first hopes of his growing Fortunes.

PART I. Fortunes. On Sunday the nineteenth of that Month he preached before the King at *Wansteed*, that being the first of those Sermons, which
Anno Dom. are now in Print. And on *St. Peters* day next following, there was a
 1621. general expectation about the Court that he should have been made
 Dean of *Westminster*, in the place of *Williams*; who having been sworn Privy-Counsellor on the tenth of that month, and nominated to the See of *Lincoln*, was on the tenth of *July*, honoured with the custody of the great Seal of *England* upon the Deprivation of the Lord Chancellor *St. Albans*, which before we spake of: but *Williams* so prevailed at Court, that when he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, he retained this Deanry in *Commendam*, together with such other Preferments as he held at that time; That is to say, A *Prebend* and *Residentiary* place in the Cathedral Church at *Lincoln*, and the Rectory of *Walgrave* in *Northampton-shire*, so that he was a perfect Diocess within himself, as being *Bishop, Dean, Prebend, Residentiary, and Parson*; and all these at once. But though *Laud* could not get the Deanry, yet he lost nothing by the example; which he made use of in retaining not only his *Prebends* place in the same Church of *Westminster*, and his *Benefices* in the Country (that being an ordinary indulgence to such as were preferred to the smaller *Bishopricks*) but also the *Presidentship* of his Colledge in *Oxon*, which he valued more than all the rest. For that his own expectation might not be made as frustrate, as was that of the Court, his Majesty nominated him the same day to the See of *St. Davids*, in former times the Metropolitan City of the *Welsh* or *Brittish*. But though he was nominated then, he could not receive the *Episcopal Character* till five months after; the stay was long, but the necessity unavoidable, by reason of a deplorable misfortune which had befallen *Archbishop Abbot*, and was briefly this:

The *Archbishop* had long held a dear and entire Friendship with *Edward Lord Zouch*, a person of an eminent and known Nobility; On whom he pleased to bestow a visit in his house at *Bramshall*, invited to see a *Deer* hunted, that he might take the fresh air, and revive his *Spirits*; a *Cross-bow* was put into his hand to shoot one of the *Deer*: but his hand most unhappily swerving, or the *Keeper* as unfortunately coming in his way, it so pleased God (the disposer of *Humane Affairs*) that he missed the *Beast*, and shot the *Man*. On which sad accident, being utterly incapable of consolation, he retired himself to *Guilford*, the place of his birth; there to expect the Issue of his woful Fortunes in an *Hospital* of his own Foundation. The news of this wretched misadventure (as ill news flies far) came the same day to the *Lord Keeper Williams*; and he as hastily dispatches this Advertisement of it to the *Marquess of Buckingham*.

My most Noble Lord,

AN unfortunate occasion of my Lords Grace, his killing of a man casually (as it is here constantly reported) is the cause of my seconding of my yesterdays Letter unto your Lordship. His Grace upon this accident is by the Common Law of *England* to forfeit all his Estate unto his Majesty,
 and

and by the Canon Law (which is in force with us) irregular ipso LIB. II.
 facto, and so suspended from all Ecclesiastical Function, until he be a- Anno Dom.
 gain restored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the Kings Majesty 1621.
 in this Rank and Order of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. If you send for
 Doctor Lamb, he will acquaint your Lordship with the distinct penalties
 in this kind. I wish with all my heart his Majesty would be as merciful
 as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majesty
 know by your Lordship, that his Majesty is fallen upon a matter of great
 advice and deliberation. To adde affliction unto the afflicted (as no
 doubt he is in mind) is against the Kings Nature: To leave virum sangui-
 num, or a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a
 thing that sounds very harsh in the old Councils and Canons of the Church.
 The Papists will not spare to descant upon one and the other. I leave the
 knot to his Majesties deep Wisdom to advise and resolve upon. A rheum
 fallen into mine eye, &c.

Which Letter bearing date July 27. 1621. points us directly to the time of this woful Accident.

Being thus pre-judged and pre-condemned, the miserable man must needs have had a hard bout of it, if his cause had been referred to an hearing in *Chancery*: But King *James* was as compassionate as just, and as regardful of the Church as he was compassionate to the man. Advising therefore with his Council, and some chief Clergy-men about him, though more with his own gracious disposition, he after issued a Commission to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Saint David's*, and *Exon*, as also unto *Hubbert* and *Dodderidge*, two of the Justices of the Courts at *Westminster-hall*, *Martin* and *Steward*, Doctors of the Civil Laws, men of great Eminence and Abilities in their several Studies, to make Inquiry into the Fact: And having made Inquiry into the Fact, they were to give their resolution unto his Majesty, whether the Archbishop had been made *irregular* by that sad accident, as it was commonly reported. In the managing of which great Cause, there was much variety of Opinions amongst the Delegates; some making him obnoxious to *Irregularity*, and others as much labouring to acquit him of it: Amongst these last were Doctor *Andrews* then Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Martin* then Dean of the *Arches*, and not long after Judge of the *Prerogative Court*, to whose Authority and Judgment the rest of the Commissioners did in time conform. *Martin* for his part had received his Offices and Preferments from him, and therefore in an honest Gratitude thought himself obliged to bend the Law (as much as possibly he could) to his best advantage: But *Andrews* had no such impulsives, there being between them some disgust, which might have rather prevailed with him to have been his Enemy: First therefore he was willing not to stand too rigidly upon the strictness of the *Canons*, for fear lest others of the Bishops, and himself amongst them, either through ignorance or incogitancy, might commit some acts, which without a fair and mild construction, might render them as uncanonical as that poor man was: And then he saw, that if the Archbishop at that time had been pronounced *irregular*, and the

PART I: See made void, *Williams* being then Lord Keeper, and in great favour with his Majesty and the Marquess too, would have step'd into it; of whom he knew too much, to venture that great charge and trust of the Church of *England* to his' care and Government; the dangerous Consequences whereof he was able to foretel without the Spirit of Propheſie. Nor was this conjecture of his without very good grounds, *Williams* declaring in his ſaid Letter to the Marquess, That his Majesty had promised him upon the relinquishing of the Seal, one of the best places in this Church. And what place could be more agreeable to his affection than the Chair of *Canterbury*? Nor was this unfortunate Prelate less befriended in this desperate plunge by Sir *Edward Coke*, a man of most profound Learning in the Laws of this Land, who being ask'd the Question, Whether a Bishop might lawfully hunt in his own or in any other Park? (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty) returned this Answer thereunto; viz. *That by the Law a Bishop at his death was to leave his Pack of Dogs* (by the *French* called *Arte de Chiens* in some old Records) *to be disposed of by the King at his Will and Pleasure.* And if the King was to have the Dogs when the Bishop died, there is no question to be made, but that the Bishop might make use of them when he was alive.

By reason of this intercurrence, the new Elected Bishops could not receive the Episcopal Character till *November* following; on the eleventh day of which month, the Lord Keeper *Williams* was Consecrated Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Chappel of King *Henry*, by vertue of a Commission under the Broad Seal, directed to certain other Bishops, according to the Statute of King *Henry viij.* And on the *Sunday* following, by vertue of a like Commission directed to the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, *Ely*, *Landaff*, and *Oxon.* Doctor *Laud* Lord Elect of *Saint David's*, Doctor *Davenant* Lord Elect of *Salisbury*, and Doctor *Cary* Lord Elect of *Exeter*, received Episcopal Consecration in the Chappel of *London-bouſe.* The next day after he took his place amongst the Bishops in the House of Peers, the Parliament having been re-assembled some few days before: But there was little for them to do as the case then stood; The Commons were so far from gratifying the King with fresh Supplies, who before had gratified them in the destruction of such Ministers as were near unto him, that they entertained him with Petitions and Remonstrances touching the danger, threatned to our Religion, by the growth of *Poperie*; in which they were so far transported beyond their bounds, as to propose unto the King, *the taking of the Sword into his Hands against the Spaniard, and the marrying of his dear Son the Prince to a Lady of the Reformed Religion:* Of this the King had speedy notice; and in a Letter sent to Sir *Tho. Richardson*, then Speaker of the House of Commons, he lets them know how sensible he was of their incroachments, how bold they had made themselves with the King of *Spain*; forbidding them to deal hereafter in Affairs of State, or meddle with the Marriage of his Son the Prince: concluding, That if any such Petition or Remonstrance should be brought unto him, he would neither vouch-

safe

safe the Answering or the Reading of it. The Commons startled with LIB. II. this Letter, and thinking to have made a benefit of the Kings necessities, cry out against it as a violation of their Ancient Priviledges; and Anno Dom. 1621. on the nineteenth day of December then next ensuing, drew up the following *Protestation*, and caused it to be entred on Record in their Journal Books, viz.

The PROTESTATION of the COMMONS.

THe Commons now Asssembled, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises, and Priviledges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this Protestation here following: That the Liberties, Franchises, Priviledges, and Jurisdickions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of England; and the maintenance and making of Laws, and redresses of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects and matter of Debate in Parliament; and that in the handling or proceeding of those businesses, every Member of the House of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like freedom and liberty to treat of those matters in such order as to their Judgments shall seem fittest: and that every Member of the said House hath like freedom from all Impeachments, Imprisonment, and Molestation (other than by Censure of the House it self) for or concerning any Speaking, Reasoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament business; and that if any of the said Members be complained of, or questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons asssembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private Information.

More was the King startled at the news of this *Protestation* (whereof he had Intelligence before it came unto the Vote) than the Commons were upon the reading of his Majesties Letters. He saw his Prerogative invaded, his Paternal Right disputed, a popular State growing up in the midst of a Monarchy, and at the present a great Faction formed against him, which if not speedily suppressed might prove unresistible. Way he found none to extricate himself out of these troubles, but to proceed vigorously in the Treaty for the Match with Spain, which he conceived to be the only expedient to compose all Differences, and recover the Patrimony of his Children. For should he break off with that King, and declare for a present War against him, as had been desired, he was to cast himself entirely on the Love of his People, of whose Affections and Designs their present Actions gave just cause to be distrustful. He therefore first gives Order on the nineteenth of December (being the very day on which the *Protestation* was Voted at Westminster) to Adjourn the Parliament to the 8th. of February, under pretence that the Members might retire into the Country, for

PART I. keeping Hospitality, and entertaining their Neighbours in the *Christ-
Anno Dom. mas* Holy-days, according to the laudable custom of the *English Nation*:
1.621. But having thus dismissed them to their several Countries, without
noise or trouble, it was not his intent or purpose that they should come
together again at the time appointed; according to which resolution
he dissolves the Parliament, and by his Proclamation, bearing date the
ninth of *January*, discharges the Members of both Houses from any
further attendance.

The dissolving of this Parliament, and the Transactions in the same, administered much variety of Discourse in all parts of the Kingdom. It was observed by some, That his Majesty had broken one of the strongest Ligaments of the Regal Power, by delivering up his Servants and Ministers into the hands of his People in Parliament, which was a thing not used by any of his Predecessors; That neither *Wolsey's* exorbitant Power, or *Cromwel's* contempt of the Nobility, under *Henry viii.* or *Leicesters* Tyranny and Oppressions under Queen *Elizabeth*, were ever suffered to be canvased or condemned in Parliament; That the King got nothing by that unhappy condescension, but the laying himself open to all disadvantages which a Prince abandoning his Ministers, or abandoned by them, might have just reason to expect; That when Princes begin to fall so much beneath themselves, as to manage Pen Combate with their Subjects, they put themselves as it were upon equal ground, and stand on the same Level with their Vassals, and by the loss of their Authority, get nothing but the Reputation of an able Writer. And then the Reason of these his yieldings being brought in Question, they were by some imputed to a natural timidity or want of Courage, which rendered him unable to hold out long, when he encountered those who would put him to it: Others ascribed it to his wants, and his wants unto his prodigality, which made his Exchequer always empty; and Money must be had, whatever it cost him: But those who thought they came most neer unto the mark, discoursed of him as a man that loved not business, and loved no business less than that of Parliaments; That it was usual with him, when he called a Parliament, and had given them their Errand, as he thought, to retire to *Theobalds*, *Hampton-Court*, or *Windsor*, and sometimes further off, to *Royston*, or *New-Market*, as his pleasure carried him; That by this means the Commons, not having opportunity of Access to his Person, were forced upon a plausible necessity of making their Addresses to him by Messages, Remonstrances, and Petitions; That those Remonstrances and Petitions did beget their Answers, and their Answers did beget Replies which ended commonly in Exasperations on either side.

But nothing was so much admired at, as the encreasing of the Priviledges of the House of Commons, as well in nature as in number. And thereupon it was observed, that the Commons had mistook themselves in the very ground on which they built their Protestation; That the known Priviledges of the Commons were only liberty of speech in Debate and Conference; Freedom from all Arrests for themselves and their Servants, and opportunity of access to his Majesties
Person,

Person, as their occasions did require; that even those Priviledges could not be called the undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*, because they were no otherwise exercised and enjoyed than from one Parliament to another, by the grace and goodness of their Kings; That were it otherwise, it must needs be a great impertinency in their *Speaker* (at the first opening of every Parliament) to put himself upon his knees, and humbly to beseech his Majesty, in behalf of the House of Commons, to indulge them the continuance of those Priviledges which were of right their own before; That they had been as much mistaken in making the House of Commons (by involving both Houses in the name of Parliament) to be of equal Power and Priviledg with the House of *Peers*, the contrary whereof being so well known; That the *Peers* and People being summoned to Parliament by several Writs, the *Peers* were called only *ad consulendum*, to counsel and advise the King, in matters of most concernment to the Church and State; And that the People were called only *consentiendum & faciendum*, to give consent, and yield obedience to such things as were ordained in the Great Council of the *Peers*; that even the *Peers* themselves had no general warrant to meddle in all Affairs of State, but in such only as his Majesty commends and propounds to them; And therefore that these words in the Writ, *Super arduis regni negotiis*, are not left at large, but limited and restrained by the word *quibusdam*, to such particulars, and such only, in which the King required their Counsels.

L I B. II.

Anno Dom.

1621.

But nothing seemed so new or strange, as that no Member of the said House should be impeached, imprisoned, and molested, other than by Censure of the House it self, for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament business. A Priviledge not heard of in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when in the 35. of her Reign She imprisoned no less than five of the Members at a clap, not only without their leave, but against their liking; and held them in so strict a durance, that the Commons did not think it safe to move her Majesty to restore them to their former liberty. And therefore that they were to shew under what rust and rubbish of Antiquity this Priviledg had so long been hidden, and how it came to be found out at last, when no body heard of it, or looked after it. The like discoursed also of the following Priviledg, which had been long buried in the same grave, and never came till now to a resurrection, *viz.* That the King is to take no private information of any complaint, concerning matters said or done in that House, till it be shewn unto him by the House it self; of which it was affirmed, that it was contrary to the Presidents and Practice of former times as the other was: That when the Queen had laid an Imposition upon *Currans*, and that this Imposition had been complained of by some Merchants to the House of Commons, she had present notice given her of it by some of her Servants in that House, that shewing her dislike thereof to Sir *Robert Cicill*, principal *Secretary* of State, he signified the same unto the House, telling them it was a *Noli me tangere*, a point not fit for them to touch at; and that if they desisted not from

enter-

PART I. entertaining that complaint, he must acquaint her Majesty with
Anno Dom. it, as in duty bound. Nor was there any better ground for that other
 1621. branch, touching their Liberty and Freedom in breaking of all mat-
 ters which came under their Cognizance in such method and order as
 to them seemed fittest; but that they did intend to lay it as a founda-
 tion for preferring their own business before the Kings in all times to
 come.

I had not dwelt so long upon these Discourses, nor on the former
 passages between his Majesty, and the House of Commons, as being
 Exotical to my business: but that they were the chief occurrences
 of this first Parliament, of which our new Bishop was a Member.
 And though the sitting was but short, not above a Month; yet it af-
 forded him a liberal prospect into the Humours and Affections, the
 Counsels and Designs of the House of Commons, of which he was not
 to be taught how to make such use, as should prove most to the advan-
 tage of the Church and State. But that which chiefly did concern
 him to take notice of, was the interposing and embracements of that
 House in the cause of Religion; which if it were so much in danger by
 the extraordinary increase of *Popery*, as they gave it out, it must be
 much to the Reproach both of himself and the rest of the Bishops, that
 none of them had neither perspicuity enough to see it, or Zeal enough
 to give warning of it. And therefore he must needs conceive, that
 Religion was made use of only for a blind or curtain to screen some
 dark design from the publick view, which had not yet attained to so
 ripe a confidence as to shew it self abroad in the open light. The *Mystery*
of iniquity had long been working in this Church, not so much in the
Popish as the *Puritan* Faction. Who seeing they had no more prevailed
 against it by their open batteries than the Roman Emperours had done
 on the Primitive Church by their persecutions, resolved upon more
 secret (and consequently more dangerous) practices to attain their
 ends. In order whereunto they had perpetually alarm'd this King
 (from his first coming to the Crown) with continual dangers from
 the *Papists*; for which the Gunpowder-treason gave them too much
 ground. Nor would they suffer any Session of Parliament pass from
 that time forward, in which the dangerous practices of *Priests*, *Jesuits*,
 &c. did not sound in his ears. And this they did, not so much be-
 cause they saw any such visible increase of *Popery*, as was by them pre-
 tended from time to time: but that they thought it the best way to
 carry on their other projects, which they were in hand with. For
 well they knew, that when the thoughts both of King and People were
 totally taken up with the apprehension of the dangers which were
 feared from the *Papists*, the *Puritan* party in the mean time might gather
 strength without being noted or observed. But because these interpo-
 sings of the Commons in the cause of Religion, became to be more ea-
 gerly pursued in some following Parliaments, we shall refer the fur-
 ther consideration of them to another time.

1622. The Parliament being ended, we must follow our new Bishop to his
 Diocefs, whom we will wait upon to St. *Davids* (a poor City God
 wot) situate on the Promontory in *Pembroke-shire*, by the Ancients
 called

called *Ortopitæ*, in a safe place, and far enough from the *Saxons*, whom the *Welsh* most feared: but incommodious enough for all the rest of the Clergy to repair unto. Nor did it prove so safe for the Bishop, and other Inhabitants of it, as had been presumed, in respect of sundry other Nations who have often spoiled and defaced it. For standing near the Sea it had been frequently visited and spoiled by the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and other *Pirates*; insomuch that the Bishops were enforced to remove their dwelling to *Caermarthen*, a fair Market Town, and beautified with a goodly Collegiate Church, not far from which, in a Village called *Aberguilly*, the Bishop hath his ordinary place of Residence. This brought the City of *St. David's*, small enough before, to the condition of a Village, there being nothing almost remaining of it but the Church, the ruins of the Bishops Palace, and some Houses appertaining to the Canons of it. The Church, as now it stands, (if any of it be now left standing) was the work of Bishop *Peter* the forty eighth Bishop of this Diocess, and by him dedicated by the name of *St. Andrew* and *St. David*; though now *St. Andrew* be left out, and *St. David* bears the name, (as before it did) in reference to *St. David*, who first removed the Archiepiscopal See from *Caerleon* thither. The place at that time by the *Welsh* called *Menem*, whence the Latines borrow their *Menevenses*, by which name these Bishops are entituled. From this removal of the *see*, which hapned in 519. the Bishops hereof were for some time the Metropolitans, and for a long time the supreme Ordinaries of the *Welsh* or *Brittish*. For although Archbishop *Samson*, the twenty sixth from *St. David*, in the year 910. or thereabouts, had carried the *Archiepiscopal Pall* (and therewithal the Archiepiscopal dignity) to *Dole* in *Bretagne*, by reason of an extreme Pestilence, then raging amongst the *Welsh*; yet his Successors, though they lost the name, reserved the power of an Archbishop. Nor did the residue of the *Welsh* Bishops receive their Consecration from any other hand than his till the Reign of *Hen. I.* At what time *Bernard*, the forty sixth Bishop of this See, was forced to submit himself to the Church of *Canterbury*.

But our Bishops journey into *Wales* was not so much to visit *St. David's*, (in which Church he had been before installed by Proxy) as to bestow a visitation upon his Diocess, and therein to take order for the rectifying of such things as he found amiss. A Diocess containing the whole Counties of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Radnor*, and *Brecknock*, with some small parts of *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *Montgomery*, and *Glamorgan* Shires. For managing whereof the Bishop hath under him four Archdeacons, that is to say, of *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Brecknock*, and *Saint David's*; distributing amongst them all the Parishes which belong to this Diocess, amounting to no more (in so great a quantity of ground) than 308. of which 120 are accounted for Impropriations. But then we are to understand this number, of Parochial Churches, not taking into the Account such subordinate Chapels as had been built in several Parishes for the ease of the People, which might very much increase the reckoning. And yet he added one more to them of his own foundation; and such a one as for
the

L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1622.



PART I. the elegancy of the building, and richness of the Furniture, exceeded all the rest together. Chappels he found none at his Episcopal house of *Aberguilly*, and one he was resolved to bestow upon it, proportionably to such a Family as was fit for a Bishop of *St. David's* to have about him; which being finished, he provided it of rich Furniture, and costly Utensils, and whatsoever else was necessary or convenient for the Service of God; the very Plate designed for the celebrating of the holy Supper amounting to one hundred fifty five pounds eighteen shillings four pence. Infomuch that if *Felix* the *Proconsul* had been still alive, he might have cried out now, as he did in the time of *Julian* the *Apostate*, viz. (g) *Behold in what rich Vessels they administer to the Son of Mary.* But this unhappy Age hath given us *Felix's* enough to reckon this amongst his crimes, and so they do his solemn Consecration of it, performed by himself in person, according to an order firmly drawn up by the most learned Bishop *Andrews*, than whom there could not be a greater enemy to the Errours, Superstitions, and Corruptions of the See of *Rome*. I know it was objected, (h) that neither *Gratian*, nor the *Roman Pontifical*, conceive such Consecrations necessary to a Private Chappel; but then they are to be understood of such Chappels only as are meant for prayers, and in propriety of speech are no more than *Oratories*; and not of such as are intended for Preaching, Ministring the Sacraments, and other acts of Divine Worship, as this Chappel was. And this appears so plainly by the Authentick Instrument of the Dedication, that no man who hath seen the same can make question of it.

(g) Vide quam pretiosis vasīs administrant Marię Filio. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3.
(h) Cant Dom. p 504. Et tam ad Sacramentalia, tum Cœna Domini-cæ, tum etiam Baptismatis Sacri in eandem ministrantur, &c.

I have laid all these things together, from his Consecration in *November 1621.* till his return toward *London* on the fifteenth of *August 1622.* though the building and consecrating of this Chappel was the work of some following years, and that there intervened a business of another nature betwixt the end of the Parliament and the beginning of his journey. The Treaty for a Match with *Spain* was conceived to be very forwards, and the Parliament had ended in disgust for declaring against it, which much encreased the audaciousness of the *Papists*, and the discontents of the Puritan Faction. And though the Projects of these last were not yet ripe enough for a present discovery, yet so it hapned, that one *Knight*, a young Divine of *Broadgates* in *Oxon.* (now better known by the name of *Fembroke Colledge*) broke out a little before his time into such expressions as plain enough declared the purpose of all the rest. For preaching at *Saint Peters* on *Talm-Sunday* in the afternoon (being the fourteenth day of *April*) on those words of the Apostle, viz. *Let every soul be subject, &c. Rom. 13. 1.* he broacht this dangerous Doctrine: viz. *That the Inferiour Magistrate had a lawfull power to order and correct the King if he did amiss.* For illustration of which Doctrine he used that speech of *Trajan* unto the Captain of his Guard: *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me si bene imperavero distinges, sin minus contra me;* That is to say, Receive this Sword, which I would have thee use for my defence if I govern well; but if I rule the Empire ill, to be turned against me. For this being called in question by *Dr. Pierce*, one of the Canons of *Christ-Church,*

Church, being then Vice-Chancellor, he was commanded to deliver a L I B. II. Copy of his Sermon, which he did accordingly; and Letters present- Anno Dom. 1622. ly were dispatht to the Bishop of *St. Davids*, as the only *Oxford* Bishop then about the King, to make his Majesty acquainted with it. It was his Majesties pleasure, that both the Preacher and the Sermon should be sent to the Court. Where being come, he was very strictly examined about the Doctrine he had Preached, and how he came to fall upon it: He laid the fault of all upon some late Divines of Foreign Churches, by whom he had been so misguided; especially on *Pareus* a Divine of *Heidelberg*, who in his Commentary on the Epistle to the *Romans* had positively delivered, all which he had vented in his Sermon, event to that very saying of the Emperour *Trajan*. On this acknowledgment, it pleased the King of his special goodness to remit the error of the Preacher, considering him as a young man, and easily seduced by so grave an Author; but then withal he gave such order in the Point, That the said Book of *Pareus* should be publicly burnt, not only in both the Universities, but also after the end of the Sermon at *St. Paul's Cross London*, on some *Sunday* following; which Sentence was accordingly executed at *Oxon.* in *St. Maries Church-yard*, on the sixth of *June*, in a frequent Assembly of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, Heads of Houses, Regents, Non-Regents, and many others, whom curiosity or desire of satisfaction did allure unto it. The like done at *St. Paul's Cross* also on *Sunday* the 23. of *June* next following; *Mountain* then Bishop of *London*, Preaching there upon that occasion. The like was done at *Cambridge* also, but the time I know not.

But yet the business staid not here: The University of *Oxon.* thought themselves concerned to acquit the whole Body from that Censure, which the Error of one Member might have drawn upon it; and thereupon it was thought fit, that the most seditious Maxims and Positions, which in that point had been delivered by *Pareus*, should be extracted out of that Book; and being so extracted, should be presented to the Vice-chancellor, and by him referred unto the Judgment of the University: Which being done, a Convocation was assembled on the 25th. day of *June*, in which the said Maxims and Positions were by an unanimous consent condemned as false, seditious, impious, and destructive of all Civil Government. Nor did the University think they had done enough in looking back on Times past only, if they provided not also for the preventing of the like mischiefs for the time to come; and thereupon it was declared by the said University; First, That according to the *Canon* of Holy Scripture it was not lawful for the Subject to resist his Sovereign by force of Arms, or to make War against him, either *Offensive* or *Defensive*, whether it were for the cause of Religion, or upon any other Pretence whatsoever. Secondly, That all Doctors, Masters of Arts, Batchelors of *Law*, and Batchelors of *Physick*, living within the verge of the University, should subscribe to those Censures and Decrees: and Thirdly, That whatsoever did hereafter take any Degree in any Faculty whatsoever, should first acknowledge the truth and justice of those Censures, by his Subscription to the same; and should withal take his Corporal

PART I. Oath (the form of which Oath was then prescribed) That he did not
Anno Dom. only from his heart condemn the said Doctrines of *Pareus*; but that
 1622. he would neither preach, teach, or maintain the same, or any of them
 for the future. And for the better avoiding of the like inconveni-
 cies which *Knight* had run himself upon, by that preposterous course
 of Study which was then generally used in that University, order
 was given that his Majesties Instructions of the 18th of June 1616.
 should be published in all the Chappels of Colledges, and some pub-
 lick place in every Hall, that all young Students in Divinity might
 take notice of them: And this produced by little and little such an al-
 teration, that the name of *Calvin* (which before had carried all before
 it) began to lessen by degrees; his Reasons more looked upon than
 his Affirmations, and the Doctrines of the Church of *England* more
 closely followed than they had been formerly.

Nor did his Majesty so much neglect his own safety, or the peace
 and happiness of his People, as not to take such order in it as might
 prevent the like false, factious, and seditious preachings for the time
 to come. He found by this example, that divers young Students, by
 reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, might and did
 broach unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous Doctrines, to
 the scandal of this Church, and disquieting of the State and present
 Government; That the falling off of some to *Poperie*, and of others to
Anabaptistry, or to some other kind of separation from the Church,
 could not so rationally be imputed to any other thing than to the light-
 ness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of Preaching,
 which had been of late year too much taken up in Court, University,
 City, and Country; That too many Preachers were noted to be soar-
 ing up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacities of the people;
 That others ignorantly meddled in Civil matters, as well in the pri-
 vate meetings of several Parishes and Corporations, as in the Publick
 of the Kingdom, for the venting of their own distaste, or smoothing
 up of those idle fancies, which in this blessed time of so long a peace,
 doth boil in the brains of an unadvised People; That many of their
 Sermons were full of rude and undecent railings, not only against the
 Doctrines, but even against the persons of *Papists* and *Puritans*: And fi-
 nally, that the People never being instructed in the Catechism, and fun-
 damental grounds of Religion; for all these airy novellisms which they
 received from such Preachers, were but like new Table-books, ready
 to be filled up, either with the Manuals and Catechisms of the *Popish*
 Priests, or the Papers and Pamphlets of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and o-
 ther *Puritans*. His Majesty thereupon taking the Premises into his
 Princely consideration, which had been represented to him by sundry
 grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, thought it expedient to
 cause some certain Limitations and Cautions, concerning preachers
 and preaching, to be carefully digested and drawn up in writing: which
 done (so done as *Laud* appears to have a hand in the doing of it) and
 being very well approved by the King, he caused them to be directed
 to the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, by them to be communi-
 cated to the Bishops of their several Provinces, and by those Bishops

to be put in execution in their several Diocesses. Which directions bearing date the fourth of August, 1622. being the 20th. year of his Majesties Reign, I have thought convenient to subjoin, and are these that follow; viz.

L I B. II.

Anno Dom.

1622.

- I. That no Preacher under the degree and calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church (and they upon the Kings days only, and set Festivals) do take occasion by the Expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall into any set course or common place, otherwise than by opening the coherence and division of his Text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth 1562. or in some one of the Homilies set forth by Authority in the Church of England, not only for a help of non-preaching, but withal as a pattern, as it were, for the preaching Ministers; and for their further instruction for the performance thereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.
- II. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon Sundays and Holy-days in the Afternoons, in any Cathedral or Parish Church throughout this Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, or Commandments, or the Lords Prayer, (Funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of, who spend their afternoons exercise in the examination of children in their Catechisms, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.
- III. That no Preacher of what Title soever, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory, the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of Gods Grace; but rather leave those Themes to be handled by Learned Men, and that modestly and moderately, by Use and Application, rather than by way of positive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Universities, than for simple Auditories.
- IV. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by way of positive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or therein meddle with matters of State, and reference between Princes and People, than as they are instructed in the Homily of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority: but rather confine themselves wholly to these two Heads of Faith and Good Life, which are all the subject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.
- V. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall causelessly, and without any invitation from the Text, fall into any bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches against the Papists or Pu-

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1622.



ritans: but wisely and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.

- VI. Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choice in Licencing of Preachers, and Verbal Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary to pass License in this Kingdom: And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy of England, as being neither Parson, Vicar, or Curate) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the Diocese under his hand and seal, with a Fiat from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confirmation under the Great Seal of England; and that such as transgress any of his directions be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocese, or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province, Ab officio & beneficio, for a year and a day, until his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation prescribe for some further punishment.

No sooner were these *Instructions* published, but strange it was to hear the several descants and discourses which were made upon them; How much they were mis-reported amongst the people, and mis-interpreted in themselves; those very men who saw no just reason to condemn the Action being howsoever sure to misconstrue the end. For though they were so discreetly ordered, that no good and godly man could otherwise than acknowledge that they tended very much to Edification; Yet such Interpretations were put upon them, as neither could consist with his Majesties meaning, nor the true sense of the expressions therein used. By some it was given out, that those Instructions did tend to the restraint of Preaching, at the least as to some necessary and material points; by others, that they did abate the number of Sermons, by which the people were to be instructed in the Christian Faith; by all the Preachers of that Party, that they did but open a gap for Ignorance and Superstition to break in by degrees upon the people. Which coming to his Majesties Ears, it brought him under the necessity of making an Apology for himself, and his actions in it. And to this end having summed up the reasons which induced him to it, he required the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to communicate them to his Brother of *York*; by both to be imparted to their several Suffragans, the inferiour Clergy, and to all others whatsoever, whom it might concern: which notwithstanding, it lay so heavy on the stomach of *H. Burton* (at that time a Waiter in the Court, and afterwards benefited in *Friday-street*) that it would not down with him for many years. Insomuch that in his seditious Sermon, Entituled, *For God and King*, Anno 1636. he chargeth it for an Innovation in Religion, that the Bishops then about King *James*, (of which *Laud* was one) procured an order from him to inhibit young Ministers from preaching those Doctrines:

ctrines (those saving Doctrines as he calls them) of Election and Pre-destination, and that none but Bishops and Deans should handle those Points; which he is confident to have been done by them for no other reason, *But thereby the more easily to make way for the accomplishing of their plot,* for the introducing of Popery, so long in hammering. So impossible was it for that King, (and as impossible for his Son and Successor) assisted by the gravest and most moderate Councillors, to fix on any thing conducive to the peace and happiness of the Church, but what must be traduced, and made odious in the sight of the People by the reports and artifices of those troublesome Spirits: L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1. 6 2 2.

Now as his Majesty and the Church were exercised on the one side by the Puritan Faction, so were they no less troubled and disquieted by the Popish Party on the other. The Priests and Jesuites, upon the breaking up of the Parliament, and the Proceedings of the Treaty, grew to such an height of confidence, that they openly began to practise on some persons of Honour for seducing them and their dependants to the See of *Rome*. Amongst whom there was none more aimed at than the Countess of *Buckingham*, whom if they could gain unto their Party, they doubted not but by her means to win the *Marquess*, and by his power to obtain a toleration at the least of their Superstition. The Lady beginning to stagger in her resolutions, and *Fisher* the Jesuite (who had undertaken the task) continually pressing her by fresh arguments to declare her self, it came at last to the Kings knowledge, who was not wanting to discourse with her for her satisfaction. At that time *Dr. Francis White*, Rector of *Saint Peter in Cornhill*, was Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the Church of *Saint Paul*, by which he had gained an high esteem amongst his Auditors, not only for his honest Zeal against the Papists, in those (as they were then thought) Pendulous times: but for a notable dexterity in the managing of all points of Controversie. No man thought fitter than this Doctor to encounter *Fisher*. And to that end, in the beginning of this year, he was desired by the *Marquess* to hold a Conference with the Jesuite, at which his Mother being present, might hear what answers would be given to such Objections as had been made against this Church, and the Religion here by Law established. One Conference not being enough to conclude the business, another followed not long after, to which the King himself did vouchsafe his presence; so great was his desire to free this Honourable Lady from the *Fishers* net. But in that second Conference (consisting altogether of particular points) there had been nothing said touching an infallible, visible Church, which was the chief and only point in which the Party doubting required satisfaction. And that she might have satisfaction in that matter also, it pleased his Majesty to add a third Conference to the former on the twenty fourth of *May* next following, not to be managed by the same parties, but by our Bishop on the one side, and the said *Fisher* on the other; the Lord Keeper *Williams* (who put in a word or two sometimes) and divers other persons of Honour being also present.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1622.



How well he sped in that encounter, the Printed Conference, which came out about two years after, and the justification of it published in the year 1637. do most clearly evidence, as shall be shewn hereafter in due time and place. Certain I am, that he gained so much by that days work on the *Marquess of Buckingham*, that from that time forwards he was taken into his especial favour; For he himself telleth us in his *Breviate on Whitsunday, June the eighth*, That the *Marquess was pleased to enter into a nearer respect to him, the particulars whereof were not for paper*; That on the fifteenth of that month he had the honour to be made the *Marquess's Confessor* (which was to give him in effect the key of his heart;) that on the morrow after; being *Trinity Sunday*, the *Marquess* having thus prepared himself, received the Sacrament at *Greenwich*. Which if he had not forborn for a long time before, this *Memorandum* in the *Breviate* must have been impertinent; and finally, that on the eleventh of *January*, the *Marquess* and he were at some private Consultation, in the inner Chamber at *York-house*, on which he prays God to bestow his blessing. Nor was the King less pleased with his performance at that time, than the *Marquess* was. On the report whereof, he gave him order to digest the substance of it into Form and Method, to make it ready for his hearing in convenient time; and was content to give him access no less than thrice in the *Christmasts* holy-days, that he might hearken to it with the more attention. That King had never the command of so strong a patience as to hold out against a second or third reading, if he had not found some high contentment in the first. In which conjuncture, it was no hard matter for him to obtain the renewing and enlarging of his *Commendium* by the addition of the Parsonage of *Creek* in *Northamptonshire*, into which he was instituted and inducted, in the end of *January*.

We are now drawing unto a new and strange adventure, greater than which was never undertaken and performed by a Prince of *England*. The Treaty for the Match with *Spain*, beginning in the year 1617. was afterwards more vigorously prosecuted by King *James*, upon a hope of bringing back the *Palatinate* with it; But while he fed himself with hopes, the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians*, had devoured the Country, leaving but three Towns (*Heidelberg, Frankendule, and Manheime*) to keep possession for the *Prince Elector*, in the name of the rest. Which the King finding at the last, and seeing that one delay begat another, without promising any end to his expectations; it was by him resolved, without the privity and consent of his Council, that the Prince himself should go in person into *Spain*, that he might either speed the business, or break off the Treaty: Nor wanted the Prince strong impulsives to induce him to it. He was now past the two and twentieth year of his Age, and was so bent upon the Match, that he began to grow impatient with his Fathers Ministers for not ripening it unto an issue; For it is evident by *Digby's* Letter unto *Calvert* (1) dated *October 28. 1623.* (this last then Secretary of State) not only that King *James* did infinitely desire the Match, but that the Prince desired it as much as he, and by *Calvert's* Letter unto

(1) *Hidden works of dark*, p. 47:

Digby, on the fifth of this present *January*, That he could have no rest for his young Master, for being called on early and late to hasten the dispatch of all. Some Messages and dispatches had been brought by Porter out of *Spain* about three days before, which winged his feet, and added Spurs to the design. The journey being thus agreed on, was in the very nature of it, to be made a secret; and therefore not communicable to the Lords of the Council for fear of staying him at home, or rendring him obnoxious to the danger of an interception as he past through *France*; which mischief if it had befallen him, he must either have submitted unto such conditions, or suffered under such restraints as might seem intolerable in themselves, but absolutely destructive of his present purpose; which may the rather be believed by reason of the like proceedings of that King with the present Prince Elector *Palatine*; who posting disguised through *France*, in hope to get the Command of Duke *Bernards* Army, was stayed in the middle of his Journey by that Kings command, and kept so long under restraint that he lost the opportunity of effecting that which he desired.

It is not to be thought but that much danger did appear in the undertaking, but Love, which facilitates impossibilities, overcomes all dangers. On the eighteenth day of *February*, accompanied by the Duke of *Euckingham*, Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, he took Ship at *Dover*, and landed safe at *Boloigne* a Port of *Picardy*. Advanced on his way as far as *Paris*, his Curiosity carried him to the Court, to see a Masque, at which he had a view of that incomparable Princess, whom he after married. But he was like to have paid dear for his curiosity; For no sooner had he left the City, but the *French* King upon Advertisement of his being there, dispatcht away many of his Servants in pursuance of him, commanding them not only to stay his Journey, but to bring him back unto the Court. But he rides fast who rides upon the wings of Love and Fear, so that the Prince had past *Bayonne* (the last Town of *France*) without being overtaken by them; and posting speedily to *Madrid* he entred the Lord Ambassadors Lodging without being known to any but his Confidants only. That Danger being thus escaped, he cast himself upon another; For having put himself into the power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the courtesie of that King whether he should ever return or not; it being a Maxime among Princes, that if any one of them without leave sets foot on the ground of another, he makes himself *ipso facto* to become his Prisoner. *Richard* the first of *England* passing in disguise through some part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, was by him took prisoner, and put unto so high a ransome, that the Arch-Duke is said to have bought the Earldom of *Styria*, or *Styrmarch*, with some part of the money, and to have walled *Vienna* with the rest. Nor wanted the *spaniards* some Examples of a later date, which might have justified his detention there, had they been so minded, and those too borrowed from our selves. *Philip* the first of *Spain*, (one of the Predecessors of the King then Reigning) being cast by tempest on the coast of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the Seventh till he had delivered up the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had put himself under his

L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1622.
Id. p. 25.

PART I. protection. In like manner *Mary* Queen of *scots* being forced by her
Anno Dom. Rebellious Subjects to flee into this Realm, was presently seized on
 1622. as a Prisoner, and so continued till her lamentable and calamitous
 death. And what could more agree with the rules of Justice, and the
 old known practice of *Retaliation*, then that the *English* should be pun-
 ished by the rigour of their own severities?

(m) *Hidden*
works. p. 34.

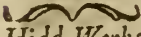
Such were the Dangers which the Princes person was exposed to by this unparallel'd adventure, not otherwise to be commended (in most mens opinions) but by the happy success of his return. And yet there were some fears of a greater danger than any could befall his person by Sea or Land; that is to say, the danger of his being wrought on to alter his Religion, and to make shipwrack of his Faith; and this by some uncharitable persons is made the ground of the design, to the indelible reproach of those who were supposed to have had a hand in the contrivement of the Plot: Amongst those the *Marquess* stands accused by the Earl of *Bristol*, as appears by the first Article of the Charge which was exhibited against him in the Parliament of the year 1626. And our new Bishop stands reproached for another of them by the Author of the book entituled, *Hidden works of darknes*, &c. (m). But then it cannot be denied, but that his Majesty and the Prince must be the Principals in this Fact, this *Hidden work of darknes*, as that Author calls it; *Buckingham* and *Saint David's* being only accessaries, and subservient instruments. But who can think they durst have undertaken so foul a business, which could not be washt off but by their blood, had not the King commanded, and the Prince consented? Now for the King, there is not any thing more certain than the great care he took that no danger should accrue to the Religion here by Law established by the Match with *Spain*. And this appears so clearly by the Instructions which he gave to *Digby* at the first opening of this Treaty, as if it had been written with a beam of the Sun: "The matter of Religion (saith he) is to us of most principal consideration; for nothing can be to us dearer than the honour and safety of the Religion we profess: And therefore seeing that this Marriage and Alliance (if it shall take place) is to be with a Lady of a different Religion from us; it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to give them all satisfaction convenient; so on the other, to admit nothing that may blemish our Conscience, or detract from the Religion here established. And to this point he stood to the very last, not giving way to any alteration in this, or toleration of that Religion; though he was pleased to grant some personal graces to the Recusants of this Kingdom, and to abate somewhat of the Rigour of those Capital Laws which had been formerly enacted against Priests and Jesuites.

Next for the Prince, he had been brought up, for some years then last past, at the feet of this most learned and wise *Gamaliel*; by whom he was so fortified in the true Protestant Religion, established by the Laws of this Realm, that he feared not the encounter of the strongest Adversary; and of this the King was grown so confident, that when *Maw* and *Wren*, the Princes Chaplains, were to receive his Majesties
 Com-

Commands at their going to *Spain*, there to attend upon their Master, **E. B. II.** he advised them not to put themselves upon any unnecessary Disputations, but to be only on the defensive part, if they should be challenged. **Anno Dom. 1622.** And when it was answered, That there could be no reason to engage in such Disputations where no Moderator could be had; The King replied, That *Charles* should moderate between them and the opposite party. At which when one of them seemed to smile upon the other, the King proceeded, and assured them, that *Charles* should manage a point in Controversie with the best studied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* so far as to hold the Conclusion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premises. By which it seems that his Majesty conceived no such fear on the Princes part, as that he could be practised or disputed out of his Religion; and that he had no such fear of *Buckingham* neither, but that he would be able to stand his ground, notwithstanding any Arguments which were brought to move him. And he that is so far confirmed as to stand his ground, will never yield himself though he may be vanquished. It was not then to be believed, that men so principled and instructed, as not to be forced out of their Religion, should take such pains to be perverted, or seduced upon worldly policies, as well against their Science, as against their Conscience. Had they gone thither on that Errand, what could have hindred them from putting the design in execution; having in *Spain* fit opportunity to effect it, at home the Kings Authority to confirm and countenance it, and the whole power of his Catholick Majesty (which was offered more than once or twice) to justifie and defend the mis-rule against all the world? That they brought back the same Religion which they carried with them, is a strong Argument to any man of sense and reason that they went not into *Spain* of purpose to betray it there.

Let us next look upon the proofs which are offered to us; for *Laud* being privy to this journey, whereof his being of Council to pervert the Prince, and draw him to the Church of *Rome*, there is no proof offered: For first I find it charged, that he wrote a Letter unto *Buckingham* on the fifth day after his departure, and maintained a constant Correspondence with him when he was in *Spain*: And secondly, That he was privy to some Speeches which his Majesty had used to the Prince at his going hence. His Majesty in some of his printed Books had maintained that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*; and now he feared that this might be alledged against him in the Court of *Rome*, to hinder the Popes Dispensation, and obstruct the Marriage: For the removal of which bar, he commands the Prince to signifie (if occasion were) to all it might concern, *That his Majesty had writ nothing in that point* concludingly, *but by way of Argument.* That *Laud* was present at this Conference betwixt his Majesty and the Prince, hath no proof at all: He might be made acquainted with it on the *post-fact*, when the Prince returned; and yet because he was made acquainted with this passage, though upon the *post-fact*, it must be hence concluded, as a matter certain, *That he was one of the Cabinet Council, and privy to the Princes going into Spain*: And secondly, as a matter probable, *That he suggested this*

Cant. Doom.
p. 276.

PART I. *distinction unto King James, to please the Pope, and promote the Match.*
Anno Dom. As little strength there is in the second proof, touching his Writing to
 1. 6 2 2. the Marquess on the fifth day after his departure: But then it was not
 till the fifth, before which time the Princes Journey into *Spain* was
Hidd. Works made the general Discourse of all Companies, the ordinary Subject of
 c. 34. & all Tongues and Pens; communicated by word of mouth, by Letters,
Brev. p. 3. and by what means not? Nor can those following Letters, which he
 received from *Buckingham* when he was in *Spain*, convince him of be-
 ing privy to that Journey, when it was in project and design; there be-
 ing many others also, who both received and dispatched Letters fre-
 quently from that very same person, so far from being of the Council
 as to that particular, that they were not of the Court at all: So ordi-
 nary is the fate of such sorry Arguments, to conclude nothing at all,
 or that which is nothing to the purpose.

But what need more to be said to confute this Calumny on which I
 have so long insisted, than the great Care which was immediately taken
 by the King and his Bishops, to maintain the Reputation of the Church
 of *England* in the Court of *Spain*? No sooner had his Majesty notice
 that the Prince was come in safety to the Court of that King, but order
 presently was taken for Officers of all Qualities, and Servants of all
 sorts to be sent unto him, that so he might appear in publick with the
 greater lustre. Nor was it the least part of his Royal Care, to accom-
 modate him with two such Chaplains as should be able to defend the
 Doctrine of this Church against all Opponents. And that there might
 appear a face of the Church of *England* in the outward Forms of
 Worship also, his Majesty was pleased by the Advice of the Bishops
 then about him (of which *Laud* was one) to give the said Chaplains,
Maw and *Wren*, these Instructions following, dated at *Newmarket*,
 March 10.

- I. That there be one convenient Room appointed for Prayer; the said Room
 to be employed during their abode to no other use.
- II. That it be decently adorned Chappel-wise, with an Altar, Fonts, Palls,
 Linen Coverings, Demy-Carpet, four Surplices, Candlesticks, Tapers,
 Chalices, Pattens, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the
 Household, a Traverse of Waters for the Communion, a Bason and Flag-
 gons, two Copes.
- III. That Prayers be duly kept twice a day: That all reverence be used by eve-
 ry one present, being uncovered, kneeling at due time, standing up at
 the Creeds and Gospel, bowing at the Name of JESUS.
- IV. That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of e-
 very Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine: the Com-
 munion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down;
 smooth Wafers to be used for the Bread.
- V. That in the Sermons there be no Polemical Preachings to inveigh against
 them, or to confute them; but only to confirm the Doctrine and Tenets
 of the Church of England, by all positive Arguments, either in Fun-
 damental or Moral Points; and especially to apply themselves in Mo-
 ral Lessons to Preach Christ Jesus Crucified.

VI. That

- VI. That they give no occasions (or rashly entertain any) of Conference LIB. II. or Dispute (for fear of dishonour to the Prince, if upon any offence Anno Dom. taken, he should be required to send away any one of them): but if the Lord Ambassador or Mr. Secretary wish them to hear any that desire some information, then they may safely do it. 1622.
- VII. That they carry the Articles of our Religion in many Copies, the Books of Common Prayer in several Languages, store of English Service-Books, the Kings own Works in English and Latin.

Such were his Majesties instructions to the said two Chaplains: and being such, they do *concludingly* demonstrate, That there was no design in the King or Prince, or in any of the Court or Court-Bishops, of what name soever, to alter the Religion here by Law established; or that the Prince was posted into *Spain* of purpose that he might be perverted or debauched from it.

But the best is, that he which gave the *Wound* hath made the *Plaiſter*; and such a *Plaiſter* as may assuredly heal the Sore without troubling any other Chirurgeon. It is affirmed by him who published the (p) *Breviate* of our Bishops Life, That he was not only privy to this Journey of the Prince and *Buckingham* into *Spain*, but that the Journey was purposely plotted to pervert him in his Religion, and reconcile him to *Rome*: And this he makes apparent by the following Prayer, found amongst others in the Bishops *Manual of Devotions*; than which there can be nothing more repugnant to the Propositions, for proof of which it is so luckily produced. Now the said Prayer is thus *verbatim, viz.* p. 14.

O Most merciful God and gracious Father, the Prince hath put himself to a great Adventure: I humbly beseech thee, make clear the way before him; give thine Angels charge over him; be with him thy self in Mercy, Power, and Protection, in every step of his Journey, in every moment of his Time, in every Consultation and Address for Action, till thou bring him back with safety, Honour, and Contentment, to do thee service in this place. Bless his most trusty and faithful servant the Lord Duke of Buckingham, that he may be diligent in Service, provident in Business, wise and happy in Counsel, for the honour of thy Name, the good of the Church, the preservation of the Prince, the contentment of the King, the satisfaction of the State: Preserve him; I humbly beseech thee, from all envy that attends him; and bless him, that his eyes may see the Prince safely delivered to the King and State; and after it to live long in happiness, to do thee and them service, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

And with this Prayer (so plainly destructive of the purpose for which it was published) I shut up the Transactions of this present year.

We will begin the next with the dismissal of the Archbishop of *spalato*, a man defamed by the *Italians* at his coming hither, and as much reproached by the *English* at his going hence: His name was

PART I. *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato* in Fact, and Primate of *Dalmatia* in Title: Such anciently and of right those Archbishops were, till the Bishop of *Venice* being made a Patriarch by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, Anno 1450. assumed that Title to himself, together with a Superintendency over all the Churches of that Country, as subordinate to him. He had been long conversant with the Fathers and Ancient Councils; By this Light he discerned the Darkness of the Church of *Rome*, and the blind Title which the Popes had for their Supremacy. Inclining to the Protestant Religion, he began to fear that his own Country would prove too hot for him at the last; and therefore after he had sate in the See of *Spalato* about fourteen years, he quitted his Preferments there, and betook himself for Sanctuary to the Church of *England*, Anno 1616. Extremely honoured at his first coming by all sorts of people: entertained in both Universities with solemn Speeches; presented, complemented, feasted, by the great Lords about the Court, the Bishops, and some principal persons about the City: Happy was he that could be honoured with his Company, and satisfied with beholding his comely presence, though they understood not his Discourses. Commended by King *James* at first for a constant Sojourner and Guest to Archbishop *Abbot*, in whose Chappel at *Lambeth* he assisted at the Consecration of some *English* Bishops. Made afterwards by the King the Master of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Windsor*, and by himself made Rector of *West-Illesby* in the County of *Berks*: A Revenue not so great as to bring him under the suspicion of coming hither out of Covetousness, for the sake of filthy Lucre; nor so contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his stay here, he published his learned and elaborate Book entituled, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, never yet answered by the Papists, and perhaps unanswerable. He had given great trouble to the Pope by his defection from that Church, and no small countenance to the Doctrine of the Protestant Churches by his coming over unto ours. The foundring of so great a Pillar, seemed to prognosticate, that the Fabrick of that Church was not like to stand. And yet he gave greater blows to them by his Pen, than by the defection of his person; the wound so given, being conceived to be incurable.

In these respects, those of that Church bestirred themselves to disgrace his person, devising many other causes, by which he might be moved or forced to forsake those parts, wherein he durst no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous Pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more secret practices, insinuating, That he had neither that respect nor those Advancements which might encourage him to stay; That the new Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth was his special Friend; That he might chuse his own Preferments, and make his own Conditions, if he would return. And on the other side they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King *James*, by the Arts of *Gundamore*, Embassadour at that time from the King of *Spain*; and lessened his esteem amongst the Clergy, by some other Artifices: So that the poor man, being in a manner lost on both sides, was forced

to a necessity of swallowing that accursed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own destruction. For having solicited King *James* by several Letters (the last of them bearing date on the third of *February*) to license his departure home, he was by the King disdainfully turned over to the *High-Commission*, or rather to a special Commission directed to Archbishop *Abbot*, the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, with certain of the Lords of the Privy Council. These Lords assembling at *Lambeth* on the 30th. of *March*, and having first heard all his excuses and defences, commanded him to depart the Realm within twenty days, or otherwise to expect such punishment as by the Laws of the Land might be laid upon him, for holding Intelligence by Letters, Messages, &c. with the Pope of *Rome*. To this Sentence he sorrowfully submitted, protesting openly, That he would never speak reproachfully of the Church of *England*, the Articles whereof he acknowledged to be sound and profitable, and none of them to be *Heretical*, as appears by a Book entituled, *S PALATO's Shiftings in Religion*, published (as it was conceived) by *Laud's* especial Friend, the Lord Bishop of *Durham*. How well, or rather how ill he performed this promise, and what became of him after his return to *Rome* is not now my business. The man is banished out of *England*, and my History leads me next into *Spain*, not *Italy*.

The Church of *England* had a great stock at that time to be driven in *Spain*, and many of the *Romish* Factors were desirous to be trading in it. No sooner was the Princes Train of Lords and Gentlemen come to the City of *Madrid*, but the King of *Spain* assigned a day for his Reception. A Reception so Magnificent, so full of State and Royal Pomp, that it redounded infinitely to the honour of the *Spanish* Court, and the satisfaction of the Prince. Never was King of *Spain* on the day of his inauguration received into that City with a more general concourse of all sorts of people, and greater signs of Joy and Gallantry; then the Prince was conducted through it to the Palace Royal. In which his Quarters being assigned him, there wanted no allurements on their parts to win him to a fair esteem of their Religion, and to put some high value also on their Court and Nation. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit compliances, by which he might both gain on them, and preserve himself; for by his Courtly Garb he won so much on the affections of the Lady *Infanta*, and by his Grace and circumspect behaviour got so much ground upon that King and his Council, that the Match went forward in good earnest. A dispensation for the marriage was procured from *Gregory* the Fifteenth then sitting in the See of *Rome*. The Articles of the marriage with all the circumstances thereof were agreed upon, and solemnly sworn to by both Kings. Nothing remained to bring the whole business to a joyful issue but the Consummation. But before that could be obtained, the Prince must try his fortunes in an harder Conflict than any he had learnt in the Schools of Love.

The change of his Religion was much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his first coming thither. To perfect which he was plied from
time

L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1623.

PART I. time to time with many perswasive Arguments by many persons of
Anno Dom. great honour about that King. And many of the most learned Priests
 1623. and Jesuites made their Addresses to him, with such Rhetorical Ora-
 tions, with such insinuating Artifices, and subtle Practises, as if they
 had a purpose rather to conquer him by kindness, than by disputation.
 Nor stop they there, but dedicated many Books unto him, to gain him
 fairly to their party; invited him to behold their solemn Processions
 to captivate his outward senses; and carried him to the most Religi-
 ous places, famous for their magnificent Fabricks, and pretended Mi-
 racles. In which conjuncture of designs, it is not to be thought but
 that the Pope bestirred himself in gaining to his Church a Prince of
 such parts and greatness. For first he writes unto the Bishop of *Con-*
chen, *Inquisitor* general of *Spain*, not to be wanting to the opportunity
 which God had put into his hands. The next day, being the twenti-
 eth of *April*, he addressed his lines unto the Prince, extolling the piety
 of his Predecessors, their zeal unto the Catholick Church, and to the
 head thereof the Pope, inviting him by all the blandishments of Art,
 to put himself upon the following of their brave examples. Never
 had Prince a harder game to play than Prince *Charles* had now: He
 found himself under the Power of the King of *Spain*, and knew that
 the whole business did depend on the Popes dispensation, with whom
 if he complied not in some handsome way, his expectation might be
 frustrate, and all the fruits of that long Treaty would be suddenly bla-
 sted. He therefore writes unto the Pope in such general terms as
 seemed to give his Holiness some assurances of him: but being re-
 duced unto particulars, signified nothing else but some civil comple-
 ments; mixt with some promises of his endeavours to make up the
 breaches in the Church, and restore Christendom to an happy and de-
 sirable peace. Which notwithstanding was after reckoned amongst
 his crimes, by such as rather would not, then did not know the ne-
 cessity which lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plausible corre-
 spondence with the Catholick party.

But these Temptations and Allurements, these Artifices and Insinua-
 tions, prevailed so little with the Prince, that he still kept his stand,
 and was found impregnable; carrying himself with such a prudent
 Moderation in these encounters, that he came off always without En-
 vy, but not without Glory. And that it might appear on what grounds
 he stood, it was thought fit to let them see that he professed no other
 Religion than what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not
 much abhorrent from the Forms then used in the Church of *Rome*.
 And to this end, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*,
 the *English Liturgie* was translated into Spanish; so many Copies of
 the book then Printed being sent into *Spain*, as gave great satisfaction
 both to the Court and Clergy. The work performed by a converted
 Dominican (q) who was gratified for his pains therein by a good Pre-
 bend, and a Benefice, as he well deserved. And this I must needs say
 was very seasonably done; for till that time the *Spaniards* had been
 made believe by their Priests and Jesuites, that when the *English* had
 cast off the *Pope*, they had cast off all Religion also. That from
 thence-

(q) Cab. p. 47

thenceforth, they became meer *Atheists*; and that the name of God was never used amongst them, but with a purpose to expose it to profanation. An Argument whereof may be the extreme squeamishness of the Constable of *Castile*, sent into *England* in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, to swear the peace between both Kings. Who understanding that the business was to be performed in the Chappel, where some *Anthems* were to be sung, desired, *that whatsoever was sung, Gods name might not be used in it; and that being forborn, he was content they should sing what they listed.* And when the Earl of *Notingham*, attended by many Gentlemen of worth and quality went into *Spain*, to take the like Oath of the *Catholick* King, it was reported by his followers at their coming back, how much it was commiserated by the *Vulgar Spaniards*, that so many goodly persons should be trained up in no other Religion than to worship the Devil.

But let us leave the Prince, and return for *England*, where the King had as hard a game to play; For having left such a Pawn in *Spain*, he was in a manner bound to his good behaviour, and of necessity to gratifie the *Popish* Party in this Kingdom with more than ordinary Favours. He knew no marriage could be made without the *Popes* Dispensation, and that the *Popes* Dispensation could not be obtained without indulging many graces to his *Catholick* Subjects. To smooth his way therefore to the point desired, he addresseth several Letters to the *Pope* and Cardinals, in which he gives him the title of most holy Father; and imployes *Gage*, as his Agent in the Court of *Rome*, to attend the business. At home he dischargeth all such *Priests* and *Jesuites* as had been formerly imprisoned; inhibiting all *Processes*, and *Superfeding* all proceedings against *Recufants*; and in a word, suspends the execution of such penal Laws as were made against them. The People hereupon began to cry out generally of a *Toleration*, and murmur in all places against the King, as if he were resolved to grant it. And that they might not seem to cry out for nothing, a Letter is dispersed abroad, under the name of Archbishop *Abbot*. In this Letter his Majesty is told, “ That by granting any such *Toleration* he should set
 “ up the most damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of
 “ *Rome*, the whore of *Babylon*; that it would be both hateful to God,
 “ grievous to his good Subjects, and contradictory to his former Writ-
 “ ings, in which he had declared their Doctrines to be Superstitious,
 “ Idolatrous, and detestable; That no such toleration could be
 “ granted but by Parliament only, unless it were his purpose to shew
 “ his people that he would throw down the Laws at his pleasure; That
 “ by granting such a *Toleration*, there must needs follow a disconti-
 “ nuance of the true Profession of the Gospel, and what could follow
 “ thereupon, but Gods heavy wrath and indignation both on himself
 “ and all the Kingdom; That the Prince was not only the Son of his
 “ *Flesh*, but the Son of his People also, and therefore leaves him to
 “ consider what an error he had run into, by sending him into *Spain*
 “ without the privity of his Council, and consent of his Subjects; And
 “ finally, That though the Princes return might be safe and prospe-
 “ rous, yet they that drew him into that dangerous and desperate Acti-
 “ on, would not scape unpunished. This

L I B. II.

Anno Dom.

1623.

Spotsw. Hist.
of Scot.
f. 530.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1623.



This was the substance of the Letter, whosoever was, the Writer of it. For *Abbot* could not be so ill a Statesman (having been long a Privy Counsellour) as not to know, that he who sitteth at the Helm must steer his course according unto wind and weather; And that there was a very great difference betwixt such personal indulgencies, as the King had granted in that case to his Popish Subjects, and any such Publick Exercise of their Superstitions, as the word *Toleration* doth import; and howsoever, that it was a known Maxime in the Arts of Government, that necessity over-rules the Law, and that Princes many times must act for the publick good, in the infringing of some personal and particular rights which the Subjects claim unto themselves. Nor could he be so ignorant of the Kings affections as to believe, that the King did really intend any such toleration, though possibly he might be content, on good reason of State, that the people should be generally perswaded of it: For well he knew that the King loved his Sovereignty too well to quit any part thereof to the *Pope* of *Rome*, and consequently to part with that Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters (as needs he must have done by a Toleration) which he esteemed the fairest Flower in the Royal Garland. In which respect, King *James* might seem to be made up of *Cesar* and *Pompey*, as impatient of enduring an equal, as of admitting a Superiour in his own Dominions. Or had he been a greater stranger at the Court than can be imagined, yet could he not be ignorant, that it was the Kings chief interest to preserve Religion in the same state in which he found it; and could not fear but that he would sufficiently provide for the safety of it. Upon which Premises, it may be rationally inferred, that *Abbot* was only the *reputed* Author of this Bastard Letter, and not the natural Parent of it.

Nor was the Toleration more feared by the English Protestants, than hoped for by the *Papists* here, and presumed by the *Pope* himself. In confidence whereof, he nominated certain Bishops to all the Episcopal Sees of *England* to exercise all manner of Jurisdiction in their severall and respective Diocesses, as his false and titular Bishops did in the Church of *Ireland*. The intelligence whereof being given to the Jesuites here in *England*, who feared nothing more than such a thing, one of them, who formerly had free access to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, acquaints him with this mighty secret; assuring him, that he did it for no other reason, but because he knew what a great exasperation it would give the King, and consequently how much it would incense him against the Catholicks. Away with this Intelligence goes the Lord Keeper to the King, who took fire thereat as well as he, and though it was somewhat late at night, commanded to go to the *Spanish* Embassadour, and to require him to send unto the King his Master to take some course that those proceedings might be stopt in the Court of *Rome*; or otherwise that the Treaty of the Match should advance no further. The Lord Keeper finds the Embassadour ready to send away his Pacquet, who upon hearing of the news commanded his Currier to stay till he had represented the whole business in a Letter to the King his Master. On the receiving of which Letter, the King

im-

imparts the same to the *Popes Nuncio* in his Court. Who presently sends his dispatches to the *Pope*, acquainting him with the great inconveniencies and unavoidable dangers of this new design; which being stopt by this device, and the Treaty of the Match ending in a rupture not long after, the same Jesuite came again to the Lord Keepers lodging, and in a fair and facetious manner thanked him most humbly for the good office he had done for that Society, for breaking and bearing off which blow all the friends they had in *Rome* could find no buckler. Which Story as I heard from his Lordships own mouth (with no small contentment) so seemed he to be very well pleased with the handsomness of the trick which was put upon him.

Laud was not sleeping all this while. It was not possible that a man of such an Active Spirit should be out of work, and he had work enough to do in being the Dukes Agent at the Court. The Marquess was made Duke of *Buckingham*, at his being in *Spain*, to make him more considerable in the eye of that Court: and this addition to his honours, was an addition also to that envy which was born against him. Great Favourites have for the most part many enemies, such as are carefully intent upon all occasions which may be made use of to supplant them. Which point the Duke had so well studied; that though he knew himself to be a very great Master of the Kings affections: yet was he apprehensive of the disadvantages to which this long absence would expose him. It therefore concerned him nearly to make choice of some intelligent and trusty friend, whom he might confide in (and he was grown more confident of *Laud* than of any other) from whom he might receive advertisement of all occurrences, and such advice as might be most agreeable to the complexion of affairs. Nor did it happen otherwise than he expected, for long he had not been in *Spain*, when there were many fearings of him in the Court of *England*, many strange whisperings into the ears of the King concerning the abuse of his Royal Favours; the general discontentments which appeared in the people for the Princes Journey into *Spain*; the sad consequents which were feared to ensue upon it in reference to his Person, and the true Religion; that the blame of all was by the People laid on the Duke, and that it was safest for his Majesty to let it rest where they had laid it. But nothing could be thought more strange unto him, than that the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* should be of Counsel in the Plot, both of them being of his raising, and both (in the stile of Court) his Creatures. Of all which practices and proceedings *Laud* gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again directions in his actings for him. (Pity it is that none of these reciprocal Letters have been found to make up the *Cabala*, and to enrich the treasures in the *Scrinia Sacra*) From hence proceeded the constancy of affection which the Duke carried to him for ever, after the Animosity between *Laud* and *Williams*; the fall of *Cranfield* first, and of *Williams* afterwards; *Laud* by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.

The news of these practices in the Court, made the Duke think of leaving *Spain*, where he began to sink in his estimation; and halting his

PART I. return to *England*, for fear of sinking lower here than he did in *Spain*.
Anno Dom. Some clashing there had been betwixt him and the *Conde d' Olivarez*,
 1623. the Principal Favourite of that King; and some *Careffes* were made to
 him by the Queen of *Bohemia*, inviting him to be a God-father to one
 of her Children. In these disquiets and distractions he puts the Prince
 in mind of the other Game he had to play; namely, the Restitution
 of the *Palatinate*, which the *Spaniard* would not suffer to be brought
 under the Treaty of the Match; reserving it (as they pretended, and
 perhaps really intended) to be bestowed by the *Infanta* after the mar-
 riage, the better to ingratiate her self with the *English* Nation. Which
 being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other assurance
 than a Court-complement only, it was concluded by the Prince, That
 since he could not prevail in the one, he would not proceed to the
 Consummation of the other. But then it did concern him so to
 provide for his own safety, that no intimation might be made of
 the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himself out of that
Labyrinth into which he was cast: For which cause having de-
 sired of his Father, that some Ships might be sent to bring him home,
 he shewed himself a more passionate Lover than ever formerly, be-
 stowed upon the Lady *Infanta* many rich Jewels of most inestimable
 value, and made a *Proxy* to the Catholick King, and *Don Charles* his
 Brother, in his name to Espouse the Lady. Which *Proxy* being made
 and executed in due form of Law, on the Fourth of *August* 1623. was
 put into the hands of *Digby* (on the Fifteenth of *September* after made
 Earl of *Bristol*) by him to be delivered to the King of *Spain* within
 ten days after the coming of the Dispensation from the new *Pope Urban*,
 which was then every day expected. But no sooner had he took his
 leave, and was out of danger, but he dispatch'd a Post unto him, com-
 manding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* until further order: And
 having so done, he hoised Sails for *England*.

Arriving at *Portsmouth* on *Sunday* the fifth of *October*, he rides Post
 the next day to *London*, and after Dinner on the same day to the
 Court at *Royston*; his welcom home being celebrated in all places with
 Bells and Bonfires, and other accustomed expressions of a Publick Joy.
 Being come unto the Court, they acquaint his Majesty with all that
 hapned, informing him that no assurance of regaining the *Palatinate*
 could be had in *Spain*, though the Match went forwards. His Majesty
 thereupon dispatches Letters to the Earl of *Bristol* on the eighth of
October, requiring him not to deliver up the *Proxie*, and so not to pro-
 ceed to the Espousals, till the *Christmas* Holy-days; and in the mean
 time to press that King to a positive answer, touching the *Palatinate*.
 The expectation whereof not being answered by success, a Parliament
 is summoned to begin on the 17th. of *February* then next following, to
 the end that all things might be governed in this great Affair by the
 publick Counsel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning
 whereof, the Duke declared before both Houses (more to the disad-
 vantage of the *Spaniard* than there was just ground for) how unhand-
 somly they had dealt with the Prince when he was in *Spain*; how they
 had fed him with delays; what indignities they had put upon him; and
 finally.

finally, had sent him back, not only without the *Palatinate*, but with-
 out a Wife; leaving it to their prudent consideration what course to
 follow. It was thereupon Voted by both Houses, That his Majesty
 should be desired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and
 to engage himself in a War against him for the recovery of the *Palati-
 nate*, not otherwise to be obtained. And that they might come the
 better to the end they aimed at, they addressed themselves unto the
 Prince, whom they assured, That they would stand to him in that War,
 to the very last expence of their Lives and Fortunes; and he accord-
 ingly (being further set on by the Duke) became their instrument to per-
 swade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and Desires of his
 Subjects, which the King (press'd by their continual importunities)
 did at the last (but with great unwillingness) assent to: Such was the
 conduct of this business on the part of the *English*.

Look we next what was done in *Spain*; and we shall find in Letters
 from the Earl of *Bristol*, (r) That as soon as news was come to *Spain*, (r) Digby to
 that King James had sworn the Articles of the Treaty, (which was done Calvert,
 on the 26th. of July) the Lady Infanta by all the Court, with the Appro- July 25.
 bation of that King, and her own good-liking, was called La Princesa de
 Inglaterra; That as such, she gave her self the liberty of going publickly
 to such Comedies as were presented in the Court, (which before was
 not allowable in her :) (s) That as such also, not only he himself (as the (s) To Cal-
 Kings Embassidour) was commanded to serve her; but the Duke, and all vert. Dec.
 the English were admitted to kiss her hands, as her servants and Vassals; 28.
 That after the Princes departure, there was no thought of any thing but of
 providing Presents for the King and him, the settling of the Princesses Fa-
 mily, and making Preparations for the Journey on the first of March;
 That the Princess also had begun to draw the Letters which she intended to
 have written the day of her disposories to the Prince her Husband, and the
 King her Father-in-Law; That besides such assurances as were given
 by the Count of Olivarez, and other Ministers of that King, the Prin-
 cess had made the business of the *Palatinate* to be her own, and had there-
 in most expressly moved the King her Brother, and written to the Conde of
 Olivarez to that effect, and had set her heart upon the making of her self
 grateful and welcome to the King and Kingdom, by overcoming the dif-
 ficulties that appeared in it: In which respect it was very truly said by
 Digby, in one of his Letters to King James, That it would be held a point
 of great dishonour to the Infanta, if the Powers called for by her Friends
 should be detained on the Princes part; and that whosoever had deserved
 ill, she certainly had deserved neither disrespect nor discomforts. Adde
 hereunto, That the Popes Dispensation coming to the Court of *Spain* in
 the beginning of December, that King caused Bonfires to be made in
 all the parts of his Realms, intending on that day (in satisfaction of the
 Cath which he had made to the Prince) to proceed to the *Esponsals*
 with all due solemnity. Which being the true state of this affair, as
 far as I am able to look into it, I shall refer it to the judgment of the
 equal Readers, whether this poor Lady were more dishonoured and
 discomforted by her own Brother and his Ministers, if they meant not
 really and effectually to satisfy all expectations touching either Treaty;
 or by the *English*, if they did.

To K. James,
 Octob: 24.

Hidd. works,
 p. 61.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1623.



But it is now time to leave these Foreign Negotiations, and keep close at home, where we shall find the *Priests* and *Jesuites* as busie in seducing the people, and the *Lay-Papists* as audacious in hearing and frequenting *Masses*, as if they had been fortified by a *Toleration*. But it pleased God to put some Water into their Wine, and abate the fervour of those heats, by letting them feel the strokes of his heavy hand, when they look'd not for it. Being assembled in a fair and capacious room at *Hunsdon House* in *Black-Friers*, to hear the Sermon of one *Drury* a *Jesuite*, their numbers were so great, and their weight so heavy, that the Floor sunk under them. Most lamentable were the cries of those which fell under that Ruine, 94 of them (of which the Preacher himself was one) being killed out-right; most of the rest so miserably bruised and maimed, that the condition of the dead was esteemed far happier than that of the living: A matter of great astonishment to their Party here; and that it might not be so abroad, they thought it good to shift the Scene, and change the Actors, publishing to that end a Pamphlet, which they dispersed in divers parts of *France* and *Italy*, containing a relation of Gods Judgments shown on a sort of *Protestant Hereticks*, by the fall of an House in *St. Andrews* Parish in *Holborn*, in which they were assembled to hear a *Geneva* Lecture, *October 26. A. D. 1623.* So wickedly wise are those of that Generation, to cheat their own Souls, and abuse their Followers. And yet the Pamphleteer says well, That this disaster hapned on the 26th. of *October*; for so it did according to the *Old style* and account of *England*: But it was on the fifth day of *November*, according to the *New style* and account of *Rome*. And this indeed may seem to have somewhat of Gods Judgment in it, That the intended blowing up of the Parliament, to the unavoidable destruction of the King, Prince, Prelates, Peers, and the chiefest Gentry of the Nation, on the fifth day of our *November*, should on the fifth day of their own be reconpenced or retaliated by the sinking of a Room in which they met, to the present slaughter of so many, and the maiming of more.

But leaving them to their ill Fortunes, it was not long before *Buckingham* found the truth of such Informations as he had received touching those ill Offices which had been done to him in his absence, from some whom he esteemed his Friends. Hereupon followed an estranging of the Dukes Countenance from the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and of his from the Bishop of *St. Davids*, whom he looked upon as one that stood in the way betwixt him and the Duke: with which the Duke was not long after made acquainted. But these displeasures were not only shewn in offended Countenances, but brake out within little time into sharp Expostulations on either side. The Duke complained to *Laud*, *December 15.* That the Lord Keeper had so strangely forgotten himself to him, as he seemed to be dead in his affections; and began to entertain some thoughts of bringing him by a way which he would not like, to a remembrance of his duty: and on the eleventh of *January* the Lord Keeper meets with *Laud* in the *Withdrawing Chamber*, and fell into very hot words with him, of which the Duke hath an account also within three days after. But *Williams* seeing how

how unable he was to contend at once with Wit and Power, applied himself with so much diligence to regain the Favour of the Duke, that in the beginning of *February* a Reconciliation was made between them, the Duke accepting his submission, and learning from him, That his great Favours unto *Laud*, were the chief reasons which had moved him unto that forgetfulness. And that the benefit of this Reconciliation might extend to all who were concerned in the displeasures, *Williams* engageth to the Duke to be friends with *Laud*, and did accordingly bestow some Complements upon him; but such as had more ceremony than substance in them. From henceforth nothing but an appearance of fair weather between these Great Persons, though at last it brake out again more violently into open storms. The wound was only skinned, not healed; and festred the more dangerously, because the secret Rancor of it could not be discerned. In the mean time *Laud* was not wanting to himself in taking the benefit of this Truce: *Abbot* had still a spite against him, and was resolved to keep him down as long as he could; to which end he had caused him to be left out of the *High-Commission* (and *Williams* was not forward to put him in) though never a Bishop that lived about *London* was left out but himself, and many who lived not there put in: Of which Indignity he complained to the Duke, by his Letter bearing date *November* 1. 1624. and was remedied in it.

L I B. II.

Anno Dom.

1623.



During the heat of these Court-combats, the Parliament before-mentioned was assembled at *Westminster*, on the seventeenth of *February*; upon whose humble Petition and Advice his Majesty dissolved the Treaties, and engaged himself in a War with *Spain*: But this he had no sooner done, when they found into what perplexities they had plunged themselves by this Engagement; there being nothing more derogatory to the Honour and Prosperity of a King of *England*, than to be cast on the necessity of calling Parliaments, which rendreth them obnoxious to the power and pride of each popular spirit, and makes them less in Reputation both at home and abroad: For first they Petitioned him for a Fast, which he also granted. They had desired the like in some former Parliaments, and Sessions of Parliaments, as they had done also in *Queen Elizabeths* time; but could never obtain the same from either. It was then told them, That there were weekly Fasts appointed to be kept by the Laws of the Land, which if they did observe, as they ought to do, there would be no need of Solemn Fasts, to begin their Parliaments. The blame of which Answer, in the Parliament immediately foregoing this, was by the *Puritan* Faction cast upon the Bishops (who at the same time had opposed some Proposition tending to some *Restraints* on the *Lords day*, not imposed before) as men whose Pride hindred all such Religious Humiliations, and whose Profaneness made them Enemies to all Piety. But the King having now cast himself into the arms of his People, had brought himself to a necessity of yielding to their desire, and thereby left a fair President both for them to crave, and his Successor to grant the like: So that from this time forward, till the last of King *Charles*, we shall see no Parliament, nor Session of Parliament, to begin without them; though that King checked some times at the opportunity. Se

PART I.

Anno Dom.
1623.Act of Parl.
A. 11. Jac.
21. c. 34.

So far his Majesty had gone along with them, in yielding unto their desires; but he must go a little further. And therefore, secondly; They thought it not enough that his Majesty had made a *Publick Declaration for the real and utter Dissolution of the said Treaties*; but it must be declared also by *Act of Parliament, that the said two Treaties were by his Majesty dissolved*: Which gave them some colour of pretence in the following Parliament to claim a share in managing the War (which the Dissolving of these Treaties had occasioned) and of being made acquainted with the Enterprize which was then in hand. But for this time they were contented to have engaged the King for the future War, toward the carrying on of which, and more particularly (as the Act expresseth) “for the Defence of this Realm of *England*, the securing of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the assistance of his Majesties Neighbours the *States of the United Provinces*, and other his Majesties Friends and Allies, and for the setting forth of his Royal Navy; they granted to him three *Subsidies*, together with three *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be payed before the tenth of *May* which should be in the year 1625. Which though it be affirmed in the said Act to be the greatest Aid which ever was granted in Parliament to be levied in so short a time; yet neither was the time so short as it was pretended, there being almost fifteen months between the dissolving of the Treaties, and the last payment of the Monies. Nor did the King get any thing by it, how great soever the said Aid was supposed to be. For, thirdly, before the King could obtain this Act, he was fain to gratifie them with some others, amongst which that entituled, *An Act for the general quiet of the Subject against all pretext of Concealments whatsoever*, was the most considerable. An Act of such a grand Concernment to the Peace and Happines of the Subject, and of such Disprofit to the King in his Gifts and Graces to his Servants, that it was affirmed by Justice *Dodderidge* at the *Oxon. Assises* next ensuing, That his Majesty had bought those *Fifteenths* and *Subsidies* at ten years purchase. Nor fourthly, did one penny of this Money, so dearly paid for, accrue unto his Majesties particular use, or was to come into his Coffers; it being ordered in the Act aforesaid, That the said Monies, and every part and parcel of them, should be paid to certain Commissioners therein nominated; and that the said Commissioners should issue and dispose the same, according as they should be warranted by *George Lord Carew*, *Foulk Lord Brooke*, and certain other Commissioners to the number of ten, nominated and appointed for a Council of War; by them to be expended in the Publick Service. And albeit the Grant of the said *Fifteenths*, *Tenths*, and *Subsidies*, might possibly be the greatest Aid which had been given in Parliament for so short a time; yet did this greatness consist rather in tale than weight, the *Subsidy-Books* being grown so low (for those of the *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* do never vary) that two entire *Subsidies* in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* came to more than all.

More nobly dealt the Clergy with him in their *Convocation*, because it came into his own Coffers, and without Conditions. For taking into consideration (amongst other motives) the great Expences

ces at which his Majesty was then, and was like to be hereafter, as well for the support of his Royal Estate, as for the necessary Defence of this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, whereby was like to grow the safety of *Religion* both at home and abroad; they granted to him four entire *Subsidies*, after the rate of 4 s. in every Pound; which was indeed the *greatest Aid* that was ever given by *Convocation* in so short a time; the *Subsidies* of the Clergy being fixed and certain, those of the Laity diminishing and decreasing daily. A Burden which must needs fall exceeding heavy on many poor Vicars in the Country, whose Benefices are for the most part of small yearly value, and yet rated very high in the Kings Books (according to which they are to be Taxed); Infomuch as I knew several Vicarages, not worth above 80 l. per Annum, which were charged higher than the best Gentlemen in the Parish, whose yearly Revenues have amounted unto many Hundreds. *Laud* who had sometimes been Vicar of *Stamford* in *Northamptonshire* (as before is said) was very compassionate of the case of these poor men; for whose ease he devised a course in this present Session; which being digested into form, he communicated to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who very readily promised to prepare both the King and Prince for the passing of it. This done, he imparted it also to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, who look'd upon it as the best service which had been done for the Church many years before, and advised him to acquaint the Archbishop with it: But *Abbot* either disliking the Design for the Authors sake, or being an enemy to all Counsels which had any Author but himself, instead of favours returned him frowns; asking him, What he had to do to make any suit for the Church? And telling him withal, That never any Bishop attempted the like at any time, and that no body would have done it but himself; That he had given the Church such a wound, in speaking to any Lord of the Laity about it, as he could never make whole again. And finally, That if the Lord Duke did fully understand what he had done, he would never endure him to come near him again. *St. David* replies very mildly, That he thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and so did his betters too; That if his Grace thought otherwise, he was sorry that he had offended: But hoped that he had done it out of a good mind, and for the support of many poor Vicars abroad in the Country, who must needs sink under the payment of so many *Subsidies*; and therefore that his error might be pardonable, if it were an error. Thus soundly rattled he departs, and acquaints the Duke with the success, for fear some ill offices might be otherwise done him to the King and Prince. So miserable was the case of the poorer Clergy, in living under such an *High Priest*, who though he was subject to the same *infirmity*, was altogether insensible of those heavy pressures which were laid upon them: It being his Felicity, but their unhappiness, that he was never Parson, Vicar, nor Curate; and therefore the less careful or compassionate of their hard condition.

Before the rising of this Parliament (which was on the twenty ninth of *May*) came out a book of *Dr. Whites*, entituled, *A reply to Jesuite Fishers*

LIB. II.
Anno Dom.
1624.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1624.

(f) D. Whites
Preface to his
Reply, &c.

Fishers Answer to certain Questions propounded by his most Gracious Majesty King JAMES. (f) The occasion this: His Majesty being present at the second Conference betwixt *White* and *Fisher*, before-mentioned, observed in his deep Judgment how cunning and subtile the Jesuite was, in eluding such Arguments as were brought against him, and of how little strength in particular questions he was when he came to the confirmation of his own Tenets. And thereupon it pleased him to have nine Questions of Controversie propounded to the Jesuite, that he might in writing manifest the Grounds and Arguments whereupon the *Popish* Faith in those Points were builded. Now the nine Points were these that follow: 1. *Praying to Images.* 2. *Prayings and Oblations to the blessed Virgin Mary.* 3. *Worshipping and Invocation of Saints and Angels.* 4. *The Liturgie and private Prayers for the Ignorant in an unknown tongue.* 5. *Repetition of Pater-Nosters, Aves, and Creeds, especially affixing a kind of merit to the number of them.* 6. *The Doctrine of Transubstantiation.* 7. *Communion under one kind, and the abetting of it by Concomitancy.* 8. *Works of Supererogation, especially with reference to the treasure of the Church.* 9. *The opinion of Deposing Kings, and giving away their Kingdoms by Papal power, whether directly or indirectly?* To these nine Questions the Jesuite returned a close and well-wrought Answer, the unraveling whereof was by the King committed to this Dr. *White*, for his encouragement and reward made one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Dean of *Carlisle*. This Book being finished at the Press about the beginning of *April*, and forthwith published to others, was very welcome to most moderate and learned men; the rather in regard that the third of those Conferences, which was that between *Laud* and *Fisher*, was subjoynd to it.

Concerning which the Reader may please to call to mind, that this Conference had been digested and read over to the King in the Christmas Holidays as before is said. But why it staid so long before it was published, why published in the name of *R. B.* (Mr. *Richard Bayly*) afterwards President of *St. John's* Colledge and Dean of *Sarisbury*, being at that time one of his Chaplains, and not in his own; and finally, why it came out not as a distinct book of it self, but as an *Appendix unto Whites*, himself is better able to tell us than any other, and he tells it thus: (t) “The cause (saith he) why the discourse upon this Conference staid so long before it could endure to be pressed. It was neither my *Idleness*, nor my unwillingness to right both my self and the cause against the *Jesuite*, which occasioned this delay; For I had then most Honourable Witnesses, and have some yet living, that this discourse was finished long before I could perswade my self to let it come into publick view: And this was caused partly by reason there was about the same time three Conferences held with *Fisher*, of which this was the third; and could not therefore conveniently come abroad into the world till the two former were ready to lead the way, which till now they were not. And this is in part the reason also why this Tract crept into the end of a larger work; for since that work contained in a manner the substance of all that passed in the

(t) Epist. dedicat. to the King, 1637.

“two former *Conferences*, and that this *third* in divers points concur- L I B. II.
 “red with them, and depended on them, I could not think it *Substan- Anno Domini*
 “*tive* enough to stand alone. But besides this *affinity* between the I 6 2 4.
 “*Conferences*, I was willing to have it pass, as silently as it might, at
 “the end of another work, and so perhaps little to be looked after,
 “because I could not hold it worthy (nor can I yet) of that great du-
 “ty and service which I owe to my dear mother the Church of *England*.
 As for the Reasons why it was published in the name of *R. B.* Chaplain
 to the Bishop, rather than his own, it neither was his own desire,
 (though the *Breviate* telleth us that it was) nor for fear of being engaged
thereby against his friends his Papists, as is there affirmed. His *Rea-*
sons, whatever they were, were proposed by others, and approved by Au-
thority, by which it was thought fit that it should be set out in his Chaplains
name, and not his own. To which he readily submitted. But of this
Conference we shall speak further, when we come to the defence and
 engagements of it, *Anno 1637.*

The seasonable publishing of these two Books did much conduce to
 the advancement of his Majesties Service. The Commons at that time
 had been hammering a sharp Remonstrance against the Papists, as if
 there were no Enemies of the Religion here established to be feared
 but they. In the Preface to which Petition, they took notice of so ma-
 ny dangers threatned both to the Church and State by the power and
 practises of the Papist, as if the King had took no care to preserve the
 one or suppress the other: Which Petition, being brought to the
 House of Lords, was there so abbreviated, that the Preamble
 was quite left out, and the many branches of it reduced to two par-
 ticulars: First, That all Laws and Statutes, formerly made against
 Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and other Popish Recusants, might from
 thenceforth be put into execution. Secondly, that he would engage
 himself by his Royal Word, that upon no occasion of Marriage or
 Treaty, or other request in that behalf, &c. he would slacken the ex-
 ecution of the Laws against them. Which Petition, being presented
 to his Majesty by a Committee of both Houses on the tenth of *April*;
 after some deliberation he returned this Answer to it, *viz. That the*
Laws against Jesuites and Popish Recusants should be put into due execu-
tion from thenceforth, &c. And it appeared by the coming out of these
 said two Books within few days after, that as his Majesty had granted
 them their desires, in causing the said Laws against Priests and Jesu-
 ites to be duly executed; so he had taken special care, not only to
 preserve Religion in her Purity, by confuting the most material Do-
 ctrines of the Church of *Rome*: but to preserve his people also from be-
 ing seduced by the practises of the Priests and Jesuites.

Which notwithstanding the Commons remaining still unsatisfied,
 betook themselves to the framing of another Petition, in which it was
 desired that all such persons as were either Papists, or suspected to be
 Papists, or had not received the Communion within the space of one
 whole year, or whose Wives, or any of their Servants were Recu-
 sants or suspected to be so, might be removed from all Commissions
 of charge and trust, from being Justices of the Peace, or bearing any

PART I. Office in the Common-wealth. But this Petition was not made ready for the Lords till the twentieth of *May* next following, and being
Anno Dom. then reported to them by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, they did proceed
 1624. no further in it. The Commons in the mean time had been wholly busied in the Prosecution of the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield*, whom at last they brought unto his Sentence. A Gentleman he was by birth, but had his breeding in the City, from whence by his own wit and industry he preferred himself into the Court, where he was first made Master of the Wardrobe, afterward Master of the Wards, and finally advanced by the power and favour of the Duke, (one of whose Kinswomen he had married) to the Office of Lord Treasurer, and the honour of being made the first Earl of *Middlesex*. In this Office he had disoblighd the Prince, when he was in *Spain*, by dissuading and diverting those large supplies which were required for the maintaining of his Port in a Foreign Kingdom. And he had disoblighd the Duke, by joyning in some secret practices to make him grow less and less in his Majesties Favour. They had both served the turn of the Commons, in drawing the King by their continual importunities to dissolve the Treaty. And the Commons must now serve their turn in prosecuting this man to his final destruction: Which they pursued so effectually, that in the end he was sentenced in the House of Lords to be deprived of the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, to be fined fifty thousand Pounds, and remain a Prisoner in the Tower during his Majesties will and pleasure. It was moved also to degrade him from all Titles of honour, but in that the Bishops stood his Friends and dashed the motion.

So *Cranfield* fell, and *Williams* did not stand long after. *Laud* was now brought into an higher degree of credit with the Duke of *Buckingham* than he was before, by means whereof he came to be of great power and authority with him. Insomuch that when the Duke fell sick of an Ague in the beginning of *May*, he was extreme impatient in his Fits till *Laud* came to visit him; by whom he was so charmed and sweetned, that at first he endured his Fits with patience, and by that patience did so break their heats and violences, that at last they left him. From this time forwards he was not used only as a Confessor, but a Counsellor also employed by him; in considering and advising whether the great endowments belonging to the Hospitals founded in the dissolved house of *Carthusian* Monks (commonly, but corruptly, called the *Charter-House*) might not be inverted to the maintenance of an Army for the present Wars, as well for his Majesties advantage, as the ease of the Subject. And to this Proposition (as it seems) he returned a Negative, for I find not that the business advanced any further. He liked not any inversions or alienations of that nature, lest being drawn into example, the Lands of Colledges or Cathedral Churches might in like manner be employed unto secular uses. Besides, he could not choose but know, that a project had been set on foot about ten years before, for the Entituling of the King to all *Sutton's* Lands; which probably might have succeeded, if *Coke*, then being Lord Chief Justice, and one of the Trustees for erecting the Hospital, had

had not stood stoutly to his trust. By which though he got the Kings displeasure, yet amongst others he preserved the reputation of an honest man. And *Laud* might very well conclude, that he who durst oppose the King when he was in his favour, would be found more intractable at this time when he was in disgrace; which rendered him the less solicitous to appear in a business not otherwise approved of by him: But in another point, which was more to his liking, and lay within the sphere of his activity, he gave him as much satisfaction as he had desired. This was the giving him the heads of *Doctrinal Puritanism*, that is to say, the Heads of such Doctrines as were maintained by those of the *Puritan* Faction, though not maintained by them as *Puritans*, but as *Calvinists* only. The Duke had a desire to know them, and he served him in it. I must needs say, the name of *Doctrinal Puritanism* is not very ancient, but whether first taken up by the Archbishop of *Spalato* at his being here, I am not able to say; Nor am I of opinion, that *Puritan* and *Calvinian* are terms convertible. For though all *Puritans* are *Calvinians*, both in doctrine and practice, yet all *Calvinians* are not to be counted as *Puritans* also; whose practices many of them abhor, and whose inconformities they detest, though by the error of their Education, or ill direction in the course of their Studies, they may; and do agree with them in some points of Doctrine. But I must take the word as it stands in the *Breviate*, and so let it go.

L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1624.

Fuller. Ch.
Hist. lib. 10.

These *Doctrinal* heads, being ten in number, related to the indispenfible morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath, the indiscrimination of Bishops and Presbyters, the Power of Sovereign Princes in Ecclesiastical matters, the Doctrine of Confession and Sacerdotal Absolution, and the five Points so much disputed, about Predestination and the Concomitants thereof. Which last Points having been hotly agitated, for twenty years last past, in the *Belgick* Churches, did now begin to exercise the Church of *England* upon this occasion. The Priests and Jesuites having been very busie of late in gaining Profelites, and sowing their erroneous Doctrines, had got a haunt in a Village of the County of *Essex*, called *Stanford-Rivers*. The Rector of that Church was *Richard Montague*, Batchelor of Divinity, *Prebend of Windsor*, and one of the Fellows of *Eaton Colledge*; a man exceedingly well versed in all the Learning of *Greeks* and *Romans*, and as well studied in the Fathers, Councils, and all other ancient *Monuments* of the Christian Church. Desirous to free his Parish from this haunt, he left some Propositions at the house of one of his Neighbours, which had been frequently visited with these *Night-spirits*, with this Declaration thereunto, that if any of those which ranged that walk could convince him in any of the same, he would immediately subscribe and be a *Papist*. After long expectation, instead of answering to his *Queries*, one of them leaves a short Pamphlet for him, entituled, *A new Gag for the Old Gospel*, in which it was pretended, that the Doctrine of the *Protestants* should be confuted out of the very words of their own English Bibles. This book he was required to answer, and found it no such knotty piece, but that it might be cleft in sunder, with-

Mount. Pref.
to the Gag,
ger.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1624.



out Beetle or Wedges. But in perusing of that Book, he found, that besides some few Doctrines which properly and truly did belong to the Church of *England*, there were crouded into it all Points of *Calvinism*, such *Heterodoxies*, and out-landish Fancies, as the Church of *England* never owned. And therefore in his Answer to that *Papish Gagger* he severed or discriminated the *opinions* of particular men, from the Authorized Doctrines of this Church; leaving the one to be maintained by their private *Fautors*, and only defending and maintaining the other. And certainly had he not been a man of a mighty Spirit, and one that easily could contemn the cry and clamours which were raised against him for so doing, he could not but have sunk remedilessly under the burden of disgrace, and the fears of Ruine which that performance drew upon him.

This Book came out about the latter end of *December*, and coming out made such a general amazement amongst those of the *Calvinian* Party, that they began to fear the sad consequents of it. The opening of this secret was of such importance, that if the Author and his Book were not speedily crushed, they must no longer shroud their private opinions under the name of the received Doctrine of the Church of *England*; excluded from that Sanctuary, they could find no place of strength and safety, in which they should not be exposed to assaults and dangers. And that the Author and the Book might be crushed together, it was thought fit that *Yates* and *Ward*, two of the Lecturers or Preachers in *Ipswich*, should gather out of his Book some especial Points tending to *Poperie* and *Arminianism* (as they conceived) to be presented to the Censure of the following Parliament. Having got a Copy of the *Information* intended to be made against him, he flies for refuge to King *James*, now grown more moderate, and (since the death of *Montague* the late Bishop of *Winton*) into a better liking of those opinions, which he had laboured to condemn at the Synod of *Dort*. His Majesty knew the man, and his great abilities, and was well pleased with his performance against the *History of Tithes*; where he had beaten the (then thought) matchless *selden* at his own weapon, and shewed himself the greater Philologer of the two: Upon which ground he looked upon him as the fittest man to encounter *Baronius*, against whom the right learned *Casaubon* had some preparatory velitations before his death, but made no further progress in it. *Mountague*, flying to King *James*, as before is said, had presently his discharge or *quietus est*, as to his Majesties good opinion both of him and (e) the book it self. And more than so, his Majesty took notice that the *Information* was divulged, and the Clamor violent, and therefore gave him leave to make an Appeal from the said *Defamers* unto his own most Sacred Cognizance in publick, and to represent his just defence against their slanders and false surmises unto the world. And that the queaziness of the times might the better brook it, he gave express order unto *Dr. White*, then *Dean of Carlile*, (cried up when Lecturer of *St. Paul's*, for the stoutest Champion of this Church against those of *Rome*) for the authorizing and publishing thereof, which was done accordingly. This Book he entituled by the name

(e) Epist. dedicat. to Appello Caesar.

of

of APPELLO CÆSAREM, or a just APPEAL from two unjust LIB. II.
 INFORMERS: But the King dying before it was finished at the Anno Dñm.
 Press, it was presented to King Charles, in the first entrance of his 1624.
 Reign, and there we shall be sure to hear further of it.

In the mean time it may not be unnecessary to enquire what the said Informers (*Tates and Ward*) might and did mean by *Popery* and *Arminianism*, with which two crimes they charged the Answer to the *Gagger*. And first we find upon due search, that by *Popery* they understood all such Points of Doctrine, as being determined by this Church, hold some correspondence and agreement with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*; or being not determined by this Church, are left at liberty for every man to please himself in his own opinion, how near soever he may come to such compliance. Of the first sort they reckoned for points of *Popery*; *The Doctrine of the Perpetual Visibility of the Church of Christ*; *The Local Descent of Christ into Hell*, *The Lawfulness of Images*, *Signing with the Sign of the Cross*, *Confession and sacerdotal Absolution*, *The Real Presence*, *The Reward of Good Works*, *The Sacrament of Orders*; quarrelling even with very words, *Sacrifice*, *Altar*, and the like: All which upon a perfect Examination, will be found to be the genuine Doctrines, and to speak nothing but the Language of the Church of *England*, as we have punctually discovered in our *Introduction*. Amongst the last I reckon the Disputes concerning *Evangelical Counsels*, *Antichrist*, and *Limbus Patrum*, of which the Church of *England* hath determined nothing; and therefore the Appellant was left at liberty to follow his own Judgment, and to chuse what guides he pleased to direct his Judgment in those particular Debates. Yet such was the temper of those Times, that whosoever held any of the Points aforesaid, or any other controverted with the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the sense of *Calvin*, must presently be accused of *Popery*. He that adhered unto the Tendries of the Antient Fathers, in such particulars as the Church was pleased to leave undetermined; or bound himself in matters publicly resolved on, to vindicate this Church to her genuine Tenents, was presently made subject to all those Clamours and Reproaches, which the Tongues and Pens of that Predominating Faction could either raise upon him, or asperse him with. *Land* had found good experience of it when he lived in *Oxon*. and so had *Houison* and *Corbet* too, as before was noted. But none of them were able to break through those difficulties, till *Mountague* took the work in hand; who being well back'd, and having the Ice somewhat broke before him, waded with confidence and courage through the midst of those waters, which otherwise might have overwhelmed the most tried Adventurer.

In the next place it will be no hard work to find what they meant by *Arminianism*; under which name they comprehend the *Melancthonian* Doctrine of *Predestination*, *The Universal Redemption of Mankind by the Death of Christ*, *The cooperation of the Will of Man with the Grace of God*; and, *The possibility of falling from Grace received*: All which appear by plain and evident proofs in our said *Introduction*,
 to

PART I. *Anno Dom.* 1624. to have been the true original and native Doctrines of this Church at her first Reformation. But Calvinism had so over-spread the face of this Church, by *Humphries* long sitting in the Chair at *Oxon.* and the discountenancing of *Peter Baro* at *Cambridge*, that the natural Doctrines and Determinations of it were either so forgotten, that they were not known, or else so over-powred, that none durst undertake to own them. And so it stood till the breaking out of the *Predestinarian* Quarrels in the *Belgick* Churches, between *Arminius* and his Followers on the one side, and the *Rigid Calvinians* on the other. The Books which had been written on both sides, being purposely dispersed abroad, to encourage and encrease their several Parties, cross'd over the Seas into *England* also; where being diligently studied, either out of curiosity, or desire of knowledge, they awaked many out of that dead sleep in which they were, to look with better eyes into the true and native Doctrines of this Church, than before they did. Amongst the first which publickly appeared that way at *Oxon.* after the coming out of the said Books, were *Laud* and *Houison*, whom *Abbot* then Dr. of the Chair, and *Vice-chancellor* also, exposed to as much disgrace as by his Place and Power he could lay upon them. Amongst the first at *Cambridge* were *Tompson*, a Dutchman by original (if I be not mistaken in the man) and *Richardson* the Master of *Trinity* Colledge. The first of these had writ a Book touching *Falling away from Grace*, entituled, *De intercessione Gratia, & Justificationis*; to which *Abbot* of *Oxon.* above-mentioned returned an answer. The other being a corpulent man, was publickly reproach'd in *St. Maries* Pulpit in his own University, by the name of a *Fat-bellied Arminian*. By that name they were called in *Holland*, which adhered not unto *Calvin's* Doctrine, though many had formerly maintained these Opinions in those Churches, before *van Harmine* came to the Chair of *Leyden*. And by that name they must be called in *England* also, though the same Doctrines had been here publickly Authorized and Taught before he was born. So that the entitling of these Doctrines to the name of *Arminius*, seems to be like the nominating of the great *Western Continent* by the name of *America*; of which first *Christopher Columbus*, and afterward the two *Cabots*, Father and Son, had made many great and notable Discoveries, before *Americus Vesputius* ever saw those Shores. Howsoever these Doctrines must be called by the name of *Arminianism*, and by that name *Mountague* stands accused by the two *Informers*, though he protests in his *Appeal*, that he had never seen any of the Writings of *Arminius*; and that he did no otherwise maintain those Doctrines, than as they were commended to him by the Church of *England*, and justified by the unanimous consent of the Antient Fathers. But of this man, and the pursuance of these Quarrels, we shall hear more shortly.

These matters being thus laid together, let us look back on some former Passages which preceded *Mountagues* Disputes. The Commons had obtained their ends, in dissolving all Treaties with the King of *Spain*; but lost their hopes of marrying the Prince to a Lady of their own Religion. His Majesty would not look beneath a Crown,

to find a Marriage for his Son ; and no Crown could afford him a better Wife for his Son, than a Daughter of *France*. The Prince had seen the Lady at the Court in *Paris*, and the King as much desired to see her in the Court of *England*. Upon this ground the Earl of *Holland* is dispatch'd privately into *France*, to see how the Queen-Mother and her Ministers, who then governed the Affairs of that King, would approve the Match ; to which at first they seem'd so chearfully inclined, that they did not seem to stand upon any Conditions : But no sooner had they found, that the Breach between his Majesty and the King of *Spain* was grown irreparable, and that both sides prepared for War, but they knew how to make their best advantage of it. They thought themselves to be every way as considerable as the *Spaniards* were ; and would abate nothing of those Terms which had been obtained by the *Spaniards*, in reference either to the Princess her self, or in favour of the *English* Catholics : And to these Terms, when they saw no better could be gotten, his Majesty and the Prince consented. But such a Spirit of Infatuation was at that time upon the People, that they who on the 23d. of *February* before had celebrated the dissolving the Treaties with *Spain* with Bells and Bonfires, on the 21st. of *November* following did celebrate with like Solemnities and Expressions the like Match with *France*. And in this Match (a) *Laud* is accused to have a hand, or at the least to have shewed his good affections to promote it. An heavy Crime, and proved by as infallible proofs ; that is to say, his writing to and receiving Letters from the Duke, at such time as the Duke was sent to the Court of *France*, to attend the new Queen into *England*. And what else (b) could this Match and those Letters aim at, but to carry on the same design to bring in *Popery*, and by that means to stand their ground, and retain all those Priviledges and Immunities, which the Popish party had procured by the former Treaties ? To such absurdities are men sway'd, when Prejudice and Prepossessions over-rule the Balance.

LI B. II.
Anno Dom.
1624.

(a) Hidden Works, p. 73.

(b) Ib. 69.

We must begin the next year with the Death of King *James*, and therefore think it not amiss to take a brief view of the Condition of the Church and State, at the time of his departing from us. He had spent all his life in Peace, but died in the beginning of a War : A War which had been drawn upon him by dissolving the Treaties, to which he was as it were constrained, by the continual importunity of the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Duke knew well, that he could not do a more popular act, than to gratifie the Commons in that business ; and had easily possess'd the Prince with this opinion, That as his future Greatness must be built on the Love of his People, so nothing could oblige them more, than to be instrumental in dissolving the present Treaties. But herein they consulted rather their own private Passions, than the publick Interest of the Crown ; and they shall both pay dear enough for it in a very short space : For there is nothing more unsafe for a King of *England*, than to cast himself upon the necessity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the Purse of the Subject ; by means whereof he makes himself obnoxious to the humour of any prevailing Member in the House of Commons, and becomes less in Reputa-

1625:

PART I. Reputation both at home and abroad. The Church he left beleaguer'd by two great Enemies; assaulted openly by the *Papists* on the one side, undermined by the *Puritans* on the other. Of the audaciousness of the *Papists* we have spoke already, abated somewhat by the Fall at *Black-friers*, more by the dissolving the two Treaties about four Months after. For though they made some use of the *French* by this new Alliance, yet they resolved to fasten no dependance upon that Crown; insomuch that many of those, who greedily embraced such Favours as were obtained for them by the Treaties with the King of *Spain*, would not accept the same when they were procured by the Match with *France*; for which being asked the Reason, they returned this Answer, That they would not change an old Friend for a new; of the continuance of whose Favours they could have no certainty; and who by suffering *Hereticks* in his own Dominions, declared himself no fit Protector for the *Catholick Cause*.

More secret were the *Puritans*; but nothing the less dangerous because more secret. Finding they could effect nothing in Queen *Elizabeths* time, either by their publick clamours, or their open practices, they cunningly wrought themselves into a *State-Faction*, and play'd their Game under the colour of Advancing the Civil Liberties of the Subject and the preservation of Religion here by Law established: To which end they continually alarm'd this King with fears and dangers from the *Papists* (as before was said) that all mens eyes being turned that way, they might carry on their own designs without discovery. In which they imitated the old stratagem of some politick Captains, who having made great noise, and prepared all things ready for an Assault on the one side of a Town besieged, and thereby drawn all the strength of the Town to make good that side, suddenly caused it to be fallen upon in another place, which they found destitute and unprovided of all defence. But having served their Apprenticeships in the Reign of this King, we shall find them strong enough in the first Parliament of his Son and Successor, to set up for themselves. Hitherto they had worked under the ground like Moles or Wants, without being discovered; but then they began to cast up the Earth before them: And having prepared a Bill for making way to their *Lords-day-Sabbath*, under colour of suppressing unlawful Pastimes and Assemblies, they pressed that King to it, and obtained it; some further addition to which Act they procured in his third Parliament also. Yet still they kept on foot their pretended Zeal against the *Papists*, and seemed exceeding sensible of the Dangers which were threatned by them; not so much to advance their own Party, then grown strong enough (as they had done formerly); but to make it serve them as a Property to put by the Business of the King in the Grant of *Subsidies*, whensoever he required it of them.

In this condition of Affairs King *James* departs this Life at *Theobalds*, on *Sunday* the 27th. of *March*; his Disease no other than an *Ague*; which though it fell on him in the *Spring*, yet it crossed the Proverb, and proved not Medicinal, but Mortal. His Character hath been given by many others, and therefore I may well spare mine, looking
upon

upon him only in his zeal to the Church, and his affections unto Learning. His zeal to Unity and Uniformity in the Church, appeared in England by the Conference at Hampton-Court, Anno 1603. by his directions sent to the University of Oxon. 1616. by those to the Archbishops and their several Suffragans, 1622. In Scotland, by his Restitution of Episcopacy, Anno 1610. by the Articles of Perth, 1618. and by the Grounds laid for the Publick Liturgy and Canons, at the Assembly in Aberdeen, Anno 1616. Had he been well followed by his Bishops, and other Publick Ministers in his several Kingdoms, he would have left the Church established on so sure a Foundation, that neither secret Practices could have undermined it, nor open Batteries have distressed it. His great affections unto Learning do appear as visibly, by the encouragement which he gave unto it both in his Person and Example. In the beginning of his Reign, Anno 1603. he graciously received the Vice-chancellor of Oxon. together with the Doctors, Proctors, and Heads of Houses, at his Mannor of Woodstock: And within two years after, Anno 1605. he accepted a Solemn Entertainment from them, performed in all manner of Scholastick Exercises; Divinity, Law, Physick, and Philosophy; in all of which he shewed himself of such great Abilities, that he might have governed in those Chairs, as well as all or any of his three Professors. Being informed how small and insufficient their old Salary was, he added to his Professor for Divinity, and his Successors in that place, the next Prebend of Christ-Church, as soon as any should be void, and the Rectory of Evelme in the County of Oxon. to the Dr. of the Chair for Law, the Corps of a good Prebend in the Church of Salisbury; and to the Professors place for Physick, the Government of an Hospital in Evelme aforesaid, being within ten miles of the University.

Incouraged by which Examples, two Mathematick Lectures were founded by Sir Henry Savil Provost of Eaton, and Warden of Merton Colledge; An History Lecture by William Cambden, one of the Kings at Arms, by the name of Clavencieux; A Lecture in Natural Philosophy, by Sir William Sidley Knight and Baronet; In Moral Philosophy, by Dr. Thomas White, one of the Residentiaries of St. Paul's, and Prebend of Christ-Church; All of them of a liberal and large Endowment. After all which an Anatomy Lecture was set up by Richard Tomlins of the City of Westminster, as necessary as any of the rest, though not so plentifully endowed. The poor man casting in his Mite (almost all he had) amongst those Rich Offerings. But the powerful Influences of his Learning and Government produce a further operation than the Instituting of a few particular Lectures; even to the Building and Endowing of some, and Beautifying of many other Colledges in that University; Witness that fair and Uniform Colledge, built by Nicholas Wadham, and Dorothy his Wife, Anno 1612. The turning of Broad-gates Hall into Pembroke Colledge, built and endowed at the Charges of Thomas Tisdale of Glymton in the County of Oxon. appropriated in a manner to the Free-Grammar-School of Abingdon, Anno 1624. Witness the raising of the old Schools to a goodly and magnificent Structure, the adding of a new Quadrangle unto Merton Colledge by the

PART I. prudent care of Sir *Henry Savil*; the reducing of *Exeter*, and the making up of *Jesus Colledge* into form Quadrangular, by adding of a neat Chappel and a fair Hall to each; of which the Chappel of *Jesus Colledge* (being built together with the Hall, at such time as Sir *Eubule Thelwall* was Principal of it) was Consecrated by the Right Reverend Dr. *Houison* then Bishop of *Oxon.* May 28. 1621. The other built at the sole Charges of Dr. *Hackwell* Arch-Deacon of *Surrey*, received Consecration from the same hands, October 5. 1624. And finally, Witness a large and capacious piece of Ground, inclosed with a beautiful Quadrangular Wall, for a *Physick-Garden*, the first Stone whereof was laid in a Solemn Assembly of the whole University on *St. James* his day, July 25. 1622. Not to say any thing of the great cost bestowed in beautifying the Quires of *Christ-Church* and *Magdalens*, the setting up of a fair new Organ in the Chappel of *St. John's Colledge*, by the procurement of our *Laud*. the then President of it, Anno 1618. The like fair Organ made and set up in *Christ-Church*, and the old one given to *St. Maries* for the publick use of the University, about six years after. Such and so many Benefactions in one University, and that too in so short a space, as none of the former Times can parallel, so let it be the wonder and amazement of all Ages following.

But the King dies, though his Munificence survive him. It was then *Midlent-Sunday*, and the Court-Sermon at *Whitehall* (according to the ancient custom) in the afternoon: At what time the sad News passing through *London*, began to be rumored in the Court, as *Laud* was going into the Pulpit to Preach before the Lords of the Council, the Officers of the Household, and the rest of that great Concourse of all sorts of People which usually repaired thither at those Solemn Sermons. Before he was come to the middle of it, the certainty of the Kings death (more generally known amongst them) the confusion which he saw in the faces of all the Company, his own griefs, and the dolorous complaints made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, occasioned him to leave the Pulpit, and to bestow his pains and comforts where there was more need. He did not think (as I believe few wise men do) that the carrying on of one particular Sermon was such a necessary part of *Gods business*, as is not to be intermitted upon any occasion, nor was this ever charged upon him amongst his crimes. The sense of this great loss being somewhat abated, he was requested by the Duke to draw up some Remembrances, of the Life, Reign, and Government of the King Deceased, which he accordingly performed and presented to him: But they are but Remembrances or Memorials only, like the first lines of a design or Picture, which being polished and perfected by a skilful Workman, might have presented us with the true and lively Pourtraiture of that gracious Prince. But who will undertake to finish what *Laud* began? I must therefore leave the deceased King to those Memorials, and those Memorials to be found in his *Breviate*, p. 5. But there was another Pourtraiture provided for that King before his Funeral. His body being brought from *Theobalds* unto *Sommerset-house*, where a Royal and Magnificent Hearse was erected for him, visited and resorted to by infinite multitudes of people, for some Weeks together.

together. From *sommerfet-house* his body was carried in great State, LIB. III. 1
 on *Saturday* the seventh of *May*, to *St. Peter's Church* in *Westminster*; Anno Domini
 where it was solemnly interred. The Funeral Sermon Preached by, 1625.
 the Lord Keeper *Williams*, and Printed not long after by the name of
Great Britains Solomon; which afterwards administered the occasion of
 some discourse, which otherwise might have been spared.

Thus is *James* dead and buried, but the King survives, his only Son
 Prince *Charles* being immediately proclaimed King of *Great Britain*,
France, and *Ireland*, first at the Court Gates, by *Sir Edward Zouch*
 Knight Marshal, most solemnly the next day at *London*, and afterwards
 by degrees in all the Cities and Market Towns of the Kingdom. At
 his first entrance on the Crown he found himself engaged in a war with
 the King of *Spain*, the mightiest Monarch of the *West*, for which he was
 to raise great Forces both by Sea and Land. He was also at the Point
 of Marriage with the Daughter of *France*, and some proportionable
 preparations must be made for that. Nor was King *James* to be in-
 terred without a solemn and magnificent Funeral, answerable in the
 full height to so great a Prince. All which must needs exact great
 Sums of money; and money was not to be had without the help of a
 Parliament, which he therefore gave order to be called in the usual
 manner. But in the midst of these many and great preparations he
 forgets not the great business of the Church. He had observed the
 multitudinousness of his Fathers Chaplains, and the disorder of their
 waitings, which puts him on a Resolution of reducing them to a lesser
 number, and limiting them to a more certain time of attendance than
 before they were. He knew well also what an influence the Court
 had always on the Country; by consequence how much it did con-
 cern him in his future Government that his Officers and Servants should
 be rightly principled, according to the Doctrine, Government, and
 Forms of Worship established in the Church of *England*. And there-
 fore that he might be served with *Orthodox* and Regular men, *Land*
 is commanded to prepare a Catalogue of the most eminent Divines;
 and to distinguish them by the two Letters of *O* and *P*. according to
 their several persuasions and affections. And that being done, he is
 directed by the Duke and the Kings appointment to have recourse to
 the most learned Bishop *Andrews*, to know of him what he thought
 fitting to be done in the Cause of Religion; Especially in reference to
 the five Articles condemned not long since in the *Synod at Dort*, and to
 report his answer with convenient speed. A Convocation was of course
 to accompany the ensuing Parliament: And it was fit not only that the
 Prelates should resolve before-hand what Points they meant to treat
 on when they were assembled, but that his Majesty also might have
 time to consider of them.

These seasonable cares being thus passed over, he hastens both his own
 marriage, and his Fathers Funeral: The first he solemnized by Proxie
 in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, on Sunday the first of *May*
 according to the Style of *England*. The news whereof being brought
 to the Court, on the *Wednesday* following was celebrated in the
 Streets of *London*, the Liberties and out-parts of it, with more than or-

PART I. dinary Expressions of Joy and Gladness. The Proxie made to *Claud. Anno Dom. de Lorain, Duke of Chevereux*; one of the younger Sons of the Duke of *Guise*; from which house his Majesty derived himself by his great Grand-Mother *Mary of Lorain, Wife of James the Fifth*. The Funeral he attended in his own Person, as the principal Mourner: which though it were contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his piety in attending the dead Body of his Father to the Funeral Pile, than to stand upon any such old niceties and points of State. This was the third Funeral which he had attended as the principal Mourner, which gave some occasion to presage that he would prove a man of sorrows, and that his end would carry some proportion to those mournful beginnings. The Interval before the coming of his Queen he spent in looking to his Navy, and drawing his Land Forces together for that Summers service: But hearing that his Queen was advancing toward him, he went to *Canterbury*, and rested there on *Trinity Sunday* the twelfth of *June*. That night he heard the news of her safe arrival at the Port of *Dover*, whom he welcomed the next morning into *England* with the most chearful signs of a true affection. From thence he brought her unto *Canterbury*, and from thence by easie Stages to *Gravesend*, where entring in their Royal Barge, attended by infinite companies of all sorts of People, and entertained by a continual peal of Ordnance all the way they passed, he brought her safely and contentedly unto his Palace at *Westminster*. The Lords and Ladies of the Court having presented to her the acknowledgment of their humble duties, such Bishops as were about the Town (as most of them were, in regard of the Parliament and Convocation) were admitted to the kiss of her hand, whom she most graciously received.

For on the *saturday* before, being *June* the eighteenth, the Parliament had took beginning. Which fell out not unseasonably, that the *French* Lords might see with what Royal Magnificence he was attended by the Prelates, Peers, and other Officers of State (besides his own Domestick Servants) to the Parliament House. At their first meeting he put them in mind of the War, in which they had engaged his Father, and of the promise they had made to stand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; That both his Land and Sea Forces were now in readiness to set forwards; And, that there wanted nothing but a present supply of money to quicken and expedite the affair; That the eyes of all Christendom were fixt upon him; And that if he should miscarry in his first attempt, it would blemish all the honour of his future actions; And therefore, That they should endeavour to deliver him out of that War in which they had incumbred (he hoped it would never be said that they had betrayed) him. In answer whereunto, the Commons pass a Bill of two Subsidies only, so short of that excessive charge which the maintenance of so great a Fleet and Army required at their hands, that being distributed amongst the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would scarce have served for *Advance-money* to send them going. Which notwithstanding, he very graciously accepted of, taking it as an earnest of their good affection, in
reference

reference to the greater Sums which were to follow. In order whereunto he audited his account unto them, as well for such moneys as had remained undisburfed of the former aids, as for the defraying of such further Charges as his present Fleet, consisting of 120 Sail, and a considerable Land Army, must needs lay upon him. The particulars of which account stood thus: *viz.* 32000 pounds for securing of *Ireland*; 47000 pounds for strengthening the Forts; 37000 pounds for the repair of the Navy; 99000 pounds upon the four English Regiments in the States Country; 62000 pounds laid out for Count *Mansfield*; Total 287000 pounds. Besides which he sent in a demand of 200000 pounds and upwards upon the Navy; 48000 pounds upon the Ordnance; 45000 pounds in Charges of the Land men; 20000 pounds a month to Count *Mansfield*; and 46000 pounds to bring down the King of *Denmark*; the total of which latter Sum amounts to 339000 pounds. Both Sums make no less than 626000 pounds, to which the Grant of two Subsidies holds but small proportion.

But the Commons had other game to follow. Their *Grievances* must first be heard: A List whereof they had presented to King *JAMES* toward the end of the former Parliament; of which the greatest part were still unredressed. To these his Majesty vouchsafed a very gracious, and for the most part a full and satisfactory Answer. Amongst which *Grievances*, a sober and discreet man would not think to find, that the building of all houses in *London*, and the parts adjoining, in one uniform way, with a face of brick toward the streets, should be passed for one, then which there could not be a greater ornament to that City, or a greater honour to his Majesties Government. And to that his Majesty returned this Answer: That there had much good come by such a reformation of Building in his Fathers time, and therefore that he was resolved to go on with the work. Which Resolution so much tending to the glory of the *English* Nation, and no objection being ready for his other Answers, the matter of *Grievances* could no longer be insisted on; especially in such a time when the concerns of the State, his Majesties honour, and all the motives which induced them to engage him in this present War, ought in all reason to precede their *Grievances*, had they been greater then they were. But then they had some Religious *Grievances*, which required a more speedy redress than any which concerned them in their Civil Interesses. The Lords day was pretended to be much profaned by unlawful pastimes, and People frequently resorted out of their own Parishes to feast in Revels. Of this a remedy is desired by Act of Parliament. Had any such Bill been offered in King *James* his time, it would have found a sorry welcome; but this King being under a necessity of compliance with them, resolved to grant them their desires in that Particular, to the end that they might grant his also in the aid required, when that obstruction was removed. The *sabbatarians* took the benefit of this opportunity for the obtaining of this grant (the first that ever they obtained by all their strugglings) which of what consequence it was we shall see hereafter.

But then the Doctrine of the Church was more in danger then ever.

In

LIB. II.

Anno Dom.

1625.

PART I. In former Parliaments they were afraid of the Papists only : But now
Annus Dom. there was as much danger to be feared from *Arminianism* as before
 1625. from *Poperie*. An Information had been made by *Tates* and *Ward*, as
 before is said, against some passages in *Mountagues* Answer to the *Romish*
Gagger ; and he had aggravated his offence by justifying all his
Popish, and *Armitnian* Tenents in a book newly published, called *Appello*
Cesarem. It could not be denied, but that this book was Licenced by
Dr. White, then Dean of *Carlile*, by whom it was affirmed to be agreeable to the
 Publick Faith, Doctrine and Discipline establishd in the Church of *England*.
 But *White* they said was now turned *black*, and what is the Establishd
 Doctrine of the Church of *England* compared with *Calvins* Doctrine in his
Institutions? What Trifles are the Articles of Religion, agreed on by the
 Bishops and Clergy, in two severall *Synods* held in *London*, compared with the
 determinations of the *Synod* of *Dort*, which *Mountague* (that bold man) had
 despised and vilified? This was a matter which became the care of the
 House of Commons, and *Mountague* is cited to appear before them on the
 seventh of *July*. Being brought unto the Bar, the Speaker declared to him
 the pleasure of the House, which was, that they would refer his Censure to the
 next meeting; and that in the interim he should stand committed to the
 Sergeants Ward; and entred baile for his appearance to the value of two
 thousand pounds. His Majesty had present notice of this occurrence; And
 being very sensible of this new incroachment, he thereupon caused intimation
 to be made unto them, that he was not pleased with their proceedings against
Mountague, being one of his Chaplains; adding withal that he conceived his
 Servants to be as capable of protection from all imprisonments and arrests,
 as any of the Servants of the *Knights* and *Burgessees*. It was not long before
Laud found an opportunity to give *Mountague* notice of his Majesties great
 care of him, and affection to him. Which must needs be a Sovereign Cordial
 to the man, notwithstanding that the Commons were so stiff in their Rigors
 toward him, that his bailbond of 2000 pound did remain uncanceled.

Breviate
 p. 6.

Notice hereof being given to *Laud*, he considered of the sad effects and
 consequents which might follow on it, communicating those his fears to
 some other Bishops: by whom it was thought fit that *Mountagues* case,
 and not his only, but the case of the Church it self, should be commended
 to the care and power of the Duke of *Buckingham*. According unto which
 Advice and Resolution, three of them framed and signed the ensuing
 Letter. But before this Letter was delivered, *Mountague* had taken so
 much care of himself, as to prepare his way by a Letter of his own, bearing
 date *July 29*. In which Letter he first laid open the state of his case,
 desiring that by his Majesties Power he might be absolutely freed from
 those who had neither any Authority over his person, as being one of his
 Majesties Servants; nor over his Book, as being commanded by his Father,
 and authorized by himself. Which being said, he makes this resolute
 declaration, *That if he could not really and thoroughly answer whatsoever was
 or could be imputed to him in any of his Books, he would no further desire
 favour and pro-*

protection of his Majesty or his Grace, but willingly would be left unto the power of his Enemies. Which Letter being sent before to prepare the way, this of the said three Bishops followed within four daies after.

LIB. II.
Anno Dom.
1625.

May it please your Grace,

WE are bold to be Suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor Member of it, Mr. Mountague, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the Cause which we are bound to be tender of. The Cause we conceive (under correction of better Judgment) concerns the Church of England nearly; for that Church, when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, refused the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too busie with every particular School-Point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unity among Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in Schools. Now may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. Mountague, are some of them such as are expressly the resolved Doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them are such as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man subscribe to School-opinions, may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. And to affright them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in it self, so may it be the Mother of greater danger.

Cab.p.156.

May it please your Grace farther to consider, That when the Clergie submitted themselves in the time of Henry the Eighth, the submission was so made, that if any difference Doctrinal or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in the National Synod or Convocation; the King first giving leave under his Broad Seal to handle the Points in difference: But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can she though she would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majesty (if you shall think fit) what dangerous consequences may follow upon it; For first if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the Ordinance of Christ, and the continual Course and Practice of the Church. Secondly, If the Church be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be the next stroke at it. Thirdly, It will some way touch the honour of his Majesties dear Father, and our most Dread Sovereign of glorious and ever blessed memory, King James, who saw and approved all the opinions of this Book: And he in his rare Wisdom and Judgment would never have allowed them if they had crossed with truth and the Church of England. Fourthly, We must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching or External Ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions, as
some

PART I. *some which are opposite and contrary to these delivered by Mr. Mountague*
Anno Dom. are, shall be publickly taught and maintained. Fifthly, We are certain
 1625. *that all or most of the contrary opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and*
 ready to be published, but then Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, upon
 notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and obe-
 dience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed; and so they have
 continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance
 at the Synod of Dort. Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be
 of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by
 publick Authority. And our hope is, That the Church of England will be
 well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign Synod,
 especially of such a Church as condemneth her Discipline and manner of
 Government, to say no more.

And further we are bold to commend to your Graces Wisdom this one
 particular. His Majesty (as we have been informed) hath already taken
 this business into his own care, and most worthily referred it in a right
 course to Church consideration. And we well hoped that without further
 trouble to the State, or breach of unity in the Church, it might so have been
 well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered,
 we have little to say for Mr. Mountagues person: only thus much we know,
 He is a very good Scholar, and a right honest man: A man every way
 able to do God, his Majesty, and the Church of England great service.
 We fear he may receive discouragement, and (which is far worse) we have
 some cause to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to
 write in the defence of the Church of England, against either home or
 foreign Adversaries; if they shall see him sink in Fortunes Reputation, or
 health, upon occasion of his Book. And this we most humbly submit to your
 Graces Judgment, and care of the Churches peace and welfare; So com-
 mending your Grace to the Protection of Almighty God,

August 2. 1625.

We shall ever rest at Your Graces Service,

Jo. Roffens. Jo. Oxon. Guil. Afeneven.

After this no more news of *Montague* in the present Parliament,
 Adjourned by his Majesty on the eleventh of *July* (by reason of the
 Plague) to *Oxon*, there to be re-assembled on the first of *August*. Which
 time being come, his Majesty puts them again in mind of his pressing
 occasions, acquaints them with the necessity of setting out the Fleet,
 then ready for Service; That the eyes of his Confederates were fixt
 upon him; and that they would separate and dissolve if it did not
 speedily set forwards. But then the dangers which they feared from
 the growth of Popery, stood as much in his way, as *Montague* and the
Grievances had done before. For the securing them from all such fears,
 an humble Petition and Remonstrance must be first prepared, which
 they framed much after the same manner with that which had been
 offered to King *James*, in the year 1621. In this they shewed the
 King

King the dangers which were threatned to the Church and State, by the more than ordinary increase of Popery; and offered him such remedies, as they conceived most likely, to prevent the mischiefs. And unto this Petition they procured the Peers also to join with them. But the King easily removed this obstruction, by giving them such a full and satisfactory answer, on the seventh of *August*, that they could not chuse, before their Rising, which followed within five days after, but Vote their humble Thanks to be returned unto his Majesty, for giving such a Gracious Answer to their said Petition. This they had reason to expect from his Majesties Piety; but then they had another Game which must be followed, before the Kings Business could be heard. In the two former Parliaments they had flesh'd themselves, by removing *Bacon* from the *Seal*, and *Cranfield* from the *Treasury*: And somewhat must be done this Parliament also, for fear of hazarding such a *Priviledge* by a *discontinuance*. *Williams* came first into their eye, whom they looked on as a man not only improper for the Place, but also as not having carried himself in it with such integrity as he should have done; and him the Lawyers had most mind to, that they might get that Office once again into their possession. This *Williams* fearing, so applied himself to some leading Members, that he diverted them from himself to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as a more noble Prey, and fitter for such *mighty Hunters* than a *silly Priest*. Nor was this Overture proposed to such as were either deaf or tongue-tied; for this great Game was no sooner started, but they followed it with such an Out-cry, that the noise thereof came presently to his Majesties ears; who finding by these delays and artifices, that there was no hope of gaining the Supplies desired, on the twelfth of the same *August* dissolved the Parliament. He may now see the error he had run into by his breach with *Spain*, which put him into a necessity of making War, and that necessity compell'd him to cast himself in a manner on the Alms of his People, and to stand wholly in like manner at their Devotion.

The Parliament being thus dissolved, his Majesty progresseth towards the *West*, to set forward his Navy, and *Laud* betakes himself unto his Diocels, this being the year of his *Triennial Visitation*. He took along with him in this Journey such Plate and Furniture as he had provided for his new Chappel at *Aberguilly*, which he Consecrated on *Sunday August 28*. Here he continued, by reason that the Sickness was hot in *London*, and not cooled in *Oxon*. till he was fain to make his way back again through Ice and Snow, as he writes in his Letters to the Duke from *Windsor, December 13*. At his return he found no small alteration in the Court. The Lord Keeper *Williams* stood upon no good terms with the Duke in the life of King *James*; but he declined more and more in Favour after his decease. The Duke had notice of his practising against him in the last Parliament, and was resolved to do his errand so effectually to the King his Master, that he should hold the Seal no longer; and he prevailed therein so far, that Sir *John suckling*, Controller of his Majesties Household, was sent to him (being then at a House of the Lord *saudy's* in the Parish of *Bray* near

PART I. near *Windsor*) to require him to deliver up the Seal to his Majesties
Anno Dom. use; which being very unwillingly done, the Custody of the Great
 1625. Seal, on *sunday* the second of *October*, was committed to Sir *Thomas*
 Coventry his Majesties Attorney General, whom *Heath* succeeded in
 that place. But my Lord was not gone, though the Keeper was: He
 still remained Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Dean of *Westminster*, hold-
 ing still both his other Dignities and Preferments before recited: So
 that he might have lived as plentifully as the greatest, and as conten-
 tedly as the best, had he not thought that the fall was greater from
 the top of the Stairs unto the second or third Step, than from the se-
 cond or third to the lowest of all. But as he fell, so *Laud* ascended:
Neil his good Friend, then *Bishop* of *Durham*, had fallen sick in the be-
 ginning of the Spring, at whose request he was appointed to wait up-
 on his Majesty as Clerk of the Closet; in which Service though he con-
 tinued not long, yet he made such use of it, that from that time for-
 wards he grew as much into the Kings Favour, as before he had been
 in the Dukes; becoming as it were his Majesties Secretary for all
 Church Concernments.

His Majesty having set forward his Navy (which setting out so
 late, could not be like to make any good Return) was not unmindful
 of the Promise he had made in Parliament, in answer to the Petition
 of the Lords and Commons, concerning the Great dangers threatned
 to the Church and State by the *Growth of Popery*; to which end he
 caused a Commission to be issued under the great Seal, for executing
 the Laws against Recufants, which he commanded to be published in
 all the Courts of Justice at *Reading* (to which Town the Term was
 then removed) that all his Judges and other Ministers of Justice might
 take notice of it, *as also that all his Loving Subjects might be certified*
of his Princely Care and Charge for the Advancement of true Religion,
and Suppression of Popery and Superstition: Which done, he directed
 his (a) Letters of the 15th. of *December*, to his two Archbishops,
 signifying how far he had proceeded, and requiring them in pursuance
 of it, "That no good means be neglected on their part for discover-
 "ing, finding out, and apprehending of Jesuites and Seminary Priests,
 "and other Seducers of his People to the *Romish* Religion; or for
 "repressing *Popish* Recufants and Delinquents of that sort, against
 "whom they were to proceed by Excommunication, and other Cen-
 "sures of the Church, not omitting any other Lawful means to bring
 "them forth to publick Justice. But then withal his Majesty takes
 notice of another Enemy, which threatned as much danger to the
 Church as the *Papists* did: And thereupon he further requireth the
 said two Archbishops, "That a vigilant care be taken with the rest
 "of the Clergy, for the repressing of those who being ill affected to
 "the true Religion here established, they keep more close and se-
 "cret their ill and dangerous affections that way, and as well by their
 "example, as by secret and under-hand sleights and means, do much
 "encourage and encrease the growth of *Popery* and *Superstition* in
 "sundry parts of this Kingdom. And therefore he did not only re-
 "quire that none of them might have any manner of Covert, Prote-
 ction,

(a) *Bib. Regia.* p. 12.

“tion, Countenance, or connivence from them, or any of the rest, as LIB
 “they tendred his Royal Commandment in that behalf: but that all *Ann. Dom.*
 “possible diligence be used, as well to unmask the false shadows and *1. 2. 5.*
 “pretences of those who may possibly be won to conformity; leaving
 “all men know, That he could not think well of any that having
 “Place and Authority in the Church, do permit such persons to pass
 “with impunity; much less if they give them any countenance, to
 “the emboldning them or their adherents.

On the receiving of these Letters, *Abbot* transmits the Copies of
 them to his several *suffragans*, and to our Bishop of *St. Davids* amongst *Ibid. p. 15.*
 the rest, requiring him to conform therein to his Majesties Pleasure,
 and to see the same executed in all parts of his Diocess. On the
 receipt whereof, the Bishop commands his *Chancellor*, *Arch-Deacon*,
 and other Ecclesiastical Officers within his Diocess of *St. Davids*,
 “That all possible care be taken of such as are any way backward in
 “Points of Religion, and more especially of known and professed
 “Recutants, that they may be carefully presented, and Proceedings
 “had against them to Excommunication, according to form and or-
 “der of Law; and that there be a true List and Catalogue of all such
 “as have been presented and proceeded against, sent to him yearly
 “after *Easter*, by him to be presented to the Archbishop of *Canisburgy*,
 “as had been required. No command given unto his Chancellor, and
 other Officers, to look into the Practices and Proceedings of the *Puri-*
tan Faction; for which I am able to give no reason, but that he had re-
 ceived no such Direction and Command from Archbishop *Abbot*,
 whose Letter pointed him no further (it is no hard matter to say
 why) than to the searching out, presenting, and Excommunicating
 the *Popish* Recutants. And in what he commanded, he was obeyed
 by his Chancellor, returning to him in *June* following the names of
 such Recutants as lived within the Counties of *Caermarthen* and *Pem-*
broke, the chief parts of his Diocess.

The Kings Coronation now draws on, for which Solemnity he
 had appointed the Feast of the *Purification* of the Blessed Virgin,
 better known by the name of *Candlemas day*. The Coronations of King
Edward vi. and Queen *Elizabeth*, had been performed according to
 the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Roman Pontificals*; That at the Coro-
 nation of King *James* had been drawn in haste, and wanted many things
 which might have been considered of in a time of Leasure. His Ma-
 jesty therefore issueth a Commission to the Archbishop of *Canter-*
bury, and certain other Bishops, whereof *Land* was one, to con-
 sider of the Form and Order of the Coronation, and to accommo-
 date the same more punctually to the present Rules and Orders of the
 Church of *England*. On the fourth of *January* the Commissioners
 first met to consult about it; and having compared the Form observ-
 ed in the Coronation of King *James*, with the publick *Rituals*, it
 was agreed upon amongst them to make some Alterations in it, and
 Additions to it. The Alteration in it was, that the *Uction* was to be
 performed *in forma Crucis*, after the manner of a Cross, which was
 accordingly done by *Abbot* when he officiated as Archbishop of *Canter-*
bury

PART I. *bury* in the Coronation. The Additions in the Form consisted chiefly
Anno Dom. in one Prayer or Request to him in the behalf of the Clergy, and the
 1525. clause of another Prayer for him to Almighty God; the last of which
 was thought to have ascribed too much Power to the King, the first
 to themselves, especially by the advancing of the Bishops and Clergy
 above the *Laity*. The Prayer or Request which was made to him,
 followed after the *Unction*, and was this, *viz.*

Can. Doctm.
69.

*stand, and hold fast from henceforth the Place to which you have been
 Deir by the Succession of your Forefathers, being now delivered to you by
 the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the Bi-
 shops, and Servants of God: and as you see the Clergy to come neerer
 to the Altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give
 them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and Man may establish
 you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the Clergy and the
 Laity, that you may Reign for ever with Jesus Christ the King of Kings,
 and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and
 reigneth for ever. Amen.*

The Clause of that Prayer which was made for him, had been inter-
 mitted since the time of King *Henry vi.* and was this that followeth;
viz.

Hist. K. Ch.
20.

*Let him obtain favour for the People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle,
 Elisha in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple; Give him Peters Key
 of Discipline, and Pauls Doctrine.*

Which Clause had been omitted in times of *Popery*, as intimating
 more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings, than the
Popes allowed of; and for the same reason was now quarrell'd at by
 the *Puritan* Faction.

It was objected commonly in the time of his fall, That in digesting
 the form of the Coronation, he altered the Coronation-Oath, mak-
 ing it more advantageous to the King, and less beneficial to the People
 than it had been formerly; from which calumny his Majesty cleared
 both himself and the Bishop, when they were both involved by com-
 mon Speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer manifestation of which
 truth, I will first set down the Oath it self, as it was taken by the
 King; and then the Kings Defence for histaking of it; Now the Oath
 is this.

The Form of the CORONATION-OATH.

SIR (says the Archbishop) *Will you grant, keep, and by your Oath con-
 firm to your People of ENGLAND the Laws and Customs to them
 granted by the Kings of ENGLAND, your Lawful and Religious
 Predecessors; and namely, the Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to
 the Clergy, by the Glorious King St. Edward your Predecessor, accord-
 ing to the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel established in this
 King-*

*Husbands
 Collect. p.*
190.

Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the LIB. II.
 Ancient Customs of this Land? Anno Dom.

The King Answers. I grant and promise to keep them. 1625.

Archbishop. Sir, Will you keep Peace and Godly Agreement entirely
 (according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergie, and
 the People?

Rex. I will keep it.

Archbishop. Sir, Will you (to your Power) cause Justice, Law, and
 Discretion in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?

Rex. I will.

Archbishop. Sir, Will you grant to hold and grant to keep the Laws
 and rightful Customs which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have?
 and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in
 you lieth?

Rex. I grant and promise so to do.

Then one of the Bishops reads this Admonition to the King before
 the People with a loud voice. Our Lord and King, we beseech you to
 pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and the Churches commit-
 ted to our charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice;
 and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his King-
 dom ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishops and the Churches
 under their Government.

The King answereth, With a willing and devout heart I promise and
 grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the
 Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due
 Law and Justice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my
 power by the Assistance of God, as every good King ought in his King-
 dom, in right to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their
 Government.

The King riseth, and is led to the Communion Table, where he
 makes a solemn Cath in sight of all the People, to observe the Premi-
 ses, and laying his Hand upon the Book, saith, The things which I
 have before promised, I shall perform and keep, So help me God, and the
 Contents of this Book.

Such was the Coronation-Oath accustomedly taken by the Kings of
 England: Which notwithstanding, it was objected by the Lords and
 Commons in the time of the Long Parliament, not to have been the
 same which ought to have been taken by him. And for proof thereof an
 antiquated Oath was found, and published in a Remonstrance of theirs,
 bearing date the twentieth of May 1642. To which his Majesty made
 this Answer, That the Oath which he took at his Coronation was
 warranted, and enjoyned by the Customs of his Predecessors; and
 that the Ceremony of their and his taking of it they might find in the
 Records of the Exchequer. And this it is, &c.

Exact. Col-
 lect of Edm:
 Husb. 290.

Now in performing the Solemnities of the Coronation, the Abbot
 anciently; and for more than one hundred years last past, the Deans
 of Westminster had a special place. To them belonged the Custody
 of the old Regalia; that is to say, the Crown, Sword, Scepter,
 Spurs,

PART I. Spurs, &c. of King Edward Sirnamed the *Confessor*, kept by them in a secret place of *Westminster* Abbey, not easily accessible to any, but such as know the mystery of it: never brought forth but at the Coronation of a King, or his going to Parliament. *Williams* the late Lord Keeper was at this time Dean. But being under the Kings displeasure, was commanded to forbear his attendance at the Coronation, and to depute one of the Prebends in his place. This put him into some dispute with himself. He had no mind to nominate *Laud*, being then one of the Prebendaries of that Church, because he lookt upon him as his Corrivall and Supplanter in the Dukes good Grace; and to have named any other of a lower order, there being a Bishop in the number, would have subjected him to some discourse and misconstruction; He therefore very wisely sent unto his Majesty the names, degrees, and dignities of all the Prebends, leaving it unto him alone to make the Election; who thereupon without any hesitancy or deliberation deputed *Laud* unto the Service. *Laud*, being thus nominated and deputed, prepared all things ready for that great Solemnity. And finding the *Old Crucifix* among the *Regalia*, he caused it to be placed on the Altar, as in former times. The Coronation being ended, his Majesty going in his Robes to *Westminster* Hall, did there deliver them to *Laud*, (representing in that Pomp the Dean of *Westminster*) together with the Crown, Scepter, and the Sword called *Cortena*, to be laid up with the rest of the *Regalia* in their old repository; which he receiving from the King, returned into the Abbey Church, offered solemnly on the Altar in his Majesties name (as by his place he was to do) and so laid them up.

Two things there were remarkable in this Coronation, which seemed to have something in them of Presage. *senhouse*, who had been once his Chaplain, when Prince of *Wales*, and was now Bishop of *Carlisle*, had the honour to Preach upon the day of that great Solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well express a passion: but he had chosen such a Text, as was more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation; his Text being this, *viz.* *I will give thee a Crown of life, Apoc. 2. 10.* and was rather thought to put the new King in mind of his Death than his duty in Government; and to have been his Funeral Sermon when he was alive, as if he were to have none when he was to be buried. It was observed also, that his Majesty on that day was cloathed in *White*, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, who were on that day clad in *Purple*. And this he did not out of any necessity, for want of *Purple* Velvet, enough to make a suite, (for he had many yards of it in his outward Garment) but at his own choice only, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be espoused unto his Kingdom. *White* (as we know) is the colour of the Saints, who are represented to us in *White Robes* by *Saint John* in the *Revelation*; and *Purple* is the Imperial and Regal colour, so proper heretofore unto Kings and Emperours, that many of the *Constantinopolitan* Emperours were called *Porphyrogenites*, because at their first coming into the world they were wrapt in *Purple*. And this some looked on also as an ill Presage, that the King laying aside his

Purple,

Purple, the Robe of Majesty, should cloath himself in *White*, the Robe of *innocence*; as if thereby it were fore-signified, that he should devest himself of that Regal Majesty which might and would have kept him safe from affront and scorn, to rely wholly on the innocence of a virtuous life, which did expose him finally to calamitous ruine.

No sooner were the Poms of the Coronation ended, but the Second Parliament began; at the opening whereof, on *Munday* the sixth of *February*, our Bilhop of *St. Davids* preacht before his Majesty, the Lords, &c. in the Abbey-Church. He was appointed to have Preached in the beginning of the former Parliament, on *Saturday* the 18th. of *June*; but that turn being otherwise supplied, he Preached the same Sermon the next day before his Majesty at *Whitehall*, his Text then, *Psal. 75. 2, 3. When I shall receive the Congregation, I will judge according unto right, &c.* But now he chose for the Theme or Subject of his discourse the 3, 4, 5 verses of the 112. *Psalme*, viz. *Jerusalem is like a City that is at unity in it self, &c.* In which, considering *Jerusalem* as a Type of the Church and State, he first beholds it as a Type of the State, or Civil Government. Where he considered *That Ordo Politicus, the wise ordering of the people in Concord and Unity was simply the strongest Wall of a State: But break Unity once, and farewell all strength. And therefore disjointed Factions in a State when they work upon Division, are Publica iræ divinæ incendia, the publick kindlings of Gods Anger, and they burn down all before them. And God seldom suffers these to fire a state till himself be heated first with the sins of the State: But then he will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel, Gen. 49. Nay scatter Jacob and Israel it self for them.* Which said in general, he descended to a more particular application, putting his Auditory in mind of those words of *Tacitus*, "That nothing gave the *Romans* (powerful enemies though they were) more advantage against the ancient *Britains* than this, *Quod Factionibus & studiis traherentur*; That they were broken into Factions, and would not so much as take counsel and advice together; and they smarted for it. But I pray what is the difference for men not to meet in counsel, and to fall to pieces when they meet? If the first were our Fore-fathers error, God of his mercy grant this second be not ours. And for the Church, that is as the City too, just so; *Doctrine and Discipline* are the Walls and the Towers of it: But be the one never so true, and the other never so perfect, they come both short of Preservation, if that body be not at *Unity* in it self. The Church, take it *Catholick*, cannot stand well, if it be not compacted together into an holy *Unity* with Faith and Charity. And as the whole Church is in regard of the affairs of Christendom, so is each particular Church in the Nation and Kingdom in which it sojourns. If it be not at *Unity* in it self, it doth but invite malice, which is ready to do hurt without any invitation: and it ever lies with an open side to the Devil and all his batteries. So both Church and State, then happy, and never till then, when they are at unity within themselves, and one with another. Well, both State and Church owe much to *Unity*; and therefore very little to them that break the peace of either.

LIB. II.
Anno Dom.
1625.

Ser. 3. p. 102

pag. 104.

pag. 107.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1625.

P. 109.

“either. *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.* But if *unity*
 “be so necessary, how may it be preserved in both? How? I will tell
 “you. Would you keep the State in *Unity*? In any case take heed
 “of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace of the State de-
 “pends much upon it; For divide Christ in the minds of men, or di-
 “vide the minds of men about their hopes of Salvation in Christ, and
 “tell me what *unity* there will be. Let this suffice so far as the Church
 “is an ingredient into the unity of the State. But what other things
 “are concurring to the unity of it, the State it self knows better than
 “I can teach.

This was good *Doctrine* out of doubt. The Preacher had done his part in it, but the hearers did not; the Parliament not making such *use* of it as they should have done. At such time as the former Parliament was adjourned to *Oxon*, the Divinity School was prepared for the House of Commons, and a Chair made for the Speaker in or near the place, in which his Majesties Professor for Divinity did usually read his publick Lectures, and moderate in all publick Disputations. And this first put them into conceit, that the determining of all Points and Controversies in Religion did belong to them. As *Vibius Rufus* in the Story, having married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæsars* Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the power of the other. For after that we find no Parliament without a Committee for Religion, and no Committee for Religion but what did think it self sufficiently instructed to manage the greatest Controversies of Divinity which were brought before them: And so it was particularly with the present Parliament. The Commons had scarce settled themselves in their own House, but *Mountague* must be called to a new account for the *Popery* and *Arminianism* affirmed to have been maintained by him in his books. In which Books if he had defended any thing contrary to the established *Doctrine* of the Church of *England*, the Convocation, of the two, was the fitter Judge. And certainly it might have hapned ill unto him, the King not being willing to engage too far in those Emergencies, (as the case then stood) if the Commons had not been diverted in pursuit of the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being a more noble game, they laid this aside, having done nothing in it but raised a great desire in several Members of both Houses to give themselves some satisfaction in those doubtful Points. To which end a Conference was procured by the Earl of *Warwick*, to be held at *Tork* House, between *Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *White* Dean of *Carlile*, on the one side: *Morton* then of *Lichfield*, and *Preston* then of *Lincolns-Inn* (of whom more hereafter) on the other; the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Pembroke*; many other Lords, and many other persons of inferiour quality being present at it. To this conference, which was holden on the eleventh of this *February*, another was added the next week on the seventeenth. In which *Mountague* acted his own part in the place of *Buckeridge*, the Concourse being as great, both for the quality and number of the persons; as had been at the former. And the success was equal also. The Friends and Fautors of each side giving the victory to those (as com-
 monly

monly it happens in such cases) whose cause they favoured.

LIB. II.

After this we hear no more of *Montague*, but the passing of some Votes against him in the *April* following; which heats being over, he was kept cold till the following Parliament: And then he shall be called for. In the meantime the King perceiving that the Commons had took no notice of his own occasions, gave order to Sir *Richard Weston* (then *Chancellor* of his *Exchequer*) to mind them of it; by whom he represented to them the return of the last years Fleet, and the want of Money to satisfy the Mariners and Souldiers for their Arrears; That he had prepared a new Fleet of forty Sail ready to set forth, which could not stir without a present supply of Money; And that without the like supply, not only his Armies, which were quartered upon the Coasts, would disband or mutiny, but that the Forces sent for *Ireland* would be apt to rebel; and therefore he desired to know, without more ado, what present supply he must depend upon from them, that accordingly he might shape his course. These Propositions being made, *Clem. Coke* a younger Son of Sir *Edward Coke* (who had successively been Chief Justice of either Bench) obstructs the Answer by this rash and unhandsome expression, *That it was better to dye by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home.* Which general words were by one *Turner* a Doctor of Physick, and then a Member of that House, restrained and applied more particularly to the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Commons well remembered at what Point they were cut off in the former Parliament, and carefully watcht all advantages to retaine it in this. They had begun a great clamour against him on the first of *March*, for staying a *French Ship*, called the *St. Peter of Newhaven*; and *Turner* now incites them to a higher distemper, by six Queries raised about him, that is to say, "First, Whether the King had not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas since the Duke became Admiral? Secondly, Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success? Thirdly, Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense liberality? Fourthly, Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit places? Fifthly, Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature? Sixthly, Whether the *Recusants* have not dependence on his Mother and Father in Law?"

Anno Dom.

1625.

For this days work *Coke* was severely reprehended by his Father, who could not be perswaded to look upon him for a long while after: But *Turner*, having none whom he stood in fear of, escaped not only without a private reprehension, but without any publick Censure. His Majesty thereupon complained by *Weston* to the House of Commons, who were so far from censuring the offence, that they seemed rather willing to protect the Offenders. And yet this was not all the affront they had done him neither. For seeming well satisfied with his Majesties gracious Answer to their Petition against *Recusants*, which they received from him at *Oxon* in the former Parliament, they now resolved to see what execution had been done upon it. And to that end they appoint a Committee for Religion, and that Committee substitutes a Sub-Committee; which Sub-Committee were empowered to

1626.

PART I. search the Signet Office concerning such indulgencies as had been
Anno Dom. granted to the Papists since the end of that Parliament, and to ex-
 1626. amine the Letters of the Secretaries of State, leaving his Majesty no-
 thing free from their discovery as to that particular: A point which
 never was presumed on in preceding times. And which seemed worst
 of all in the present conjuncture, they had voted him three Subsidies,
 and three fifteens, but voted them with such a clog that they should
 not pass into a Bill till their *Grievances* were both heard and answer-
 ed. Which *Grievances* what they were both in weight and number,
 as it was not known unto themselves; so did his Majesty look upon
 it, not only as a thing dilatory in it self, but as a baffle put on him and
 his proceedings.

These indignities coming thus upon the neck of one another, he
 caused the Lords and Commons to come before him at *White-Hall*,
March 29. 1626. where first he signified unto them, by the mouth of
 the Lord Keeper, how sensible he was of those affronts which were
 put upon him, touching upon every one of them in particular, and ag-
 gravating each of them in their several kinds, letting them also know,
That as he loved his people, so he regarded his honour; and that if he were
sensible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he was sensible much more.
 The Keeper also had command to tell them in his Majesties Name, *That*
the Duke had acted nothing of Publick Employment, without his Majesties
special Warrant; That he had discharged his Trust with abundant both
Care and Fidelity; That since his return from Spain he had been sedulous
in promoting the Service and Contentment of the Commons House; And
therefore, That it was his express Command, That they desist from such
Unparliamentary Proceedings, and resign the Reformation of what was
amiss to his Majesties Care, Wisdom, and Justice. Which Speech be-
 ing ended, his Majesty saith as followeth: *I must withal put you in*
mind of Times past; you may remember my Father, moved by your Coun-
sel, and won by your Perswasions, brake the Treaties: In these Perswasions
I was your Instrument towards him; and I was glad to be Instrumental in
any thing which might please the whole Body of this Realm: Nor was
there any in greater favour with you, than this man whom you so traduce.
And now when you find me so sure intangled in War, as I have no honour-
able and safe Retreat, you make my Necessity your Priviledge, and set what
rate you please upon your Supplies: A Practice not very obliging unto
Kings. Mr. Coke told you, It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy,
than to be destroyed at home. Indeed I think it more honourable for
a King to be invaded and almost destroyed by a Foreign Enemy, than to
be despised at home.

But all this did not edifie with the House of Commons. So little
 were they moved with the Eloquence of the one, and the smart Ex-
 pressions of the other, that both their own Members remained uncen-
 sured, and the Prosecution of the Duke was followed with more vio-
 lence then before it was. But for all this his Majesty and the Duke
 might thank themselves. His Majesty had power, in his own hands
 to have righted himself, according to the practice of *Queen Elizabeth*,
 and others of his Majesties Royal Predecessors in the times foregoing.

But

But by complaining in this manner to the House of Commons, he chose rather to follow the Example of King *James*, who in like manner had complained of one *Piggot*, for some seditious words by him spoken in the House of Commons, *Anno* 1607. and with like success. He that divests himself of a natural and original Power to right the injuries which are done him, in hope to find redress from others (especially from such as are parcel guilty of the wrong) may put up all his gettings in a Seamstress Thimble, and yet never fill it. All that which both Kings effected by it, was but the weakning of their own Power, and the increasing of the others, who had now put themselves upon this Resolution, not to suffer any one of their Members to be questioned, till themselves had considered of his Crimes. By which means they kept themselves close together, and emboldened one another to stand it out against the King to the very last. And of this *Maxim*, as they made use in this present Parliament, in the Case of *Coke*, *Turner*, *Diggs*, and *Eliot* (which two last had been imprisoned by the Kings Command) so was it more violently and pertinaciously insisted on in the case of the Five Members, impeach'd of High Treason by the Kings Attorney, *January* 14. 1641. the miserable effects whereof we find too sensibly. And as for their prosecuting of the Duke, the Commons might very well pretend, that they had and should do nothing in it, for which as well his Majesty as the Duke himself, had not given encouragement. They had both joined together against *Cranfield* the late Lord Treasurer, and to revenge themselves on him, had turned him over to the power and malice of his Enemies in the House of Commons. The Commons had served their turns on *Cranfield*, and will now serve their own turns on the Duke himself, let the King do the best he could to preserve him from them. So unsafe a thing it is for Princes to deliver any of their Servants into the hands of their People, and putting a Power out of themselves, which they cannot call back again when it most concerns them.

At the same time the Earl of *Bristol*, being charged with Treason by the Duke, exhibited against him certain Articles in the House of Peers, in which he accused him of the like Crime, in reference to his Actings in the *spanish* business. This made good sport amongst the Commons for a time; but at last fearing either the Weakness of *Bristol's* Charge, or the insufficiency of his Proofs, they resolved to follow their own way; and to that end a large Impeachment was drawn up against him, and presented to the Lords on the eighth of *May*, managed by six of the ablest Lawyers in the House, that is to say, *Glanvill*, *Herbert*, *Shelden*, *Pym*, *Wansford*, and *Sherland*; the Prologue made by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, and the Epilogue by Sir *John Eliot*. The principal Branches of this Impeachment related to his engrossing of Offices, his buying the Places of Lord *Admiral*, and Lord *Warden* of the *Cinque Ports*; His not guarding the Seas; His stay of a Ship called the *St. Peter* of *Newhaven*, and of the *East-India* Fleet; Lending his Majesties Ship called the *Vantgard* to the *French* King, which the *French* King employed against *Rochel*; his selling of Honours and Offices; procuring Honours for his Kindred; his diminishing the Revenues of the Crown;

PART I. and his applying Physick to King *James* in the time of his Sickness.
Anno Dom. To every one of these there was returned in Writing a particular
 1626. Answer by the Duke himself: "And then addressling his Discourse
 "unto the Peers, he humbly referred it to their Judgment, how full
 "of danger and prejudice it was, to give too ready an ear, and too
 "easie a belief unto a Report or Testimony without Oath, which are
 "not of weight enough to condemn any. With like humility he ac-
 "knowledged, how easie a thing it was for him in his younger years,
 "and unexperienced, to fall into thousands of Errors, in these ten
 "years wherein he had the honour to serve so great and so open-
 "hearted a Sovereign Master. But still he hoped the fear of God,
 "his sincerity in the true Religion established in the Church of *Eng-*
 "*land* (though accompanied with many weakneses and imperfecti-
 "ons, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confess) his
 "carefulness not willingly to offend so good and gracious a Master,
 "and his love and duty to his Country, had restrained and preserved
 "him from running into any hainous misdemeanours and crimes.
 Which said, and having craved the benefit of two severall Pardons, the
 one granted in the last Parliament of King *James*, the other at the Co-
 ronation of King *Charles*, he added, "That he could not chuse but
 "hope so much in their Lordships Justice and Honour, that they would
 "acquit him of and from those Misdemeanors, Offences, Misprisions,
 "and Crimes wherewith he had been charged; and for his own part,
 "he both hoped and would daily pray, that for the future he might so
 "watch over all his Actions, both publick and private, as not to give
 "cause of just offence to any person.

Of these Proceedings his Majesty was exceeding sensible: He saw
 himself wounded through the Dukes sides; that his Fathers Favours
 and his own were the greatest Crimes of which the Duke had been
 impeached; and, That their Regal Authority, in bestowing Offices
 and Honours on whom they pleased, was not only questioned, but
 controlled. With which disturbances being very much perplex'd and
 troubled, he receives a Letter written to him from an unknown Per-
 son, in which he first met with a Recital of the severall Interests and
 Affections which were united in this Prosecution against the Duke:
 and after that this Application to himself, and his own Concernments,
viz. "These men (saith the Writer of the Letter) either cannot or
 "will not remember, that never any Nobleman in favour with his So-
 "vereign, was questioned in Parliament, except by the King himself
 "in case of Treason, or unless it were in the nonage and tumultuary
 "times of *Richard* the Second, *Henry* vi. or *Edward* vi. which hapned
 "to the destruction both of King and Kingdom. And that not to ex-
 "ceed our own and Fathers Memory, in King *Henry* viii. his time,
 "*Wolseys* exorbitant Power and Pride, and *Cromwells* contempt of the
 "Nobility and the Laws, were not yet permitted to be discussed
 "in Parliament, though they were most odious and grievous to all
 "the Kingdom: And that *Leicesters* undeserved favour and Faults,
 "*Hattons* insufficiency, and *Raleighs* Insolencies, far exceeded what
 "yet hath been objected against the Duke; yet no Lawyer durst abet,
 "nor

Cabal.

“nor any man else begin any Invectives against them in Parliament. LIB. II.
 And then he adds, (some other Passages intervening) “That it be- *Anno Domi.*
 “hoves his Majesty to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but I 626.
 “discourted, it will be the Corner-stone on which the demolishing of
 “his Monarchy will be builded: For if they prevail with this, they
 “have hatched a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers of the
 “Royalty; they will appoint him Counsellors, Servants, Alliances;
 “Limits of his Expences, Accounts of his Revenue; chiefly, if they
 “can (as they mainly desire) they will now dazle him in the begin-
 “ing of his Reign. How true a Prophet this man proved, the event
 hath shewed, and the King saw it well enough; and therefore since he
 could not divert them from that pursuit, on the 15th of June he dis-
 solved the Parliament.

I have been the more punctual and particular in relating these Pro-
 ceedings of the Commons against the Duke, by reason of that Influ-
 ence which *Laud* either had, or is reported to have had, in managing
 his Cause against them. For first it is affirmed by the Publisher of this
 Bishops *Breviate*, That the Copy of the Kings Speech made in be-
 half of the Duke, *March 29.* was of *Lauds* enditing; and, That the *Breviate,*
 Original Copy thereof under his own hand was given in evidence a- *P. 7.*
 gainst him at the time of Trial. Secondly, That he likewise penned
 the Kings Speech to the House of Peers, touching the Duke and the
 Commitment of the Earl of *Arundel*, *May 11th.* In which he spake
 concerning the preservation of the Honour of Noblemen, against the
 vile and detestable Calumnies of those of the Lower House, by whom
 the Duke had been accused, as before was said. Most grievous Crimes
 indeed, if they had been true; for a Subject to assist his Prince, and a
 Servant to be aiding to his Master, in penning a short speech or two,
 when either the pressure of Affairs, or perplexities of mind might re-
 quire it of him. But for the truth of this there is no proof offered, but
 that the Copies of both Speeches (the *Original Copies*; as he calls them) *Pa. 8.*
 were found in the Archbishops Study, as probably they might have
 been in the Studies of many other men, if they had been searched;
 For who can rationally suppose, That his Majesty, who was the Ma-
 ster of such a pure and elegant Style, as he declared himself to be in
 his Discourse with *Henderson* at *Newcastle*, and his *Divine Essays* made
 in Prison, when he could have no other helps but what he found in
 himself, should stand in need of the Expressions of another man in
 matters of so great concernment? Or if it be to be supposed, it makes
 exceedingly to the honour and commendation of this our Bishop, as
 well in point of Secrecy as unfeigned Fidelity, that his Majesty should
 pick out him from all other men, to be his Pen-man or Chief Secre-
 tary in such weighty businessses. Then again, it is affirmed, That
 he not only corrected and amended the Dukes Answer to the Im-
 peachment which was made against him by the Commons, but that
 he also penned that Speech which the Duke subjoyned unto his An-
 swer: A Crime of the same nature, and proved by the same *Medi-*
ums as the others were; and such as rather might have served for a
 strong assurance both of his honest Fidelity to his Friend & Patron, and
 the

PART I. the even temper of his own mind in the managing of it. For if we may
Anno Dom. believe the Author of the first History of the Life and Reign of King
 1626. *Charles*, as I think we may, this Answer of the Duke was so in-laid
 with Modesty and Humility, that it became a new Grievance to his
 Adversaries, and was like to have a powerful influence toward the con-
 version of many, who expected a defence of another and more dis-
 dainful Spirit.

Hist. King
 Charls, p. 50.

Cb. Hist. lib.
 2.

Breviate.

Thus have we brought two Parliaments unto an end; but we hear nothing of the *Convocations* which were summoned with them. Nothing indeed of the first Convocation, but the passing of a Grant for three Subsidies, toward the Advancement of his Majesties Service. In the second we find something more, though no Subsidies are granted in it. On the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent*, *Goodman* then Bishop of *Glocester* Preach'd before his Majesty, and press'd so hard upon the Point of the *Real Presence*, that he was supposed to trench too near the borders of Popery, which raised a great clamour both in Court and Country: The matter of which Sermon was agitated *pro* and *con* in the *Convocation*, *March* 29. without determining any thing on either side. But his Majesty out of a desire to satisfy both himself and his Houses of Parliament, touching that particular, referred the consideration of it to *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Laud* Bishop of *Saint Davids*; who meeting and considering of it, on the twelfth of *April*, returned this Answer to the King; *That some things in that Sermon had been spoke less warily, but nothing falsly; That nothing had been innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of England: But howsoever, That they thought very fit that Goodman should be appointed to Preach again before his Majesty, for the better explaining of his meaning, and shewing how and in what Particulars he had been mistaken by his Auditors:* Which he accordingly performed. But nothing was of such concernment to a Convocation, as the cause of *Mountague*, vexed and molested by the Commons in both the Parliaments, for supposed Popery and *Arminianism*, matters meerly Doctrinal: And possibly it may be admired, that they should do nothing in a matter of their own peculiar, having his Majesty to Friend; for it appears in the Letter of the three Bishops before-mentioned, to the Duke of *Buckingham*, *That his Majesty had taken that business into his own care, and had most worthily referred it in a right course to Church-consideration.* And it appears also by the *Breviate*, pag. 8. That on *Sunday*, *April* 22. of this present year, his Majesty had commanded all the Bishops to come before him, and reprehended such as came (being fourteen in number) for being silent in Causes which concerned the Church, and had not made known unto him what might be profitable or unprofitable for it, the Cause whereof he was so ready to promote. But then we are to call to mind, that *Laud* not long since had been sent by the Duke of *Buckingham* to consult with *Andrews*, and learn of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cause of the Church, and more especially in the Five Articles, so hotly agitated between the *Remonstrants* and *Contra-Remonstrants* in the *Belgick* Provinces. And it appears by the event, that *Andrews* did not hold it
 fit

fit for any thing to be done in that particular, as the case then stood; the truth in those Opinions not being so generally entertained amongst the Clergy, nor the Archbishop and the greater part of the Prelates so inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of those Points to a *Convocation*.

L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1626.

But that which was not thought fit in that present Conjuncture for a *Convocation*, his Majesty was pleased to take order in by his *Royal Edict*. Many Books had been written against *Mountague* by *Carleton* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter*, *Yates* and *Rouse*; by which the differences were rather increased than diminished. Which coming to his Majesties notice, it pleased him by the advice of his Bishops, to signify by his Proclamation of *June 14*. "Not only to his own People, but to all the World, his utter dislike of all those, who to shew the subtilty of their Wits, or to please their own Humours, or vent their own Passions, do or shall adventure to stir or move any new Opinions, not only contrary but differing from the sound and *Orthodoxal* Grounds of the true Religion, sincerely Professed and happily Established in the Church of *England*; and also to declare his full and constant Resolution, that neither in matter of Doctrine nor Discipline of the Church, nor in the Government of the State, he will admit of the least *Innovation*; but by Gods assistance will so guide the Scepter of these his Kingdoms and Dominions (by the Divine Providence put into his hand) as shall be for the comfort and assurance of his sober, Religious, and well-affected Subjects, and for the repressing and severe punishing of such as out of any sinister respects, or dis-affection to his Person or Government, shall dare either in Church or State to distract or disquiet the Peace thereof. His Majesty thereupon commands all his Subjects (the Clergy most especially) both in *England* and *Ireland*, That from thenceforth they should carry themselves so wisely, warily, and conscionably, that neither by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or otherwise, they raise any doubts, or publish or maintain any new Inventions or Opinions concerning Religion, than such as are clearly grounded and warranted by the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* heretofore published, and happily established by Authority: Straightly charging all Archbishops and Bishops in their several Diocesses, as also Counsellors of State, Judges, and Ministers of Justice, speedily to reclaim and repress all such Spirits as shall adventure hereafter to break this Rule of Sobriety, and due Obedience to his Majesty, his Laws, and this Religious Duty to the Church of God, or in the least degree attempt to violate this bond of Peace; adding withal this intimation of his Royal Pleasure, That whosoever from thenceforth should take the boldness wilfully to neglect this his Majesties gracious Admonition, and either for the satisfying of their unquiet and restless Spirits, or for expressing of their rash and undutiful Insolencies, should wilfully break that Circle of Order, which without apparent danger both to Church and State may not be broken, his Majesty will proceed against them with that severity as upon due consideration had of
" their

Bib. Regia,
sect. 3. p. 1.

PART I. " their Offences and Contempts, they and every one of them should
 Anno Dom. " deserve, &c.

1626.



Such was the tenor of his Majesties Proclamation of June 14. And the effect thereof was this. The House of Commons in pursuance of their Quarrel against *Mountague's* Books, had referred the consideration of it to their Committee for Religion, from whom *Pym* brought a Report on the eighteenth of April, concerning some *Arminian* and *Popish* Tenents comprised in them. It was thereupon Voted in that House, 1. That he had disturbed the Peace of the Church, by publishing Doctrines contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and the Book of Homilies. 2. That there are divers Passages in his Book (especially against those he calleth Puritans) apt to move Sedition betwixt the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject. 3. That the whole frame and scope of his Books is to discourage the well-affected in Religion, from the true Religion established in the Church, and to encline them, and as much as in him lay, to reconcile them to *POPERTY*. This gave great animation to the opposite Party, who thought it a high point of Wisdom to assault the man whom they perceived to have been smitten with this terrible Thunder-bolt, and not to lose the opportunity of a Parliament-time (when the Press is open to all comers) for publishing their Books against him. Some of them we have named already; besides which there appeared so many in the List against him, viz. *Goad, Featly, Ward, Wotton, Prynne, and Burton*; that the Encounter seemed to be betwixt a whole Army and a single Person. (a) *Laud* and some of those Bishops on the other side, encouraged by his Majesties Proclamation, endeavoured to suppress those Books, which seemed to have been published in defiance of it; some of them being called in, some stopped at the Press; some Printers questioned for Printing, as the Authors were for writing such prohibited Pamphlets. *Burton* and *Prynne* amongst the rest were called into the *High-Commission*, and at the point to have been censured, when a *Prohibition* comes from *Westminster-Hall* to stay the Proceedings in that Court, contrary to his Majesties Will and Pleasure, expressed so clearly and distinctly in the said Proclamation: Which *Prohibition* they tendred to the Court in so rude a manner, that *Laud* was like to have laid them by the heels for their labour. From henceforth we must look for nothing from both these *hot-spurs* but desire of revenge, a violent opposition against all Persons whatsoever, who did not look the same way with them, and whatsoever else an ill-governed Zeal could excite them to.

(a) Parque
 novum for-
 tuna videt
 concurrere
 bellum, at-
 que virum.
 Lucan.

And now being fallen upon these men, it may not be amiss to say something of them in this place, considering how much they exercised the patience of the Church and State in the Times succeeding. *Burton* had been a Servant in the Closet to his Sacred Majesty when he was Prince of *Wales*; and being once in the *Ascendant*, presumed that he should culminate before his time. He took it very ill that he was not sent as one of the Chaplains into *Spain* when the Prince was there; but worse, that *Laud* then Bishop of *Saint Davids*, should execute the Office of Clerk of the Closet at such time as Bishop *Neil* was sick, and he

be

be looked on no otherwise than as an underling still. Vexed with that Indignity, as he then conceived it, he puts a scandalous Paper into the hands of the King, for which, and for some other Insolencies and factious carriage, he was commanded by him to depart the Court; into which being never able to set foot again, he breathed nothing but rage and malice against his Majesty, the Bishops, and all that were in place above him, and so continued till the last; it being the custom of all those whom the Court *casts out*, to labour by all means they can to *out-cast* the Court. *Prynne* lived sometimes a Commoner of *Oriall Colledge*, and afterwards entred himself a Student in *Lincolns-Inn*, where he became a great follower of *Preston*, then the Lecturer there: Some parts of Learning he brought with him, which afterwards he improved by continual Study; and being found to be of an enterprising nature, hot-spirited, and eager in pursuit of any thing which was put into him, he was looked upon by *Preston* as the fittest person to venture upon such Exploits, which a more sober and considerate man durst not have appeared in. Being once put into the road, it was not possible to get him out of it again by threats or punishments; till growing weary of himself, when he had no Enemy in a manner to encounter with, he began to look up at the last, and settled on more moderate and quiet courses, becoming in the end a happy Instrument of Peace both to Church and State. And now I am fallen on *Preston* also, I shall add something of him too, as being a man which made much noise in the World about this time. A man he was (beyond all question) of a Threwd Wit and deep Comprehensions; an excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, and one who for a long time sat at the Helm, and steared the Course of his Party, as one well observeth. Toward the latter end of the Reign of King *James* he was brought into the Court by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in hope to gain a Party by him: There he was gazed on for a time, like a new *Court-Meteor*; and having flashed and blazed a little, went out again, and was forgotten, in case he did not leave, as most *Meteors* do, an ill smell behind him. Much was he cried up by his Followers in the University, City, and all places else, as if he might have chosen his own *Mitre*, and had been as likely a man as any to have been trusted with the Great Seal in the place of *Williams*: But he was not principled for the Court, nor the Court for him; For long he had not been in that School of Policy, but he found other men as wise and cunning as himself, and that he could not govern there with such an absolute *Omni-regency*, as he had done in the Families of private Gentlemen in most parts of the Kingdom. Nor was it long before the Duke began to have some suspicion of him, as one not to be trusted in his Majesties Service, when it seemed any way to cross with the *Furitan* Interest, which he drove on with so much openness in the Court, as was not proper for a man of so famed a cunning. But that which lost him at the last, was a Letter by him written to a great Peer of the Realm, in which he spake disadvantageously enough, if not reproachfully of the Court; and signified withal how little hope there was of doing any good in that place, for the advancement of the Cause. Which Letter, or a Copy of it, being unluckily

LIB. II.
Anno Dom.
1626.

Ch. Hist. lib.
10.

PART I. dropp'd out of his Pocket, was taken up, and forthwith carried to the Duke: The shame and grief of which mischance, gave him so much trouble, that he withdrew by little and little, and at last betook himself wholly to his old affectation of a Popular Greatness. By reason of his Lectures in *Cambridge* and *Lincolns-Inn*, he was grown powerful in the Univerſity, and had gained a ſtrong Party in the City, but died about the time that *Laud* ſucceeded *Mountain* in the See of *London*. And it was well for him that he died ſo opportunely; *Laud* was reſolved that there ſhould be no more but one Biſhop of that City, and would have found ſome way or other to remove him out of *Lincolns-Inn*, to the end he might have no pretence of raiſing or encreaſing any Faction there, to diſturb the Publick. But before *Laud* ſhall come from *St. Davids* to *London*, he muſt take *Bath* and *Wells* in his way, to which we are now ready to wait upon him.

THE
L I F E
O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. III.

*Extending from his being made Bishop of Bath and Wells till
his coming to the See of Canterbury.*

IT hapned during the Sitting of the late Parliament, that Doctor *Arthur Lake* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, a man of great Learning, and exemplary Piety, departed this Life; into whose Place, his Majesty on the twentieth of *June* nominates our Bishop of *St. Davids*: In pursuance of which Nomination, his Majesty on the 26th. of *July* Signed the Writ of *Conge d'eslire* to the *Dean and Chapter*, warranting them thereby to proceed to a new Election; and therewith sent his Letters Missive (according to the usual Custom) in behalf of *Laud*. On *Wednesday, August* the 16th. they Elect him Bishop of that See; and on *September* 18. their Election is confirmed in due form of Law; His Majesty on the morrow after, restoring the Temporalities of that Bishoprick from the time of his Predecessors death. And now he is actually possessed not only of the Jurisdiction, but of the Rents, Profits, and Emergencies belonging to a Bishop of *Bath and Wells*; a double Title, but relating to a single Diocess, and that Diocess confined to the County of *Somerset*. The Bishops seat originally at *Wells*, where it still continues, and in respect whereof

Anno Dom. 1626.

PART I. this Church is called in some Writers, *Fontanenſis Eccleſia*. The ſtile of *Bath* came in but upon the by. The Church of *Wells* firſt built by *Ina* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, Anno 704. and by him dedicated to St. *Andrew*, after endowed by *Kenulfe* another King of the ſame people, Anno 766. and finally made a Biſhops See in the time of *Edward* the elder, Anno 905. The firſt that bore that title being *Adelmus*, before Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*. The preſent Church, in place where that of *Ina* had ſtood before, was built moſt part of it by Biſhop *Robert*, the eighteenth Biſhop of this See, but finiſhed and perfected by Biſhop *Joceline* ſirnamed *d'Wellis*. *Johannes d'Villula*, the ſixteenth Biſhop, having bought the Town of *Bath* of King *Henry* the Firſt for five hundred Marks, transferred his Seat unto that City 1088. Hence grew a jar betwixt the Monks of *Bath* and the Canons of *Wells* about the Election of the Biſhop. At laſt the difference was thus compoſed by that Biſhop *Robert*, whom before I ſpake of, that from thenceforward the Biſhop ſhould be denominated from both places, and the precedency in the Style ſhould be given to *Bath*; that on the vacancy of the See, a certain number of Delegates from both Churches ſhould elect their *Prelate*, who being elected ſhould be inſtalled in them both; both of them to be reckoned as the Biſhops Chapter, and all his Grants and Patents confirmed in both. And ſo it ſtood until the Reign of King *Henry VIII*. at what time the Monastery of *Bath* being diſſolved, there paſſed an Act of Parliament for the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Wells* to make one ſole *Chapter* to the Biſhop, 35 Hen. 8. C. 15.

To welcome him to this new honour his *Majeſty* commanded him to draw up certain *Inſtructions* to be communicated to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of this Realm upon this occaſion. The late Parliament being diſſolved without acting any thing in order to his *Majeſties* Service, he was neceſſitated by the urgency of his affairs to try his Fortune on the Subject in the way of *Loan*, which ſeemed to have ſome Regality in it; For whereas the Parliament had paſſed a Bill of three Subſidies and three fifteens, and that the ſaid Parliament was diſſolved before the Bill paſſed into an Act, his *Majeſty* was adviſed that he had good grounds to require thoſe Subſidies of the Subjects which the Houſe of Commons in their names had aſſented to, and yet not to require them by the name of Subſidies, but only in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament ſhould enable him to make payment of it, or confirm his levying of thoſe monies by a ſubſequent Act. The Sum required to be raiſed was 173411 pound, which was conceived to equal the three Subſidies, which had been voted for him in the Houſe of Commons, though it never paſſed into an Act: or otherwiſe to make up that Sum which the preſent neceſſity of ſetting out his Fleet required. He had before pawned the Plate and Jewels of the Crown, and ſold as much Land to the City of *London*, (which would neither lend gratis, nor take thoſe Lands in way of *Mortgage*) as brought in 120000 pound upon eaſie purchaſes. All which he was ready to expend, or had before expended on the publick ſafety. But that not being able to make ſuch neceſſary provisions as were required, both to ſecure himſelf at home, and ſuc-

cour his Confederates and Allies abroad, he was forced to fall upon this course. To which end he issues out his Letters of *Commission*, bearing date the thirteenth of *October*, directed to certain Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in their several Counties. In which they were required to acquaint the People, that his dear Uncle the King of *Denmark* was brought into great distress; That without present succour the *sound* would be lost, his Garrison in *stoade* broken by the Emperours Forces, (which then straightly besieged it;) the *Eastland* Trade (which maintains our Shipping) and the Staple of *Hamborough* (which vents our Cloth) would both be gotten from him; As also that the two great Kings of *Spain* and *France*, together with the Pope, were joyned to rout out our Religion; That their Admirals, the Duke of *Guise*, and *Don Frederick de Toledo*, were at that present before *Rochel*, endeavouring to block it up; And that they have store of Land-men ready on the Coast of *Britain*, with them and other Forces to invade us. Upon which grounds they were required by all plausible and powerful means to perswade the People to pay the Taxes severally imposed upon them; with many other directions tending to advance the Service.

L I B. II.
Anno Dom.
1626.

It was observed of Queen *Elizabeth*, that when she had any business to bring about amongst the people, she used to *tune the Pulpits*, as her saying was; that is to say, to have some Preachers in and about *London*, and other great Auditories in the Kingdom, ready at command to cry up her design, as well in their publick Sermons as their private Conferences: Which course was now thought fit to be followed in preparing the people toward a dutiful compliance to these his Majesties desires. And to that end *Laud* received a Command from his Majesty by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to reduce certain instructions into Form, partly *Political*, partly *Ecclesiastical*, in the Cause of the King of *Denmark*, not long before beaten, and now much distressed by Count *Tilly*, to be published in all Parishes within the Realm. To this he chearfully conformed, and brought the said Instructions to the Duke within two days after, being the sixteenth of *September*. And having read them over first to the Duke, and after to the King himself, he received from both a very favourable acceptance. On the next day they were communicated to the Lords of the Council, who approved them also. By whose advice he sent them to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, requiring him by his Letters, bearing date *September 29*. to see them published and dispersed in the several Diocesses of his Province. The like Letters he also writ to the Archbishop of *York*; And they accordingly gave order to their several and respective *Suffragans*, "To see them made known to the worthy Preachers and Ministers in their Diocess, and so far as their Lordships might in their own persons, to put these things in execution, and to call upon the Clergy which was under them, in their Preachings and private Conferences to stir up all sorts of people to express their Zeal to God, their Duty to the King, and their Love unto their Country, and one to another; that all good and Christian-like course might be taken for the preservation of true Religion both in this Land, and through

Breviate.

PART I. through all Christendom. Now the tenour of the said *Instructions* was
Anno Dom. as followeth:

1626.

Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved
 Counsellour, We greet you well.

WE have observed that the Church and the State are so nearly united and knit together, that though they may seem two bodies, yet in deed in some relation they may be accounted but as one, inasmuch as they both are made up of the same men, which are differenced only in relation to spiritual or Civil ends. This nearness makes the Church call in the help of the State, to succour and support her, whensoever she is pressed beyond her strength: And the same nearness makes the State call in for the service of the Church, both to teach that duty which her members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in that duty which they know. It is not long since we ordered the State to serve the Church, and by a timely Proclamation sealed the peace of it: And now the State looks for the like assistance from the Church, that she and all her Ministers may serve God and us, by preaching peace and unity at home, that it may be the better able to resist Foreign Force uniting and multiplying against it. And to the end that they to whom we have committed the Government of the Church under us, may be the better able to dispose of the present occasions, we have, with the Advice of our Council, thought fit to send unto you these *Instructions* following, to be sent by you to the Bishops of your Province, and such others whom it may concern, and by them and all their Officers directed to all the Ministers throughout the several Diocesses, that according to these punctually they may instruct and exhort the People to serve God and us, and labour by their Prayers to divert the dangers which hang over us. The danger in which we are at this time is great. It is encreased by the late blow given our good Uncle the King of Denmark, who is the chief Person in those parts that opposed the spreading Forces of Spain. If he cannot subsist, there is little or nothing left to hinder the house of Austria from being Lord and Master of Germany: And that is a large and mighty Territory, and such as should it be gotten, would make an open way for Spain to do what they pleased in all the West part of Christendom. For besides the great strength which Germany once possessed would bring to them, which are too strong already, you are to consider first how it enables them by Land, in that it will joyn all or the most part of the Spaniards now distracted Territories, and be a means for him safely and speedily to draw down Forces against any other Kingdom that shall stand in his way. Nor can it be thought the Low Countries can hold out longer against him if he once become Lord of the upper parts. And secondly, You are to weigh how it will advantage him by Sea, and make him strong against us in our particular, which is of case apprehension to all men. And besides, if he once get Germany he will be able, though he had no Gold from India, to supply the necessity of those Wars, and to hinder all Trade and Traffick of the greatest staple Commodities of this Kingdom, Cloth and Wool, and so make them of little or no value.

You are to know therefore that to prevent this, is the present care of the
 King

King and state, and there is no probable way left but by sending Forces and other Supplies to the said King of Denmark our dear Uncle, to enable him to keep the Field, that our Enemies be not Masters of all on the sudden. You are further to take notice how both we and the whole State stand bound in Honour and Conscience to supply the present necessity of the King of Denmark. For this quarrel is more nearly ours, the recovery of the Ancient Inheritance of our dear Sister and her Children. The King of Denmark stands not so near in blood unto her as we do: Yet for her and our sakes that brave and valiant King hath adventured into the field, and in that ingagement hath not only hazarded his Person, but, as things go now, it may turn to some danger to his own Kingdom, and Posterity, should he not receive aid and succour from us without delay: Which should it happen (as God forbid) will be one of the greatest dishonours that ever this Kingdom was stained withall. Nor is danger and dishonour all the mischief that is like to follow this disaster; For if it be not presently relieved, the Cause of Religion is not only likely to suffer by it in some one part (as it hath already in a fearful manner in the Palatinate) but in all places where it hath gotten any footing. So that if we supply not presently our Allies and Confederates in this case, it is like to prove the extirpation of true Religion, and the re-planting of Romish Superstition in all the neighbouring parts of Christendom. And the coldness of this State shall suffer in all places as the betrayer of that Religion elsewhere, which it professeth and honoureth at home, which will be an imputation never to be washed off. And God forbid this State should suffer under it.

Neither may you forget rightly to inform the People committed to your charge, that this War which now grows full of danger, was not entred upon rashly and without advice, but you are to acquaint them, that all former Treaties by a peaceable way were in the latter end of our dear Father of ever blessed memory dissolved as fruitless, and unfit to be longer held on foot; And this by the Counsel of both Houses of Parliament then sitting: so those two great and honourable Bodies of Peers and People represented in Parliament led on this Counsel and course to a War with Spain. To effect this, they desired our aid and assistance, and used us to work our said dear Father to entertain this course. This upon their persuasions, and Promises of all Assistance and Supply, we readily undertook and effected, and cannot now be left in that business, but with the sin and shame of all men. Sin, because aid and supply for the defence of the Kingdom, and the like Affairs of State, especially such as are advised and assumed by Parliamentary Council, are due to the King from his People, by all Law both of God and Men: And shame, if they forsake the King, while he pursues their own Counsel, just and honourable, and which could not under God but have been as successful, if it had been followed and supplied in time, as we desired and laboured for. One thing there is which proves a great hinderance of this State, and not continued among the People, without great offence against God, detriment both to Church and State, and our great disservice in this and all other Business. It is breach of Unity, which is grown too great and common amongst all sorts of men. The danger of this goes far; for in all States it hath made way for Enemies to enter. We have by all means endeavoured Union, and require of you to Preach it, and Charity
the

LIB. III.
Anno Dom.
1626.

PART I. *the Mother of it, frequently in the ears of the People. We know their*
Anno Dom. Loyal hearts, and therefore wonder the more what should cause distracted
 1626. *Affections. If you call upon them (which is your duty) we doubt not*
 but that God will bless them with that Love to himself, to his Church,
 and their own Preservation, which alone will be able to bind up the scat-
 terings of divided Affections into Strength. To this end you are to lay
 before them what Miseries Home-divisions have brought upon this and
 many other Kingdoms, and to exhort all men to embrace it in time. The
 Danger it self, besides all other Christian and Prudent Motives, is of force
 enough (where it is duly considered) to make men joyn in all amity a-
 gainst a common Enemy, a great and growing Enemy: And to do it in
 time, before any secret and cunning working of his may use one part in a
 division to weaken the other.

And in the last place (but first and last and all times to be insisted on)
 you are to call upon God your selves, and to incite the People to join with
 you in humble and hearty Prayers unto God, That he would be pleased
 now, after long affliction of his dear People and Children, to look in mercy
 both upon them and us, and in particular for the Safety of the King of
 Denmark, and that Army which is left him, That God would bless and
 prosper him against his and our Enemies. Thus you are to strengthen the
 hearts and hopes of our Loyal Subjects and People, in and upon God. And
 whereas the greatest confidence men have in God, ariseth not only from his
 Promises, but from their experience likewise of his Goodness, you must not
 fail often to recall to the memory of the People, with thankfulness, the late
 great Experience we have had of his Goodness towards us: For the three
 great and usual Judgments, which he darts down upon disobedient and
 unthankful People, are Pestilence, Famine, and the Sword. The Pesti-
 lence did never rage more in this Kingdom than of late; and God was
 graciously pleased in mercy to hear the Prayers which were made unto him,
 and the ceasing of the Judgment was little less than a Miracle. The Fa-
 mine threatned us this present year; and it must have followed, had God
 rained down his Anger a little longer upon the Fruits of the Earth: But
 upon our Prayers he stayed that Judgment, and sent us a blessed Season, and
 a most plentiful Harvest. The Sword is the thing which we are now to
 look to; and you must call the People to their Prayers again, against that
 Enemy, That God will be pleased to send the like deliverance from this
 Judgment also; That in the same Mercy he will vouchsafe to strengthen the
 hands of his People; That he will sharpen their Sword, but dull and turn
 the edge of that which is in our Enemies hands; that so while some Fight,
 others may Pray for the Blessing. And you are to be careful that you fail not
 to direct and hearten our Loving People in this and all other necessary Ser-
 vices, both of God, his Church, and Us: That we may have the comfort of
 our Peoples Service; the State, Safety; the Church, Religion; and the Peo-
 ple, the enjoying of all such Blessings as follow these. And we end with
 doubling this Care upon you, and all under you in their several Places.

Given at our Palace at Westminster in the Second year of our
 Reign, September 21. 1626.

Such were the *Instructions* issued by his Majesties Command, in the present exigent: The dexterous performance of which Service, as it raised *Laud* higher in his Majesties good Opinion of him, than before he was: so was it recompensed with a Place of greater nearness to him, than before he had. For on that very day which gives date to the said *Instructions*, the most Learned and Reverend Bishop *Andrews*, Bishop of *Winton*, and Dean of his Majesties Chappel-Royal, departed this Life at his *Episcopal* House in *Southwark*; whose Funerals were solemnized in St. *Saviours* Church on the eleventh day of *November* following, *Buckeridge* then Bishop of *Rochester*, bestowing his last duty on him in a Funeral Sermon. A man he was of such extraordinary Abilities, that I shall rather chuse to express his Character by the Pen of others, than my own. Thus then says one of our late Historians: "This year we lost the stupendiously profound Prelate Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, an excellent Disputant, in the Oriental Tongues surpassing knowing; so studiously devoted to the Doctrine of the Ancient Fathers, as his extant Works breathe nothing but their Faith; nor can we now read the Fathers, more than we should have done in his very Aspect, Gesture, and Actions; so venerable in his Presence, so grave in his Motions, so pious in his Conversation, so primitive in all. Another goes a little further, and tells us of him; "That the World wanted Learning to know how Learned he was; so skill'd in all (especially Oriental Languages) that some conceive he might (if then living) almost have served as an *Interpreter-General* at the *Confusion of Tongues*. In his life time he only published two Books in *Latin*, viz. His *Apologie* against Cardinal *Bellarmino*, and that which he called *Tortura Torti*, in behalf of King *James*; and a small Tract entituled, *Determinatio Theologica, de jure-jurando exigendo, quarto*, Printed at *London*, 1593. And in *English* nothing but a small Volume of Sermons, which he acknowledged for his own. The Book of *Catechetical Doctrine*, published in his life by others, but without his privity and consent, he always professedly disfavoured, as containing only some imperfect Collections, which had been taken from his mouth by some ignorant hand, when he was Reader of the *Catechism Lecture* in *Pembroke Hall*. But after his decease, ninety six of his Sermons were collected with great care and industry, published in Print, and dedicated to his Sacred Majesty by *Laud* then Bishop of *London*, and *Buckeridge* at that time Bishop of *Ely*, 1628. For *Felton* of *Ely* dying the year before, *Buckeridge* had been translated thither by the Power & Favour of that his dear Friend and quondam Pupil, *Curle* Dean of *Litchfield*, and one of the *Residentaries* of *Salisbury*, succeeding after his Translation in the See of *Rochester*. By the same hands some other Pieces of his, both in *English* and *Latin*, were very carefully drawn together, and published with the like dedication to his Sacred Majesty, Anno 1629. He that desires to hear more of him, let him first consult the Funeral Sermon before mentioned, extant at the end of the great Volume of his Sermons; and afterwards peruse his Epitaph in the Church of St. *Maries Over-the*, transcribed in *Stow's Survey of London* of the last Edition. After his death

LI B. III.
Anno Domini
1626.

Hist. of K.
Ch. by H. L.
p. 62.

Ch. Hist. B.
11. p. 126.

PART I. death the See of *Winton* was kept vacant till the latter end of the year
Anno Dom. next following; the profits of it being in the mean time taken up for
 1626. his Majesties use, and answered into the Exchequer, according to an
 ancient Custom (but more old than commendable) used frequently
 by the Kings of *England*, since the time of *William* surnamed *Rufus*,
 from whom it is said to have took beginning.

But the *Deanry* of the Chappel had not been void above nine days, when *Laud* was nominated to it, and was actually admitted into that Office on the sixth day of *October* following, by *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery* Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, before whom he took the usual and appointed Oath. He had before observed a Custom (as ill though not so old as the other) used in the Court since the first entrance of King *James*. The Custom was, that at what part soever of the Publick Prayers the King came into his Closet (which looked into the Chappel) to hear the Sermon, the Divine Service was cut off, and the Anthem sung, that the Preacher might go into the Pulpit. This the new Dean disliked, as he had good reason, and thereupon humbly moved his Majesty, that he would be present at the *Liturgy*, as well as the Sermon every Lords day; and that at whatsoever part of Prayers he came, the Priest who Ministred should proceed to the end of the Service: To which his Majesty most readily and religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that his seasonable and pious motion. As for the *Deanry* of the Chappel, it was of long standing in the Court, but had been discontinued from the death of *Dr. George Carew* Dean of *Windsor*, (the Father of *George* Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*, and Earl of *Totness*) *Anno* 1572. till King *James* his coming to this Crown, at what time *Bancroft*, then Bishop of *London*, conceiving into what dangers the Church was like to run, by the multitude of *Scots* about him, thought it expedient that some Clergy-men of Note and Eminence should be attendant always in and about the Court. And thereupon it was advised, that to the Bishop *Almoner* and the Clerk of the Closet a Dean of the Chappel should be added, to look unto the diligent and due performance of Gods Publick Service, and order matters of the Quire. According to which resolution, *Dr. James Mountague* was recommended to the King for the first Dean of the Chappel in his time: succeeded in that place by *Andrews*, and he now by *Laud*.

1627. But to proceed, Whilest matters went on thus smoothly about the Court, they met with many Rubs in the Country, some of the Preachers did their parts according as they were required by the said *Instructions*, amongst whom *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackly* in *Northamptonshire*, advanced the Service, in a Sermon Preached by him at the Assizes for that County. The scope of which Sermon was to justify the Lawfulness of the general Loan, and of the Kings imposing Taxes by his own Regal Power, without consent in Parliament, and to prove, that the people in point of Conscience and Religion ought chearfully to submit to such Loans and Taxes without any opposition. The Licensing of which Sermon (when it was offered to the Press) being refused by Archbishop *Abbot*, and some exceptions made against it, the ruling of it was preferred to
Laud,

Laud, April 24. 1627, by whom, after some qualifications and corrections, it was approved, and after published by the Author, under the name of *Apostolical Obedience*. About the same time *Manwaring*, Doctor in Divinity, one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Vicar of the Parish Church of *St. Giles* in the Fields, published two Sermons of his preaching on the same occasion, the one before the King, the other in the hearing of his own Parishioners. These Sermons he entituled by the name of *Religion and Allegiance*, both of them tending to the justification of the lawfulness of the Kings imposing Loans and Taxes on his People without consent in Parliament; and that the imposition of such Loans and Taxes did so far bind the Consciences of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they could not refuse the payment of them without peril of eternal damnation. But neither the Doctrine of these Preachers, or of any other to that purpose, nor the distress of the King of *Denmark*, nor the miserable estate of *Rochel*, did so far prevail amongst the People; but that the Commissioners for the Loan found greater opposition in it than they did expect. Many who had been Members in the two former Parliaments opposed it with their utmost power, and drew a great part of the Subjects, in all Countries some, to the like refusal. For which refusal some Lords, and many of the choice Gentry of the Kingdom, and others of inferiour sort were committed unto several Prisons, where they remained till the approach of the following Parliament. Insomuch that the Court was put upon the necessity of some further Project. The *Papists* would have raised a Provision for the setting forth both of Ships and Men, for the defence of the Narrow Seas, and working on the Kings wants, flattered themselves with the hope of a Toleration for it. But old Sir *John Savil* of *York-shire*, who had been lately taken into his Majesties Council, had found out a plot worth two of that; conceiving, that a Commission to proceed against Recusants for their thirds, due to his Majesty by Law, would bring in double the Sum which they had offered. To this the King readily condescended, granting him and some others a Commission for that purpose for the Parts beyond *Trent*; as unto certain Lords and Gentlemen for all other Counties in the Kingdom. By which means, and some moneys raised upon the Loan, there was such a present stock advanced, that with some other helps which his Majesty had, he was enabled to set forth a powerful Fleet, and a considerable Land Army for the relief of the *Rochellers*, whose quarrel he had undertaken upon this occasion.

The Queen at her first coming into *England* had brought with her a compleat Family of *French* to attend her here, according to the Capitulations, between the Commissioners of both Kings, before the Marriage. But the *French* Priests, and some of the rest of her Domesticks were grown so insolent, and had put so many affronts upon his Majesty, that he was forced to send them home within few daies after he had dissolved the foregoing Parliament. In which he had done no more than what the *French* King had done before him, in sending back all the *Spanish* Courtiers which his Queen brought with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own Example, and knowing

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1627.

Cant. Doom.

p. 245.

Page 83.

Hist. King.

Charl. p. 63.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1627.



on what ill terms the King stood both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was necessitated to make use of those Forces against the *French* which were designed to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the desires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued for his protection and defence. But the Fleet not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater opposition at Sea then they feared from the Land; being encountred with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return without doing any thing, but only shewing the Kings good will and readines toward their assistance. But the next Fleet and the Land-Army before mentioned, being in a readines, the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared Commander general for that Service, who hoped thereby to make himself of some consideration in the eyes of the People. On the twenty seventh of *June* he hoised Sails for the Isle of *Rhe*, which lay before the Port of *Rochel*, and embarred their trade; the taking whereof was the matter aimed at: And he had strength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier than a Souldier: For having neglected those advantages which the victory at his Landing gave him, he first suffered himself to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almost at his Mercy; and after stood unseasonably upon point of Honour, in facing those Forces which were sent from the *French* King to raise the Siege, when he might have made a safe retreat unto his Ships without loss or danger. So that well beaten by the *French*, and with great loss of Reputation among the English, he came back with the remainder of his broken Forces in *November* following, as dearly welcome to the King as if he had returned with success and triumphs.

During the preparations for this unfortunate attempt, on *Sunday* the twenty ninth of *April* it pleased his Majesty to admit the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* for one of the Lords of his most honourable Privy Council; An honour which he would not have accepted with so great cheerfulness if his dear Friend, the Lord Bishop of *Durham*, had not been sworn at or about the same time also. So mutually did these two Prelates contribute their assistances to one another, that as *Neile* gave *Laud* his helping hand to bring him first into the Court, and plant him in King *James* his favour: So *Laud* made use of all advantages in behalf of *Neile* to keep him in favour with King *Charles*, and advance him higher. The Fleet and Forces before mentioned being in a readines, and the Duke provided for the Voyage, it was not thought either safe or fit that the Duke himself should be so long absent, without leaving some assured Friend about his Majesty, by whom all practices against him might be either prevented or suppressed, and by whose means the Kings affections might be alwaies inflamed towards him; To which end *Laud* is first desired to attend his Majesty to *Portsmouth*, before which the Navy lay at Anchor, and afterwards to wait the whole Progress also; the Inconveniences of which journeys he was as willing to undergo as the Duke was willing to desire it. The Church besides was at that time in an heavy condition, and opportu-

portunities must be watched for keeping her from falling from bad to worse. No better her condition now in the Realm of *England* than anciently in the Eastern Churches, when *Nectarius* sat as Supreme Pastor in the Chair of *Constantinople*; of which thus *Nazianzen* writes unto him; The *Arians* (saith he) were grown so insolent, that they made open profession of their Heresie, as if they had been authorized and licensed to it; The *Macedonians* so presumptuous, that they were formed into a Sect, and had a Titular Bishop of their own; The *Apollinarians* held their *Conventicles* with as much safety and esteem as the Orthodox Christians. And for *Eunomius*, the bosom-mischief of those times, he thought so poorly of a general connivence, that at last nothing would content him but a toleration. The cause of which disorders he ascribeth to *Nectarius* only. A man, as the Historian saith of him, of an exceeding fair and plausible demeanour, and very gracious with the people: one that chose rather (as it seems) to give free way to all mens fancies, and suffer every mans proceedings, than draw upon himself the envy of a stubborn Clergy, and a factious Multitude. Never was Church more like to Church, Bishop to Bishop, time to time, (the names of the Sects and Heresies being only changed) than those of *Constantinople* then, and of *England* now. A pregnant evidence, that possibly there could not be a greater mischief in the Church of God than a Popular Prelate.

1627.
Anno Dom.
1627.
Greg. Naz.
Orat. 46.

Socrat. Hist.
Lib. 5. c. 8.

This, though his Majesty might not know, yet the Bishops which were about him did, who therefore had but ill discharged their duty both to God and man, if they had not made his Majesty acquainted with it; he could not chuse but see by the practices and proceedings of the former Parliaments to what a prevalency the Puritans were grown in all parts of the Kingdom; and how incompatible that humour was with the Regal interest. There was no need to tell him from what fountain the mischief came, how much the Popularity and remiss Government of *Abbot* did contribute towards it. Him therefore he sequestreth from his *Metropolitcal* Jurisdiction, confines him to his house at *Ford* in *Kent*, and by his Commission, bearing date the ninth day of *October*, 1627. transfers the exercise of that Jurisdiction to *Mountain* Bishop of *London*, *Neile* Bishop of *Durham*, *Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Houson* Bishop of *Oxon*, and *Land* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; To whom, or any two or more of them, he gives authority to execute and perform all and every those Acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in causes or matters Ecclesiastical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the said Archbishop himself might have done. And this his Majesty did to this end and purpose, that the *Archiepiscopal* Jurisdiction, being committed to such hands as were no favourers of that Faction, there might some stop be given to that violent current which then began to bear all before it. Nor did his Majesty fail of the end desired; For though *Abbot* (on good reasons of State) was restored unto his Jurisdiction toward the latter end of the year next following: Yet by this breathing time, as short as it was, the Church recovered strength

PART I. strength again. And the disgrace put upon the man did so disanimate
Anno Dom. and deject the opposite Party, that the Ballance began visibly to turn
 1627. on the Churches side.

During the time that this Commission was in force, some Beneficed persons in the Country, who in themselves were well-affected to ancient orders, and now in more assurance of Protections than before they were, adventured on removing the Communion-Table from the middle of the Church or Chancel, and setting it (according to the pattern of the Mother Churches) where the Altar formerly had stood. Amongst the rest one *Titly*, Vicar of *Grantham* (a noted Town upon the Road) in the County of *Lincoln*, having observed the situation of the holy Table, as well in his *Dioceans* Chappel, as in the Cathedral Mother Church, transposed the Table from the midst of the Chancel in his Parish Church, and placed it *Altar-wise* at the East end of it. Complaint hereof being made by some of that Town to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he presently takes hold of the opportunity to discourage the work; not because he disliked it in point of judgment (for then his judgment and his practice must have cross each other) but because *Titly* had relation to the Bishop of *Durham*. And for the Bishop of *Durham* he had no good thoughts, partly because he kept his stand in the Court, out of which himself had been ejected, and partly by reason of the intimacy betwixt him and *Land*, whom he looked on as his open and professed enemy. And then how was it possible that he should approve of *Titly*, or his action either, conceiving that it might be done by their or one of their appointments, or at the least in hope of better preferment from them? Hereupon he betakes himself unto his Books, and frames a Popular Discourse against placing the Communion-Table *Altar-wise*, digests it in the Form of a Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*: but sends it unto some Divines of the Lecture there, by them to be dispersed and scattered over all the Country. But of this Letter more hereafter, when we shall find it taken up for a Buckler against Authority, and laid in Bar against the proceedings of the Church and the Rules of it, when such transposing of the Table became more general, not alone practised, but prescribed. But the noise of this Letter not flying very far, at the first hindred not the removing of the Table in the Parish Church of *St. Nicholas* in the Borough of *Abingdon*; the occasion this: One *Blucknall*, dwelling in that Parish, bestowed upon it, amongst other Legacies, an annual Pension to be paid unto the Curate thereof, for reading duly prayer in the said Church according to the Form prescribed in the *English Liturgie*. For the establishing of which Gifts and Legacies to the proper use and uses intended by him, a Commission was issued out of the High Court of *Chancery*, according to the Statute 43 *Eliz.* Directed amongst others to Sir *Ed. Clark* Knight, *Sam. Fell* Doctor in Divinity, *George Purefez*, and *Richard Organ* Esquires; who by their joyn consent made this Order following: *viz.* “And that the Table
 “ given by Mr. *Blucknall* should not by the multitude of People com-
 “ ing to Service, or otherwise by sitting or writing upon it, or by any
 “ other uureverent usage, be prophaned, spoiled, or hurt; We do
 “ order

“order and decree, that the said Table shall continually stand at the
 “upper end of the Chancel, upon which a Carpet (by him given)
 “should be laid, where it shall continually stand close to the upper
 “Skreen (there being of old within that Skreen a kind of Vestry for
 “keeping the Plate, Books, and Vestments which belong to the
 “Church) and there to be covered with the Carpet aforesaid, and in
 “no place else. Which Order, together with many others, for settling
 and disposing the said Gifts and Legacies, were made at *Abingdon* on
 the twenty fifth of *April*, 1628. and afterwards confirmed under the
 Great Seal of *England*. This being the only Table, as I conceive, whose
 posture in that place is ratified by Decree in *Chancery*.

Now as some private Beneficed persons, during the Suspension of
 the said Archbishop, did thus adventure on the one side; so divers
Commissaries, Officials, Surrogates, and other Ecclesiastical Officers,
 began to carry a more hard hand on the *Puritan* Party (their great
 Friend and Patron being thus discountenanced) than they had done
 formerly. Amongst these none more active then *Lamb, Sibthorp, Al-*
len, and Burden, according to their Power and Places; the three last
 having some relation to *Lamb*, as *Lamb* had to the Episcopal Court
 at *Peterborough*, and thereby a neer neighbourhood to the Bishop of
Lincoln, then keeping his House at *Bucgden* in the County of *Hunting-*
don; at whose Table being entertained (as they had been many times
 before) they found there *Morison* Chancellor to that Bishop, and *Pri-*
geion one of the Officers of the Court at *Lincoln*. Their Discourse
 growing hot against the *Puritans*, the Bishop advised them to take
 off their heavy hand from them; informing them, That his Majesty
 hereafter intended to use them with more mildness, as a considerable
 Party, having great influence on the *Parliament*, without whose con-
 currence the King could not comfortably supply his necessities: To
 which he added, That his Majesty had communicated this unto him by
 his own mouth, with his Resolutions hereafter of more Gentleness to
 men of that Opinion. Which words, though unadvisedly spoken,
 yet were not thought, when first spoken by him, to be of such a dan-
 gerous and malignant nature, as to create to him all that charge and
 trouble, which afterwards befel him upon that occasion; For some
 years after, a breach being made betwixt him and *Lamb*, about the *Of-*
fiicals place of *Leicester*, which the Bishop had designed to another
 person, *Lamb* complains of him to some great men about the Court,
 for revealing the Kings Secrets committed to his trust and privacy,
 contrary to the Oath taken by him as a Privy Councillor. The Bishop
 was conceived to live at too great a height, to be too popular withal,
 and thereby to promote the *Puritan* Interest, against the Counsels of
 the Court. This Information was laid hold on, as a means to humble
 him, to make him sensible of his own duty, and the Kings displeasures;
 and a Command is given to *Noy* (then newly made his Majesties
 Attorney-General) to file a Bill, and prosecute against him in the
Star-Chamber, upon this delinquency. Though the Bishop about two
 or three years since had lost the Seal, yet he was thought to have ta-
 ken the Purse along with him; reputed rich, and one that had good
 Friends

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

1627.

Ch. Hist. lib.

11. p. 155.

PART I. Friends in the Court about the King, which made him take the less regard of this prosecution. By the Advice of his Council he first demurred unto the Bill, and afterwards put in a strong Plea against it; both which were over-ruled by Chief Justice *Richardson*, to whom by Order of the Court they had been referred: Which artifices and delays though they gained much time, yet could he not thereby take off the edge of the Attorney, grown so much sharper toward him by those tricks in Law. And in this state we shall find the business about ten years hence, when it came to a Sentence; having laid so much of it here together, because the occasion of the Suit was given much about this time.

About the same time also came out a Book entituled, *A Collection of Private Devotions, or, the Hours of Prayer*, composed by *Cozens* one of the *Prebends* of *Durham*, at the Request, and for the Satisfaction, as it was then generally believed, of the Countess of *Denbigh*, the only Sister of the Duke, and then supposed to be unsettled in the Religion here established, if not warping from it: A Book which had in it much good matter, but not well pleasing in the form; said in the Title page to be framed agreeably to a Book of Private Prayers Authorized by Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1560. After the *Kalendar* it began with a Specification of the *Apostles Creed* in Twelve Articles, the *Lords Prayer* in Seven Petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the Duties enjoined, and the Sins prohibited by them; The Precepts of Charity, The Precepts of the Church, The Seven Sacraments, The Three Theological Virtues, The Three kinds of Good Works, The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghost, The Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, The Eight Beatitudes, Seven deadly Sins, and their contrary Vertues, and the Quatuor novissima: After which (some Prefaces and Introductions intervening) followed the Forms of Prayer for the first, third, sixth, and ninth Hours, as also for the Vespers and Compline, known here in former Times by the vulgar name of Canonical Hours: Then came the Litany, The Seven Penitential Psalms, Preparatory Prayers for Receiving the Holy Communion, Prayers to be used in time of Sickness, and of the near approach of Death, besides many others. The Book approved by *Mountain* then Bishop of *London*, and by him Licenced for the Press (with the Subscription of his own hand to it): Which notwithstanding it startled many at the first, though otherwise very moderate and sober men, who looked upon it as a Preparatory to usher in the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. The Title gave offence to some, by reason of the correspondence which it held with the *Popish Horaries*; but the Frontispiece a great deal more, on the top whereof was found the Name of *JESUS*, figured in three Capital Letters (*IHS*) with a Cross upon them, incircled with the Sun, supported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying towards it.

It was not long before it was encountred by *Prynne* and *Burton*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. *Prynne's* Book (for of the other there was but little notice taken) was Printed by the name of *A Brief Survey and Censure of Cozens his Cozening Devotions*, Anno 1628. In which he chargeth it for being framed in general accord-

according to the *Horaries* and *Primers* of the Church of *Rome*? but more particularly, to be directly moulded, framed, and contrived according to *Our Ladies Primer* or *Office* Printed in *Latin* at *Antwerp*, 1593. and afterwards in *Latin* and *English*, Anno 1604. Next the objects, That the Book of *Latin* Prayers published by Queen *Elizabeth*, 1560. was called *Orarium* (not *Horarium*) *sive Libellus Precationum* (that is to say, *A Book of Prayers*;) That in that Book there was mention of no other hours of Prayer than first, third, and ninth; and that in the second and third Editions of the same Book, published in the years 1564. and 1573. there occurred no such distribution into hours at all; which (said he) reproacheth all the Specifications before remembered by the name of *Papish* trash and trumpery, stollen out of *Papish* Primers and Catechisms, not mentioned in any *Protestant* Writers; and then proceeds to the canvassing of every Office, and the Prefaces belonging to them, which with the like infallible Spirit he condemns of *Popery*. But for all this violent opposition, and the great clamors made against it, the Book grew up into esteem, and justified it self, without any Advocate; insomuch that many of those who first started at it in regard of the Title, found in the body of it so much Piety, such regular Forms of Divine Worship, such necessary Consolations in special Exigencies, that they reserved it by them as a Jewel of great price and value. But of this Author and his Book, the following Parliament, to whom *Prynne* dedicates his Answer, will take further notice.

L I B. III.
Anno Dom.
1627.

But before that Parliament begins, we must take notice of some Changes then in agitation amongst the Governours of the Church. His Majesty in the *June* foregoing had acquainted *Laud* with his intent of nominating him to the See of *London* in the place of *Mountain*, whom he looked on as a man unactive, and addicted to voluptuousness, and one that loved his ease too well to disturb himself in the concerns of the Church. He also looked upon that City as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the *Puritan* Faction; the influence which it had, by reason of its Wealth and Trading, on all parts of the Kingdom; and that upon the Correspondence and Conformity thereof, the welfare of the whole depended: No better way to make them an example of Obedience to the rest of the Subjects, then by placing over them a Bishop of such Parts and Power as they should either be unable to withstand, or afraid to offend. In order unto this design, it was thought expedient to translate *Neile* (whose accommodations *Laud* much studied) to the See of *Winchester*, then vacant by the death of *Andrews*, and to remove *Mountain* unto *Durham* in the place of *Neile*: But the putting of this design into execution did require some time. Such Officers of State as had the management of the Kings Revenue, thought it not fit in that low ebb of the Exchequer, that the Church of *Winton* should be filled with another Bishop, before the *Michaelmas* Rents at least (if not some following Pay-days also) had flowed into his Majesties Coffers. Which though it were no very long time, compared with the Vacancies of some former Reign; yet gave it an occasion to some calumniating Spirits to report abroad,

PART I. That this Bishoprick was designed to be a Subsistence for one of the Queen of *Bohemia's* younger Sons, who was to hold it by the Name of an Administrator, according to an ill Custom of some Princes amongst the *Lutherans*. But this Obstruction being passed by, *Neile* with great chearfulness in himself, and thankfulness unto the King, proceeded in his Translation to the See of *Winton*; his Election being ratified by his Majesty, and confirmed in due form of Law, before the end of the next year, 1627. In *Mountains* hands the business did receive a stop: He had spent a great part of his Life in the air of the Court, as Chaplain to *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, Dean of *Westminster*, and Bishop *Almoner*; and had lived for many years last past in the warm City of *London*. To remove him so far from the Court, and send him into those cold Regions of the *North*, he looked on as the worst kind of Banishment, next neighbour to a Civil death: But having a long while strived in vain, and understanding that his Majesty was not well pleased with his delays, he began to set forward on that Journey, with this *Proviso* notwithstanding, That the utmost term of his Removal should be but from *London-House* in the City, to *Durham-House* in the *strand*. And yet to beget more delays toward *Laud's* Advancement, before he actually was confirmed in the See of *Durham*, the *Metropolitan* See of *York* fell void by the death of the most Reverend Prelate *Dr. Toby Matthews*: This Dignity he affected with as much ambition, as he had earnestly endeavoured to decline the other; and he obtained what he desired: But so much time was taken up in passing the Election, facilitating the Royal Assent, and the Formalities of his Confirmation, that the next Session of Parliament was ended, and the middle of *July* well near passed, before *Laud* could be actually translated to the See of *London*.

These matters being in agitation, and the Parliament drawing on apace, on *Tuesday* the fifth of *February* he strained the back-sinew of his right Leg, as he went with his Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, which kept him to his Chamber till the fourteenth of the same; during which time of his keeping in, I had both the happiness of being taken into his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer Conference with him than I could otherwise have expected. I went to have presented my service to him as he was preparing for this Journey, and was appointed to attend him on the same day seven-night, when I might presume on his return. Coming precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself to his Chamber; but order had been left amongst the Servants, that if I came he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his Chamber, where I found him sitting in a Chair, with his lame leg resting on a Pillow. Commanding that nobody should come to interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my Studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold my self in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to discourse of some passages in *Oxon*, in which I was specially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such oppositions as had been made against him in that

that University by Archbishop *Abbot*, and some others; encouraged me not to shrink, if I had already, or should hereafter find the like. I was with him thus, *remotis Arbitris*, almost two hours: It grew towardstwelve of the clock, and then he knocked for his Servants to come unto him. He dined that day in his ordinary Dining-room, which was the first time he had so done since his mishap. He caused me to tarry Dinner with him, and used me with no small respect, which was much noted by some Gentlemen (*Ephilston*, one of his Majesties Cup-bearers, being one of the Company) who dined that day with him. A passage I confess, not pertinent to my present Story, but such as I have a good precedent for from *Philip de Comenes*, who telleth us as impertinently of the time (though he acquaint us not with the occasion) of his leaving the Duke of *Burgundies* Service, to betake himself to the Employments of King *Lewis xi.*

It is now time to look into the following Parliament, in the preparation whereunto (to make himself more gracious in the eyes of the People) his Majesty releaseth such Gentlemen as had been formerly imprisoned about the *Loan*; which in effect was but the letting loose of so many hungry Lions to pursue and worry him; For being looked upon as Confessors, if not Martyrs for the Common-wealth, upon the merit of those sufferings they were generally preferred afore all others to serve in Parliament; and being so preferred, they carried as generally with them a vindicative Spirit, to revenge themselves for that Restraint, by a restraining of the Prerogative within narrower bounds. At the opening of this Parliament, *March 17.* the Preaching of the Sermon was committed to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, who shewed much honest Art in perswading them to *endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace, Ephes. 4. 3.* which he had taken for his Text: In which, first laying before them the excellency and effects of *UNITY*, he told them, amongst other things, “ That it was a very charitable tie, but better *known* than *loved*; a thing so good, that “ it was never broken but by the worst men; nay, so good it was, that “ the very worst men pretended best when they broke it; and that it “ was so in the Church, never yet Heretick renting her Bowels, but “ he pretended that he raked them for Truth: That it was so also in “ the State, seldom any *unquiet Spirit* dividing her *Union*, but he pretends some *great abuses*, which his *integrity* would remedy: *O that “ I were made a Judge in the Land, that every man which hath any Controversie might come to me, that I might do him Justice:* and yet no worse a man than *David* was King when this cunning was used, “ *I sam. 15.* That *Unity* both in Church and Common-wealth was so good, that none but the worst willingly broke it; That even they were so far ashamed of the breach, that they must seem holier than the rest, that they may be thought to have had a just cause to break it. And afterwards coming by degrees to an Application, Good God “ (saith he) what a preposterous Thrift is this in men, to sew up every “ small rent in their own Coat, and not care what rents they not only “ suffer, but make in the Coat of Christ? What is it? Is Christ only thought fit to wear a torn Garment? Or can we think that the

LIB. III.
Anno Dom.
1627.

Serm. 6. p.
247.

PART I. *Ann^o Dom.* 1627. *spirit of Unity*, which is one with Christ, will not depart to seek warmer cloathing? Or if he be not gone already, why is there not *Unity*, which is where ere he is? Or if he be but yet gone from other parts of *Christendom*, in any case (for the passion, and in the bowels of Jesus Christ I beg it) let us make stay of him here in our parts, &c. Which Sermon (being all of the same piece) so well pleased the Hearers, that his Majesty gave command to have it Printed. How well it edified with the Commons, when they came to read it; and what thanks he received from them for it, we shall clearly see before we come to the end of this present Session.

The Sermon being ended, his Majesty set forwards to the House of Peers, where sitting in his Royal Throne, and causing the Commons then assembled to come before him, he signified in few words, "That no man (as he conceived) could be so ignorant of the Common necessity, as to expostulate the cause of this Meeting, and not to think Supply to be the end of it, that as this necessity was the product and consequent of their Advice (he means in reference to his first ingaging in the War with *Spain*) so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of his Friends and Allies, being so considerably concerned, would be, he hoped, Arguments enough to perswade Supply; That he had taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way for Supply, by calling them together; in which if they should not do their duties, in answering the quality of his occasions, he must then take some other course for the saving of that, which the folly of some particular men might hazard to lose; that notwithstanding the distractions of the last Meeting, he came thither with no small confidence of good success; assuring them that he would forget and forgive whatsoever was past, and hoping that they would follow that sacred Advice lately inculcated, *To maintain the UNITY of the spirit in the bond of Peace*. Which being said, the Lord Keeper took his turn to speak, as the Custom is, in which Speech he chiefly laboured to lay before them the formidable Power of the House of *Austria*, the mighty Preparations made by the King of *Spain*, the Distractions at the present in the *Netherlands*, the Dangers threatned by the *French* King to those of the Reformed Religion in his Dominions, and the necessity which lay upon the King to provide for the support thereof, as well as for the Peace and Preservation of his own Estate; concluding with several reasons to invite them to assist his Majesty with a bountiful and quick supply according to the exigency of his affairs.

But all this, little edified with the House of Commons, or rather with the prevailing Party in it, which comes all to one. For so it happens commonly in all great Councils, that some few leading Members, either by their diligence or cunning, out-wit the rest, and form a party strong enough, by casting a mist before their eyes, or other subtle Artifices to effect their purpose. And so it fared in this last Parliament with the House of Commons, which though it contained amongst the rest as *dutiful Subjects as any were in the world*, (in his Majesties own acknowledgment of them) yet being governed by some men

men which had their interetles apart from the Crown, they are put upon a resolution of doing their own business first, and the Kings at leisure. And their own business it must be to secure the plots and practices of the *Puritan* Faction by turning all mens eyes upon such dangers as were to be feared from the *Papists*; and in the next place, to make such provision for themselves, that it should not be within the power of the Royal Prerogative to lay any restraint upon their persons. No sooner had they obtained their Fast (without which nothing could be done) but they moved the Lords to joyn with them in a Petition for the suppressing of Popery, which they conceived to make the wall of Separation betwixt God and them; to which they found their Lordships willing to consent, and his Majesty no less willing to satisfy them in all parts thereof than they could desire. For calling both Houses before him on the fourth of *April*, He told them he liked well of their beginning with Religion, and hoped their Consultations would succeed the happier; That he was as careful of Religion, and should be as forward in it, as they could desire; That he liked well of the Petition, and would make use of those and all other means for the maintenance and propagation of that true Religion wherein he had lived, and by the grace of God was resolved to dye; And finally, That for the particulars, they should receive a more full answer hereafter (as they shortly did.) Which said, he put them in remembrance, That if Provisions were not speedily made, he should not be able to put a Ship to sea this year. But though his Majesty gave so full and satisfactory an answer to every particular branch of the said Petition, that Sir *Benjamin Ruddiard* moved the House to tender their humble thanks to his Majesty for it; yet to the close of his Majesties Speech, touching the speedy making of provisions for that Summers Service, they returned no answer. They must first know whether they had any thing to give or not, whether they are to be accounted as Slaves or Freemen, to which two doubts the late imprisonment of their Members, for not paying the Loan required of them, gave them ground enough.

These weighty Questions being started, their own property and Liberty must first be settled, before they could be perswaded to move a foot toward his Majesties supplies; Five Subsidies they had voted for him, but it passed no further than the Vote; For seeing that there was to be a trust on the one side or the other, it was resolved, that the honour of it should be theirs. The agitating of which Points, with those which depended thereupon, took up so much time, that before the Lords could be brought to joyn with the Commons, and both together could obtain their desires of the King, there was spent as far as to the seventh of *June*; and it was ten daies after before they had prepared the Bill of Subsidies for the Kings assent. Nothing in all this business did so trouble his Majesty as their insisting on this point: That in no case whatsoever, though it never so nearly concerned matters of State and Government, he or his Privy Council should have power to commit any man to prison without shewing the cause, and that cause to be allowed or disallowed as his Majesties Judges should think fit on the *Habeas Corpus*, of which his Majesty well observed in

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

1628:



Cant. Doom.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1628.

His Majesties Letter for the Lords, Bibl. Reg. Sect. 6. N. 19.

a Letter by him written to the Peers on the twelfth of *May*, “That
 “by shewing the cause of the Commitment, the whole Service many
 “times might happen to be destroyed; and that the cause also might
 “be such and of a nature so transcending the Rules of Law, that the
 “Judges had no capacity in a Court of Judicature to determine in it.
 “The intermitting of which power, being one of the constant Rules
 “of Government, practised for so many Ages within this Kingdom,
 “would (as he said) soon dissolve the very frame and foundation
 “of his Monarchy; and therefore that without the overthrow of
 “his Sovereignty he could not suffer these powers to be impeached.
 But what reason soever he had to alledge for himself, he was so
 bent on his desires to relieve the *Rochellers*, and keep that honour up
 abroad which he lost at home; that at the last he condescended unto
 their desires, and confirmed the prayer of their Petition by Act of
 Parliament.

Nor would they rest upon that point. They thought they had not
 done themselves *right* enough in disputing their *Property* with the King
 in Parliament if they suffered it to be preached down in the Court and
 Country. *Manwaring* therefore (of whose Sermons we have spoke
 before) must be brought in for an example unto others. Whose
 charge, being drawn up by the Commons, was reported to the Peers
 by *Pym*, June 13. The Book of his two Sermons produced before
 them, the passages which gave offence openly read, aggravated to
 the very height. And though the poor man, on his knees, with
 tears in his eyes, and sorrows in his heart, had most humbly craved
 pardon of the Lords and Commons for the errors and indiscretions he
 had committed in the said two Sermons, yet could he find no other
 mercy than, “1. To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House.
 “2. To be fined one thousand pounds to the King. 3. To make such
 “an acknowledgment of his offence at the Commons Bar as it should
 “please them to prescribe. 4. To be suspended from his Ministry for
 “three yearsto come. 5. To be disabled from ever preaching at the
 “Court. 6. To be incapable of any further Ecclesiastical preferment,
 “or secular Office. And finally, That his Majesty should be moved
 “to call in the said Book by Proclamation, and cause it to be publick-
 “ly burnt. An heavy Sentence I confess, but such as did rather af-
 fright than hurt him. For his Majesty looking on him in that con-
 juncture as one that suffered in his cause, preferred him first to the Par-
 sonage of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Essex*, (void not long after by the pro-
 motion of *Mountague* to the See of *Chichester*) afterwards to the Dean-
 ry of *Worcester*; and finally to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*. This
 was indeed the way to have his Majesty well served, but such as cre-
 ated him some ill thoughts amongst the Commons for his Majesties In-
 dulgence to him.

But they had a greater game to fly at, than to content themselves
 with so poor a Sacrifice. The day before, complaint was made unto the
 Commons, that *Laud*, Bishop of *Bath & Wells*, had warranted those Ser-
 mons to the Press, and him they had as good a mind to as to any other.
 There had been some listings at him in the Court by Sir *John Cook*,
 who

who had informed against him to the Lord Treasurer then being: And by the Lord Treasurer to the Duke, where the business stopt. And there had been some listings at him in the Country also, there being some mutterings spread abroad, that some Sacrifices must be made for expiating the ill success in the Isle of *Rhe*, and that he was as like as any to be made the Sacrifice. Which coming to his ears from two several persons, he thought fit to acquaint his Majesty with it; who thereupon returned this most gracious answer, *That he should not trouble himself with such reports, till he saw him forsake his other friends.* Had he stood still upon that principle he had never fallen. Such Princes as forsake their Servants, will be forsaken by their Servants in their greatest need, and neither be well served at home, nor observed abroad. But it appeared by the event, that those mutterings were not made without some ground, and that somewhat was then plotting toward his destruction. For *Manwaring* was no sooner censured, but *Laud's* cause was called to the report, some days before (*viz. June 11.*) they had voted the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the cause of all the grievances; and now they were hammering a Remonstrance, both against him, and all that depended on him. In which Remonstrance, having first besprinkled the King with some Court *holy-water*, for granting their Petition of Right, they make bold to represent unto him; "That there was a general fear conceived in his people of some secret working and combination to introduce into this Kingdom *innovation* and change of holy Religion. Which fear proceeded (as they said) from the encrease of *Popery* in this Kingdom, and the extraordinary favours and respects which they of that Religion found in the Court from persons of great quality and power there, unto whom they continually report, more especially by name from the Countess of *Buckingham* the Dukes Mother. Secondly, From some Letters written by his Majesty to stop all legal proceedings against *Recusants*, and the Compositions which had been made with some of them for such fines and penalties as were laid upon them by the Laws, which seemed in their opinion little less than a Toleration. Thirdly, From the daily growth and spreading of the Faction of the *Arminians*, that being (as they thought his Majesty knew) but a cunning way to bring in *Popery*; the professors of those opinions being common disturbers of the Protestant Churches, and Incendiaries of those States wherein they have gotten any head, being *Protestants* in shew, but *Jesuites* in opinion and practice. Of which growing Faction *Neile* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Laud* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, are named particularly for the principal Patrons. Fourthly, From some endeavours to suppress the diligent teaching and instructing the people in the true knowledge of Almighty God by disparaging pious, painful, and Orthodox Preachers. Fifthly, From the miserable condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in which without controul the Popish Religion is affirmed to be openly professed, Popish Superstition being generally exercised and avowed, Monasteries, and Nunneries newly erected, &c. In the last place they lay

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.
1628.

Breviate.

P. 13.

“before

PART I. “ before him their former grievances, now redressed; the design of
Anno Dom. “ raising moneys by the way of Excise, and of bringing in some
 1628. “ Regiments of *German* horse, though never put into execution;
 “ a Commission of Lieutenancy granted to the Duke of *Buckingham*;
 “ the supposed decay of Trade in all parts of the Kingdom; the im-
 “ provident consumption of the stock of Gunpowder; the loss of
 “ the Regality of the Narrow Seas; the taking of many Merchants
 “ Ships by the Pyrates of *Dunkirk*, &c. The cause of all which
 mischiefs is imputed to the excessive power of the Duke of *Buckingham*,
 and his abusing of that power.

Bibl. Reg.
Sect. 157.
Num. 3.

This *Remonstrance* being thus digested, it was presented to his Majesty, together with the Bill of Subsidies, on the seventeenth of *June*. At the receiving thereof his Majesty was pleased to use these words: “ That on his Answer to their *Petition of Right* he expected no such
 “ Declaration from them, which containeth divers points of state
 “ touching the Church and Common-wealth; that he conceived they
 “ did believe he understood them better than themselves: But that
 “ since the reading thereof, he perceived they understood those
 “ things less than he imagined; and that notwithstanding he would
 “ take them into such consideration as they deserved. Nor was it
 long after his Majesties receiving of this *Remonstrance*, but that they
 were drawing up another to take away his right to *Tonnage* and
Poundage. Which coming to his Majesties knowledge, he resolved
 to be beforehand with them, and dissolve the Parliament, which was
 done accordingly *June 26*. At the dissolving whereof his Majesty
 gave this further censure on the said *Remonstrance*, viz. “ That the
 “ acceptableness thereof unto him every man might judge, and that
 “ he would not call in question the merit of it, because he was sure
 “ no wise man could justifie it. And possibly it had escaped without
 any further censure, if the Commons for the ostentation of their
 Zeal and Piety had not caused it to be Printed, and dispersed abroad,
 with which his Majesty being acquainted, he commanded it to be
 called in by Proclamation, as tending to the defamation of his Person
 and Government.

But no sooner was the Parliament ended, but he gave order unto
Land (whom he found to be much concerned in it) to return an
 answer thereunto; which he, who knew no better *sacrifice* than
 obedience, did very chearfully perform; which Answer for so much
 as concerns Religion, the Preamble and Conclusion being laid aside,
 we shall here subjoyn.

And first (saith he) *that Remonstrance begins at Religion, and*
fears of innovation in it; Innovation by Popery; but we would have
our Subjects of all sorts to call to mind what difficulties and dangers
we endured not many years since for Religions sake; That we are the
same still, and our holy Religion is as pretious to us as it is or can be to
any of them, and we will no more admit innovation therein than they
that think they have done well in fearing it so much. It is true, that all
effects

effects expected have not followed upon the Petitions delivered at Oxon, L I B. III. Anno Dom. 1628.
 but we are in least fault for that; for supply being not afforded us, dis-
 abled us to execute all that was desired, and caused the stay of those legal
 proceedings which have helped to swell up this Remonstrance: Tet let all
 the Counties of England be examined, and London, with the Suburbs
 thereof, neither is there such a noted increase of Papists, nor such cause
 of fear as is made; nor hath any amounted to such an odious tolerating,
 as is charged upon it, nor near any such. For that Commission so much
 complained of, both the matter and intent of it are utterly mistaken; for
 it doth not dispense with any penalty, or any course to be taken with any
 Papists for the exercise of their Religion, no nor with the Pecuniary
 Mulcts or Non-conformity to ours; it was advised for the encrease of
 our profits, and the returning of that into our Purse, which abuse or con-
 nivency of inferiour Ministers might perhaps divert another way; if that
 or any other shall be abused in the execution, we will be ready to punish
 upon any just complaint. The next fear is the daily growth and spread-
 ing of the Arminian Faction, called a cunning way to bring in Popery:
 but we hold this Charge as great a wrong, to our Self and Government,
 as the former; For our People must not be taught by a Parliament Re-
 monstrance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of Truth, or so care-
 less of the Profession of it; that any opinion, or faction, or whatever it be
 called, should thrust it self so far, and so fast into our Kingdom without our
 knowledge of it: this is a meer dream of them that wake, and would make
 our loyal and loving People think we sleep the while. In this Charge there
 is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates that attend our Person; for
 they are accused, without producing any the least shew or shadow of Proof
 against them; and should they, or any other, attempt Innovation of Reli-
 gion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly take other
 Order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance.

To keep on this, our people are made believe, That there is a restraint of
 Books Orthodox: but we are sure since the late Parliament began,
 some whom the Remonstrance calls Orthodox, have assumed unto them-
 selves an unsufferable Liberty in Printing. Our Proclamation command-
 ed a Restraint on both sides, till the Passions of men might subside and
 calm; and had this been obeyed as it ought, we had not now been tossed in
 this Tempest: And for the distressing and discountenancing of Good
 Preachers, we know there is none, if they be (as they are called) Good:
 But our People shall never want that Spiritual Comfort which is due unto
 them; and for the Preferments which we bestow, we have so made it our
 great Care to give them, as Rewards of Desert and Pains; but as the Pre-
 ferments are ours, so will we be Judge of the Desert Our self, and not be
 taught by a Remonstrance. For Ireland, we think in case of Religion,
 it is not worse then Queen Elizabeth left it; and for other Affairs, it is as
 good as we found it, nay, perhaps better; and we take it as a great dispa-
 ragement to our Government, that it should be voiced, That new Mona-
 steries, Nunneries, and other Superstitious Houses, are Erected and Reple-
 nished in Dublin, and other great Towns of that our Kingdom: For we
 assure our self, our Deputy and Council there will not suffer God and our
 Government so to be dishonoured, but we should have some account of it

PART I. *from them; and we may not endure to have our good People thus misled*
Anno Dom. with Shems. There is likewise somewhat considerable, in the time when
 1628. *these Practices to undermine true Religion in our Kingdoms, are set on*
 foot. The Remonstrance tells us it is now, when Religion is opposed by
 open force in all Parts: But we must tell our People, There is no under-
 mining Practice at home against it, if they practise not against it that
 seem most to labour for it; for while Religion seems to be contended for
 in such a Factionous way, which cannot be Gods way, the heat of that doth
 often melt away the Purity which it labours earnestly (but perhaps not
 wisely) to preserve. And for Gods Judgments, which we and our
 People have felt, and have cause to fear, we shall prevent them best by a true
 Religious Remonstrance of the amendment of our Lives, &c.

This, and the rest of the Answer to the said Remonstrance, is all what
 I find acted by *Laud* in reference to the present Parliament. For, that
 he should be a chief means for the dissolving of this, or a principal
 Instrument in the untimely breaking off of the former; I find no proof
 offered, though he stands charged with the one in the further Articles
 of his Impeachment, and of the other on the bare suspicion of a private
 Person. As little proof I find of another Article, in which he
 stands accused for saying, *That this Parliament was a Factionous Parliam-*
ent, and had cast many Scandals upon his Majesty, and had used him
like a Child in his Minority; styling them PURITANS; and com-
mending the Papists for harmless and peaceable Subjects: For which,
 if any Evidence had been brought against him, he might have been
 condemned by some for his indiscretion, but by none for Treason.
 Nor did the Parliament act more against Church or Church-men, than
 what is formerly related; but only in receiving certain Articles against
 one *Burgess* Vicar of *Witney*, in the County of *Oxon*. By which it
 did appear, That the man was sharp set against the *Puritans*, whom
 he accused of breaking every one of the Ten Commandments, reproach'd
 them with many bitter *Exasperations*, and finally impeached
Calvin, *Beza*, and all the Ministers of the Reformed Churches, both
 in *France* and *Scotland*, for committing many Treasons against those
 Princes under whom they lived. But these Matters not being Acti-
 onable at the Common Law, nor punishable (as the times then were)
 in way of Parliamentary Proceedings; the poor man, after a long and
 chargeable Attendance, was at last dismissed. Little or nothing done
 in the *Convocation* which accompanied this Parliament, but the grant-
 ing of five *Subsidies*, toward the Support of his Majesties Royal Es-
 tate, and the Defence of his Kingdoms: So much the more accepta-
 ble to his Majesty, because the Grant seemed in a manner to exceed
 their Abilities, and came not clogged with any self-ends, or parti-
 cular Interestes. Kings are Gods Deputies on Earth, and like him,
 love a *cheerful Giver*, above all those who either do it *grudgingly*,
 or upon *constraint*.

No sooner was the Parliament ended, but *Laud* prepares for his
 Translation to the See of *London*, the *Conge d' eslire* being issued out
 on the first of *July*, the Election within few days returned, and pub-
 lically

lickly confirmed with the accustomed Formalities on Saint *Swithin's* LIB. III. day, being the fifteenth of that Month. *London*, the Kings Cham- Anno Dom. ber, and the chief City of the Realm; equal in bigness unto any, but 1628. in Trade Superiour unto all in these Parts of *Christendom*; one of the Metropolitan Sees of the Ancient *Britains*, and next in Dignity and Antiquity to the See of *Canterbury* amongst the *Saxons*. The first Bishop of it, called *Melitus*, received his Episcopal Consecration, Anno 606. from whom *Laud* was in number the 88th. as he had been the 89th. Bishop of *St. Davids*, another of the Metropolitan Sees of the *Britains*. The Cathedral Church, best known by the name of Saint *Pauls* in *London*, was founded first by *Ethelbert*, the first Christian King of *Kent*, and the six Monarchs of the *Saxons*; afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Erkenwald* the fourth Bishop: Which Church of theirs being 500 years after destroyed by fire, that which now stands was built in the place thereof by *Maritus Richardus* his Successor, and certain other of the Bishops, a great part of it at their own Charge, and the Residue by a general Contribution over all the Kingdom. The Bishops next in Place and Dignity to the Metropolitans, and also Deans of the Episcopal Colledge for the Province of *Canterbury*; by which Office he is not only to preside over the rest of the Bishops at *Synodical Meetings*, in case the *Metropolitan* be dead or absent; but to receive his *Mandates* for assembling *Synods*, and other business of the Church; and having so received them, to intimate the power and effect thereof to the Suffragan Prelates. As for the Diocess of *London*, it contains in it the whole Counties of *Middlesex* and *Essex*, so much of *Hertford-shire* as was anciently possessed by the *East-Saxons*, together with the peculiar Jurisdiction of the Church of *St. Albans*; divided into 623 Parishes (of which 189 are Impropriations) and those distributed amongst five Archdeacons, that is to say, of *London*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, *Colchester*, and the Archdeacon of Saint *Albans* for that Circuit only.

His own Translation being past, his next Employment of that nature was his assisting at the Consecration of *Mountague*, nominated by his Majesty to the See of *Chichester* in the place of *Carleton*, who died about the latter end of the Parliament; which Action in the King seemed more magnanimous then safe: For though there was much magnanimity in preferring the man, whom he beheld as well in his personal Sufferings, as his great Abilities; yet was it not held safe for him (as his case then stood) to give such matter of Exasperation to the House of Commons, of whom he did expect a Supplement to the former Subsidies within few Months after. Nor did the business pass so clearly on *Mountagues* side, but that he found a rub in his way, which was like to have hindred his Preferment for the present time, but possibly enough for the times to come. It is an ancient Custom, that the Elections of all Bishops in the Province of *Canterbury* be solemnly confirmed by the Archbishop, or his Vicar-general, in the Court of the *Arches*, held in Saint *Maries* Church in *Cheapside*, commonly called by the name of *Bow* Church; at and before which Confirmation, there is publick notice given to all manner of Persons, that

PART I. if they have any thing to object either against the Party Elected, or the legality of his Election, he should come and tender his Exceptions at the time appointed, or else for ever after to hold his peace: Which signification being made, as *Mountague* stood ready to be Confirmed, one *Jones* a Bookseller accompanied with a Rabble of the poorer sort, excepted against him as a man unfit to be made a Bishop, charging him with *Popery*, *Arminianism*, and some other *Heterodoxies*, for which his Books had been condemned in the former Parliament. It hapned well that *Brent* the Vicar-general, either for disaffection to the man, or on some necessary avocation, had devolved his Office for that time on Doctor *Thomas Reives* his Majesties Advocate, a man of better Principles in himself, and of more Learning in the Laws than the other was: For no sooner had *Jones* offered his Exceptions against the Party Elected, but *Reives* had found a way to evade the danger, and frustrate the bold man of his design, for putting a present stop to the Confirmation; For neither were the Exceptions tendred in writing, signed by the hand of any Advocate, nor presented by any of the Proctors authorized to attend that Court; all which Formalities were to have been observed by *Jones* in the present Act, but that the man was hurried on with more Zeal than Knowledg. Which Rub thus happily removed August 22. *Mountague* hastens all he could to his Consecration, which was performed on Sunday the 24th. at the Archbishops house in *Croyden*, Land amongst other Bishops assisting at it.

And it is possible enough, That if he had not made such haste as he did, he might have had a worse rub in it then he had before. Scarce was the Consecration finished, when news came to *Croyden* of the unfortunate death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, murdered the day before at *Portsmouth* by one *John Felton* a Lieutenant, who thought himself neglected in the course of his Service. The Duke had wholly set his heart on the Relief of *Rochel*, then blockt up by the *French* both by Sea and Land, in hope thereby to redeem the Honour he had lost at the Isle of *Rhe*, and to ingratiate himself with the People of *England*. On the twelfth of *August* he set forwards from *Portsmouth*, neer which the Navy lay at Anchor, and where he had appointed the Rendezvous for his Land-Forces to assemble and meet together. The interval of time betwixt that and his death he spent in putting all things into Readiness, that he was almost at the point of going on Board, when *Felton* cut him off in the midst of his Glories. The wretch in such a general confusion might have saved himself, if either curiosity in attending the issue, or some consternation in his countenance upon the horror of the Fact, had not betrayed him to a present discovery. Taken upon suspicion, and questioned about the Murder, he made no scruple to avow it as a meritorious Act, of which he had more cause to glory than to be ashamed: And being afterwards more cunningly handled by one of his Majesties Chaplains (sent to him from the Court of purpose to work him to it) he confessed plainly and resolvedly, That he had no other motive to commit that Murder, but the late *Remonstrance*, in which the Duke had been accused for being the Cause of all the Grievances

Grievances and Mischiefs in the Common-wealth. This news was brought unto the King as he was at the Publick Morning-Prayers in his Presence-Chamber, the Court being then at *Southwick*, not far from *Portsmouth*; which he received with such a stedfast Countenance, so unmoved a Patience, that he withdrew not from the place till the Prayers were ended.

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

1628.

It is not to be doubted but that his Majesty was much afflicted in the loss of so dear a Servant, in whose bosom he had lodged so much of his Counsels, and to whose Conduct he had so fully recommended the Great Concernments of the Kingdom. But such was the constancy of his Temper, and the known evenness of his Spirit, that in the midst of all those sorrows he neither neglected his affairs abroad, nor his Friends at home: For notwithstanding this sad accident, the Fleet set forwards under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, whose coming within sight of *Rochel* was welcomed by those in the Town with all the outward expressions of Hope and Joy: But his desires to do them Service were without Success: For when he came, he found the Haven so strongly barred, that though he gallantly attempted to force his way, and give Relief to the Besieged; yet finding nothing but impossibility in the Undertaking, he discharged his Ordnance against the Enemy, and went off with safety: Which being perceived by those of the Town, who had placed their last hopes in this Attempt, they presently set open their Gates, casting themselves upon the Mercy of their Natural Prince, whose Government and Authority they had for so many years before both opposed and slighted. And on the other side, being well assured of that infinite anguish and disconsolation which *Laud* (his now most trusty Servant) must needs suffer under, by the most barbarous Assassination of so dear a Friend, he dispatched *Elphinston* his Cup-bearer with a *gracious* Message to comfort him in those disquiets of his Soul; and on the neck of that, a Letter of his own hand-writing to the same effect. He looks upon him now as his Principal Minister well practised in the Course of his Business, of whose fidelity to his Person, and perspicacity of Judgment in Affairs of State, he had found such good proof: And therefore at the first time that *Laud* could find himself in a condition to attend upon him, he used many gracious Speeches to him, not only to wipe off the Remembrance of that sad Misfortune, but to put him into such a Power by which he might be able to protect himself against all his Enemies. He was before but an inferiour Minister in the Ship of State, and had the trimming of the Sails, the superinspection of the *Bulgings* and Leakings of it. Now he is called unto the Helm, and steers the Course thereof by his safe Directions.

Having obtained this height of Power, he casts his eye back on his Majesties Proclamation of the fourteenth of *June*, *Anno 1626*. Of which though he had made good use in suppressing some of those Books which seemed to foment the present Controversies; yet he soon found, as well by his own Observation, as by Intelligence from others, That no such general notice had been taken of it as was first expected: For being only published in Market-Towns (and perhaps very few of them)

PART I. them) the *Puritan* Ministers in the Country did not conceive themselves obliged to take notice of it. And much less could it come to the ears of Students in Universities, for whose restraint from meddling, either by Preaching or Writing, in the Points prohibited, it might seem most necessary. He knew, that by the Laws of the Land all Ministers were to read the Book of Articles audibly and distinctly, in the hearing of their Parishioners, when they first entred on their Cures; and that by the Canons of the Church, all that took Orders or Degrees were publickly to subscribe unto them. A Declaration to the same effect before those Articles must needs give such a general signification of his Majesties pleasure, that no body could from thenceforth pretend ignorance of it, which must needs render his transgression the more inexcusable. Upon which prudent considerations he moved his Majesty that the Book of Articles might be reprinted; and such a Declaration placed before them as might preserve them from such misconstructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them to their native literal and *Grammatical* sense. His Majesty approved the Counsel as both pious and profitable, and presently gave order, that all things should be done according as he had advised. A Declaration of great influence in the course of our Story, and therefore here to be subjoynd in its proper place.

By the KING.

Bibl. Reg.
Sect. 4.
Num. 3.

BEing by Gods Ordinance, according to Our just Title, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governour of the Church within these Our Dominions, We hold it most agreeable to Our Kingly Office, and Our own Religious Zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to Our charge in the Unity of true Religion, and in the bond of peace: and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Alterations, and Questions to be raised which may nourish Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth; We have therefore upon mature deliberation, and with the Advice of so many of Our Bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following: That the Articles of the Church of England (which had been allowed, and authorized heretofore, and which Our Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to Gods Word: which We do therefore ratifie and confirm, requiring all Our loving Subjects, to continue in the Uniform Profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles; which to that end We command to be reprinted, and this Our Declaration to be published, therewith.

That We are Supreme Governour of the Church of England, and that if any difference arise about the External Policy, concerning Injunctions, Canons, or other Constitutions whatsoever, thereunto belonging; the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: And We approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions, provided that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land. That out of our Princely care that the Church-men may do the work which is proper unto them; the Bishops and Clergy,

Clergie, from time to time, in Convocation, upon their humble desire, L I B. III^o
 shall have licence under Our Broad Seal, to deliberate of, and to do all such Anno Dom.
 things, as being made plain by them, and assented to by Us, shall concern I 6 2 8.
 the settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of
 England established; from which We shall not endure any variation or de-
 parting in the least degree. That for the present, though some differences
 have been ill raised, We take comfort in this, that all Clergie-men within
 Our Realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established,
 which is an Argument to Us, that they all agree in the true usual literal
 meaning of the said Articles, and that even in those curious Points, in which
 the present differences lye, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church
 of England to be for them; which is an Argument again, that none of them
 intend any desertion of the Articles established. That therefore in these
 both curious and unhappy differences which have for many hundred years,
 in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, We will that
 all further curious search belaid aside, and these disputes be shut up in Gods
 Promises, as they be generally set forth unto Us in holy Scriptures; and
 the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to
 them. And that no man hereafter shall either Print or Preach to draw the
 Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning
 thereof: And shall not put his own sense or Comment to be the meaning of
 the Article, but shall take it in the literal & Grammatical sense. That if any
 Publick Reader in either Our Universities, or any Head or Master of a
 Colledge, or any other Person respectively in either of them, shall affix any
 new sense to any Article, or shall publickly read, determine, or hold any
 publick Disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the
 Universities or Colledges respectively; or if any Divine in the Universities
 shall Preach or Print any thing either way, other than is established in Con-
 vocation with Our Royal Assent: He, or they, the Offenders, shall be liable
 to Our displeasure, and the Churches Censure in Our Commission Ecclesia-
 stical, as well as any other: and We will see there shall be due execution
 upon them:

No sooner were the Articles published with this Declaration, but
 infinite were the Clamours which were raised against it by those of the
 Calvinian party. Many exclaimed against it for the depths of Satan,
 some for a Jesuitical Plot to subvert the Gospel: For what else could
 it aim at (as they gave it out) but under colour of silencing the dis-
 putes on either side, to give encouragement and opportunity to Armi-
 nians here to sow their tares, and propagate their erroneous Doctrines.
 And what effects could it produce, but the suppressing of all Orthodox
 Books, the discouraging of all godly and painful Ministers, thereby
 deterred from preaching the most comfortable Doctrines of mans
 election unto life; The Arminians in the mean time gathering strength,
 and going on securely to the end they aimed at. And to give the
 better colour to these suspicions, a Letter is dispersed abroad, pre-
 tended to be written to the Rector of the Jesuites in Bruxells the
 chief City of Brabant. In which the Writers let him know, with what
 care and cunning they had planted here that Sovereign drug Armini-
 anism,

PART I. *anism*, which they hoped would purge the Protestants from their *Heresies*, and that it did begin to flourish and bear fruit already; That
Anno Dom. 1628. for the better preventing of the Puritans, the *Arminians* had lockt up
 the Dukes ears, &c. with much of the like impudent stuff, which
 no sober man did otherwise look on than a piece of *Cullery*. Upon
 which grounds, a Petition was designed for his sacred Majesty,
 by some of the *Calvinian* Party in and about the City of *London*,
 "For the revoking of the said Declaration, by which they were de-
 "terred (as the matter was handled) from preaching the *saving Do-*
 "ctrines of Gods *Free Grace* in *Election* and *Predestination*: And this
 " (say they) had brought them into a very great straight; either
 " of incurring Gods heavy displeasure, if they did not faithfully dis-
 " charge their Embassage in declaring the *whole Counsel* of God;
 " or the danger of being censured as violaters of his Majesties said
 " Act, if they preacht those constant Doctrines of our Church,
 " and confuted the opposite *Pelagian* and *Arminian Heresies*, both
 " Preached and Printed boldly without fear of censure. And there-
 " upon they pray on their bended knees, that his gracious Majesty
 " would take into his Princely consideration the forenamed Evils
 " and Grievances under which they groaned, and, as a wise Phy-
 " sician, prescribe and apply such speedy Remedies as may both
 " cure the present Maladies, and secure the peace of Church and
 " Common-wealth, from all those Plagues which their Neighbours had
 " not a little felt, and more may fear if the Council of his Majesties
 " Father to the States of the United Provinces were not better fol-
 " lowed.

Cant. Doom.

Manuscript
 Narrat. of
 Parl. 1628.

But this Petition being stopt before it came to the King, they found more countenance from the Commons, in the next Parliamentary meeting, than they were like to have found at the hands of his Majesty. For the Commons conceiving they had power to declare Religion as well as Law, (and they had much alike in both) they voted this Anti-Declaration to be published in the name of that House: *viz.*
 " We the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess,
 " and avow for truth the sense of the Articles of Religion which were
 " established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*,
 " which by the publick Acts of the Church of *England* and the gene-
 " ral and current exposition of the Writers of our Church have been
 " delivered to us, and we reject the sense of the *Jesuites*, *Arminians*,
 " and all others wherein they differ from us. Which Declaration of
 the Commons, as it gave great animation to those of the *Calvinian*
 Party, who entertained it with the like ardency of affection, as those
 of *Ephesus* did the Image of *DIANA* which fell down from Heaven;
 so gave it great matter of discourse to most knowing men. The
 Points were intricate and weighty, such as in all Ages of the Church
 had exercised the wits of the greatest Scholars. Those which had
 taken on them to declare for truth that which they took to be the
 sense and meaning of the Articles in those intricate Points, were
 at the best no other than a company of Lay Persons met together on
 another occasion; who, though they might probably be supposed for
 the

the wisest men, could not in reason be relied on as the greatest Clerks. L I B. III. And therefore it must needs be looked on as a kind of *Prodigie*, that men unqualified, and no way authorized for any such purpose, should take upon them to determine in such weighty matters, as were more proper for a National or Provincial Council: But being it proceeded from the House of Commons, whose power began to grow more formidable every day than other, no body durst adventure a Reply unto it; till *Land* himself, by whose procurement his Majesties Declaration had been published, laying aside the Dignity of his Place and Person, thought fit to make some *scholia's*, or short notes upon it. Which not being published at that time in Print (for ought I have either heard or seen) but found in the rifling of his Study amongst the rest of his Papers, I shall present unto the Reader in these following words:

And first (saith he) the Publick Acts of the Church in matters of *Cant. Dooms.* Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining; The Acts of the High Commission are not in this sense Publick Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of a few or more Bishops Extra Concilium unless they be by lawful Authority called to that work, and their decision approved by the Church. *p. 163.* Secondly, The current Exposition of Writers is a strong probable argument, *De sensu Canonis Ecclesie vel Articuli*; yet but probable: The current Exposition of the Fathers themselves have sometimes missed *Sensum Ecclesie*. Thirdly, Will you reject all sense of Jesuite or Arminian? May not some be true? May not some be agreeable to our Writers, and yet in a way that is stronger than ours to confirm the Article? Fourthly, Is there by this Act any Interpretation made or declared of the Articles or not? If none, to what end the Act? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what Authority have Lay-men to make it? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it. Fifthly, It is manifest there is a sense declared by the House of Commons, the Act says it, (We avow the Article, and in that sense, and all other that agree not with us in the aforesaid sense, we reject (these, and these go about misinterpretation of a sense; Ergo, there is a Declaration of a sense; yea, but it is not a new sense declared by them, but they avow the old sense declared by the Church) the publick Authentick Acts of the Church &c.) yea, but if there be no such publick Authentick Acts of the Church, then here is a sense of their own declared under the pretexts of it. Sixthly, It seems against the Kings Declaration, 1. That says, We shall take the general meaning of the Articles: This Act restrains them to consent of Writers. 2. That says, The Articles shall not be drawn aside any way; but that we shall take it in the literal and Grammatical sense: This Act ties us to consent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the literal sense; for here is no exception; so we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary. Seventhly, All consent in all Ages, as far as I have observed, to an Article or Canon, is to it self as it is laid down in the body of it, and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to chuse what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense *secundum Analogiam fidei*, and that he hold it peaceably without distracting the Church, and this till the Church that made the Article

PART I. *determine a sense: And the wisdom of the Church hath been in all*
Anno Dom. *Ages, or in most, to require consent to Articles in general, as much as*
 1628. *may be, because that is the way of Unity; and the Church in high points*
 requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent; as De Transubstantia-
 tione, &c.

It is reported of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, surnamed the *Wise*, that he used many times to say (never the wiser for so saying) That if he had stood at God Almighty's Elbow when he made the world, he would have put him in mind of some things which had been forgotten, or otherwise might have been better ordered than they were. And give me leave to say, with as little wisdom, (though with no such blasphemy) that if I had stood at his Lordship's Elbow when he made these *Scholia's*, I would have put him in mind of returning an answer to that Clause of the said Declaration, in which it is affirmed, *That the Articles of Religion were established in Parliament in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth.* But I would fain know of them whether the Parliament they speak of, or any other since or before that time, did take upon them to confirm *Articles* of Religion, agreed on by the Clergy in their Convocations, or that they appointed any *Committee for Religion* to examine the Orthodoxy of those Articles, and make report unto the House. All which was done in that Parliament was this, and on this occasion. Some Ministers of the Church so stiffly wedded to their old *Mumfimus* of the Mass; and some as furiously prosecuting their new *sumpsimus* of *inconformity*, it was thought fit that between those contending parties, the Doctrine of the Church should be kept inviolate. And thereupon it was Enacted, That every person under the degree of a Bishop, which did or should pretend to be a Priest or Minister of Gods holy Word and Sacraments in the Church of *England*, should before *Christmase* next following, in the presence of his Diocesan Bishop, testify his assent and subscribe to the said Articles of the year 1562. Secondly, That after such subscribing before the Bishop, he should on some Sunday in the Forenoon in the Church or Chappel where he served, in time of Divine Service read openly the said Articles, on pain of being deprived of all his Ecclesiastical Promotions as if he were then naturally dead. Thirdly, That if any Ecclesiastical person should maintain any Doctrine contrary to any of the said Articles, and being Convented before his Bishop, &c. and should persist therein, it should be just cause to deprive such person of his Ecclesiastical Promotions. Fourthly, That all persons to be admitted to any Benefice with cure, should likewise subscribe to the said Articles, and publickly read the same in the open Church, within two months after their Induction, with declaration of their unfeigned assent to the same, on the pain aforesaid. In all which there was nothing done to confirm these Articles, but only a pious care expressed for reformation of such disorders as were like to rise amongst the Ministers of the Church by requiring their subscription and assent unto them under such temporal punishments, which at that time the *Canons* of the Church had not laid upon them.

But

But it is time to leave these follies of my own, and return to our L I B. III.
 Bishop, who had thus seasonably manifested both his Zeal and Judg- Anno Dom.
 ment in reference to the peace of the Church in general; nor shewed 1628.
 he less in reference to the peace of that University, which had the
 happiness and honour of his Education. The Proctorship had before
 been carried by a combination of some houses against the rest; the
 weaker side calling in strangers and non-residents to give voices for
 them. For remedy whereof a Letter in another year was procured
 from the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Chancellour of that University, by
 which it was declared, that only such as were actually Residents should
 be admitted to their Suffrages in the said Elections; which Letter
 was protested against by the *Proctors* for the year 1627. as knowing
 how destructive it was of their plot and party: And on the other
 side, such Colledges as had many Chappelries, and other places,
 which were removable at pleasure, invested many which came out
 of the Country in the said Offices and Places one after another, there-
 by admitting them for the time into actual residence. In which estate
 things stood when the great competition was, *April 23. 1628.* be-
 twixt *Williamson* of *Magdalens*, and *More* of *New-Colledge* on the one
 side, and *Bruch* of *Brazen-nose*, with *Lloyd* of *Jesus Colledge* on the
 other side. These last pretending foul play to be offered to them
 (as indeed it was not very fair) made their appeal unto the King;
 before whom the proceedings being heard and examined, *Williamson*
 and *Lloyd* were returned *Proctors* for that year, the last pretending
 Kindred to the Dutchess of *Buckingham*. And to prevent the like
 disorders for the time to come, it was resolved by the King, with the
 Advice of his Council, but of *Laud* especially, that the *Proctors*
 should from thenceforth be chosen by their several Colledges, each
 Colledge having more or fewer turns, according to the number and
 greatness of their Foundations. To which end a *Cycle* was devised,
 containing a perpetual Revolution of three and twenty years, within
 which Latitude of time, *Christ-Church* was to enjoy six *Proctors*,
Magdalen five, *New-Colledge* four, *Merton*, *All-Souls*, *Exeter*, *Brazen-
 Nose*, *St. Johns*, and *Wadham* Colledges to have three apiece; *Tri-
 nity*, *Queens*, *Oriel*, and *Corpus Christi* to have only two; the rest,
 that is to say, *University*, *Baliol*, *Lincoln*, *Jesus*, and *Pembroke*, but
 one alone; which *Cycle* was so contrived, that every Colledge knew
 their turn before it came, and did accordingly resolve on the fittest
 man to supply the place. And for the more peaceable ordering of
 such other matters in the University, as had relation thereunto, some
 Statutes were digested by *Laud*, and recommended by the King to the
 said University, where they were chearfully received, without con-
 tradiction, and Entred on Record in the Publick Registers in *Decem-
 ber* following. Yet was not this the only good turn which that Uni-
 versity received from him in this Year: For in the two Months next
 ensuing, he procured no fewer than 260 *Greek Manuscripts* to be gi-
 ven unto the Publick Library; that is to say, 240 of them by the Mu-
 nificence of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and 20 by the Bounty of *Sir Thomas
 Row*, then newly returned from his Negotiations in the Eastern parts.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1628.

And now the time of the next Parliamentary Meeting, which by divers Adjournments had been put off till the twentieth of *January*, was neer at hand. And that the Meeting might be more agreeable to his Intendments, his Majesty was advised to smoothe and prepare his way unto it, first by removing of some Rubs, and after by some popular Acts of Grace and Favour. *Savil* of *Yorkshire*, a busie man in the House of Commons, but otherwise a politick and prudent Person, he had taken off at the end of the former Parliament, by making him one of his Privy Council, and preferring him to be Comptroller of his Household, in the place of *Suckling* then deceased; and at the end of the last Session had raised him to the honour of Lord *Savil* of *Pontfract*. Competitor with *Savil* in all his Elections for that County, had been Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouse*, a man of most prodigious Parts, which he had made use of at first in favour of the Popular Faction, and for refusing of the *Loan* had been long imprisoned. He looked on the Preferments of *Savil* (his old Adversary) with no small disdain, taking himself to be, as indeed he was, as much above him in Revenue, as in Parts and Power. To sweeten and demulce this man, Sir *Richard Weston* then Lord Treasurer, created afterwards Earl of *Portland*, used his best endeavours; and having gained him to the King, not only procured him to be one of his Majesties Privy Council, but to be made Lord *President* of the *North*, and advanc'd unto the Title of *Viscount Wentworth*; by which he overtopped the *Savills* both in Court and Country. Being so gained unto the King, he became the most devout Friend of the Church, the greatest Zealot for advancing the *Monarchical* Interest, and the ablest Minister of State both for Peace and War, that any of our former Histories have afforded to us. He had not long frequented the Council-Table, when *Laud* and he, coming to a right understanding of one another, entred into a League of such inviolable Friendship, that nothing but the inevitable stroke of Death could part them; and joining hearts and hands together, co-operated from thenceforth for advancing the Honour of the Church, and his Majesties Service.

These Matters being carried thus, to assure himself of two such Persons, in which he very much pleased himself, his Majesty must do something also to please the People; and nothing was conceived could have pleased them more, than to grant them their desires in matters which concerned Religion, and bestow Favours upon such men as were dear unto them. In pursuance of his gracious Answer to the Lords and Commons, touching Priests and Jesuits, the growth of *Popery*, and obstinacy of Recusants, he had caused his Proclamation to be issued on the third of *August*, for putting the Laws and Statutes made against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, in due Execution: And now he adds another to it, dated on the eleventh day of *December*, for the Apprehension of *Richard Smith* a *Popish Priest*, styling and calling himself the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, a dangerous man, and one who under colour of a Foreign Title, exercised all manner of Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Church of *England*. And on the other side, Archbishop *Abbot*, a great Confident of the Popular Party in the House

House of Commons, is sent for to the Court about *Christmas*, and from out of his Barge received by the Archbishop of *York* and the Earl of *Dorset*, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his Hand to kiss, enjoyned him not to fail the *Council-Table* twice a week. And so far all was well, beyond all exception; but whether it were so in the two next also, hath been much disputed. *Barnaby Potter*, *Provost* of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxon.* a thorow-pac'd *Calvinian* (but otherwise his ancient Servant) is prefer'd to the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, then vacant by the Translation of *White* to the See of *Norwich*. *Mountague's* Book, named *Appello Casarem*, must be called in also; not in regard of any false Doctrine contained in it: but, for being the first cause of those Disputes and Differences which have since much troubled the quiet of the Church; His Majesty hoping, That the occasion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themselves with such unnecessary Disputations. Whether his Majesty did well in doing no more, if the Book contained any false Doctrine in it; or in doing so much, if it were done only to please the Parliament. I take not upon me to determine: But certainly, it never falleth out well with Christian Princes; when they make Religion bend to Policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing such things as they are not plainly guided to by the Light of Conscience, And so it hapned to his Majesty at this present time; those two last Actions being looked on only as Tricks of King-craft, done only out of a design for getting him more love in the hearts of his People than before he had. Against the calling in of *Mountague's* Book, it was objected commonly to his disadvantage, That it was not done till three years after it came out, till it had been questioned in three several Parliaments, till all the Copies of it were dispersed and sold; and then too, That it was called in without any Censure either of the Author or his Doctrines; that the Author had been punished with a very good Bishoprick, and the Book seemingly discountenanced, to no other end but to divert those of contrary perswasion from Writing or Acting any thing against it in the following Parliament. And as for *Potter*, what could he have done less in common gratitude, than to prefer him to a Bishoprick, for so many years Service as *Potter* in his time had done him both as Prince and King. So true is that of the wise Historian? (a) *When Princes once are in discredit with their Subjects, as well their good Actions as their bad are all accounted Grievances.*

L I B. III.
Anno Dom.
1628.



For notwithstanding all these preparatory actions, the Commons were resolved to begin at the same Point where before they ended. The Parliament had been Prorogued as they were hammering a Remonstrance against *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which animated, *Chambers*, *Rouls*, and some other Merchants, to refuse the payment; for which refusal some of their Goods was seized by Order from the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, and some of them committed Prisoners by the Kings Command. These matters so possessed their thoughts, that a week was passed before they could resume their old care of Religion or think of Petitioning his Majesty for a Publick Fast: but at last they fell upon them both. To their Petition for a Fast (not tendred to his Majesty

(a) *Inviso semel principe ceu bene facta, ceu male facta premunt.*
Tacit. Hist.

till

PART I. till the thirtieth of *January*) he returned this Answer the next day, *Anno Dom.* viz. "That this Custom of Fasts at every Session was but lately begun; that he was not so fully satisfied of the necessity of it at this time; that notwithstanding, for the avoiding of Questions and Jealousies, he was pleased to grant them their Request; with this *Proviso*, That it should not hereafter be brought into President but on great occasions: And finally, that as for the form and times thereof he would advise with his Bishops, and then return unto both Houses a particular Answer. But so long it was before that Answer came unto them, and so perverse were they in crossing with his Majesties Counsels, that the Parliament was almost ended before the Fast was kept in *London* and *Westminster*; and dissolved many days before it was to have been kept in the rest of the Kingdom. And for Religion, they insisted on it with such importunity, that his Majesty could no longer dissemble his taking notice of it, as a meer artifice and diversion to stave him off from being gratified in the Grant of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which he so often press'd them to. And thereupon he lets them know, *That he understood the cause of their delay in his business to be Religion, of the preservation whereof none of them should have greater care than himself; and that either it must be an Argument he wanted Power to preserve it (which he thought no body would affirm) or at the least, That he was very ill counselled, if it were in so much danger as they had reported.*

This notwithstanding, they proceed in their former way. His Majesty had granted several Pardons to *Mountague*, *Cosens*, *Manwairing* and *Sibthorp*, before-mentioned. These Pardons must be questioned, and the men summoned to appear: And Information is preferred by *Jones* against *Mountague's* Confirmation in the See of *Chichester*, which after many disputes is referred to a Select Committee. Complaint is made against *Neile* Bishop of *Winton*, for saying to some Divines of his Diocess, *That they must not Preach against Papists now, as they had done formerly.* *Marshall* and *Moor*, two Doctors in Divinity (but such as had received some displeasures from him) are brought in to prove it. Upon him also it was charged, That the Pardons of *Mountague* and *Cosens* were of his procuring: Insomuch that *Eliot* pronounced positively, *That all the Dangers which they feared, were contracted in the person of that Bishop;* and thereupon desired, *That a motion might be made to his Majesty to leave him to the Justice of that House.* Many Reports come flowing in to the Committee for Religion, of turning Tables into Altars, adoring towards or before them, and standing up at the Gospels and the *Gloria Patri*, which must be also taken into consideration. The Articles of *Lambeth* are declared to be the Doctrines of this Church, and all that did oppose them to be called in question. *Walker* delivered a Petition from the Booksellers and Printers, in complaint of the Restraint of Books written against *Popery* and *Arminianism*; and the contrary allowed of, by the only means of the Bishop of *London*; and, That divers of them had been *Pursuanted* for Printing of *Orthodox Books*; and, that the Licensing of Books was only to be restrained to the said Bishop and his Chaplains.

lains. Hereupon followed a Debate amongst them about the Li- LIB. III.
censing of Books, which having taken up some time, was referred to Anno Dom.
the Committee also, as the other was. By these Embarassies the 1628.
Committee for Religion had work enough, more than they knew how
to turn their hands to. But before they could bring any thing to
perfection, his Majesty was so exasperated by their rigorous Proceed-
ings against the Farmers of his Customs, the Imprisoning of *Aiton*
Sheriff of *London*, their Voting down his right to *Tonnage* and *Poun-*
dage, and their threatning Speeches against the Lord Treasurer *We-*
ston, whom he highly favoured; That on the second of *March* he
Adjourned the House, and on the tenth of the same Month Dissolved
the Parliament. At which Adjournment some of the Members car-
ried themselves in such an undutiful (I must not say a seditious) man-
ner, that they locked up the doors of the House, put the keys into one
of their Pockets, excluded the Kings Messenger from coming in to
deliver his Errand, compelled the Speaker to return to his Chair, and
held him there by strong hand, till they had thundred out their *Ana-*
thema's, not only against such as should dare to Levy the *Tonnage* and
Poundage, but those also who should willingly pay it, before it had
been granted by Act of Parliament; for which Contempts and Diso-
bediencies, the principal Sticklers were convented by the Lords of
the Council, and after brought before the Justices of his Majesties
Bench, by whom they were not only fined, but committed unto se-
veral Prisons, notwithstanding all they could pretend or plead from
the *Petition of Right*, which they so much stood on. So hard a thing
it is to find a cord so strong as to bind the Prerogative, when Kings
have either power or Will to make use thereof.

During this last Parliament, *Leighton*, a *scot* by birth, a Doctor of I 629.
Physick by Profession, a fiery *Puritan* in Faction, dedicated a most pe-
stilent Book unto them, called *Sions Plea*: In this Book he incited them
to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib; inveighing
also against the *Queen*, whom he branded by the name of an *Idolatress*,
a *Canaanite*, and the Daughter of *Heth*. And that this general Do-
ctrine might not be Preached without a particular Application, a
Paper was cast into the yard belonging to the House of the Dean of
St. Pauls, *March* 2. to this effect; viz. "Laud look to thy self; be
"assured thy Life is sought, as thou art the fauterer of all Wicked-
"ness: Repent thee, repent thee of thy monstrous sins, before thou
"be taken out of the World, &c. And assure thy self, neither
"God nor the World can endure such a vile Counsellour to live,
"or such a Whisperer. Another was found at the same time and
place against the Lord Treasurer, who now is made the Scape-Goat,
to bear all those faults in Civil Matters which formerly had been im-
puted to the Duke of *Buckingham*. It was noneed to bid them have
a care of themselves, after two such Warnings: *Leighton* is therefore
brought into the *Star-Chamber* as soon as he could be apprehended,
where he was Sentenced to have his Ears cropp'd, his Nose slit, his
Forehead stigmatized, and to be whipped: But between the Sen-
tence and Execution he made his escape out of the *Fleet*, though by
better

PART I. better hap to the *Warden*, than to himself, he was retaken in *Bedford-Anno Dom. shire*, and underwent the punishment appointed for him; but this hap-
 I 6 2 9. ned not till *November 29. 1630.* The rest of this Year (in reference to
 our present Story) was of little Action, *Land* falling into a burning
 Fever on the fourteenth of *August*, at the House of *Windebank*, his old
 Friend, by which he was brought to such a low and weak estate, that
 he was not able to reach to his own House till *October 20.* nor to put
 himself into the Service of his Place till the end of *March.* Yet such
 was the Activeness of his Spirit, that though his Body was infirm, yet
 his Thoughts were working. He saw the Church decaying both in
 Power and Patrimony: Her Patrimony dilapidated by the Avarice
 of several Bishops, in making havock of their Woods to enrich them-
 selves; and more than so, in filling up their Grants and Leases to
 the utmost term, after they had been nominated to some other Bi-
 shoprick, to the great wrong of their Successors. Her Power he
 found diminished partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their
 Diocesses unregarded, and living altogether about *Westminster*, to be
 in a more ready way for the next Preferment; partly by the great
 increase of Chaplains in the Houses of many private Gentlemen: but
 chiefly by the multitude of Irregular Lecturers, both in City and
 Country, whose work it was to undermine as well the Doctrine as
 the Government of it. For the preventing of such mischiefs as might
 hence ensue, some Conference had passed betwixt him and *Harsnet*,
 who lately had succeeded *Mountain* (before he had half warmed his
 Chair) in the See of *York*; and certain Considerations were resolved
 upon to be propounded to the King, for the peace and well-ordering
 of the Church; which being reduced into form, and by *Land* presented
 to his Majesty, were first signed by his Majesties Royal Hand, and
 published in *December* following by the Title of *His Majesties Instru-*
ctions to the most Reverend Father in God George Lord Archbishop of
Canterbury, containing certain Orders to be observed and put in execu-
tion by the several Bishops in his Province: Which said Instructions
 were as followeth.

CHARLES REX.

- I. That the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several Sees, there to keep Residence; excepting those which are at necessary Attendance at Court.
- II. That none of them Reside upon his Land or Lease that he hath Purchased, nor on his Commendam, if he hold any; but in one of his Episcopal Houses, if he have any such: And that he waste not the Woods where any are left.
- III. That they give Charge in their Triennial Visitations, and at other convenient times; both by themselves and their Arch-Deacons, That the Declaration for selling all Questions in difference, be strictly observed by all Parties.
- IV. That there be a special Care taken by them all, That their Ordinations be Solemn, and not of unworthy Persons.

V. That

- V. That they take great Care concerning the Lecturers in their several Diocesses, for whom We give these Special Directions following. LIB. III.
Anno Dom.
1629.
1. That in all Parishes the afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechising by Question and Answer, where and whensoever there is not some great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable Order.
 2. That every Bishop Ordain in his Diocess, That every Lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy Printed by Authority, in his Surplice, and before the Lecture.
 3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market-Town, it may be Read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoining, and in the same Diocess; and that they Preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do use.
 4. That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to Preach till he profess his willingness to take upon him a Living with Cure of Souls, within that incorporation, and that he do actually take such Benefice or Cure so soon as the same shall be fairly procured for him.
- VI. That the Bishops do incourage and countenance the grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergie, and that they use all means by some of their Clergie, or others, that they have knowledge how both Lecturers and Preachers within their Diocesses behave themselves in their Sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.
- VII. That the Bishop suffer none under Noblemen, and men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.
- VIII. That they take especial care, that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for the Prayers and Catechism, as Sermons; and take particular notice of all such as absent themselves as Recusants, or otherwise.
- IX. That every Bishop, who by Our Grace and Favour, and good opinion of his Service, shall be nominated by Us to another Bishoprick, shall not from that day of nomination presume to make any Lease for three Lives, or one and twenty years, or Concurrent Lease, or any way renew any Estate, or cut any wood or timber, but meerly to receive the Rents due, and so quit the place; For we think it a hateful thing that any mans leaving the Bishoprick should almost undo his Successor. And if any man shall presume to break this Order, We will refuse him at Our Royal Assent, and keep him at the place which he hath so abused.
- X. And lastly, We command you to give Us an account every year on the second of January of the performance of these Our Commands.

The Reader may think strange that in the second of these Instructions we should find any Bishop under a supposition of having no Episcopal house for his habitation; concerning which he is to know, that the Bishops of Oxon at that time had no house left belonging to their Episcopal Sec, either in the City, or in the Country: but dwelt at their Parsonage houses which they held in *commendam*, as before Dr. Bridges, who had no *commendam* within the Diocess, did for the most

PART I.
Anno Dom.
 1629.

part in hired houses. For though at the foundation of the Bishoprick of *Oxon*, in the Abbey of *Osney* the King appointed *Glocester Hall* for the Bishops Palace; yet when that foundation was dissolved, and the Bishops See removed to *Christ Church*, the Grant of *Glocester Hall* was dissolved also. The Bishops thereupon retired to some Country house within the Diocess, which appertained unto them in the right of their See, as long as any of their Mannours, Land, and Houses were left unfold. But they being finally made a prey to the Lust and Sacrilege of some great persons, they have since lived for the most part in hired houses, or on their *Commendams* (if they had any such) within their Diocesses, till the year 1632. when Dr. *John Bancroft* was made Bishop of *Oxon*, who having at or about that time obtained of the King that the Vicarage of *Cudsdon*, about five miles from *Oxen*, being of his own proper Patronage and Donation, might be annexed for ever unto his Episcopal See, built there at the perswasion of our Bishop of *London*, a very fair and convenient house, with a decent Chappel thereunto, to be the ordinary dwelling place of himself, and his Successors. But the house proved almost as short lived as the Founder, being burned down by Colonel *Leg*, during the short time that he was Governour of *Oxon*, for fear it might be made a Garrison by the Parliament Forces; though with as much reason, and more piety, he might have Garrisoned it for the King, and preseryed the house.

But to proceed, No sooner were these *Instructions* come to the hand of Archbishop *Abbot*, but they were presently dispersed, and communicated to the Suffragan Bishops. In this he acted only *Ministerially*, and durst do no otherwise, but when he came to act *Authoritatively*, in his own capacity he betrayed the cause; he neither liked the third Instruction for observing his Majesties Declaration before the Articles, that being looked on as an Artifice to bring in *Arminianism*. Nor was he pleased with any of the Limitations concerning *Lecturers*, to whom (as the chief sticklers in the *Puritan Cause*) he was always favourable; which last affection he was so unable to conceal, that when the *Dean* and *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury* had suspended *Palmer* and *Udny*, two of the *Lecturers* in that Diocess, whom they found obstinately inconformable to the Kings Directions; He restored them not long after to their several Lectures, inhibiting the Archdeacon from his Jurisdiction, and exposing all that acted in it to contempt and scorn. And if an Archbishop could be so unsatisfied for putting these Instructions into execution, as his place required, there is no question to be made, but various descants and reports would be raised upon them by most sorts of People. The Country Gentlemen took it ill to be deprived of the liberty of keeping Chaplains in their houses, from which they had not been debarred by the Laws of the Land. The Laws indeed had taken order, that no persons under the Degree of a Baron, (some Judges and great Offices excepted only) should qualifie any of their Chaplains for a dispensation to hold more than one Benefice with *Cure of Souls*, or to be dispensed with for not residing on such Cures as they were preferred to. And they had taken

Cant. Doom.
 P. 513.

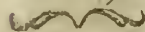
taken order how many Chaplains every such person, according to his Rank and Degree in the *scale* of Nobility, should be enabled to qualify to those ends and purposes: but otherwise all persons had been left at liberty to keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleased, without any comptrol. Nor were the Chaplains better pleased, than their Masters were. For having lived upon hard commons, and perhaps under some smart Discipline also in their Halls and Colleges, they thought that they had spent their studies to good purpose by finding ease and a full belly in these Gentlemens houses, from whom there was some possibility of preferment also, which better Scholars then themselves might have otherwise hoped for. Such of the Bishops as were possessed of the poorer Bishopricks, were as much troubled as the other, and thought it the worst kind of banishments to be confined unto the Country; complaining privately, that now the Court-Bishops had served their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries their poor brethren were exposed unto; who if they were constrained to live in their Episcopal houses, or in any other place within their Diocesses, must be constrained also to keep up such a Port, and maintain such open Hospitality as their Revenues could not bear. Nor was it thought a less injury to them, that they could not make the best of their time, but were required to be good husbands for another man, who was to enjoy the place which they were to leave; when they were fain to take it as it came to their hands, without any prevention going before, or satisfaction following after.

But greater were the clamours of the *Puritan* Faction, reviving all, which had been made against the like Instructions in the time of King *James*, and the late Declaration published by the King reigning. For what less could be aimed at in them than suppressing the Divine Ordinance of Preaching, or at the least a dreadful diminution of the number of Sermons; And what could follow thereupon, but negligence in the Priests, ignorance in the People, *Popery* and Superstition in the mean time gaining ground on both? Spending the afternoons in teaching the Catechism was a work fitter for a *Pedagogue* than a preaching Minister, who rather were ordained to provide *strong meats* for men, than *milk* for babes; and yet such was the strictness of the said *Instructions*, in looking to the observance of the late *Declaration*, that they were not suffered to set *strong meats* before the people; though men of ripe years, and somewhat more than Children in their understandings. Preaching must be restrained hereafter to Gods Will revealed, to Faith in Christ, and Moral duties towards God and men: but as for his secret Will and Purpose in the unfathomable depths of *Predestination*, those must be kept sealed up under lock and key, and none but the *Arminians* have the opening of them. And yet the grief had been the less if *Lecturers* had been left to their former liberty, and not tied up to *Gown* and *Surplice*, or fettered with *Parochial* cures, and consequently with Subscriptions and Canonical Oaths; badges of Antichrist, and professed enemies to the pure Freedom of the Gospel. Where might a man repair with comfort to hear Gods Word preached in truth and simplicity, the Sacraments administred in their origi-

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1629.



nal nakedness; to hear Christ speaking in his Prophets, and the Prophets speaking to the People, if this world went on? But notwithstanding these secret Murmurs on the one side, and the open Clamours of the other, *Land* was resolved to do his duty, who summoning all the *Ministers* and *Lecturers* about the City of *London* to appear before him, made a solemn Speech, in which he pressed the necessity of his Majesties said *Instructions* for the good of the Church; and of their chearful obedience to them; He directed Letters also to every Archdeacon in his Diocess, requiring them to see them published to all the Clergy, and to give him an exact account at the end of their Visitations how they were observed; especially insisting on the third Instruction, *For keeping the Kings Declaration, that so the differences and disputes in those prohibited points might be laid aside.* The like care taken also by the rest of the Bishops, but slackning by degrees when the heat was over; and possibly in short time after they had not been looked into at all, if *Abbot* had continued longer in the See of *Canterbury*: or that his Majesty had not enjoyned the Bishops to give him an exact account of their proceedings in the said particulars, not once for all, but Annually once in every year, on the second of *January*. Which care being taken for the peace and happiness of the Church of *England*, we will lay hold upon this opportunity for crossing over into *Ireland*, and taking a short view of the state of Religion in that Country; which from henceforth shall be lookt into more than hath been formerly.

Concerning which we are to know, that when the Reformation was advanced in the Church of *England*, the first care was to let the people have the Bible, the publick Liturgie, and certain godly Homilies in the English tongue; as appeareth by the Statutes 2, 3. *Edm. vi.* 5, 6. *Edm. vi.* and 1 *Eliz.* Secondly, The like care was taken of the *Welsh*; For whose Instruction it was further ordered, partly by the Queen, and partly by Act of Parliament, in the fifth of her Reign, that as well the Bible as the Common-Prayer Book should be Translated, Printed, and Published in that Language; one Book of each sort to be provided for every severall Church at the Charge of the Parish. Which being Printed at the first in the large Church-Volume, was afterwards reduced to a more portable bulk for Domestical uses, by the cost and charge of *Rowland Heylyn*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, about the beginning of the Reign of this King. But for *Ireland* no such care was taken: The Acts of the Supremacy, and of the Consecrations of Archbishops and Bishops were received there as before in *England*, the *English Liturgie* imposed on them by order from hence, and confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdom. Which notwithstanding not only the *Kernes*, or natural wild *Irish*, but many of the better sort of the Nation, either remain in their old barbarous ignorance; or else adhere unto the Pope, or finally to their own superstitious fancies, as in former times. And to say truth, it is no wonder that they should; there being no care taken to instruct them in the Protestant Religion, either by translating the Bible; or the *English Liturgie*, into their own Language, as was done in *Wales*; but forcing them to
come

come to the English Service, which they understood no more than they did the *Miss*. By means whereof the *Irish* are not only kept in continual ignorance, as to the Doctrine and Devotions of the Church of *England*: but those of *Rome* are furnished with an excellent argument for having the Service of the Church in a Language which the Common people understand not. And though somewhat may be pleaded in excuse thereof, during the inquietness of that Kingdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, who had the least part of it in her possession; yet no sufficient plea can be made in defence of it for the time succeeding, when the whole Country was reduced, and every part thereof lay open to the course of Justice. So that I cannot look upon it without great amazement, that none of the Bishops of that Church should take care herein, or recommend the miserable condition of that people to the Court of *England*.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1629.



Now as Popery continued by this means in the Realm of *Ireland*, so *Calvinism* was as strongly rooted in that part thereof, which professed the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *England*. And touching this we are to know also, that the *Calvinian* Doctrines being propagated in both Universities by such Divines as lived in exile in Queen *Maries* time; one *Peter Baroe* a Frenchman obtained to be the Lady *Margarets* Professor in the Divinity Schools at *Cambridge*. This man approving better the *Melanchonian* Doctrine of Predestination than that of *Calvin*, publickly taught it in those Schools, and gained in short time very many followers. *Whitaker* was at that time her Majesties Professor for Divinity there, and *Perkins* at the same time was of no small note, both *Calvinists* in these points of Doctrine, and both of them *supralapsarians* also. Betwixt these men and *Baroe* there grew some disputes, which afterwards begat some heats, and those heats brake out at last into open *Factions*. Hereupon *Whitaker*, *Perkins*, *Chaderton*, and others of the same opinion, thought it expedient to effect that by power which they were not able to obtain by Argument. And to that end preoccupate the most Reverend Archbishop *Whitgift* with most sad complaints touching the Rupture made by *Baroe* in that University. For remedy whereof, the Archbishop calls unto him *Fletcher* the Lord Elect of *London*, *Vaughan* the Lord Elect of *Bangor*, *Tyndal* Dean of *Ely*, and such Divines as came from *Cambridge*: who meeting at his house in *Lambeth* on the twenty sixth day of *November*, Anno 1595. did then and there conclude upon certain Articles, for regulating disputations in those points of Controversie. Which Articles, being nine in number, are these that follow:

- I. God from all eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated.
- II. The moving or efficient cause of Predestination unto life, is not the foresight of Faith, or of perseverance, or of Good-works, or of any thing that is in the person predestinated, but only the good will and pleasure of God.
- III. There is predetermined a certain number of the Predestinate which can neither be augmented or diminished.

IV. Those

- PART I. IV. *Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins.*
Anno Dom.
 1629. V. *A true living and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the Act either finally or totally.*
 VI. *A man truly faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with a justifying Faith, is certain with the full assurance of Faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.*
 VII. *Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men; by which they may be saved if they will.*
 VIII. *No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.*
 IX. *It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.*

These Articles being brought to *Cambridge*, so discouraged *Baroe*, that when the ordinary time of his publick readings was expired, he forsook that place, and not many years after died in *London*. His Funeral being attended (by order from Bishop *Bancroft*) by most of the Eminent Divines about that City, which shews that both the Bishop, and the most eminent Divines of *London*, were either inclinable to his opinions, or not so averse from them, as not to give a solemn attendance at the time of his Funeral. The news of which proceedings being brought to the Queen, she was exceedingly offended, conceiving it a deep intrenchment upon her Prerogative, that any such Declaration should be made in matter of Religion without her Authority. Once was she at a point to have them all indited of a *Premunire*, but the high esteem she had of *Whitgift*, whom she commonly called her *black husband*, rerieved all the rest from the danger of it. Howsoever such a strict course was taken for suppressing the said Articles, that a Copy of them was not to be found in *Cambridge* for a long time after; though after the Queens death they began to peep abroad again, and became more publick. Nor was King *James* better conceited of them than Queen *Elizabeth* was; for when it was moved by Dr. *Reynolds* at *Hampton Court* that the nine *Orthodoxal Assertions* (as he pleased to call them) which were concluded on at *Lambeth* might be admitted into the confession of the Church of *England*, the King so much disliked the motion, that it was presently rejected without more ado. But that which the *Calvinians* could not get in *England*, they effected at the last in *Ireland*; where the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England* had been less looked after than at home. For in the year 1615. a Parliament and Convocation being holden in *Dublin*, it was resolved on by the Archbishop, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy then assembled, that a Book of Articles should be framed to be the Publick Confession of that Church for succeeding times; the drawing up whereof was committed to Dr. *James Usher* (afterwards Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Lord *Primate* of *Ireland*) a Rigid *Calvinist*, but otherwise the ablest Scholar of that Nation: And he accordingly fashioning the Doctrine for that Church by his

his own Conceptions, inserted into the said Book of Articles the nine Conclusions made at *Lambeth*, to be the standing Rule (as he thought and hoped) of that Church for ever.

LIB. III.
Anno Dom.
1629.

And yet they did not stay there neither. The *sabbatarian* Doctrines had been broached by *Bownd* in the same year wherein the nine Articles had been made at *Lambeth*: Which being opposed by Archbishop *Whitgift*, and never admitted in this Church, were by the cunning of that Faction, and the zeal or diligence of this man, incorporated into the Body of the Articles for the Church of *Ireland*; in which it is declared for a Doctrinal Point, *That the first day of the Week, which is the Lords-day, is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God; and therefore we are Bound therein to rest from our common and daily Business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy Exercises, both Publick and Private.* And because he concluded in himself that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*, that also must be made an Article of this Confession, in which we find it in these words, *viz. The Bishop of Rome is so far from being the Supream Head of the Universal Church, that his Works and Doctrines do plainly discover him to be the Man of Sin, foretold in the Holy Scripture, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming.* Add hereunto, That the Plantation of the *scots* in *Ulster* (unhappily projected in the time of King *James*) brought in so much *Puritanism*, such a contempt of Bishops, such a neglect of the Publick *Liturgie*, and other Divine Offices of this Church, that there was nothing less to be found amongst them than the Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of *England*. The *Papists* in the mean time encreasing more and more, grew at the last to so great a confidence, by the clashing here in *England* betwixt the King and his Parliaments, that they gave themselves great hope of a *Toleration*: And possibly enough they might have obtained somewhat like it, if the *Irish* Bishops had not joyned together in a *Protestation* to the contrary, and caused it to be published in the Pulpit by the Bishop of *Derry*, with infinite Acclamations of the *Protestant* Hearers. Howsoever, the lost hopes had so far emboldened them, that they set up some Religious Houses even in *Dublin* it self, shewed themselves openly in their Friars Habits, and publickly affronted not only the Mayor, but the Archbishop of that City. This coming to his Majesties knowledge, he caused his pleasure to be signified to the Lords of his Council, "That Order should be taken there, That the House where the said *Seminary* Friars appeared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Archbishop and the Mayor of *Dublin* received their first Affront, be speedily demolished, and be the Mark of Terrour to the Resisters of Authority; and that the rest of the Houses erected or employed there or elsewhere, to the use of Superstitious Societies, be converted to Houses of Correction, and to set the People on work, or to other Publick uses, for the Advancement of Justice, good Arts, or Trade. Which Order of the Council-Table bears date 31 January 1629.

That

PART I. That part of the *Remonstrance* of the House of Commons which related to the Affairs of *Ireland*, first alarm'd *Laud* to take the business of that Church into consideration. And that he might be the better informed in all Particulars which concerned it, he took order with Doctor *William Beadle*, designed unto the Bishoprick of *Killmore*, to give him an exact Account of the Estate of that Church, as soon as he could make any perfect Discovery of it. This Order of the Council-Table reinforced that case, and quickned the dispatch of *Beadle* for his satisfaction, from whom he received a Letter dated *April* the first, *Anno* 1630. In which he signified, "That he had not been unmindful of his Lordships commands, which he was now the better able to perform, because (saith he) I have been about my Diocess, and can set down out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate, and shortly, to speak much ill matter in few words. Which said, he lets his Lordship know, That the Estate of his Church was very miserable; That the Cathedral Church of *Ardagh*-(united to the See of *Killmore*) one of the most ancient in *Ireland*, and said to be built by *St. Patrick*, together with the Bishops House there, was down to the ground; That the Church at *Killmore* had been built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice: That the Parish-Churches were all in a manner ruined, or unroofed and unrepaired; That the People, saving a few *British* Planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the Remnant) were obstinate Recufants; That there was a *Popish* Clergy, more numerous by far than the *English* Clergy; That they were in full Exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical by their *Vicars-general* and *Officials*, who were so confident as to Excommunicate those that came to the Courts of the *Protestant* Bishops; That the *Popish* *Primate* for *Ireland* lived within two miles of his House, and the *Bishops* in another part of his *Diocess* further off; That every Parish had their *Priest*, and some two or three apiece, and so their *Massing-houses* also; and that *Masses* are sometimes said in their Churches; That there were *Friars* in divers places, who went about, though not in their Habit, who by their importunate begging did impoverish the People; That Poverty was much increased, as well by their paying double Tythes both to their own Clergy and the *English*, as by the dearth of Corn, and the death of their Cattel; That the Oppressions of the Courts Ecclesiastical (which was reckoned for another cause of the common poverty) were not indeed to be excused, which for his part he had a purpose to reform; That in each *Diocess* there were some seven or eight Ministers of good sufficiency; but being *English*, they neither understood the Tongue of the People, nor could perform any Divine Offices, nor converse with them as they ought, and consequently could give no stop to the growth and increase of *Popery*; That most of the said Ministers held two, three, four, or more Vicarages apiece; and that sometimes one man was Clerk of three or four Parishes, which were ordinarily bought, sold, and let to Farm: And finally, That by those and such other means, his Majesty was King as to the Hearts and Consciences of that People; but so, that it remained wholly at the *Popes* Discretion.

Here

Here was sufficient work for a Reformation; and we shall see *Laud* taking care of it in convenient time. But first we must look back to *England*, where we shall find a new Honour attending on him. On *Saturday*, being the tenth of *April*, *William* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of his Majesties Household, and Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*. died suddenly at his House called *Baynards-Castle*, having then made up the fiftieth year of his life, beyond which it had been foresigned by some Learned Mathematicians that he should not live. This news being brought to *Oxon*. the same night or else betimes on *Sunday* morning, *Laud's* friends not only in *St. Johns*, but in other Colledges, so bestirred themselves, that before noon there was a Party strong enough to confer that honourable Office on him. *Frewen* of *Magdalen* Colledge being then *Vice-Chancellor*, was at that time as far as *Andover* in a Colledge-Progress, where hearing accidentally of the Earls decease, he made such haste back again to *Oxon*. that he came thither before the end of Evening Prayer; and finding his own Colledge in so good a posture, advised with some other heads of Houses, whom he knew to have the same Inclinations, to make sure work of it; by whom it was agreed, That a *Convocation* should be called the next day, to speed the business before any other Competitor should appear against him. Nor did they make more haste than good speed in it, some Agents coming thither before night in behalf of *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, Brother to the Earl deceased; and they so well discharged their Trust, that those of the *Welch* Nation generally, *Prideaux*, and some other Heads of Houses who were of the *Calvinian* Party, and the four Colledges belonging to the Visitation of the Bishop of *Lincoln* (that is to say, *Baliol*, *Oriol*, *Lincoln*, and *Brazen-nose*) were wholly in a manner for him; that Bishop stickling in the Cause; not so much out of love to him, as hate to *Laud*. But all their diligence could not carry it as they desired, the Election passing clear for the Bishop of *London*, of which he was presently advertised by the University. On his receiving of which Message, he presently addressed himself unto the King, acquainted him with what had hapned, and humbly submitted the Place unto his disposal. To which his Majesty most graciously returned this Answer, *That he knew none more worthy of it than himself; and that he should rather study how to add further Honours to him, than take any from him.* On which encouragement, he appointed *Wednesday* the twenty eighth of the same Month for the Solemnity of his Investiture in that Office, which was performed in a frequent *Convocation* of that University, held at *London-House*, to the great contentment of both Parties.

To add a further Honour to him, it pleased his Majesty to send him the joyful news, under his Royal Signature, of the Princes Birth, born at his Majesties House of *St. James's* on *Saturday* *May* the twenty ninth, about one of the Clock in the afternoon. He had the happiness of seeing the Royal Infant in the first hour of his Birth, and the honour afterwards to Baptize him. By ancient Priviledge belonging to the See of *Canterbury*, those Archbishops are Ordinaries of the Court; his Majesties Household, wheresoever the same shall be, being

Bibl. Regia.
se. 5. n. 15.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1630.



reckoned to be his Parishioners, or of his peculiar. But *Abbot* being at that time infirm, or otherwise of no desirable Company, this Office was devolved on *Laud*, as Dean of the Chappel; and he accordingly performed it. The Birth of this young Prince, as it gave cause of great Rejoycings to all good Subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the *Puritan* Faction, who had laid their Line another way, and desired not that this King should have had any Children: insomuch that at a Feast in *Fryday-street*, when some of the Company shewed great joy at the news of the Queens first being with Child, a leading man of that Faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while) did not stick to say, *That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did.* Which said he gave this Reason for it; *That God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful Progeny by the Queen of Bohemia, brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what Religion the Kings Children would follow, being to be brought up under a Mother so devoted to the Church of Rome.* And I remember that being at a Town in *Glocestershire*, when the news came of the Princes Birth, there was great Joy shewed by all the rest of the Parish, in causing Bonfires to be made, and the Bells to be rung, and sending Victuals unto those of the younger sort, who were most busily employed in the publick Joy: But so, that from the rest of the Houses, being of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* Party, there came neither Man, nor Child, nor Wood, nor Victuals; their doors being shut close all the evening, as in a time of general mourning and disconsolation.

It was not long after the Birth of this new Prince, that the *Fcoffees* for buying in *Impropriations* were called in question: The Project took beginning about four years since, when *Preston* governed the Affairs of the *Puritan* Faction; at what time it was resolved amongst them, to set up stipendary *Lectures* in all or most Market-Towns, where the People had commonly less to do, and consequently were more apt to Faction & Innovation than in other places; and of all Market-Towns, to chuse such as were Priviledged for sending Burgesses to the High-Court of Parliament: Which that it might be done with the less charge to the People, who commonly love that Religion best which comes cheapest to them, it was agreed to raise a common Stock amongst them, for buying in such *Impropriations* as were remaining in the hands of the *Laity*. To this end they erected a kind of Corporation amongst themselves, consisting of twelve Persons, Clergy-men, Citizens, and Lawyers, enabling them to receive and expend such Monies as their Emissaries should bring in from their several Circuits. Their names, *Gouge*, *Offspring*, *Sibbs*, and *Davenport*, Ministers; *Ejre*, *Brown*, *White*, and *Sherland*, Lawyers; *Geering*, *Davis*, *Harwood*, and *Bridges*, Citizens; to whom was afterwards added *Rowland Heylyn* Alderman of the City of *London*, by the name of Treasurer to the Company, that there might be a casting Voice amongst them, as occasion served. Great were the sums of Money which the Piety of the Design, and the Diligence of their Limitaries brought in from their several Walks; most men admiring, all applauding the noble-

ness

ness of such a Popular and Religious Act. But so it hapned, that one of the Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, resorting frequently to a Town in *Glocestershire*, where one of these new *Lectures* had been founded by them, observed these two things: First, That the Impropriation of that place remained in the same Lay-hands as before it did; and therefore that the *Lecturer* must receive his Stipend from the Profits of some other Parish: And secondly, he observed, That the man there planted in that *Lecture* was one of a notorious Inconformity, found upon further search to have been hunted from one Diocess to another, till at last he was silenced upon that account by the *High-Commission*. This gave him the first hint of making a more diligent Inquiry into that Design; and the more he looked into it, the worse he liked it. He knew so much of some, and heard so much of all the rest which were trusted in the Conduct of it, that he could hope for no good to the Church of *England*, from any thing of their projectment; For if such publick mischiefs be presaged by *Astrologers* from the Conjunctions of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, though the first of them be a *Planet* of a most sweet and gentle Influence; what Dangers, what Calamities might not be feared from the Conjunction of twelve such Persons, of which there was not one that wished well to the present Government?

Having gone thus far in the Discovery, it pleased the *President* of his Colledge, being then *Vice-Chancellor*, to appoint him to Preach the Act Sermon at *Saint Maries* on Sunday in the afternoon, July 11. 1630. To which appointment he submitted, resolving to deliver something in that great concourse of People from all parts of the Kingdom, which might serve to undeceive them in that Particular. He had chosen for his Text those words in the thirteenth of *Saint Matthew*, viz. *But while men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares amongst the wheat, and went his way.* Beginning to draw toward the end of his Sermon, he thus began to unfold the Arras, and shew the Portraicture thereof in as lively Colours as he could, “Planting, saith he, also many Pensionary Lecturers in so many places where it need not, and upon days of common labour, will at the best bringing forth of fruit, appear to be a tare indeed, though now no wheat be counted tares, &c. We proceed a little on further in the proposal of some things to be considered. The Corporation of *Feoffees* for buying in of Impropriations to the Church; Doth it not seem in the appearance to be an excellent piece of *Wheat*? A noble and gracious point of piety? Is not this *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*? But blessed God, that men should thus draw near unto thee with their mouths, and yet be far from thee in their hearts! For what are those intrusted in the managing of this great business? Are they not the most of them the most active and the best affected men in the whole cause, and *Magna Partium momenta*, Chief Patrons of the Faction? And what are those whom they prefer? Are they not most of them such as must be serviceable to their dangerous innovations? And will they not in time have more preferments to bestow, and therefore more dependencies than all the Prelates in the Kingdom, &c. Yet all this while we sleep and slumber, and fold our hands in sloth, and see perhaps, but dare not note it.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1630.

No sooner were these words delivered, but a general consternation shewed it self in the looks of his Auditors. Some honest and well meaning men seemed much to pity his misfortune in being put (as it was then generally, but falsely, thought) on that odious task by some higher power, of purpose to discourage such a pious work which good men rejoiced at. But greater was the clamour of the *Puritan Faction*, who in a meeting held that night conceived no punishment great enough to inflict upon him which either Law, Malice, or Revenge could expose him to. Being thus alarmed on the one side, and threatened by the other, he sent a Copy of his Sermon to the Bishop of *London*, not long before made Chancellour of that University; and signified in a Letter therewith sent, that he was both able and ready to make good his charge, whensoever it should be required. This information came opportunely to his Lordship, with whom the King had used some speech (as appears by his *Breviate* p. 12.) about restoring Impropriations to the Church, which this new project seemed to frustrate. And thereupon he entred it in the *Memorandum* at the end of his *Breviate*, viz. *To overthrow the Feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in Impropriations.* The Preacher in the mean time making a further search into the business, observed these particulars, first, That no Impropriation by them bought, was laid unto the Parish Church, and setled upon the present Incumbent, as was first expected, that being utterly destructive of their design. Secondly, That a great part of that Revenue was spent in maintaining a daily Lecture in the Church of *Saint Antholins* at six a clock in the Morning, to serve for a *Seminary* for the training up of such *Novices* as were to be sent into the Country. Thirdly, That another part of it was laid out, not only for the support of silenced Ministers, during their own lives, but of their Wives and Children also after their decease, than which there could not be a greater tye to unite men to them, and make them sticklers in the Cause. Fourthly, These Pensions neither were so setled, nor their Lectures so well established in their several places: but that the one might be withdrawn, and the other removed, at the will and pleasure of their Patrons, if they grew slack and negligent in the *holy cause*, which fastened a dependence on them to the very last. It was not long before *Noy*, that Renowned Lawyer, was made his Majesties Attorney General, to whom the Preacher was commanded to deliver a particular of all such passages as he had observed in the carrying on of this design; the Feoffees thereupon being called into the Court of Exchequer, the Feoffment damned, the Impropriations by them bought confiscated to his Majesties use, and the merit of the cause referred to a further censure. And though the Sentence past not on them in the Court of Exchequer, *Anno 1632.* yet I have laid all here together, that so I might proceed to the rest of my business with the less disturbance.

For whilest the business of these *Feoffees* was under a more strict enquiry, somethings were acted by this Bishop, which brought him into the like danger of an Inquisition. *Saint Catherine Creed Church in*

London

Lor being ruinous, and in great decay, had in some places been taken almost down to the ground, and rebuilt again by the Parishioners at such time as *Mountain* was their Bishop, who suffered it to be made use of for Religious Offices without any new consecration of it, which coming to the knowledge of Bishop *Laud*, he caused it for a time to be suspended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it was reconsecrated by himself. Which Office he solemnly performed on Sunday *January 16*. An infinite number of people of all sorts drawing together to behold that Ceremony to which they had so long been strangers, ignorant altogether of the Antiquity and the necessity of it. The like done also at the Church of *Saint Giles* in the *Fields* on the Sunday after; which had been generally repaired, and for the greatest part new built in the time of his Predecessor also; Divine Service, Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments being used therein, without any such Dedication of it, contrary to the practice of the Primitive times and the Ancient Canons. And that we may lay these things together, the next year after, *June* the seventh, he consecrated a new Church at *Hammer Smith*, built at the charges of that Village; and the next year after that, *July* the seventeenth, a new Church built at *Stanmore magna*, in the County of *Middlesex*, erected at the sole cost and charges of *Sir John Wolstenholm*, one of the Farmers of the Customs, who made that day a sumptuous and magnificent Feast for the entertainment of all such persons of quality as resorted thither to behold the Consecration. It was my chance to bestow a visit on his Lordship at his house in *Fulham*, as he was preparing to set forwards to this last Consecration; and being one of his Chaplains was at that time absent, and that he was of ordinary course to make use of two, he took me along with him to perform the Office of the Priest in the solemnity, in which his Chaplain *Bray* was to Act the Deacons. I observed all the Circumstances and religious Ceremonies which were used by him in that sacred Action from his first coming into the Church till his going out, but could see nothing in it savouring of that Superstition which had raised so much talk amongst ignorant People, and afterwards was certified by *Willingham* at the time of his trial in reference to the consecration of *Saint Katherine Creed Church*. The Antiquity of which Consecrations hath been shown in our *Introduction* performed by the Fathers at such times when the Church hated nothing more than superstitious vanities, or the accumulating of unnecessary and fruitless Ceremonies. The form and manner of it left by our first Reformers to the care and discretion of the Bishops whom it most concerned; Presuming that nothing would be done by them which would not be consistent with the Rules of Piety, and the ancient practice of the Church in the times foregoing. And such a Form was that which this Bishop now made use of, digested first by the Learned *Andrews* for his own particular use, but afterwards copied out, approved and followed (though possibly not without some alterations) by most Bishops else.

Nor did he take care only of the Fabrick, the material Church, to
make

L I B. III.
Anno Domini
1630.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1620.



make it fit and ready for Gods publick Service: but that Gods publick Service should be so done in it, as might most tend to the edification of the Mystical Church, the body aggregate of Gods People. His Majesty had took special care, as well by his Proclamation of the fourteenth of June, 1626. as by his Declaration before the Articles, 1628. for the silencing of all disputes touching Predestination, and the points depending thereupon, which had begun to threaten such a general disturbance to the peace of the Church. But neither Proclamation, nor Declaration could perswade the *Calvinian* Party unto any such silence, which they interpreted to be a plain betraying of Gods Cause into the hands of his enemies. Somewhat is to be done to conjure down these unruly Spirits, which otherwise would not be confined within their Circle. *Mady*, the Lecturer of *Christ-Church*, near *Newgate*, must needs flye out upon the Point of *Election*, and the motives to it. For this contempt he is called before the Bishop of *London*, and on some further mis-behaviour prohibited from Preaching any more within that Diocess. *Burges* (who afterwards pulled down the Cross in *St. Pauls Church-yard*) must needs add scorn to his contempt; telling his Auditors, that if their Minister Preached *Gopery* or *Arminianism* they might change their dwellings, and not trouble the peace and order of their Church. For which about the same time he is questioned also. *White*, and some others, in that Diocess suspended by this Bishop on the same occasion.

From the City pass we to the Court. Where toward the end of the same Month we find *Davenant* Bishop of *Sarum* Preaching a Lent Sermon before the King, and therein falling upon some of those prohibited points, even before his face, for which the King being much offended (as he had good reason) he caused him to be called before the Lords of his Council. The cause is managed against him by Archbishop *Harsnet* (*Laud* all the while walking by in silence) who gravely laid before him as well the Kings Piety in setting forth the said Declaration, as the greatness of his, the said *Davenants* offence, in making so little reckoning of it. *Davenant* at first endeavoureth many defences to make good his Action, but at last wisely casts himself upon this submission, he tells the Lords, in answer to one of *Harsnets* objections, That he was sorry he did no sooner understand his Majesties intention, which if he had done before, he would have taken some other matter to treat of, which might have given none offence; and that for the time to come he would conform himself as readily as any other to his Majesties Command. *Arundel*, Earl Marshall, bids him hold to that, as his safest Plea, and that he should proceed to no further defence; a bad cause not being made the better by too much handling. To this counsel he conforms himself. And being afterwards admitted to the kiss of his Majesties hand (which his attendance might deserve, though his Sermon did not) his Majesty declared to him his Resolution, That he would not have this high Point medled withal or debated, either the one way or the other; because it was too high for the Peoples understanding; and that other Points which concerned Reformation and Newness of life, were more needfull and profitable. I hope the lower Clergy will

Cb. Hist. lib.

11. p. 140.

not

not say hereafter as some did of old, That Laws are like the Spiders Cobwebs, which suffer the great flies to break through, and lay hold only upon those of the smaller size.

From the Court let us go to *Oxon.* where we find the next year beginning (in a manner) with a Sermon Preached at *St. Maries Church* by one *Hill of Heart-Hall, May 24.* point blank enough against his Majesties Declaration, and more than bitter enough against those of different perswasion from him, whom he charged with *handling Scriptures worse than poor Christians were by the Turk at Tunis, enforcing them to the vassallage of the foulest errors,* not without some reflection on the Higher Powers by whom they were *mischieved into honour.* For which indiscretion being convented before the *Vice-Chancellor,* and Heads of Houses, (but not without the Chancellors privity) he confessed his fault, and craved pardon for the same, which he obtained on his submission made in the Convocation the sixteenth of *July* following. But worse it fared not long after with *Ford of Magdalen Hall, Hodges of Exeter Colledge, and Thorne of Baliol,* who in their several Sermons had not only committed the like error, but charged their *Renovation* of some ancient order in the Church, to be no other than plain *Innovation.* Questioned for this by *Smith,* then Warden of *Wadham Colledge,* and Vice-Chancellor of that University, they appeal from him to the *Convocation.* The Proctors, having unadvisedly received the Appeal, were at the point to have named *Delegates* when *Smith* appealed to the King: But they took their aim amiss when they shot this bolt; For both his Majesty and the Chancellor were alike concerned in it; the King, to justify his Declaration; the other, to preserve his own power and dignity; neither of which could have been done, but by defending *Smith* in his lawful acting. On the twenty third of *August* all parties interested in the Cause appeared before the King at *Woodstock,* who after a full hearing of both sides, it was ordered thus, That the three Delinquents should be expelled the University; *Doughty* and *Bruch,* the two Proctors, should be deprived of their places: *Prideaux* and *Wilkinson* (this last then Principal of *Magdalen Hall*) being checked for stickling so much in it, and glad they were that they escaped without further censure. But they shewed not the same mercy which they found; for *Rainsford* of *Wadham Colledge,* Preached at *St. Maries* in *August* following in defence of *Universal Grace,* and *Mans Election unto life, from Faith foreseen.* No man more forward than *Prideaux* to approach him of it, on whose complaint and prosecution he was sentenced to a publick acknowledgment of his offence in a form prescribed; which was as much as had been done in the case of *Hill.* So that the Rigid *Calvinians* can pretend no just ground for that so great Calumny, that none but they were censured from Preaching those prohibited Doctrines; those of the *Arminian Party* (as they commonly called them) going off unpunished.

From *Oxon.* cross we into *Ireland,* where we shall see *Lands* care as great for preserving the Kings Authority and the Churches peace as it was in *England.* *Usher,* the Lord Primate of that Church, had published

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

1630.

1631.

Cant. Doom.

p. 173.

PART I.

Anno Dom.

1631.

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lished a Book this same year in the Latine Tongue, called, The History of *Gotteschalchus*: for which he was after much extolled by *Twisse* of *Nembury*, as professed a *Calvinian* as himself, in a Letter of his dated *May 29. 1640.* "For, having first commended him for his great learning and various reading manifested in his Book *De Primordiis Britannicarum Ecclesiarum*, he magnifies next his singular wisdom for taking an occasion to insert therein the History of the *Pelagian Heresie*, coming so opportunely in his way; and then he addeth that his History of *Gotteschalchus* was a piece of the like nature, and came forth most seasonable, so much the more because it seemed to give some check to a Book written by *Vossius*, a right Learned man, which had been much cried up by the *Remonstrants*. *Downham* then Bishop of *Derry* had somewhat before that published a Discourse about Perseverance, wherein some Passages were found directly thwarting his Majesties most pious purpose in the said Declaration: But *Usher's* Book being writ in *Latin*, gave the less offence. Nor seemed it fit to put any publick disgrace on a man to whom the Government of the whole National Church had been committed by King *James* of most Blessed Memory. By questioning and suppressing *Downham's* Book, he might be made as sensible of his Error in writing the aforesaid History, as if his own had been made subject to the like condemnation. His Majesty therefore gives him Order, by Letters bearing date at *Woodstock, August 24.* (the next day after the said Sentence of *Tborn, Hodges, &c.*) to call in Bishop *Downham's* Book, who thereupon sent out Warrants, and caused all the Books that were unsent into *England*, to be seised on: but so long it was before the King had notice of it, and so long after that, before his Letters came to the Lord Primates hands, which was not till the fiftenth of *October* following, that almost all the Copies were dispersed in *England* and *Ireland*, before the coming out of the Prohibition. And for preventing of the like for the time to come, a Command is laid on *Beadle* Bishop of *Killmore* (which sheweth that *Usher* was not thought fit to be trusted in it) to have an eye unto the Press, and to take care that nothing hereafter should be published contrary to his Majesties said Directions: So *Beadle* in his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, dated *November 8. 1631.* Which care being taken for the Peace of that Church, and nothing else presented to us on that side of the Sea to detain us any longer there, we will hoise Sail again into *England*, where we find more Work.

More Work indeed, and far the greatest not only of this present year, but the greatest of this Bishops Life: A Work before in project, but in project only. None had the Courage or the Power to carry it on so far as he: He could not rest under the shade of those vast Ruines of *St. Paul's* Church, (his own Cathedral). without continual thought, and some hopes withal of repairing those deformities in it, which by long time had been contracted. Of the first Founding of this Church by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the first Christian King and the sixth Monarch of the *Saxons*; and the Enlargement of the same by *Erkenwald* the fourth Bishop of it, we have spoke already: and now we are to know, That their old Fabrick being much wasted by Fire in the time

of



of the Conquerour, *Mauritius* then Bishop of *London*, Anno 1083. began the Foundation of that most magnificent Pile now standing, viz. all the Body of the Church, with the South and North cross Isles. Toward which Work he made use of a great part of the Materials of the old *Palatine* Castle (standing in the same place where the Convent of the *Black-Friars* was after built) great part whereof had perished by the same Fire also. But the Foundations which this worthy Bishop had laid, being suitable to his mind, were so vast, as the Historian observes, (a) That though he prosecuted the Work twenty years he left the performing thereof to the care of Posterity: amongst which, none more transcendently affected to this business, than his next Successor *Richard Beauvais*, (b) who bestowed the whole revenue of his Bishoprick upon it, supporting himself and his Family by other means. And after him (some other Bishops succeeding between them) that *Richard*, who was Treasurer to King *Henry ii.* being made Bishop of *London* in the first year of King *Richard*, bestowed great Sums of Money in the Reparation of this Church, and the Episcopal Houses which belonged unto it. But all this Charge was principally laid out on the main Body of the Church, and the Crossed Isles thereof, the Choir not holding Proportion with so vast a Structure: So that resolving to make it fairer and more capacious than before, they began with the Steeple, which was finished in Anno 1221. (5 Hen. 3.) In which year the Dedicacion of it was celebrated with great magnificence, the King himself, *Otho* the Popes Legate, *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roger* surnamed *Niger* then Bishop of *London* (a chief Advancer of the Work) with five other Bishops, besides infinite multitudes of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, and others of the Common People from all parts of the Land, being present at it.

Nor is it to be thought that the Charges of that stately and magnificent Structure was supported by the Bishops only, or issued out of such Revenues as belonged unto the Dean and Chapter: but that the Clergy and People generally, both of *England* and *Ireland*, contributed largely to the Work; the People of those Times, out of their Devotion to Gods Service, being easily incited to further all Works of this nature as occasion offered. And this appears by the sundry Letters of several Bishops of both Nations, to the Clergy under their Jurisdictions, for recommendation of that business to their particular Congregation, many of which are extant still upon Record. Nor were the People stirred on only by the sollicitation of their Priests, or the exhortatory Letters of their several Prelates; but by the grants of such Indulgences, and relaxation from their several and respective Penances, which in those Letters were extended unto all sorts of People, who with a chearful heart and liberal hand did promote the Service: By means whereof some men contributed Materials, others sent in Money; and many Mafons, Carpenters, and other Artificers, who were to labour in the Work, bestowed their pains and toil upon it for less consideration and reward than in other Buildings. Besides which, *Henry de Lacy* Earl of *Lincoln* is said to have been a principal Benefactor to that part of it which was then called the *New-work*, in

LIB. III.  
Anno Dom.  
1.631.

(a) *Hujus laboriosi operis impensam transmissit ad posteros.*

(b) *In Ecclesiæ suæ, & Edificiorum ad Sedem suam spectantium Structura magnam impendit pecuniam.* Godw. in Catal. Episc.

PART I. a Chappel whereof, dedicated to St. *Dunstan*, we find his body to be  
*Anno Dom.* interred. And so was *Ralph de Baldock* also, both while he was Dean,  
 1631. and when he was Bishop of this Church; whose Body was also buried  
 in another part of the *New-work*, called *Our Ladies Chappel*.

But this vast Pile, the work of so long time, and so many Ages, was on the fourth of *June*, *Anno 1561*. in danger to be suddenly consumed by a violent Fire, beginning in the Steeple, and occasioned by the negligence of a Plummer, who left his pan of coals unquench'd at his going to dinner. A Fire so violent, that in the space of few hours it consumed not only the Steeple where it first began, but did spread it self to the upper Roof of the Church and Isles, totally burning all the Rafter, and whatsoever else was of combustible nature. The Queen knew well, as well as any, that the Revenues of that Church were so dilapidated, that neither the Bishops themselves, nor the Dean and Chapters, were able to repair the least part of those Ruines which the Fire had made: And thereupon out of a deep apprehension of that lamentable Accident, forthwith directed her Letters to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring him to make some speedy Order for its repair; and to further the Work, gave out of her Purse 1000 Marks in Gold, as also a Warrant for 1000 Load of Timber to be taken out of her Woods, and elsewhere. Nor were the Citizens slack herein; for having given a large Benevolence, they added three whole *Fifteens* to be speedily paid for that purpose; all which amounted to three thousand two hundred forty seven pound sixteen shillings two pence half-penny. The Clergy of *England* within the Province of *Canterbury*, freely contributed the fortieth part of all such Church Livings as were charged with First-fruits; and the thirtieth part of all their Benefices not so charged; those of *London* only excepted, who besides the thirtieth part of such as paid First-fruits, gave the twentieth part of all the rest: Which Contribution of the Clergy amounted to one thousand four hundred sixty one pound thirteen shillings and eleven pence; whereunto was added, by the benevolence of the Bishop of *London*, at several times, coming in all to nine hundred five pound one shilling and eleven pence; By the Dean and Chapter one hundred thirty six pound thirteen shillings and four pence: and made of the surplufage of Timber one hundred nineteen pound three shillings and nine pence; Given by the Justices and Officers of the Common Pleas thirty four pound five shillings; and by those of the Kings Bench seventeen pound sixteen shilling eight pence: All which together made no more than six thousand seven hundred and two pound thirteen shillings and four pence. And yet with this small Sum (such was the cheapness of those Times) the Work was carried on so prosperously, that before the Month of *April 1566*. all the Roofs of Timber (whereof those large ones of the *East* and *West*, framed in *Torkshire*, and brought by Sea) were perfectly finished and covered with Lead; the adding of a new Steeple being thought unnecessary (because too chargeable) though divers Models have been made and presented of it.

The whole Roof being thus Repaired, the Stone-work of it stood as before it did, sensibly decaying day by day, by reason of the corroding

ding quality of the Sea-cole smoke, which on every side annoyed it: LIB. III. Anno Domini 1631. Which being observed by one *Henry Farley*, about the middle of the Reign of King *James*, he never left solliciting the King by several Petitions and Addresses, to take the Ruinous Estate thereof into his Princely Consideration, till at last it was resolved on by the King. And to create the greater Veneration to so good a Work, he bestowed that magnificent Visit on it, described at large in the first Book of this History, Anno 1620. The product and result whereof was, the issuing out a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the sixteenth day of *November* then next following, directed to *Sir Francis Jones Knight*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, *George Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, *Francis Lord Verulam* then Lord Chancellor of *England*, and divers others, to the number of sixty persons and upwards: Which Commission importing, That this Church being the greatest and most eminent (as also one of the principal Ornaments) of the Realm, and in much decay, any six or more of these Commissioners, whereof three to be of the said Kings Privy-Council, should meet to make Particulars of the decay, and likewise what Houses, Cellars, &c. had been built near it, either to the annoyance of it, or the Church-yard: And moreover to Inquire what Lands, Rents, &c. had been given towards its Repair, or Sums of Money collected to that purpose, and not accordingly employed: And further to consider of the most fit and proper means to raise money to carry on the said Repair: And lastly, to appoint Surveyors and other Officers of their Work, and to make Certificate of their Proceedings therein, into the Chancery. Upon the Meeting of which Commissioners, and diligent search made into the Particulars afore-mentioned, it was acknowledged that the Bishop of *London* had the whole care of the Body of that Church, and the Dean and Chapter of the Choires: But that which each of them enjoyed to this purpose, was so little, that they yearly expended double as much upon the Roof and other parts decayed, to preserve them from present ruine. Which being made evident to the Commissioners, as also that in former times, even from the very first foundation thereof, it had been supported partly out of the large Oblations of those that visited the Shrines and Oratories therein, and partly from Publick Contributions in all parts of the Kingdom; It was concluded to proceed in the same way now, as had been done formerly. And that it might proceed the better, the King himself, and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry, declared by their Subscriptions (for the encouragement of others to so good a Work) what Sums they resolved to give in pursuance of it: Doctor *John King*, then Bishop of *London*, subscribing for 100 l. per Annum as long as he should continue in that See. *Mountain* who succeeded not long after in that Bishoprick, procured with great charge and trouble some huge massie Stones to be brought from *Portland*, for the beginning of the Work: But money coming slowly in, and he being a man of small activity, though of good affection, the heat of this great business cooled by little and little, and so came to nothing.

## PART I:

Anno Dom.

1631.



But *Laud* succeeding him in the See of *London*, and having deservedly attained unto great Authority with his Majesty, no sooner saw his Office settled both at home and abroad, but he possessed him with a Loyal and Religious Zeal to pursue that Work, which King *James* had so piously designed, though it went not much further than the bare design. Few words might serve to animate the King to a Work so pious, who aimed at nothing more than the Glory of God, in the Advancement of the Peace and Happiness of the Church of *England*: And therefore following the example of his Royal Father, he bestowed the like Visit on *St. Pauls*, whither he was attended with the like Magnificence, and entertained at the first entrance into the Church with the like Solemnity. The Divine Service being done, and the Sermon ended, which tended principally unto the promoting of a Work so honourable both to his Majesties Person, and the *English* Nation; his Majesty took a view of the Decays of that Church, and there Religiously promised not to be wanting in the Piety of his best Endeavours, to the Repair of those Ruines which Age, the Casualties of Weather, or any other Accidents had brought upon it. In order whereunto, in the beginning of this year he issued out his Royal Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the tenth of *April* in the seventh year of his Reign, directed to Sir *Robert Ducey* Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, *George* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, &c. *William* Lord Bishop of *London*, *Richard* Lord Bishop of *Winton*, *John* Lord Bishop of *Ely*, &c. *Nicholas Rainton*, *Ralph Freeman*, *Rowland Heylyn*, &c. Aldermen of the City of *London*, *Edward Waymack*, and *Robert Bateman* Chamberlain of the said City of *London*. In which Commission the said King taking notice of this Cathedral, as the goodliest Monument and most ancient Church of his whole Dominions, as also that it was the principal Monument of the City of *London*, the Imperial Seat of this his Realm; and moreover, That the Commissions issued out by his Royal Father (as heretofore had been observed) were slackned by reason of his death; but he resolving to go on therewith effectually, declared as followeth: viz. 1. That all Money brought in for Repair thereof, should be paid into the Chamber of *London*. 2. That *William Laud* then Bishop of *London* offered to allow 100l. per Annum out of the Revenues of that Bishoprick, during his continuance therein. 3. That a Register-Book should be made of all Subscriptions for Contributions thereunto, as had been done in King *James* his time. 4. That the Judges of the Prerogative Court, and all Officials throughout the several Bishopricks in *England* and *Wales*, upon the Decease of any Person Intestate, should be excited to remember this Church, out of what was proper to be given to pious uses: And lastly, That Commissions should be issued throughout the whole Kingdom. Which Commissions were executed in the Country with care and diligence, and seconded so strongly by the power and sollicitation of this pious Prelate, that the money came flowing in apace; so much being raised by Legacies, by money given to pious uses, and other free and voluntary Contributions, before the issuing out of those Commissions, as enabled the grand Com-

Commissioners to begin the work. Inſomuch that on the ſixteenth of December, Anno 1632. they found that there had been brought into the Chamber of London the Sum of 5416*li.* 13*s.* 6*d.* And in April next enſuing the Work was begun: The houſes adjoyning to and near the Church being compounded for, and plucked down, a great part of the Church-yard paved in for Maſons to work in, and an order given to *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor-general of his Maſteſties Works, on the twenty ſixth of June next following, to prepare Scaffolding for the ſame. Which Preparations being made, the firſt ſtone of this new Work was ſolemnly laid by our Biſhop himſelf, the ſecond by Sir *Francis Windebanke*, his Maſteſties principal Secretary of State, and the third by Sir *Henry Martin* Knight, then Judge of the Prerogative Court, and the fourth by the ſaid *Inigo Jones*, chief Surveyor of that Fabrick; each of them giving money liberally amongſt the Workmen, the better to encourage them to proceed therein with all honeſt ſpeed. The Quire or Chancel being firſt finiſhed, the work was carried on to the North part of the Croſs Iſle, and ſo unto the Weſtern part or main body of the Croſs Iſle, and ſo unto the Weſtern part or main body of the Church. This worthy Prelate continuing the Piety of his endeavours towards the compleating of this ſtately and Magnificent Structure, as well when he was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (to which dignity he was promoted in *September* following) as when he was Biſhop of *London*, and was more nearly concerned in the affairs of that Church.

L I B. III.  
Anno Domini  
1631.



And though it be affirmed by a late Hiſtorian, *that many had no fancy to the work becauſe he promoted it*; yet on the contrary it is known, that had not he promoted it, there were not many would have had the fancy to a work of that nature. Some men in hope of favour and preferment from him, others to hold fair quarter with him, and not a few for fear of incurring his diſpleaſure, contributing more largely to it than they had done otherwiſe; if otherwiſe they had contributed at all. Certain I am, that the Regular Clergy were ſo forward in it, that being called together by their ſeveral Ordinaries, few of them gave ſo little as a ſingle tenth, many a double Subſidy, moſt in the middle betwixt both, to be paid in three, four, or five years, as the work continued. Which joyned together mounted to a liberal ſum, not reckoning in the Deans and Chapters, whom it more nearly did concern to ſupport that Fabrick than thoſe of the Parochial Clergy. And yet it cannot be denied, but that it met with many rubs, and mighty enemies. The *Puritan* Miniſters and their Adherents inveighed againſt it as the repairing and adorning of a *Rotten Relique*; inſinuating to the people (as they found occaſion) that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Piety to demolish ſuch old Monuments of Superſtition and Idolatry than to keep them ſtanding. For remedy whereof order was given to ſuch as Preached at *Saint Pauls Croſs*, and other publick places both in City and Country, to repreſent unto their hearers all thoſe ſeveral motives which might not only ſerve to juſtify, but endear the work; nor wanted there ſome zealous Patriots (or ſuch as were deſirous to be ſo accounted) on the other ſide, who

Hiſt. of K.  
Ch. by H.L.

PART I. who gave it out to be a cheat, a mean Court device to procure money for the King without help of Parliaments; which project if it might succeed, the King (said they) would grow too absolute, and take unto himself an Arbitrary form of Government, the People for want of Parliaments being left remediless; which false report coming to his Majesties ears, he was compelled to make this Declaration of himself in all such following Commissions as were dispatched into the Country, that he had not only commanded, *That the work of Reparation should begin, but had caused an entrance to be made into it, and that he was constantly resolved to follow it till it was brought to perfection, whereof he required the Commissioners to satisfy all his loving Subjects of the clearness of his Royal Intention therein, and to assure them in his Name, that all rumors and imaginations, as of diverting the money to any other purpose, was but the fancies of men either grossly malevolent, or causelessly jealous and distrustful.*

Anno Dom.

1631.

Bibl. Regia.  
sect. 3. n. 14.

The Subject being thus assured, the Clergy active, and the Nobility giving good example unto all the rest, the work was so followed by the care of this powerful Prelate, that before the year 1640. the whole body of it was finished, and the Tower or Steeple Scaffolded to the very top, with an intent to take it down to the very Arches, and raise it to a more stately height than it had at the present, with four great Pinacles (at each Corner one) the Arches being thought unable to support the burthen of such a Steeple as before was fired. And though the publick Contribution which was brought into the Chamber of London amounted to the Sum of 101330 li. 4 s. 8 d. yet there was something more done in it by the Munificence of the King, and the bounty of the private Subject. His Majesty to give life to the Work had sent in first and last 10295 li. 5 s. 6 d. toward the said Sum, with part whereof he caused a stately *Portico* to be erected at the West end of the Church, raised on *Corinthian* Pillars, where he placed the Statues of his Royal Father King *James*, and himself, for a lasting memorial of this their advancement of so glorious a work. Which *Portico* was intended to be an *Ambulatory* for such as by usual walking in the body of the Church prophaned the place, and disturbed the Divine Service in the Chaire. And on the other side, Sir *Paul Pindar* Knight (sometime Ambassador from King *James* at *Constantinople*) first repaired the decays of that goodly Partition, made at the West end of the Chaire, adorning the outward Front thereof with fair Pillars of black Marble, and Statues of those *Saxon* Kings who had been Founders and Benefactors to that Church; beautified the inward part thereof with Figures of Angels; and all the Wainscoat work with Figures and Carving, viz. of *Cherubins*, and other Images richly gilded; adding also fine sorts of hangings for the upper end thereof, and afterwards bestowed 4000 li. in repairing the South part of the *Cross Isle*. But as this Bishop fell, the work fell with him; the yearly Contribution abating in the year 1641. when he was plunged into his troubles, from 15000 li. and upward, to little more than 1500 li. and after by degrees to nothing, which clearly shews upon what Wheel the whole Engine moved, whose soul it was, which gave both life and motion to

to that great design. A work of such a vast Magnificence as required a large and open heart, commensurate in some manner to the greatness of it; not to be entertained by a man of such *narrow comprehensions*, as were ascribed unto him in a Speech made by one of the Peers, when he first fell into his troubles. So easie a thing it is to disgrace the man whom the weight of his afflictions have once made incapable of standing up against such reproaches as the Pens or Tongues of his Revilers shall accumulate on him.

L I B. III.

Anno Dom.

1631.

Better success he had in another of his undertakings, though not of such a publick nature, or of so general concernment to the honour of the Church and State. He had received his breeding and first Preferments in *St. Johns Colledge in Oxon.* which he resolved to gratifie for the charge of his Education, by adding a second Quadrangle unto that of the first Foundation. The other great work he carried on by the publick Purse, contributing little more unto it (besides his annual pension of 100*li.*) but his power and diligence. But this he means to carry on at his own proper Costs, his Majesty most graciously contributing some timber towards it out of *shot-over* woods, of which the Lord *Treasurer* endeavoured (but in vain endeavoured) to have made a stop. Some Benefactor had before enricht the Colledge with a Publick Library, which made one side to his new Building, the other three he added to it of his own. That on the North consisted altogether of several Chambers, for the accommodations of the Fellows and other Students. That on the East of a fair open walk below, supported upon curious Pillars, and bearing up a beautiful Gallery, opening out of the Library, for Meditation and Discourse: confronted on the other side with the like open walk below, and a sutable Fabrick over that raised up against the Eastern wall of the Ancient Buildings. The whole compofure fashioned in an excellent Symmetry according to the exactest rules of *Modern Architecture*; not only graceful in it self, and useful to that private house, but a great ornament also to the University. *St. Johns in Cambridge* shall boast no longer of its precedency, before this in a double Quadrangle; in which it stands equalled at the least, if not surmounted also by this of *Oxford*. On the twenty third of *July*, in this present year, he laid the first stone of this new building, not intermitting it (but only during the unseasonableness of the following Winters) till he had brought it to an end, according to his first design and proposition. Nor did these publick buildings take him off in the least degree from doing the Office of a Bishop. His eye was always watchful over the Churches peace. And to preserve his own Diocess both in peace and order, he bestowed this year a personal Visitation on it; beginning at *Brentwood in Essex*, on the thirtieth of *August*, and so went on from place to place, till he had visited and regulated the whole Clergy of it in their several Deaneries, and Precincts. And for performing of that Office he laid aside the dignity of a Privy Counsellor, and his attendance on the person of his gracious Sovereign, in being an example of a careful and prudent Pastor to the rest of his brethren.

In the late Agitations at *Woodstock* before the King he let fall some words

PART I. words, which were interpreted to the disparagement of the married  
*Anno Dom.* Clergy. He was a single man himself, and wisht perhaps as *St. Paul* once  
 1631. did, That all men else (that is to say, all men in *holy Orders*) would  
 remain so likewise. And some occasion being offered at that time to  
 speak about the conveniences or inconveniencies of a married Clergy,  
 he made some declaration of himself to this effect, that in disposing of  
 all Ecclesiastical Promotions he would prefer the single man before the  
 married, supposing the abilities of the persons were otherwise equal;  
 which limitation notwithstanding it gave much matter of discourse,  
 and not a little ground of scandal to many very honest and well-mind-  
 ed men, who began presently to fear the sad consequents of it. This  
 general murmur could not but come unto his ears, and found him ve-  
 ry sensible of the Inconveniencies which might grow upon it. For he  
 soon wiped off that reproach by negotiating a Marriage between Mr.  
*Thomas Turner*, one of his Chaplains, and a Daughter of *Windebanke*  
 his old friend, (at whose house he had so long lain sick, as before is  
 said.) And that the satisfaction in this point might appear the greater,  
 he officiated the whole Service of their Marriage in his own Chappel at  
*London House*, joyning their hands, and giving the Nuptial Benedic-  
 tion, and performing all other Ecclesiastical Rites which belonged to  
 the solemnization of Matrimony by the Rules of this Church. This  
 was the answer which he made to his own Objection, and indeed it  
 was so full and home, that the Objection seemed not to require any fur-  
 ther answer. Nor was it long before *Windebanke* found how well his  
 chearfulness in yielding to that Match had been entertained. He was  
 at that time one of the Clerks of the *Signet*, as his Father *Sir Thomas*  
*Windebanke* had been before him: But our Bishop did not mean he  
 should dwell there alwaies. They had been Contemporaries at *St.*  
*Johns Colledge*, their acquaintance from their very Childhood, their  
 persons much of the same stature; a like facetiousness in both for wit  
 and company. In which respects *Laud* had commended him to the  
 good Graces of the Duke when he was alive. But the Duke doing  
 nothing for him, left *Laud* in a capacity to supply the want; by whose  
 power and favour with the King he was advanced unto the honourable  
 Office of the principal Secretary of State, in the place of *Dudly Lord*  
*Carlton Viscount Dorchester*. *Dorchester* died on *Asse-Wednesday* Morn-  
 ing, *Anno 1631*. And of *Windebanke* he writes thus in his *Breviate*,  
 viz. *June 15. 1632. Mr. Francis Windebank my old friend was sworn*  
*Secretary of State, which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Master*  
*King Charles.*

About the same time also *Sir Francis Cottington*, who succeeded the  
 Lord Treasurer *Weston* in the place of Chancellor, was made Successor  
 unto *Nanton* in the Mastership of the Wards and Liveries: No soon-  
 er was he in this place, but some difference began to grow betwixt him  
 and *Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, about the  
 disposing of such Benefices as belonged to the King in the Minority of  
 his Wards: *Coventry* pleaded a joynt Interest in it according to the Pri-  
 viledge and usage of his Predecessors, it standing formerly for a rule,  
 that he of the two which first heard of the vacancy, and presented his  
 Clerk



Clerk unto the Bishop, should have his turn served before the other. L I B. III.  
Anno Dom.  
1632.  
But *Cottingham* was resolved to have no Competitor, and would have either all or none. During which Competition betwixt the parties, *Laud* ends the difference by taking all unto himself. Many Divines had served as Chaplains in his Majesties Ships, and ventured their persons in the action at the Isle of *Rhe*, during his Majesties late engagements with *France* and *Spain*; some reward must be given them for their Service past, the better to encourage others on the like occasions for the time to come. It is cold venturing in such hot Services without some hope of Reward. And thereupon he takes occasion to inform his Majesty, that till this Controversie were decided he might do well to take those Livings into his own disposing for the reward of such Divines as had done him service in his Wars, or should go forth hereafter on the like employments. Which Proposition being approved, his Majesty committed the said Benefices unto his disposal, knowing full well how faithfully he would discharge the trust reposed in him for the advancement of his Majesties Service, the satisfaction of the Suitors, and the Churches peace. Neither did *Cottingham* seem displeas'd at this designation: As being more willing that a third man should carry away the prize from both, than to be overtopt by *Coventry* in his own Jurisdiction. By the accession of this power as he encreas'd the number of his dependents, so he gained the opportunity by it to supply the Church with regular and conformable men, for whom he was to be responsal both to God and the King. Which served him for a Counter-Ballance against the multitude of Lecturers established in so many places, especially by the *Feoffees* for impropriations, who came not to their doom till *February* 13. of this present year, as before was said.

But greater were the Alterations amongst the Bishops in the Church than amongst the Officers of Court, and greater his Authority in preferring the one than in disposing of the other. *Buckeridge* his old Tutor, dying in the See of *Ely* makes room for *White*, then Bishop of *Normich*, and Lord *Almoner*, to succeed in his place; A man who having spent the greatest part of his life on his private Cures, grew suddenly into esteem by his zealous preachings against the *Papists*, his Conferences with the Jesuite *Fisber*, and his Book wrote against him by command of King *James*. Appointed by that King to have a special eye on the Countess of *Denbigh* (whom the Priests much laboured to pervert) he was encouraged thereunto with the Deanry of *Carlisle*, advanced on that very account to the Bishoprick thereof by the Duke her Brother. The Duke being dead, his favour in the Court continued, removed to *Normich* first and to *Ely* afterwards. *Corbet* of *Oxon*. one of *Lauds* fellow-sufferers in the University, succeeds him in the See of *Normich*; and *Bancroft*, Master of *University-Colledge*, is made Bishop of *Oxon*. Kinsman he was to ever renowned Archbishop *Bancroft*, by whom preferred unto that Headship, and looked upon for his sake chiefly, though otherwise of a good secular living in this Succession. The Bishoprick of small Revenue, and without a House, but *Laud* will find a remedy for both in convenient time.

## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1632.



The Improprate Parsonage of *Cudefden* five miles from *Oxon.* belonged to the Bishop in the right of his See, and he had the Donation of the Vicarage in the same right also. The Impropration was in Lease, but he is desired to run it out without more renewing, that in the end it might be made an improvement to that slender Bishoprick. The Vicarage in the mean time falling, he procured himself to be legally instituted and inducted, and by the power and favour of our Bishop of *London* obtains an annexion of it to the See Episcopal, (the design of bringing in the Impropration going forwards still) and builds that beautiful house upon it, which before we mentioned. The See of *Bristol* was grown poorer than that of *Oxon.* both having been dilapidated in Queen *Elizabeths* time, though by divers hands. To improve the Patrimony thereof, his Majesty had taken order, that *Wright*, then Bishop of that Church, should spend the renewing of a Lease of a very good Farm, not very far distant from that City, well Housed, and of a competent Revenue, to serve as a Demesne to the following Bishops; for which he was to be considered in some other Preferment. *Houison* of *Durham* being dead, *Morton* removes from *Lichfield* thither; A man who for the greatest part of his time had exercised his Pen against the *Papists*: but gave withal no small contentment to King *James*, by his learned Book in the defence of the three harmless Ceremonies against the *Furitans*. *Wright* follows him at *Lichfield*, and *Cooke* (brother to Secretary *Cooke*) follows *Wright* at *Bristol*, tyed to the same conditions, and with like encouragement. The Secretary had formerly done our Bishop some bad Offices. But great Courtiers must sometimes pay good turns for injuries, break and be pieced again, as occasions vary. The like care also taken by him for mending the two Bishopricks of *Asaph* and *Chester*, as appears by his *Breviate*.

*Breviate.*  
p. 28.

Nor were these all the Alterations which were made this year; Archbishop *Harsnet* having left his life the year before, care must be taken for a fit man to succeed at *York*; a man of an unsuspected trust, and one that must be able to direct himself in all emergencies. *Neiles* known sufficiencies had pointed him unto the place, but he was warm at *Winton*, and perhaps might not be perswaded to move toward the North, from whence he came not long before with so great contentment; Yet such was the good mans desires to serve his Majesty, and the Church in what place soever, though to his personal trouble and particular loss; that he accepted of the offer, and was accordingly translated in the beginning of this year, or the end of the former. Two Offices fell void by this remove, one in the Court, which was the Clerkship of the Closet: and another in the Church of *Winton*, which was that of the Bishop. To the Clerkship of the Closet he preferred Dr. *William Juxon*, (whom before he had made President of *St. Johns* Colledge) and recommended to his Majesty for the Deanry of *Worcester*, to the end that he might have some trusty friend to be near his Majesty, whensoever he was forced by sickness, or any other necessary occasion, to absent himself. So that *Windebanck* having the Kings ear on one side, and the Clerk of the Closet on the other,  
he

he might presume to have his tale well told between them; and that his Majesty should not easily be possessed with any thing to his disadvantage. To find another fit man for *Winton* must be his chief business, whom it concerned to plant such a Bishop in that See as might be pliant and subservient unto his desires. The Bishop of *Winton* by his place is Visitor of five considerable Colledges in the University of *Oxon.* that is to say, *Magdalens, New Colledge, Corpus Christi, St. Johns,* and *Trinity*; by which means he is able to draw a great party after him, and such as might much curb the power of the Chancellor if they should cross with one another. Therefore to make sure work at *Oxford*, he thought it most conducive to his peace and power to prefer *Curle* from *Bath* and *Wells* to the See of *Winton*, which being accordingly effected, *Pierce* is removed from *Peterborough* to the Church of *Wells*, upon the like consideration as *Wright* about the same time was translated to *Lichfield*. There was a rich Parsonage, called *Castor*, which belonged to his Patronage as Bishop of *Peterborough*, about three or four miles from that small City, designed whensoever it fell void to serve for a perpetual *commendam* to the Bishops of it. And falling void, it was so ordered by the care of our Bishop of *London*, that *Pierce* should wave the preferment of a friend unto it, and take it for the present unto himself, leaving it afterwards to his Successors. For his Reward therein he was preferred to *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough* procured by *Laud* for his old Friend and Fellow-Servant Dr. *Augustine Lyndsell*, for whom he formerly had obtained the Deanry of *Lichfield*: And to say truth, the man deserved it, being a very solid Divine, and a learned Linguist, to whom the Christian World remains indebted for *Theophylact's* Comment on the Epistles, and the *Catena* upon *Job*, published by him in *Greek* and *Latin*.

L I B. III.  
Anno Dom.  
1632.

His Majesties Printers, at or about this time, had committed a scandalous mistake in our *English* Bibles, leaving out the word *Not* in the Seventh Commandment. His Majesty being made acquainted with it by the Bishop of *London*, Order was given for calling the Printers into the *High-Commission*, where upon evidence of the Fact, the whole Impression was called in, and the Printers deeply fined, as they justly merited. With some part of this Fine *Laud* causeth a fair Greek Character to be provided, for publishing such Manuscripts as Time and Industry should make ready for the Publick view; of which sort were the *Catena* and *Theophylact* set out by *Lyndsell*.

This mentioning of the *High-Commission* conducts me toward the *Star-Chamber*, where we shall find a Censure passed on *Sherfield* the Recorder of *Sarum*, wherein our Bishop was as active as in that before; which because it drew upon him some clamour, and such a clamour as not only followed him to his death, but hath been since continued in sundry Pamphlets, I shall lay down the occasion of it, and the true Reasons of his Earnestness and Zeal in that prosecution. This *Sherfield* being Recorder of *Sarum*, as before is said, was one of the Parishioners of the Parish Church of *St. Edmonds*, in one of the Windows whereof the Story of the Creation was express'd in old painted Glass, in which there was a Representation of God the Father

ART I. in the shape of an Old Man, after which form the Painters of those  
*Anno Dom.* Elder times did most commonly draw him. This Window, which  
 I 6 3 2. had continued in the Church without any offence from the first setting  
 of it up, till the year 1629. or thereabouts, became a great eye-sore to this man, whom nothing would content but the defacing of those Pictures, in such a way as might best please his own humour, and affront Authority. *Davenant* at that time was Bishop of *Sarum*, and lived for the most part in his Palace there; a man of known disaffections to the Church of *Rome*, and all the Superstitious Vanities and Corruptions of it. Had he been made acquainted with it, there is no question to be made, but that he either would have gratified the man, in causing the said window to be taken down in a peaceable way; or else have given him such good Reasons to the contrary, as might have qualified the peccancy of the present Humour. But *Sherfield* being the Recorder, and thinking he had the Law in his hands, as well as he had it in his head, must go another way to work, and bring the Business to be agitated in a Parish *Vestry*; which *Bastard Elderships* began to grow so much in use in most Corporate Towns, that countenance and connivence in short time would have made them Legitimate. The *Elders* of the *Vestry* being as willing to embrace the business, as he was to commend it to them, enabled him at the next *Church-session*, in the Month of *January* 1629. to ease his Conscience of that burthen, by taking down the offensive Window, and setting up another of plain white Glass in the place thereof: And yet this gave him no content, unless he might shew a more than ordinary Zeal, in defacing those Images which he was ordered to take down; and did accordingly deface them, beating down the Pictures with his Staff in such a violent and scandalous way, as was disrelished by most moderate men of his own Perswasion. The noise of so foul a misdemeanour growing lowder and lowder, it came at last unto the Court; whereupon an Information was exhibited against him in the *Star-Chamber* by the Kings Attorney, not ripened for a Hearing till the latter end of this present year, and then brought to Sentence. The Affront done to the *Dioecesan*, and the erecting of a new *Eldership* in despite of Authority, had been crime sufficient to bring him under the Censure of the *High-Commission*: But taking power unto himself of Reforming what he thought amiss in the face of the Church, and proceeding to the execution of it in a way so dangerous, so full of ill example to the rest of the Zealots, made him more properly subject to the Court of *Star-Chamber*, and to as heavy a Censure there as that Court could legally inflict for the like disorders. For what Security could be hoped for in Church or State, if every man should be a *Sherfield*, and without asking leave of the Prince or Prelate, proceed to such a Reformation as best pleased his Phansie? If suffered to go on in defacing Windows, they would be spirited in short time to pull down Churches; there being commonly no stop in such Tumultuary Reformations, till every man be wearied in his own confusions. And somewhat there was also in it which was looked upon as a great discouragement to the moderate *Papists*,  
 from

from thinking favourably of our Churches, or resorting to them; and to some moderate *Protestants* also, in beautifying and adorning Churches after such a manner, as without giving just offence, draw the greater Estimation to those sacred Places. In which respect, *Laud* did not only aggravate the Crime as much as he could, in reference to the dangerous Consequences which might follow on it: but shewed how far the use of painted Images, in the way of Ornament and Remembrance, might be retained in the Church; not justifying the painting of God the Father in the shape of an Old Man (as he was commonly misreported) but only laying down the Reason which induced some Painters to that Representation, which they grounded on *Daniel* 7. 9. where God the Father is not only called the *Ancient of Days*, to signify his Eternity before all time (which was so much insisted on by the Earl of *Dorset*) but described after the similitude of an Old Man, *the hair of whose head was like the pure wooll*. In fine, though *Sherfield* found some Friends, yet they were but few, the major part concurring in this Sentence on him, that is to say, to be fined a thousand pounds to the King, deprived of his Recorder-ship, bound to his good behaviour for the time to come, as also to make a publick Acknowledgment of his Offence, not only in the Parish Church of *St. Edmonds*, where it was committed; but in the Cathedral Church it self; that the Bishop, in contempt of whose Authority he had plaid this *Pageant*, might have Reparation.

This Censure being past on *Sherfield* on the eighth of *February*, Order is given to *Noy* the Attorney-General to make preparation for another, but of greater consequence. We shew'd before how busie *Prynne* had made himself in some present Controversies, and with what insolence he carried himself from the *High-Commission*. Prepared with confidence and success for a further Calamity, he publishes a small Pamphlet called *Lame GILES his Halting*, An Appendix against *Bowing at the Name of JESUS*, a larger Book called the *Anti-Arminianism*, and notably bestirs himself in discovering a mistake (an *Imposture* it must needs be called) in the *Historical Narration* published 1631. against which he never left exclaiming, till he had procured Archbishop *Abbot* (with whom he was grown very gracious) to call it in: But not contented with that Triumph, he prepares another *Pageant* for us in the end of *Michaelmas* Term this year, known by the name of *Histrionic-Mistix*, in which he seemed to breathe nothing but Disgrace to the Nation, Infamy to the Church, Reproaches to the Court, Dishonour to the Queen, and some things which were thought to be tending to the destruction of his Majesties Person. Neither the Hospitality of the Gentry in the time of *Christmas*, nor the Musick in Cathedrals and the Chappels Royal, nor the Poms and Gallantries of the Court, nor the Queens harmless Recreations, nor the Kings solacing himself sometimes in Masques and Dances, could escape the venom of his Pen; expressed for the most part in such bitter Language and frequently interlaced with such dangerous Aggravations and Insinuations, that it was not possible for the Author to escape uncensured. This Book being brought before the Lords of the Council toward the end of *January*,  
and

## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1632.



and found too tedious for their Lordships to be troubled with it, it pleased his Majesty to give order, that the Book should be committed to the reading of one of the *Prebends* of *Westminster*, with command to draw out of it and digest such particular Passages as tended to the danger or dishonour of the King or State. On the finishing and return of which Collection, *Prynne* is committed to the Tower on *Sunday* being *Candlemas* day, and on the morrow after the Collector received a further Order to review his Notes, and deduct out of them such Logical Inferences and Conclusions as might and did naturally arise on those dangerous Premises: One Copy of the same to be left for the Lords of the Council, and another with *Noy* the Attorney-General, and the rest of his Majesties Council-Learned in the Laws of this Realm; which Papers gave such satisfaction to the one, and such help to the other, that when the Cause was brought to hearing in the *Star-Chamber*, they repeated his Instructions only, as (a) *Prynne* himself informed against him to the House of Commons. What was done further in this business, we shall see hereafter.

(a) Discovery of the Prelates Trial, p. 129.

This business being put into a course, our Bishop offereth some considerations to the Lords of the Council, concerning the dishonour done to the Church of *England* by the wilful negligence of some Chaplains and other Ministers, both in our Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; together with the Inconveniencies which redounded to it from the *French* and *Dutch* Congregations settled in many places amongst our selves. He had long teemed with this Design, but was not willing to be his own *Midwife* when it came to the *Birth*; and therefore it was so contrived, that *Windebank* should make the Proposition at the Council-Table, and put the business on so far, that the Bishop might be moved by the whole Board to consider of the several Points in that weighty Business: who being thus warranted to the execution of his own desires, presented two *Memorials* to their Lordships, at the end of this year, *March* 22. The one relating to the Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; the other to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations in *London*, *Kent*, *Norfolk*, *Yorkshire*, *Hampshire*, and the Isle of *Axholme*. He had observed, not without great indignation, how Tenacious the *French* and *Dutch* Churches were of their own received Forms, both in Worship and Government; as on the other side, how ignoble and degenerate the *English* had shown themselves, in neglecting the Divine Service of this Church in their several Factories, where they were licensed to make use of it by the Power and Countenance of that State in which they Traded. The Earl of *Leicester* being sent this year to negotiate some Affairs with the King of *Denmark*, and *Austrorther* ready to come from the Court of the Emperor, they were appointed by his Majesty to meet at *Hamborough*, there to expect the coming of *Pennington* with some Ships to conduct them home. The *English* driving a great trade in that Town, were by the Magistrates thereof indulged all the Priviledges of an *English* Church: but they retained nothing of a Church of *England*, governing themselves wholly by *Calvin's* Plat-form, which they had taken up in *England*. The two Embassadors being met, but the Ships not come, the

Elders

Elders of the Church humbly desired their Lordships to do them so much honour in the eyes of the People, 'as to vouchsafe their presence at the *English* Church; and that their Lordships Chaplains might be ordered to Exercise in the Congregation. This Motion being cheerfully embraced by both, the Earl of *Leicester's* Chaplain first mounts the Pulpit, and after a short Psalm, according to the *Genevian* fashion, betakes himself unto his Sermon. The like was done by *Johnson*; *Anstrothers* Chaplain, (for I remember not the name of the other) when it came to his turn. The Ships being come, and staying for a change of wind, the like courtesie was desired of *Pennington*, Admiral of that little Fleet for the present Service. *Pennington* told them that he had no Chaplain, that there was in the Ship one Doctor *Ambrose* his Friend and Kinsman, who had born him company in that Voyage; and that he doubted not but that he would readily hearken to them, if they made the motion. The motion being made and granted, *Ambrose* attends his Admiral to the place of Exercise, where he took up his stand very near the Pulpit. The Congregation being filled, and the Psalm half done, a *Deacon* is sent to put him in mind of going into the Pulpit; of whom he desires to be accommodated with a Bible, and a *Common-Prayer* Book; The *Deacon* offered him a Bible, but told him that they had no such thing as a *Common-Prayer* Book, and that the Common Prayers were not used amongst them: Why then, said *Ambrose*, the best is, that I have one of my own; which being presently taken out of his Pocket, he began with the Sentences, and invitation, and was scarce entred into the Confession, when all the Church was in an uprore. The Elders thereupon in a great amaze sent back the *Deacon*, to desire him to go into the Pulpit, and not to trouble them with that which they were not used to do. *Ambrose* replied, That if they were an *English* Church they were obliged to serve God by the *English* Liturgie, and that if they would have no Prayers they should have no Sermon, and so proceeded on with the rest of the Liturgy; which Message being delivered to the Elders, the *Deacon* was sent back the third time, requiring him to desist from that unnecessary Service. On the receiving of which Message he puts the Book into his pocket, and goes out of the Church, the two Embassadors following him, and the Admiral them; to the great honour of himself, and the confusion of *Johnson* (from whose mouth I received the story) and the other Chaplain, being thus shewed their error in not doing the like.

That our Bishop was ever made acquainted by the said *Johnson* with this passage, I am not able to say; but whether he were or not, he had too much ground for what he did, in offering to their Lordships his considerations for regulating Divine Service in that and all other Factories, Employments, and Commands of the English Nation. That is to say, "First, That the Colonels of the English Regiments in the  
 " *Low-Countries* should entertain no Minister as Preacher to their  
 " Regiments but such as should conform in all things to the Church of  
 " *England*, to be commended to them by their Lordships, the advice  
 " of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *York* being taken in it. Secondly,  
 " That

L I B. III.  
 Anno Dom.  
 1632.

## PART I.

Anno Dom.

1632.

" That the Company of Merchants there residing, or in any other  
 " parts, shall admit no Minister as Preacher to them, but such as are so  
 " qualified, and so commended, as aforesaid. Thirdly, That if any  
 " Minister hath gotten himself by indirect means to be so commended,  
 " and should be afterwards found to be unconformable, and should  
 " not conform himself within three months, upon warning given him  
 " by the said Colonels, or Deputy Governour of the Factors under  
 " whom he liveth, he shall be dismiss'd from his employment, and a more  
 " orderly man recommended to it. Fourthly, That every Minister  
 " or Chaplain in any Factory, or Regiment, whether of *English* or  
 " *Scots*, shall read the Common Prayers, Administer the Sacraments,  
 " Catechise the Children, and perform all other publick Ministerial  
 " duties, according to the Rules or *Rubricks* of the *English* Liturgy,  
 " and not otherwise. Fifthly, That if any Minister or Preacher, be-  
 " ing the Kings born Subject, should with any bitter words, or writ-  
 " ings, in Print or otherwise, defame the Church of *England* by Law  
 " established, notice thereof is to be given to the Ambassador there,  
 " and by him to this State, by whom the party so offending should be  
 " commanded over again to answer for his said offences; the like to  
 " be done also in derogating from the Doctrine and Discipline of the  
 " Church, and in Preaching, Writing or Printing any thing prejudi-  
 " cial to the Temporal State and Government of the Realm of *Eng-*  
 " *land*. Sixthly, That no Colonel or Deputy Governour should  
 " permit their Minister or Preacher, in the case of sickness, or neces-  
 " sary absence, to bring in any to Preach or Officiate for him, but such  
 " an one for whose conformity he would be accountable. Seventhly,  
 " That no Deputy Governours should be sent to *Delfe*, or any other  
 " place of Residence for the *English* Merchants, but one that, being  
 " conformable to the Church of *England* both in Doctrine and Disci-  
 " pline, would take care also, that such as be under him, shall per-  
 " form all Church duties before expressed; that the party so designed  
 " shall be presented to their Lordships by the Merchant *Adventurers*,  
 " giving assurance of his fitness and sufficiency for that charge, and  
 " that some of the chief of the Merchants be sent for to the Board,  
 " and made acquainted with this order. Eighthly, That as often as  
 " the said Merchants shall renew their Patents, a clause for the due ob-  
 " servation of these Instructions (or so many of them at the least as  
 " should seem necessary to their Lordships) to be inserted in the same.  
 " Ninthly, That all his Majesties Agents there from time to time have  
 " these Instructions given them in Charge, and that once a year they  
 " be required to give the Board an account of the Progress of the bu-  
 " siness, that further order might be taken if occasion be. Tenthly,  
 " That the *English* Ministers in *Holland*, being his Majesties born  
 " Subjects, be not suffered to hold any *Classical* meetings, but how-  
 " soever not to assume the power of *Ordination*; from which if they  
 " should not be restrained, there would be a perpetual Seminary for  
 " breeding up men in Schism and Faction, to the disturbance of this  
 " Kingdom.

In reference to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches here in *England* he pro-



proceeded in another method; first, representing the occasion of their settling here, their several abuses of that Favour, together with the manifold dangers and inconveniencies which might thence arise; and next advising such agreeable remedies as he thought most proper for the cure.

“ And first he represented to them the great piety of this State in giving liberty to those Nations to enjoy the freedom of their own Religion, at *London* and elsewhere in this Kingdom; when being under persecution in their own Countries they could not enjoy the same at home. Secondly, That it was not the meaning of this State then, or at any other time since, that the first Generation being worn out, their Children, and Childrens Children, being naturally born Subjects of this Realm, should still remain divided from the rest of the Church, which must needs alienate them from the State, and make them apt to any innovation which may sort better with their humour. Thirdly, That they still keep themselves as a distinct body of themselves, marrying only in their own Tribe with one another: by means whereof it must needs follow, that as they are now a Church within a Church, so in short time they might grow to be a Commonwealth in the midst of a Kingdom. Fourthly, That these bodies standing thus divided from the Church and State are planted for the most part in such Haven Towns as lay fittest for *France* and the *Low-Countries*: which may be a shrewd temptation to them to take such advantages to themselves, or to make use thereof for others as occasion offereth. Fifthly, That the example is of ill consequence in Church-affairs to the Subjects of *England*, many being confirmed by it in their stubborn ways, and incontormities, but in *London* chiefly. Sixthly, That neither *French* nor *Dutch* Church be longer tolerated in this Kingdom than the Subjects of this Kingdom be suffered to enjoy the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* in those several parts beyond the Seas where they have their abode. The dangers and inconveniencies being thus laid down, he proceeds to the Remedies. And first he doth advise, “ That the number of them in all places of the Kingdom be fully known, to the end a better judgment might be made of the way by which they are to be reduced to the rest of the Kingdom. Secondly, That a Command be issued to this purpose from the State it self, and that it be avowedly (and not perfunctorily) taken in all places where they do reside, and a Certificate returned of the men of most credit and wealth amongst them. Thirdly, That if they will continue as a distinct body both from State and Church, they should pay all duties double as strangers used to do in this Realm, and not be capable of such immunities as the Natives have, as long as they continue so divided from them. Fourthly, That when it shall be thought convenient to reduce them to the same condition with the rest of the Subjects, they should then be warned in an Ecclesiastical way (excepting such as be new Comers) to repair diligently to their Parish Churches, and to conform themselves to their Prayers and *sacraments*; which if they should refuse to do, then to proceed against them by Excommunication,

PART I. cation, and so unto the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, for a ter-  
 Anno Dom. ror to others. Fifthly, and lastly, That if this course prevail not  
 1632. c with them, a Declaration to be made by the State to this effect, That  
 ~~~~~ c if they will be as Natives, and take the benefit of Subjects, they must  
 c conform themselves to the Laws of the Kingdom, as well Ecclesia-
 c stical as Temporal; that being the likeliest way to make them ca-
 c pable of the inconveniences they should run into by their refusal
 c and perversness. Such were the considerations offered by him to
 the Lords of the Council, for advancing the peace and honour of this
 Church both at home, and abroad. But long it will not be before we
 shall behold him sitting in the Chair of *Canterbury*, acting his own
 counsels, bringing these *Conceptions* to the *birth*, and putting the design
 into execution, of which more hereafter.

1633. These matters standing in this state, we must at last look toward
Scotland; for the receiving of which Crown his Majesty and the Court
 prepare the beginning of this year. But besides the Pomp, and
 Splendor of a Coronation, which the people with great importunity
 had long prest upon him, there were some other *Loadstones* which
 made the *Needle* of his *Compass* point so much to the *North*. Concern-
 ing which the Reader may be pleased to know, that at the first Altera-
 tion of Religion in the Kirk of *Scotland*, the *Scots* petitioning for aid
 from Queen *Elizabeth* to expel the *French*, (a) obliged themselves by
 the subscription of their hands to embrace the *Liturgie*, *Rites*, and
Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. According whereunto, an Or-
 dinance was made by their *Reformers*, that in all Parishes of that *Realm*
 (b) the Common-Prayer should be read weekly on Sundays, and o-
 ther Festival days, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament,
 conform to the Order of the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church
 of *England*; it being well known, that for divers years after, they had
 no other order for Common-Prayer but that which they received
 from hence. But as *Presbytery* prevailed, so the *Liturgie* fell: the
 fancy of *Extemporary* Prayers growing up so fast in the minority of
 King *James*, that it soon thrust all Publick Forms out of use and credit.
 In which confused estate it stood till the coming of that King to the
 Crown of *England*, where he much pleased himself with the Sobriety
 and Piety of the publick *Liturgie*. This made him cast his eyes more
 sadly on the Kirk of *Scotland*, where for want of some such publick
Forms of Prayers the Ministers prayed so ignorantly, that it was a shame
 to all Religion to have God spoke to in that barbarous manner, and
 sometimes so seditiously, that their Prayers were plain Libels against
 Authority, or stult with lies made up of all the false reports in the
 Kingdom. For remedy whereof, after he had restored, and settled
 the *Episcopal* Government, he procured the *General Assembly* of that
 Kirk, held at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1616. to pass an Act for Authorising
 some of the Bishops, and divers others, to compile a Publick *Liturgie*
 for the use of that Kirk; which being presented unto the King, and
 by him approved, should be universally received over all the King-
 dom. To prepare the way unto them, his Majesty gave order the
 next Spring after, That the *English Liturgie* should be Officiated day
 by

(a) *Religionis
 cultui & riti-
 bus cum Anglis
 communibus
 subscripserunt.
 Buch. Hist.
 Scot. 1. 19.
 (b) Preface
 to the Scots
 Liturgy.*

by day in his Chappel-Royal in the City of *Edenborough*; and in the year following 1618. obtained the five Articles before-mentioned (as so many chief Ingredients for the Common-Prayer-Book) to be passed at *Perth*: by which Encouragements, the Commissioners which were appointed to compile the Book, went so luckily forwards, that it was not long before they brought it to an end, and sent it to King *James* by Archbishop *Spotswood*; who not only carefully perused every passage in it, but caused it to be revised by some of the Bishops of that Kingdom, which were then in *England*, in whose judgments he reposed especial confidence. Fitted according to his mind, he sent it back again to those from whose hands he received it, to be by them commended to the use of the Church; which undoubtedly had took effect, if the Breach with *Spain*, and the Death of that King, which followed not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the Success of the business.

In this condition of Affairs King *Charles* succeeded in the Crown, engaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and standing upon no good terms with his People at home; so that the business of the *Liturgie* seemed to be laid asleep, if not quite extinct. But in the year 1629. having agreed his differences with the Crown of *France*, and being in a good way towards an Accommodation with the King of *Spain*, the *Scottish* Bishops were again remembred of their Duty in it, who dispatch'd *Maxwell*, then one of the Preachers of *Edenburgh*, to the Court about it: *Maxwell* applying himself to *Laud*, then Bishop of *London*, from whom he received this positive Answer, *That if his Majesty would have a Liturgie settled there, different from what they had already, it was best to take the English Liturgie, without any variation from it; that so the same Service-Book might pass through all his Majesties Dominions.* *Maxwell* replying, *That the Scottish Bishops would be better pleased to have a Liturgie of their own, but such as should come near the English both in Form and Matter,* the Cause was brought before the King, who on a serious consideration of all Particulars, concurred in Judgment for the *English*. And on these terms it stood till this present year, *Laud* standing hard for admitting the *English Liturgie* without alteration; the *Scottish* Bishops pleading on the other side, *That a Liturgie made by themselves, and in some things different from the English Service, would best please their Countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the least dependence on the Church of England.* But because Letters written in the time of Action, are commonly conceived to carry more truth in them, than Relations made upon the *post-fact* for particular ends; take here this short remembrance in one of his Letters to the Earl of *Traquaire*, dated *September. 11. 1637.* Where we find this passage: *And since (saith he) I hear from others, That some exception is taken, because there is more in that Liturgie in some few particulars, than is in the Liturgie of England, Why did they not admit the Liturgie of England without more ado? But by their refusal of that, and the dislike of this, 'tis more than manifest they would have neither, and perhaps none at all, were they left to themselves.*

L I B. III.
Anno Dom.
1633.

Hid. Works,
p. 155.

Ib. p. 169.

But besides this, there was another Invitation which wrought much upon him in order to the present Journey: At his first coming to the

PART I. Crown, the greater Engagements then upon him, want of Supply from
Anno Dom. *England*, and small help from *Scotland*, forced him to have recourse
 1633. to such other ways of assistances as were offered to him; of which
 this was one. In the Minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses which had been settled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shared amongst the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murrey*, and some other of the Regents) to make them sure unto that side: And they being thus possessed of the same Lands, with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to those Ecclesiastical Corporations, Lorded it with Pride and Insolence enough in their several Territories, holding the Clergy to small Stipends, and the poor *Peasant* under a miserable Vassalage and subjection to them, not suffering them to carry away their nine parts, till the Lord had carried off his Tenth; which many times was neglected out of pride and malice, those Tyrants not caring to lose their Tythe, so that the poor mans Crop might be left unto spoil and hazard. King *James* had once a purpose to revoke those Grants; but growing into years and troubles, he left the following of that Project to his Son and Successor: Having but little help from thence to maintain his Wars, by the Advice of some of the Council of that Kingdom, he was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hand, to which the present Occupants could pretend no other Title than the unjust Usurpation of their Predecessors. This to effect, he resolves upon an Act of *Revocation*, Commissionating for that purpose the Earl of *Annandale*, and the Lord *Maxwell* (afterwards Earl of *Niddisdale*) to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, for Contribution of Money and Ships against the *Dun Kirkers*; and arming *Maxwell* also with some secret Instructions for passing the said Act of *Revocation*, if he found it feasible. Being on the way as far as *Berwick*, *Maxwell* was there informed, That his chief errand being made known, had put all at *Edenburgh* into Tumult; that a rich Coach which he had sent before to *Dalkeith* was cut in pieces, the poor Horses killed, the People seeming only sorry that they could not do so much to the Lord himself. Things being brought unto this stand, the King was put to a necessity of some second Counsels, amongst which none seemed more plausible and expedient to him, then that of Mr. *Archibald Achison*, who from a puisne Judge in *Ireland*, was made his Majesties *Procurator* or *Solicitor-General*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; who having told his Majesty, That such as were *Estated in the Lauds in question*, had served themselves so well by the bare naming of an Act of *Revocation*, as to possess the People (whom they found apt to be inflamed on such Suggestions) That the true intendment of that Act was to revoke all former Laws for suppressing of *Poperie*, and setting the *Reformed Religion* in the *Kirk* of *Scotland*: And therefore, That it would be unsafe for his Majesty to proceed that way. Next he advised, That instead of such a General *Revocation* as the Act imported, a Commission should be issued out under the *Great Seal* of that Kingdom, for taking the *Surrendries* of all such *Superiorities* and *Tythes* within the Kingdom, at his Majesties Pleasure: And that such as should refuse to
 submit

submit unto it, should be Impleaded one by one; to begin first with those whom he thought least able to stand out, or else most willing to conform to his Majesties Pleasure: Assuring him, That having the Laws upon his side, the Courts of Justice must and would pass Judgment for him.

LIB. III.

Anno Dom.

1633.

The King resolved upon this course, sends home the Gentleman, not only with thanks and Knighthood (which he had most worthily deserved) but with Instructions and Power to proceed therein; and he proceeded in it so effectually to the Kings Advantage, that some of the impleaded Parties being cast in the Suit; and the rest seeing, that though they could raise the People against the King, they could not raise them against the *Laws*, it was thought the best and safest way to compound the business. Hereupon, in the year 1630. Commissioners are sent to the Court of *England*, and amongst others, the Learned and right Noble Lord of *Marcheston* (from whose mouth I had this whole Relation) who after a long Treaty with the King, did at last agree, that the said Commission should proceed as formerly; and, That all such *superiorities* and *Tythes* as had been or should be surrendered, should be re-granted by the King on these Conditions: First, That all such as held *Hereditary Sheriffdoms*, or had the Power of Life and Death over such as lived within their Jurisdiction, should quite those *Royalties* to the King. Secondly, That they should make unto their Tenants in their several Lands, some permanent Estates, either for their Lives, or one and twenty years, or some such like Term; that so the Tenants might be encouraged to Build and Plant, and improve the Patrimony of that Kingdom. Thirdly, That some Provisions should be made for augmenting the Stipends of the Clergy. Fourthly, That they should double the yearly Rents which were reserved unto the Crown, by their former Grants. And finally, That these Conditions being performed on their parts, the King should settle their Estates by Act of Parliament. Home went the Commissioners with joy for their good success, expecting to be entertained with Bells and Bonfires: but they found the contrary; the proud *Scots* being generally resolved, rather to put all to hazard, than to quit that Power and Tyranny which they had over their poor *Vassals*, by which name (after the manner of the *French*) they called their Tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged underhand by a Party in *England*, who feared that by this Agreement the King would be so absolute in those Northern Regions, that no Aid could be hoped from thence, when the necessity of their designs might most require it: Just as the *Castilians* were displeased with the Conquest of *Portugal* by King *Philip* the Second, because thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the Kings displeasure, or their disobedience should make their own Country too hot for them.

Such was the face of Church and State when his Majesty began his Journey for *Scotland* to receive the Crown; a Journey of great expence on both sides, but of small profit unto either. On the thirteenth day of *May* he advanced toward the North; but by such leisurely Removes, that he recovered not the City of *York* till the twenty fourth, into which he made a Solemn and Magnificent Entrance, attended by
the

PART I. the Flower of the *English* Nobility, the principal Officers of his Court, and some of the Lords of his Privy Council. He was received at his first entrance into *Scotland* with a gallant body of that Nation, consisting for the most part of the like Ingredients, and so conducted into *Edenborough* on the tenth of *June*. *Edenborough*, the chief City of the Realm of *Scotland*, and indeed the *Summa totalis* of that Kingdom, extended a whole mile in length from the *Palace-Royal* of *Holy-Rood-House*, lying at the foot of the Hill, to a fair and ancient Castle mounted on the top thereof. From this Castle the King was to descend the Street in a Royal Pomp, till he came to his Palace (as the Kings of *England* commonly on the like occasion ride from the *Tower* thorow *London* to the Court of *Whitehall*) where the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed. The day designed for it was the eighteenth of *June*, the concourse of people beyond expression, and the expressions of their joy in gallantry of Apparel, sumptuous Feastings, and Acclamations of all sorts, nothing inferiour to that concourse. But this was only the *Hofanna* of his first Reception; they had a *Crucifixe* for him when he came to his Parliament. It was conceived at his Majesties first going toward the *North*, that he would have settled the *English Liturgie* in that Church, at his being there: but he either carried no such thoughts with him, or, if he did, he kept them to himself as no more than thoughts, never discovering any such thing in his words or actions. The *Scots* were of another temper, than to be easily won to any thing which they had no mind to; and a less mind they could have to nothing than the *English Liturgie*. King *James* had taken order at his being in *Scotland*, Anno 1617. That it should constantly be read twice every day in his Chappel-Royal for that City; and gave command that the Lords of his Privy-Council, and the Lords of *Session*, should be present at it on the *Sundays*, and there receive the Holy Communion, according to the form prescribed in the *Common-Prayer-Book*: And this he did unto this end, That as well the Citizens of *Edenburgh*, as such as came thither upon Business, might by degrees be made acquainted with the *English* Forms, and consequently be prepared for the receiving of such a *Liturgie* as the King, with the Advice of his Bishops, and other Learned Men (according to the Act of the *Assembly* at *Aberdeen*) should commend unto them. But these Directions being either discontinued, or carelessly followed after his decease, and the five Articles of *Perth* not pres'd so diligently on the People as they might have been, the *Scots* were generally as great strangers to the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*, as when King *James* first came amongst us.

His Majesty could not be so ill served, as not to be well enough informed how things went in *Scotland*; and therefore was not to venture rashly upon such a business, wherein he might receive a foil. He thereupon resolves to proceed no further in Matters which concerned the Church, than to pass an Act of *Ratification*, an Act Confirmatory of such Laws and Statutes, relating unto Church-concernments, as by King *James* had been obtained with great charge and cunning. And though he carried this Act at last, yet was it not with-
out

LIB. III.
 Convention: But the Commission of *Surrendry* did so stick in their *Anno Dom.*
 stomachs, that they could not chuse but vent their disaffections on the *1633.*
 first occasion. Nor would they suffer him to enjoy the benefit of that
 Act, so hardly gotten, with Peace and Honour; but followed him into
England with a pestilent *Libel*, in which they charged him to have
 carried that Act by corrupting some, and a plain down-right buying
 of the Voices of others. This was the first taste which they gave the
 King of their malevolency towards his Person and Government; but
 it shall not prove to be the last. His Majesty had another business to
 effect at his being there, for which he needed not their Assistance,
 and for that reason did not ask it: This was the raising of the City
 of *Edenborough* to a See Episcopal, which before was only a Borough
 Town, belonging anciently to the Diocess and Jurisdiction of Saint
Andrews. The *Metropolitan* of *St. Andrews* was willing for the com-
 mon good to yield unto this diminution of his Power and Profit; and
 that the whole County of *Lothian*, extending from *Edenborough-Fryth*
 to the Town of *Berwick*, should be dismembred from his own Dio-
 cess, to serve as a Diocess to this Bishop of new Election. And on the
 other side, the Duke of *Lenox*, whose Ancestors had long enjoyed
 the *Priory* of *St. Andrews*, with a great part of the Lands belonging to
 it, was willing to let his Majesty have a good penyworth of some part
 of those Lands, to serve as a Patrimony to this new Episcopal See;
 and the Bishop of it: Which Provision being thus made and settled,
Forbessè a right grave and solid Divine, is made the first Bishop of this
 City, his Cathedral fixed in the Church of *St. Giles* (being the fairest
 in the Town) a Dean appointed for that Church, some Ministers of
Edenborough and the Parts adjoining, being nominated for the *Canons*
 or *Prebends* of it. A design pious in it self, and purposely intended to
 inure the *Edenburghers* to the Fatherly Government of a Bishop, who
 by tempering the exorbitancies of the Ministers there, might by de-
 grees prepare the People to such impressions of Conformity as his Ma-
 jesty, by the Council and Consent of the rest of the Bishops, should
 graciously be pleased to imprint upon them. But such ill luck his
 Majesty had with that stubborn Nation, that this was look'd upon also
 as a general Grievance, and must be thought to aim at no other end
 than Tyranny and *Popery*, and what else they pleased.

We have almost done our work in *Scotland*, and yet hear nothing
 all this while of the Bishop of *London*; not that he did not go the
 Journey, but that there was little to be done at his being there, but
 to see and be seen: And yet it was a Journey which brought him
 some access of Honour, and gave him opportunity of making himself
 known to those of best Quality of that Kingdom. He had been in
Scotland with King *James*; but then he waited only as a private
 Chaplain. He is now looked upon as the third Bishop of *England* in
 Place, and the greatest in Power; a *Counsellor of State*, and the Kings
 great Favourite. He entred *Scotland* as a *Privy-Counsellor of Eng-*
land only; but returned thence as a *Counsellor* for that Kingdom
 also: to which Office he was sworn on the fifteenth of *June*. Not
 did

PART I. did he shew himself less able in that Church, than in the Council-
Anno Dom. Chamber; being appointed by his Majesty to Preach before him on
 1633. the last of that Month: in which some question may be made how he
 pleased the *Scots*, although it be out of question that he pleased the
 King. The greatest part of the following *July* was spent in visiting
 the Country, and taking a view of the chief Cities, and most remark-
 able Parts and Places of it: Which having seen, he made a Posting
 Journey to the Queen at *Greenwich*, whither he came on *Saturday* the
 twentieth of *July*, crossing the Water at *Blackwall*, and looking towards
London from no nearer distance: But in this Act he laid aside the Maje-
 sty of his Predecessors, especially of Queen *Elizabeth* of Famous Me-
 mory, of whom it was observed, That she did very seldom end any
 of her *Summer Progresses*, but she would wheel about to some end of
London, to make her passage to *Whitehall* thorow some part of the
 City; not only requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their
 Scarlet Robes and Chains of Gold, to come forth to meet her: but the
 several Companies of the City to attend solemnly in their Formalities
 as she went along. By means whereof she did not only preserve that
 Majesty which did belong to a Queen of *England*, but kept the *Citi-
 zens* (and consequently all the Subjects) in a reverent Estimation and
 Opinion of her. She used the like Arts also in keeping up the Maje-
 sty of the Crown, and Service of the City, in the Reception and
 bringing in of Foreign *Embassadors*; who if they came to *London* by
 Water, were met at *Gravesend* by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and
 Companies in their several Barges, and in that solemn manner conduct-
 ed unto such Stairs by the Water-side, as were nearest to the Lodgings
 provided for them: But if they were to come by Land, they were
 met in the like sort at *Shooters-Hill*, by the Mayor and Aldermen, and
 thence conducted to their Lodgings, the Companies waiting in the
 Streets in their several Habits. The like she used also in celebrating
 the *Obsequies* of all Christian Kings, whether *Papish* or *Protestant*, with
 whom she was in Correspondence; performed in such a Solemn and
 Magnificent manner, that it preserved her in the estimation of all
 Foreign Princes, though differing in Religion from her, besides the
 great contentment which the People took in those Royal Pumps.
 Some other Arts she had of preserving Majesty, and keeping distance
 with her People; yet was so popular withal, when she saw her time,
 that never Majesty and Popularity were so matched together. But
 these being laid aside by King *James*, who broked neither of them;
 and not resumed by King *Charles*, who loved them not much more
 than his Father did; there followed first a neglect of their Persons,
 which Majesty would have made more Sacred; and afterwards a mis-
 like of their Government, which a little Popularity would have made
 more grateful.

Land having no such cause of hastning homewards, returned not to
 his House at *Fulham* till the twenty sixth of the same month: But he
 came time enough to hear the news of *Abbot's* Sickness, and within
 few days after, of his Death, which hapned on *Sunday* morning the
 fourth of *August*, and was presently signified to the King, being then

at Greenwich. A man he was that had tasted both of good and ill Fortune in extremes; affirmed by the Church Historian (for I shall only speak him in the words of others) to be a grave man in his Conversation, and unblameable in his Life: but said withal to have been carried with *non amavit gentem nostram*, forsaking the Birds of his own feather, to flye with others; and generally favouring the *Laitie* above the *Clergie*, in all Cases which were brought before him: Conceived by one of our State Historians, to be too facil and yielding in the exercising of his Function; by whom it is also affirmed, *That his extraordinary remisness, in not exacting strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, seemed to resolve those legal Determinations to their first Principle of Indifferency, and to lead in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender-conscienc'd men to long discontinued Obedience, was interpreted an Innovation.* By the first Character we find what made him acceptable amongst the Gentry; by the last, what made him grateful to the *Puritan*, in favour of which men he took so little care of the great Trust committed to him, and gave them so many opportunities of increasing both in Power and Numbers, that to stop them in their full career, it was found necessary to suspend him from his *Metropolitcal* Jurisdiction, as before was noted.

L I B. III.
Anno Dom.
1633.

Ch. Hist. B.
11. p. 128.

Hist. of K.
Charles.
p. 131.

It is reported, That as Prince *Henry*, his Majesty, then Duke of *Tork*, Archbishop *Abbot*, with many of the Nobility were waiting in the *Privy Chamber* for the coming out of King *James*; the Prince, to put a jest on the Duke his Brother, took the Archbishops Square Cap out of his hands, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him, that if he continued a good Boy, and followed his Book, he would one day make him Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Which the Child took in such disdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and some force taken off from that eagerness. This though first it was not otherwise beheld than as an Act of Childish Passion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* died, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was aken up by many zealous Church-men for some ill presage unto the *Hierarchy* of Bishops; the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did seem to be fore-signified by it. But as their fears in that were groundless, so their conjectures were no better grounded than their fears (there never being a greater Patron of the Episcopal order than he lived and died) but whether there might not be some presage in it in reference to the Archbishops person, the diminution of his Dignity and fall of his Power, may be best judged by this suspension and the consequents which followed on it: And though he lived not long under the disgrace, yet in the interval of time he saw so much of his Authority devolved on *Laud*, that he grew more and more discontented, and was ready in a manner to have made himself the head of the *Puritan* Faction.

It is related by a late Writer, That towards his death he was not only discontented himself, but that his house was the Rendezvouz of all the Male-contents in Church and State, that he turned Mid-night to Noon-day by constant keeping of Candles lighted in his Chamber

PART I. and Study; as also that such Visitants as repaired unto him called themselves *Nicodemites*, because of their secret coming to him by night. *Anno Dom.* I know how much that Author hath been mistaken in other things, but I see nothing in this which may not be consistent with the truth of History. Certain I am, his Chaplains were successively declared *Calvinians*, his Secretary a professed Patron of the Puritan Faction, his doors continually open to the Chiefs of that party, and such as stickled in that cause; and amongst others to him by whose Suggestion (if we may take his own report) the *Historical Narration* was called in, for the great danger which it threatned to the grounds of *Calvinism*.

Ch. Hist. B. For his compliance with the Gentry against the Clergy, this reason is alledged from his own mouth, *That he was so severe to the Clergie on purpose to rescue them from the severity of others, and to prevent the punishment of them by Lay Judges to their greater shames;* which leaves the poor Clergy under a greater obloquy than any which their enemies had laid upon them. But the truer reason of it was, that having never been Parson, Vicar, nor Curate, he was altogether ignorant of those afflictions which the Clergy do too often suffer by the pride of some, and the Avarice of others of their Country Neighbours, and consequently shewed the least compassion towards them when any of them had the hard fortune to be brought before him. And for his compliance with the *Puritans* against the Church this reason is alledged by others, *viz.* That he shewed the greater favour to them, to keep the ballance even betwixt them and the *Papists*; as *Land* was thought to be indulgent to the *Papists*, the better to keep down the pride and prevalency of the Puritan Faction. But the truer reason of it was, that he had been always inclinable to them from his first beginnings; inso-much that when he went *Chaplain* into *Scotland* with the Earl of *Dunbar* (employed by King *James* in some negotiation about that Church) he was upon the point of betraying the cause, if *Hodskins*, (afterwards one of the *Residentiaries* of *York*) who went *Chaplain* with him, had not preacquainted the Earl with his tergiversation.

And as he laboured to be Popular upon both accounts, so he endeavoured a more particular correspondence with the Gentry of *Kent*, but most especially of his own Diocess. It had been formerly the custom of his Predecessors to spend the greatest part of the long Vacations in the Palace of *Canterbury*; met at the first entrance into the Diocess with a body of five hundred horse, conducting them to *Canterbury* with great love and duty; feasting the Gentry, relieving the poor City, entertaining their Tenants, and by them liberally furnished on the other side with all sorts of provisions. *Abbot* affected not this way, and therefore never bestowed any such visit upon his Diocess, but when he was confined to his house at *Ford* by the Kings appointment; and yet resolved upon a course which carried some equivalence with it towards his design. For once or twice in every year (and sometimes oftner) at the end of the Term he would cause enquiry to be made in *Westminster-Hall*, the common Rendezvous in *Saint Pauls Church*, and the Royal Exchange, for all such Gentlemen of his Diocess as lodged in and about the City of *London*, dispersing several

veral Tickets from one to another, by which they were invited to a general entertainment at his house in *Lambeth*, the next day after the end of the present Term, where he feasted them with great bounty and familiarity. A course as acceptable to the *Kentish* Gentry as if he had kept open Hospitality in his Palace at *Canterbury*; because it saved them both the trouble of attending on him, and the charge of sending Presents to him, both which had been expected if he had spent any part of the year amongst them. But this he discontinued also for three or four years, or more, before his death, fearing (as his affairs then stood) that it might render him obnoxious to some misconstructions, which he was willing to avoid.

To bring his Story to an end, I shall say no more, but that he had his Birth at *Guilford*, the chief Town of *Surrey*, and the best part of his breeding in *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxon.* whereof he was Fellow, and from thence preferred to be Master of *University* Colledge, and Dean of *Winton.* Other preferments he had none till he came to *Lichfield*, of which he was consecrated Bishop on the third of *December*, Anno 1609. from thence translated unto *London* within few Months after, and within twelve Months after that to the See of *Canterbury.* Marks of his Benefaction we find none, in places of his Breeding, and Preferments; but a fair Hospital, well built, and liberally endowed in the place of his Birth. To which the woful man retired in the first extremity of those afflictions which his misfortune at *Branzill* had drawn upon him; and to this place he designed his body whensoever it should please God to translate him out of the Church *Militant* to the Church *Triumphant*, which hapned on the fourth of *August*, as before was said.

The End of the First Part.

CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death

OF
The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE
WILLIAM

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the
Universities of *Oxon.* and *Dublin*, and one of the
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most
SACRED MAJESTY

King CHARLES

Second MONARCH of *Great Britain*.

PART II.

*Carrying on the History from his Nomination to the Metropolitan
See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633. to the day of his
Death and Burial, Jan. 10. 1644.*

LONDON,

Printed by J. M. for several Book-sellers in London, 1671.

HISTORY

Life and Death

WILLIAM

BY CHARLES

AND MARCH of Great Britain

Part II

London: Printed by J. Baskin, in Strand, 1793.

1793

Printed by J. Baskin, in Strand, 1793.



THE
L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. IV.

*Extending from his being made Archbishop of Canterbury to
the end of the Parliament and Convocation, Anno 1640.*

CANTERBURY was anciently the principal City of the Kingdom, and afterwards of the County of *Kent*, situate about seven miles from the Sea, and neighboured by a little River, capable only of small boats, and consequently of no great use for the wealth and trading of the place. It was made an *Archiepiscopal see* at the first planting of the Gospel amongst the *English*; *Augustine* the Monk who first preacht the one, being the first Archbishop of the other. For though that Dignity was by Pope *Gregory* the Great designed for *London*, yet *Augustine* the Monk (whom he sent hither on that Errand) having received this City in gift from the King, resolved to fix himself upon it without going further. *Merlin* had prophesied as much, if those Prophecies be of any credit, signifying, that the (a) Metropolitan dignity which was then at *London*, should in the following times be transferred to *Canterbury*. *Ethelbert* then King of *Kent*, having thus given away the Regal City, retires himself unto *Reculver*, where he built his Palace for himself and his Successors in that Kingdom, leaving his former Royal Seat to be the

Anno Dom.
1633.

(a) Dignitas
Londini adorna-
bit Dorober-
niam, Moth.
West. in Hist.
Flor.

Archie-

PART I. Archiepiscopal Palace for the Archbishops of *Canterbury*. The Cathedral, having been a Church before in the *Britains* time, was by the said Archbishop *Augustine* repaired, Consecrated and Dedicated to the name of *Christ*, which it still retains, though for a long time together it was called *St. Thomas*, in honour of *Thomas Becket*, one of the Archbishops hereof, who was murdered in it. The present Fabrick was begun by Archbishop *Lanfrank* and *William Carboyle*; and by degrees made perfect by their Successors. Take *Canterbury* as the Seat of the *Metropolitan*, it hath under it twenty one *Suffragan* Bishops, of which seventeen are in *England*, and four in *Wales*: But take it as the Seat of a *Diocesan*, and it containeth only some part of *Kent*, to the number of 257 Parishes, (the residue being in the Diocess of *Rocheſter*) together with some few particular Parishes dispersed here and there in several Diocesses; it being an ancient priviledge of this See, that wheresoever the Archbishops had their Mannors or Advouſons, the place forthwith became exempt from the Ordinary, and was reputed of the Diocess of *Canterbury*. The other Priviledges of this See are, that the Archbishop is accounted *Primate and Metropolitan of ALL England*, and is the first *Peer of the Realm*: having precedency of all *Dukes*, not being of the *Royal blond*, and all the great Officers of the State. He hath the Title of *Grace* afforded him in common speech, and writes himself *Divina Providentia*, where other Bishops only use *Divina Permiſſione*. The Coronation of the King hath anciētly belonged unto him: It being also formerly resolved, that wheresoever the Court was, the King and Queen were (b) the proper and Domestical Parishioners of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. It also did belong unto him in former times to take unto himself the Offerings made at the holy Altar by the King and Queen, wheresoever the Court was, if he were present at the same; and to appoint the *Lent Preachers*: but these time hath altered, and the King otherwise disposed of them. Abroad in *General Councils* he had place at the Popes Right foot: At home this Royal Priviledge, That those which held Lands of him were liable for Wardship to him, and to compound with him for the same, though they held other Lands in chief of our Lord the King. And for the more increase of his power and honour it was Enacted, 25. *Hen. viii.* and 21. "That all Licenses
"and Dispensations (not repugnant to the Law of God) which here-
"tofore were sued for in the Court of *Rome*, should be hereafter
"granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and his Successors. As al-
"so in the 1 *Eliz.* and 2. That by the Advice of the *Metropolitan* or
"Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Queens Majesty might ordain and
"publish such *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, as may be most for the Advance-
"ment of Gods glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due Re-
"verence of Christs holy Sacraments. To this high dignity *Laud*
succeedeth on the death of *Abbot*, nominated unto it by the King on
the sixth of *August*, the Election returned and presented to his Ma-
jesty from the *Dean* and *Chapter*, on the twenty fifth of the same, and
the translation fully perfected on the nineteenth of *September* then
next following, on which day he kept a solemn and magnificent Feast

(b) *Speciales,
et Domestici
Parochiam
Domini Archi-
episcopi.*

at his house in *Lambeth*, his State being set out in the great Chamber of that house, and all persons standing bare before it after the accustomed manner; his Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller, attending with their white staves in their several Offices.

LIB. IV.
Anno Domini
1633.

Thus have we brought him to his height, and from that height we may take as good a prospect into the Church under his direction, as the advantage of the place can present unto us. And if we look into the Church as it stood under his direction, we shall find the Prelates generally more intent upon the work committed to them, more earnest to reduce this Church to the ancient Orders, than in former times; the Clergy more obedient to the Commands of their *Ordinaries*, joyning together to advance the work of *Uniformity* recommended to them, the Liturgy more punctually executed in all the parts and offices of it; the Word more diligently preacht, the Sacraments more reverently administred, than in some scores of years before; the people more conformable to those Reverend Gestures in the House of God, which, though prescribed before, were but little practised; more cost laid out upon the beautifying and adorning of Parochial Churches, in furnishing and repairing Parsonage-houses, than at or in all the times since the Reformation; the Clergy grown to such esteem, for parts and power, that the Gentry thought none of their Daughters to be better disposed of, than such as they had lodged in the Arms of a Church-man; and the Nobility grown so well affected to the State of the Church, that some of them designed their younger Sons to the Order of Priesthood, to make them capable of rising in the same *Ascendant*. Next, if we look into the Doctrine, we shall find her to be no less glorious within, then beautified and adorned to the outward eye; the Doctrines of it publickly avowed and taught, in the literal and Grammatical sense, according to the true intent and meaning of the first *Reformers*; the Dictates and Authorities of private men (which before had carried all before them) subjected to the sense of the Church; and the Church hearkening to no other voice than that of their great *Shepherd* speaking to them in his Holy Scriptures; all bitteresses of spirit so composed and qualified on every side, that the advancement of the great work of Unity and Uniformity between the parties went forwards like the building of *Solomons* Temple without the noise of Axe or Hammer. If you will take her Character from the mouth of a (c) Protestant, he will give it thus: “He that
“desires to pourtray *England* (saith he) in her full structure of exter-
“nal glory, let him behold the *Church* shining in transcendent Empe-
“real brightness, and purity of Evangelical Truths. Her Religious
“Performances, her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to
“the strict expedient of such Sacred Actions. Her Discipline, Mo-
“del, sutable to the Apostolick Form. The set and suit of her whole
“Tribe, renowned for Piety and Learning, are all those in so super-
“eminent a degree, that no Church on this side of the Apostolick, can
“or could compare with her in any one: All Arts and Sciences high-
“ly honoured, and consequently their Academies to flourish. To
which last part of the Character let me add thus much, That the Uni-

(c) H. of K.
Charles by
H.L. p. 242.

PART II. verities never had such a flourishing time for number of Students, civility of Conversation, and eminence in all parts of Learning, as *Anno Dom.* when the influences of his Power and Government did direct their
1633. Studies.

(d) Preface
to Charity
maintained,
sect. 2.

If you will take her Character from the Pen of a (d) Jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst many falsehoods, these undoubted Truths; viz. "That the Professors of it, they especially of greatest Worth, Learning and Authority, love Temper and Moderation; "That the Doctrines are altered in many things; as for example, the Pope not *Antichrist*, *Pictures*, *Free-will*, *Predestination*, *Universal Grace*, *Inherent Righteousness*, *the preferring of Charity before Knowledge*, *the Merit (or Reward rather) of good Works*; the 39 Articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also of some Catholick sense; "That their Churches begin to look with a new face, their Walls to speak a new Language, and some of their Divines to teach, *That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and interpreting the Scriptures*; That men in talk and writing use willingly the once fearful names of *Priests* and *Altars*, and are now put in mind, "That for Exposition of Scripture they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers. So far the Jesuit may be thought to speak nothing but truth; but had he tarried there, he had been no Jesuit: And therefore to preserve the Credit of his Order, he must flye out further, and tell us this, viz. "That *Protestantism* waxeth weary of it self; That we are at this time more unresolv'd where to fasten, than in the infancy of our Church; That our Doctrine is altered in many things, for which our Progenitors forsook the then visible Church of Christ, amongst which he reckons *Limbus Patrum*, *Prayer for the Dead*, *Justification not by Faith alone*, *The possibility of keeping Gods Commandments*, and *the accounting of Calvinism to be Heresie at the least, if not also Treason*. Which Points the Jesuit cannot prove to have been positively maintained by any one Divine in the Church of England; and yet those foolish men began to phancy such a mis-construction of that Ingenuity and Moderation which they found in some Professors of our Religion, whom they affirmed to be of greatest Worth, Learning and Authority, as to conceive that we were coming towards an Agreement with them, even in those Superstitions and Idolatries which made the first Wall of Separation between the Churches. Upon which hope (as weak and foolish as it was) the late Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no sooner dead, but one of their Party came to *Land*, whom they looked upon as his Successor, seriously tendred him the offer of a *Cardinals Cap*, and avowed Ability to perform it; to whom he presently returned this Answer, *That somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer him to accept the Offer, till Rome were otherwise than it was*: And this being said, he went immediately to his Majesty, acquainting him both with the Man, and with his Message, together with the Answer which he made unto it. The like he also did when the same Offer was reinforced a fortnight after; upon which second Refusal, *the Tempter left him*, and that not only for that time, but for ever after.

But

But to proceed: To welcome him to his new great Charge, he received Letters from his Majesty, dated upon the very day of his Confirmation, upon this occasion. It had been ordered by the ancient Canons of the Church, "That none should be admitted Deacon or Priest, who had not first some certain place where he might use his Function. And it was ordered by the Canons of the year 1603. in pursuance of the said old Canons, "That no person should be admitted into Sacred Orders, except he shall at that time exhibit to the Bishop of whom he desireth Imposition of Hands, a Presentation of himself to some Ecclesiastical Preferment then void in that Diocess; or shall bring unto the said Bishop a true and undoubted Certificate, "That either he is provided of some Church within the said Diocess, where he may attend the Cure of Souls, or of some Ministers Place vacant, either in the Cathedral Church of that Diocess, or of some other Collegiat Church therein also situate, where he may execute his Ministry; or that he is a Fellow, or in right as a Fellow, or to be a Conduct or Chaplain in some Colledge in either of the Universities; or except he be a Master of Arts of five years standing, that liveth in either of them at his own charge. And hereunto was added this Commination, "That if any Bishop shall admit any person into the Ministry, that hath none of these Titles as is aforesaid, then he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary, till he do prefer him to some Ecclesiastical Living; and on his refusal so to do, he shall be suspended by the Archbishop, being assisted with another Bishop, from giving of Orders by the space of a year. Which severe Canon notwithstanding, some Bishops of the poorer Sees, for their private benefit, admitted many men promiscuously to Holy Orders, so far from having any *Title*, that they had no *Merit*: By means whereof the Church was filled with indigent Clerks, which either thrust themselves into Gentlemens Houses to teach their Children, and sometimes to officiate Divine Service at the Tables end; or otherwise to undertake some Stipendary Lecture, wheresoever they could find entertainment, to the great fomenting of Faction in the State, the Danger of Schism in the Church, and ruine of both. It had been formerly ordered by his Majesties Instructions of the year 1629. "That no private Gentleman, not qualified by Law, should keep any Chaplain in his House: Which though it were somewhat strictly inquired into at the first, yet not a few of them retained their Chaplains, as before: For remedy whereof for the time to come, it was thought fit to tie the Bishops from giving Orders unto any which were not qualified according to the foresaid *Canon*; which was conceived to be the only probable means of diminishing the number both of such petit Lecturers, and such Trencher-Chaplains; the *English* Gentry not being then come to such wild extremities, as to believe that any man might exercise the Priests Office, in ministring the Sacraments, Praying, Preaching, &c. which was not lawfully Ordained by some Bishop or other. Now his Majesties Letter to this purpose was as followeth.

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1633.

Can. 33.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1633.

CHARLES REX.

MOST Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and Right Entirely-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. There is nothing more dear to us than the preservation of true Religion, as it is now settled and established in this Our Kingdom, to the Honour of God, the great Comfort of Our Self and Our Loyal People: and there can nothing more conduce to the Advancement thereof, than the strict observations of such Canons of the Church as concern those who are to take Orders in their several Times; more especially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoyns, That no man be made a Priest without a Title: For We find, that many not so qualified, do by favour or other means procure themselves to be Ordained, and afterwards for want of means wander up and down, to the scandal of their Calling; or to get Maintenance, fall upon such Courses as were most unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditors, and other ways altogether unsufferable. We have therefore thought fit, and We do hereby straightly command, require, and charge you, to call such Bishops to you as are now present in or near Our City of London, and to acquaint them with this Our Resolution. And further, That you fail not in the beginning of the next Term, to give notice of this Our Will and Pleasure openly in Our High-Commission Court; and that you call into your said Court every Bishop respectively, that shall presume to give Orders to any man that hath not a Title, and there to censure him as the Canon aforesaid doth enjoyn (which is, to maintain the Party so Ordered till he give him a Title) and with what other Censure you in Justice shall think fit. And Our further Will is, That nothing shall be reputed a Title to enable a man for Orders, but that which is so by the Ancient Course of the Church, and the Canon-Law, so far forth as that Law is received in this Our Church of England. And as you must not fail in these Our Directions, nor in any part of them; so We expect that you give Us from time to time a strict Account of your Proceedings in the same.

Given under Our signet at Our Palace of Westminster, Septemb. 19.
in the ninth year of Our Reign. 1633.

On the Receipt of these Letters, which himself had both advised and digested, he called such of his Suffragan Bishops who were then about London to come before him, acquaints them with the great scandal which was given the Church, the danger of Schism and Faction which might thence arise, and the more than ordinary displeasure which had been taken by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council, at such unlawful and uncanonical Ordinations; he required them therefore to be more careful for the time to come, and not to give the like offence to his Sacred Majesty, who was resolved to see the Canons of the Church in that particular more punctually observed than they had been formerly, and to call all such to an account who should presume hereafter to transgress therein: Which said, he gave to each of them a Copy of his Majesties Letters, and sent the like Copies unto all the rest of his Suffragan Bishops inclosed in Letters of his own;

in which Letters having declared unto them as much as he spake unto the rest, touching his Majesties pious Care to redress that mischief, he requires them and every one of them, *That at all times of Ordination they be very careful to admit none into Holy Orders, but such men as for Life and Learning are fit, and which have a Title for their maintenance, according to the Laws and the ancient Practice of the Church, assuring them that his Majesty had commanded him to let them know, That he would not fail to call for an account of those his Letters, both from him and them; and therefore, That he did not doubt but that they would have a special care both of the good of the Church, and his Majesties Contentment in it.* The like Letters were sent from his Majesty, by his procurement, to the Archbishop of *Tork*, who was as sensible of the inconvenience as himself could be. And though nothing was required in either of the said Letters, but what had been provided for in the Canon of 1603. yet was it as much inveighed against as if it had been a new device, never heard of formerly. The reason was, because that neither any Lecture, nor any possibility of being entertained as a Chaplain in the Houses of Noblemen, or others of the inferiour Gentry, could be allowed of for a *Title*, and consequently no *Orders* to be given hereafter under those Capacities. But notwithstanding those Reproaches, the Archbishops so bestirred themselves, and kept such a strict eye on their several Suffragans, that from henceforth we hear but little of such vagrant Ministers and Trencher-Chaplains (the old brood being once worn out) as had pestred and annoyed the Church in those latter Times.

It is to be observed, That the Archbishops Letter to his several Suffragans bears date on the eighteenth of *October*, which day gives date also to his Majesties Declaration about *Lawful sports*, concerning which we are to know, That the Commons in the first Parliament of his *Majesties* Reign had gained an Act, That from thenceforth there should be no Assembly or Concourse of People out of their own Parishes on the Lords day, or any Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, Enterludes, Common Plays, or any other unlawful Exercises or Pastimes in their own Parishes on the same: Which being gained, they obtained another in the third Parliament, for inhibiting all Carriers, Waggoners, Drivers, Pack-men, for Travelling on the said day with their Horses, Waggon, Packs, &c. As also, That no Butcher should from thenceforth kill or sell any Victual upon that day, either by himself or any other, under the several Penalties therein contained. And though it was not his Majesties purpose in those Acts to debar any of his good Subjects from any honest and harmless Recreations, which had not been prohibited by the Laws of the Land; or that it should not be lawful for them, in case of necessity, to buy a piece of Meat for the use of their Families, the Butchers Shop not being set open as on other days: yet presently some Publick Ministers of Justice began to put another sense upon those Acts, than ever came within the compass of his meaning. For at the Summer Assizes held in *Exon*. Anno 1627. an Order was made by *Walter* then Chief Baron, and *Denham* one of the puisne Barons of the Court of Exchequer, for suppressing all Re-

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1633.
Bibl. Regia,
lect. 3. c. 11.
p. 332.

Cant. Doom.
p. 153.

vels,

PART II. veis, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, which had been used upon that day ;
Anno Dom. requiring the Justices of the Peace within the said County to see the
 1633. same put in execution; and that every Minister in his Parish-Church
 should publish the said Order yearly, on the first *Sunday* in *February*.
 The like Order made in the same year also for the Counties of *Somerset*
 and *Dorset*, and probably enough for some of the other Counties of
 that *Western Circuit*; none of them in those squeasie and unsetled
 Times being questioned for it. And then in reference to the Statute
 of the Third of this King, a Warrant is granted in the month of *April*
 1629. by *Richard Dean* then Lord Mayor of *London*, for apprehending
 all Porters carrying Burthens, or Water-men plying at their Oars, all
 Tankard-bearers carrying Water to their Masters Houses, all Chand-
 lers and Hucksters which bought any Victuals on that day of the Coun-
 try-Carriers, all Vintners, Alehouse-keepers, Strongwater-men, and
 Tobacco-sellers, which suffered any Person to sit drinking on that
 day (though possibly they might do it only for their honest necessities.)
 In which as *Dean* out-went the Statute, so *Raynton* in the same Office,
Anno 1633. over-acted *Dean*, prohibiting a poor woman from selling
 Apples on that day in *Saint Paul's Church-yard*, within which place he
 could pretend no Jurisdiction, and for that cause was questioned and
 reproved by *Land* then Bishop of *London*.

p. 132.

But none so lustily laid about him in this kind, as *Richardson* the
 Chief Justice of his Majesties Bench, who in the *Lent-Affizes* for the
 County of *Somerset*, *Anno 1631.* published the like Order to that
 which had been made by *Walter* for the County of *Devon*; not only
 requiring that the Justices of the Peace in the said County should see
 the same to be duly put in execution: but also (as the other had done
 before) that publication should be made thereof in the Parish-Churches
 by all such Ministers as did Officiate in the same, with which encroach-
 ment upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in Holy
 Orders the publishing of Warrants and Commands from the Secular
 Judges, *Land* being then Bishop of *London*, and finding his Majesties
 Affairs in a quieter condition than they had been formerly, was not
 meanly offended, as he had good reason so to be, and made complaint
 of it to the King, who thereupon commanded *Richardson* to revoke
 the said Order at the next Affizes. But *Richardson* was so far from
 obeying his Majesties Command in that particular, that on the contrary
 he not only confirmed his former Order, but made it more perempto-
 ry than before: Upon complaint whereof by Sir *Robert Philips*, and
 other chief Gentlemen of that County, his Majesty seemed to be very
 much moved, and gave Command to the Bishop of *London* to require
 an Account from the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* then being, how the
 said *Feast-days*, *Church-Ales*, *Wakes*, or *Revels*, were for the most part
 celebrated and observed in his Diocess. On the Receipt of which
 Letters the Bishop calls before him 72 of the most Orthodox and ablest
 Clergy-men amongst them, who certified under their several hands,
 That on the *Feast-days* (which commonly fell upon the *Sunday*) the Ser-
 vice of God was more solemnly performed, and the Church was better
 frequented both in the forenoon and afternoon, than upon any *Sunday*

Cant. Doom.
 p. 142.

in the year ; That the People very much desired the continuance of them ; LIB. IV.
 That the Ministers in most Places did the like, for these Reasons specially ; Anno Dom.
 viz. For preserving the memorial of the Dedication of their several Churches ; For civilizing the People ; For composing Differences, by the mediation and meeting of Friends ; For encrease of Love and Unity, by those Feasts of Charity ; For Relief and Comfort of the Poor (the Richer part in a manner keeping open House,) &c. On the Return of which Certificate, so seasonably seconding the Complaint and Information of the Gentry, Richardson was again convened at the Council-Table, and peremptorily commanded to reverse his former Orders at the next Assizes for that County ; withal receiving such a rattle for his former Contempt by the Bishop of London, that he came out blubbering and complaining, That he had been almost choaked with a pair of Lawn sleeves.

Whilst these things were thus in agitation, one Brabourne a poor School-master in the Diocess of Norfolk, being seduced and misguided by the continual inculcating of the Morality of the Lords-day-sabboth from the Prefs and Pulpit, published a Book in maintenance of the Seventh-day-sabboth, as it was kept amongst the Jews, and prescribed by Moses, according to Gods Will and Pleasure signified in the Fourth Commandment. This Book at the first not daring to behold the Light, went abroad by stealth ; but afterwards appeared in publick with an open confidence, an Epistle Dedicatory to his Majesty being placed before it. His Majesty extremely moved with so lewd an impudence, and fearing to be thought the Patron of a Doctrine so abhorrent from all Christian Piety, gave Order for the Author to be Censured in the High-Commission. Brabourne being thereupon called into that Court, and the Cause made ready for an Hearing, his Error was so learnedly confuted by the Bishops and other judicious Divines then present, that he began to stagger in his former Opinion ; which hint being taken by their Lordships, he was admonished in a grave and fatherly manner to submit himself unto a Conference with such Learned men as should be appointed thereunto ; to which he cheerfully consented, and found such benefit by that Meeting, that by Gods blessing he became a Convert, and freely conformed himself to the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of England, concerning the sabboth and Lords-day : Which Tendencies of some of the People to downright Judaism, grounded upon the Practices and Positions of the sabbatarians, and seconded by the petulancy of some Publick Ministers of Justice, in debarring his good Subjects in keeping the ancient Dedication-Feast of their several Churches, occasioned his Majesty to think of the reviving of his Royal Fathers Declaration about Lawful sports ; To which end he gave Order to the Archbishop of Canterbury to cause the same to be Re-printed, word for word, as it had issued from the Prefs in the time of his late Royal Father, Anno 1618. at the end whereof he caused this Declaration of his own sense to be super-added ; that is to say :

Now out of a like Pious Care (saith his Sacred Majesty) for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose the Truth,
 and

PART II. *and for the ease, and comfort, and recreation of Our well-deserving People,*
 Anno Dom. *We do Ratifie and Publish this Our Blessed Fathers Declaration; the rather,*
 1633. *because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdom we find, that under pre-*
tence of taking away Abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not
only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches,
commonly called Wakes. Now Our expresse Will and Pleasure is, That
these Feasts with others shall be observed, and that Our Justices of the
Peace in their severall Divisions shall look to it, both that all Disorders there
may be prevented or punished; and that all neighbourhood and freedom,
with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And We further command Our
Justices of Assize in their severall Circuits, to see that no man do trouble or
molest any of Our Loyal and Dutifull People, in or for their Lawfull Recre-
ations, having first done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience
to Us and Our Laws. And of this We command all Our Judges, Justices
of the Peace as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bayliffs, Consta-
bles, and other Officers, to take notice, and to see observed, as they tender
Our displeasure. And We further Will, That Publication of this Our Com-
mand be made by Order from the Bishops, thorow all the Parish Churches of
their severall Diocesses respectively. Given at our Palace at Westminster,
 Oct. 18. *in the ninth year of Our Reign, 1633.*

His Majesty had scarce dried his Pen, when he dipt it in the Ink again, upon this occasion: The Parishioners of St. *Gregories* in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard had bestowed much cost in beautifying and adorning their Parish Church; and having prepared a decent and convenient Table for the holy Sacrament, were ordered by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Pauls*, as being *Ordinaries* of the place, to dispose of it in such a Posture, in the East end of the Chancel, as anciently it had stood, and did then stand in the Mother Cathedral. Against this some of the Parishioners (not above five in number) appeal unto the Dean of the Arches, and the Dean and Chapter to the King. The third day of *November* is appointed for debating the Point in controverfie before the Lords of the Council; his Majesty sitting as chief Judge, accompanied with *Laud Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, Lord *Keeper*, Lord *Archbishop* of *York*, Lord *Treasurer*, Lord *Privy seal*, Lord *Duke* of *Lenox*, Lord *High Chamberlain*, *Earl Marshal*, Lord *Chamberlain*, *Earl* of *Bridgewater*, *Earl* of *Carlise*, Lord *Cottingham*, Mr. *Treasurer*, Mr. *Comptroller*, Mr. *Secretary Cooke*, Mr. *Secretary Windebanke*. The cause being heard, and all the Allegations on both sides exactly pondered, his Majesty first declared his dislike of all Innovations, and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons, &c. And afterwards gave Sentence in behalf of the Dean and Chapter. But because this Order of his Majesty in the case of St. *Gregories* was made the Rule, by which all other *Ordinaries* did proceed, in causing the Communion Table to be placed *Alterwise* in the Churches of their severall and respective Diocesses, I will subjoyn it here *verbatim* as it lies before me.

At Whitehall, Novem 3. 1633.

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1633.

This day, was debated before his Majesty sitting in Council the question and difference which grew about the removing of the Communion-Table in St. Gregories Church, near the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end, and there placed Altarwise in such manner as it standeth in the said Cathedral and Mother-Church, (as also in other Cathedrals, and in his Majesties own Chappel) and as is consonant to the practice of approved Antiquity; which removing and placing of it in that sort was done by order of the Dean and Chapter of St. Pauls, who are Ordinaries thereof, as was avowed before his Majesty by Doctor King, and Doctor Montfort, two of the Prebends there. Yet some few of the Parishioners, being but five in number, did complain of this Act by appeal to the Court of Arches, pretending that the Book of Common-Prayer, and the 82. Canon, do give permission to place the Communion Table where it may stand with most fitness and convenience. Now his Majesty having heard a particular relation, made by the Counsel of both parties, of all the carriage and proceedings in this cause, was pleased to declare his dislike of all innovation and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons, especially in matters concerning Ecclesiastical Orders and Government, knowing how easily men are drawn to affect Novelties, and how soon weak Judgments in such cases may be overtaken and abused. And he was also pleased to observe, that if those few Parishioners might have their wills, the difference thereby from the foresaid Cathedral Mother-Church, by which all other Churches depending thereon ought to be guided, would be the more notorious, and give more subject of discourse and disputes that might be spared, by reason of the nearness of St. Gregories standing close to the Wall thereof. And likewise, for so much as concerns the Liberty by the said Common Book or Canon, for placing the Communion Table in any Church or Chappel with most conveniency, that liberty is not so to be understood, as if it were ever left to the discretion of the Parish, much less to the particular fancy of any humorous person, but to the judgment of the Ordinary, to whose place and Function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing it self, and for the time, when, and how long, as he may find cause. Upon which consideration his Majesty declared himself, that he well approved and confirmed the Act of the said Ordinary, and also gave commandment, that if those few Parishioners before mentioned, do proceed in their said Appeal, then the Dean of the Arches (who was then attending at the hearing of the cause) should confirm the said Order of the foresaid Dean and Chapter.

Of this last Declaration there was no great notice took at first, the danger being remote, the case particular, and no necessity imposed of conforming to it. But the other was no sooner published then it was followed and pursued with such loud outcries as either the Tongues or Pens of the sabbatarians could raise against it. Some fell directly on the King, and could find out no better names for this Declaration,

PART II. then a *Profane Edict*, a maintaining of his own honour, and a *Sacrilegious robbing of God*. A *Toleration for prophaning the Lords day*. Affirming, Anno Dom. 1633. That it was impossible that a spot of so deep a dye should be emblanched, though somewhat might be urged to qualifie and alleviate the blame thereof. Others, and those the greatest part, impute the Republishing of this Declaration to the new Archbishop, and make it the first remarkable thing which was done presently after he took possession of his *Graceship*, as *Burton* doth pretend to wit it in his *Pulpit Libel*. And though these Books came not out in Print till some years after, yet was the clamour raised on both at the very first, encreasing every day more and more as the reading of it in their Churches had been pressed upon them. To stop the current of these clamours, till some better course might be devised, one who wisht well both to the Parties and the Cause, fell on a fancy of Translating into the *English Tongue* a *Lecture* or *Oration* made by Doctor *Prideaux* at the *Act* in *Oxon.* Anno 1622. In which he solidly discoursed both of the *Sabbath* and *Sunday*, according to the judgment of the ancient Fathers, and the most approved Writers of the Protestant and Reformed Churches. This Lecture thus translated was ushered also with a *Preface*: In which there was proof offered in these three Propositions, First, *That the keeping holy of one day of seven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment*. Secondly, *That the alteration of the day is only an humane and Ecclesiastical Constitution*. Thirdly, *That still the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to some other*. Which as they are the general *Tendries* of the *Protestant, Lutheran, and Calvinian* Writers beyond the Seas, so were they briefly touched at and maintained in the Doctors Lecture; which came out thus translated in the next *Candlemas Term*, under the Title of *The Doctrine of the Sabbath, delivered in the Act at Oxon. An. 1622. By D. Prideaux, his Majesties Professor for Divinity in that University*. The name of *Prideaux* was so Sacred, that the Book was greedily bought up by those of the *Puritan Faction*, presuming they should find in it some invincible Arguments to confirm both the Party and the Cause. But when they found how much they had deceived themselves in that expectation, and that nothing could be writ more smartly against them and their *Lords-day-Sabbath*; as it did very much cool their colours, and abate their clamours: so did it no less tend to the diminution of that high esteem and veneration which before they had harboured of the man. What followed afterwards, when the reading of the book was pressed, and the clamours multiplied by such as refused to read it, future time shall shew.

These passages concerning *England* being laid together, we must look back into the North, which still took up a great part of his Majesties thoughts. He had observed how much his Fathers Pious Order for officiating by the *English Liturgie* in the Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, had been discontinued and neglected, imputing thereunto the opposition which he found amongst them at his late being there. And being resolved to pursue his said Fathers most Religious purpose of settling an uniformity of Divine Worship in all the Churches of these Kingdoms, he thought it most expedient to pursue the same method

thod also, to the end that the people being prepared by little and little might the more willingly admit of that, or some other Liturgie like unto it, when he should think it reasonable to commend it to them. In order whereunto he sends to *Ballentine*, then Bishop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel of that Kingdom, these Instructions following, to be observed in the Chappel Royal of Holy Rood in the City of *Edenburgh*.

LIB. IV.
Anno Domini
1633.

CHARLES REX,

Bibl. Regia.
sect. 11. n. 2.

I. Our express Will and Pleasure is, That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and his Successors shall be assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.

II. That the Book of the Form of Our Coronation, lately used, be put in a little Box, and laid into a Standard, and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel successively.

III. That there be Prayers twice a day with the Choires as well in Our absence as otherwise, according to the English Liturgie, till some other course be taken for making one that may fit the Customs and Constitutions of that Church.

IV. That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the blessed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that Our Chappel the first Sunday of every Month.

V. That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to Prayers upon Sundays, and such Holidays as the Church observes, in his Whites, and Preach so whensoever he Preach there; and that he be not absent thence but upon necessary occasion of his Dioresses, or otherwise according to the course of his preferment.

VI. That these Orders shall be Our Warrant to the Dean of Our Chappel, that the Lords of Our Privy Council, the Lords of the Session, the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the Signet, and Members of Our Colledge of Justice, be commanded to receive the holy Communion once every year at the least in that Our Chappel Royal, and kneeling, for example sake to the Kingdom; and we likewise command the Dean aforesaid, to make report yearly to Us how We are obeyed therein, and of whom, as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why.

VII. That the Copes which are consecrated for the use of Our Chappel be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the Celebration of the Sacrament in Our Chappel Royal. To these Orders we shall hereafter adde others, if we find others more necessary for the Service of God there.

Together with these directions bearing date the eighth of *October*, he sends a Letter of the same Date, to the said Bishop of *Dumblaine*, requiring him to put them speedily in execution, and all things to be carefully performed by him as he was directed; commanding also that he should certifie the Lords of the Council there, if any person who had been formerly appointed to communicate in the said Chappel

PART II. Royal, should either neglect or refuse conformity to his Majesties pleasure, to the end that the Council might take such further order in it, as had been directed by his Majesty in some former Letters. But knowing, or at the least suspecting, that *Ballentine* might have somewhat more of the *Presbyter* than the Bishop in him (as indeed he had) he gave a Warrant under his hand to his Grace of *Canterbury*, "Requiring him to hold correspondency with the said Bishop of *Dumblaine*, that the said Bishop might from time to time receive his Majesties directions for ordering of such things as concerned his Service in that Chappel. He had before a *Primacy* in the Church of *England*, and a strong influence on the Government of the Church of *Ireland*. This Warrant gives him some just ground of a Superintendency over the Kirk of *Scotland* also, which from henceforth was much directed by his power and wisdom, as will appear by that which follows in its proper place.

Ibid. num. 4.

Mean while we will behold such alterations as by his power were made in the Preferments of the Church of *England*; which in the beginning of this year lamented the death of Bishop *Godwin*, made Bishop of *Landaff* in the year 1601. from thence translated unto *Hereford*, Anno 1617. A man whose memory shall be precious in succeeding times for his indefatigable pains and travel in collecting the Catalogue of Succession of all the Bishops of this Church since the first planting of the Gospel amongst the *Saxons*, not premitting such of the *Brittish* Church as by the care and diligence of preceding Writers, or any old Monument and Record, had been kept in memory. For his Successor in that See *Juxon*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Clerk of his Majesties Closet, as before was said, is recommended and elected. But before the business had proceeded to confirmation there was a *supersedeas* to it by *Lands* preferment to the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*; who having a great confidence in him, and no less affection to his Person than confidence of his Wisdom and Moderation, commended him so efficaciously to his Majesties Favour, that he made him not only Bishop of *London*, but Dean of the Chappel Royal also. It had been *Lands* great care, as he grew into credit with his Majesty, to give a stop to such corruptions as had been used too frequently in the Court, about Church Preferments, which made him the less acceptable to many which were near the King in Place and Service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a Market of the Church as they had occasion. *Goodman* of *Glocester* having staid in that Diocess long enough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a remove to the See of *Hereford*, and had so far prevailed with some great Officer of State, that his Money was taken, his *Conge d' eslire* issued out, his Election passed. But the Archbishop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being ashamed of so much baseness in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his Money, so laboured the business with the King, and the King so rattled up the Bishop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the Resignation of his Election, but the loss of his Bribe. At last, that Church a third time vacant, that is to say, by the death of *Godwin*, the promotion of *Juxon* and the Resignation of *Goodman*, was recommended to the Government

ment of Dr. *Augustine Lindfel*, not long before made Bishop of *Peterborough*, and now succeeded in that See by *Francis Dee*, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of *Chichester*. Now begins *Wren* to come in play, Chaplain to his Majesty when Prince of *Wales*, and chosen by King *James* to be one of the two which were to follow him into *Spain*, amongst the rest of his Retinue, as before was said. He had seen *Muw*, who went Chaplain with him into *Spain*, to be preferred first to the Mastership of *Trinity Colledge*, and afterwards to the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, Anno 1628. himself remaining in his place in *Peterhouse* as his highest dignity. In the year 1628. he was at the last made Dean of *Windsor*, and Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, in the place of *Beaumont*. And on that place he dwelt so long, that his well-willers gave it out, that *Laud* was afraid of his abilities, and would not suffer him to rise, for fear that he might rise too high both in power and favour, and overtop him in the Court. But these surmises proved as groundless as they were unjust. For this year he was made Successor unto *Juxon* as Clerk of the Closet, a place of great nearness to the King, and being once on the *Ascendent* he went up apace, succeeding *Lindfel* in the See of *Hereford*, Anno 1634. and *Corbet* in the Church of *Normich*, Anno 1635. When *Juxon* was advanced to the *Treasurers Staff*, he was made Dean of the Chappel in his place, Anno 1636. Successor unto *White* in the See of *Ely*, Anno 1638. and questionless had mounted higher had the times been favourable. Nor was he less fortunate in his Successors, leaving the Deanry of *Windsor* to Dr. *Christopher Wren* his younger brother; his Clerkship of the Closet to Dr. *Richard Steward*, Dean of *Chichester*; and the Mastership of *Peterhouse* to *John Cosens* of *Durham*.

We must conclude this year, and begin the next with some proceedings against *Prynne*, the Preparations to whose censure we have heard before. *Candlemas* Term brings him at last unto his trial in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, being first pre-condemned by the Gentlemen of his own Profession, and afterwards sentenced by that Court. The Gentlemen of the four Societies presented their Majesties with a Pompous and Magnificent *Masque*, to let them see that *Prynnes* leaven had not sowed them all, and that they were not poisoned with the same infection. In which as they all joyned together to perform that Service, so gave they such contentment to his Sacred Majesty, that he desired them to make a Representation of it to the City of *London*: Which they accordingly performed with no less honour to themselves, and delight to the People, than shame and sorrow unto him who had given the occasion. But greater shame and sorrow fell upon him when he came to his Censure. *Richardson*, Chief Justice of his Majesties *Bench*, highly extolled his Majesties mercy in bringing him rather unto his trial in a *Criminal* than a *Capital* way; declaring openly, that if he had been turned over to his *Tribunal*, he must have put himself upon a *Jury*, of whom no mercy could be hoped for so great an Offender. The Earl of *Dorset*, being Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, aggravated his offence in aspersing with such foul reproaches a Lady of such eminent Vertue and exemplary Piety, that her

very

L. B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1633.

PART II. very dreams were more in Heaven than most womens Prayers. The
Anno Dom. Archbishop having been bred in St. *Johns Colledge* in *Oxon.* where the
 1633. younger Students used yearly to present some shew or other *Dramatick*
 Exercise to the Univerſity, ſpake much in commendation of *Acade-*
mical Enterludes, and the great benefit which redounded to the Actors
 in them, by training them in an Art of ſpeaking, a modeſt confidence
 of Behaviour, the ſtrengthening of the Memory in the repeating of
 their parts, and the enriching them with a ſtock of Latine Verſes, out
 of one approved Author or other, which were their own for ever after.
 In fine, they generally concurred in this Censure of him, viz. “ To be
 “ fined five thouſand pound to the King; expelled the Univerſity of
 “ *Oxon.* and *Lincolns-Inn*; degraded and diſabled from his Profeſſion
 “ in the Laws; to ſtand in the Pillory, firſt in the *Palace-yard* in *West-*
 “ *miſter,* and three days after in *Cheapſide,* and in each place to loſe
 “ an Ear, (though this laſt part of his Censure was much moderated
 “ in the execution;) to have his Book, called *Hiſtrio-Maſtix,* publickly
 “ burnt before his face by the hand of the Hangman, and remain pri-
 “ ſoner during life.

Discovery of
 the Prelates
 Tyranny.
 P. 119.

1634.

But all this was ſo far from working any remorse in him, that it ra-
 ther hardened him in his ways. For in *June* following, as ſoon as he
 could provide himſelf of Pen, Ink and Paper, he writes a moſt ſharp
 and Libellous Letter to the Lord Archbishop, touching his Censure in
 that Court, and that which the Archbishop in particular had declared
 againſt him. With this Letter the Archbishop acquaints his Majeſty,
 and his Majeſty commands him to refer it to Attorney *Noy.* *Noy* ſends
 for *Prynne,* and demands of him whether the Letter were of his own
 hand-writing or not; to which *Prynne* cunningly replied, That he
 could make no answer to that demand, unleſs he ſaw the Letter, and
 might read the ſame. No ſooner was the Letter put into his hands,
 and *Noys* back turned a little toward him, but preſently he tore it all
 to pieces, and flung the pieces out of the window, to the end it might
 not riſe in judgment againſt him if the Attorney ſhould proceed to an
Ore-tenus, as he meant to do. With this affront, and the principal paſ-
 ſages of the Letter, the Attorney acquaints their Lordſhips in open
 Court, but there was no remedy. For being there was no proof of the
 miſdemeanour but the Letter it ſelf, and that the Letter could not be
 brought in evidence as it ſhould have been, the Archbishop thought
 it a more noble Act to remit the crime than to trouble the Court, or
 any of his *Majeſties Miniſters* in the proſecution. But herein *Prynne*
 ſped better than ſome others who had before been ſnarling at him, and
 laboured to expoſe him both to ſcorn and danger. No ſooner had he
 mounted the Chair of *Canterbury,* but one *Boyer,* who not long before
 had broke priſon, to which he had been committed for felony, moſt
 groſſly abuſed him to his face, accusing him of no leſs than *High Treason.*
 For which being brought into the *Star-Chamber,* the next *Michaelmas*
 Term he was there cenſured by their Lordſhips as the Crime de-
 ſerved. And preſently on the neck of this, one *Greene* a poor decayed
 Printer, for whom his Grace then Biſhop of *London* had procured a
 Penſion of five pound *per Annum,* to be paid by the Company of *Sta-*
tioners

tioners yearly as long as he lived, adventured into the Court of St. *LIB. IV.*
James's with a great Sword by his side, desperately swearing, That if *Anno Dom.*
the King did not do him Justice against the Archbishop, he would *1634.*
take another course with him. For this committed unto *Newgate*; but
how long he staid there, and what other Punishment he suffered, or
whether he suffered any other, or not, let them seek that list.

And that the other Sex might whet their tongues upon him also, the
Lady *Davies*, the Widow of Sir *John Davies* Attorney-General for
King *James* in the Realm of *Ireland*, scatters a Prophecie against him.
This Lady had before spoken something unluckily of the Duke of
Buckingham, importing, that he should not live till the end of *August*,
which raised her to the Reputation of a *Cunning Woman* amongst the
ignorant people : and now the Prophecies of the new Archbishop, That
he should live but few days after the fifth of *November* ; for which, and
other Prophecies of a more mischievous nature, she was after brought
into the other Court of *High-Commission* ; the Woman being grown
so mad, that she phancied the Spirit of the Prophet *Daniel* to have
been infused into her Body : And this she grounded on an *Anagram*
which she made of her Name, *viz. ELEANOR DAVIES, RE-*
VEAL O DANIEL : And though the *Anagram* had too much by
an *L*, and too little by an *S* ; yet she found *Daniel* and *Reveal* in it,
and that served her turn. Much pains was taken by the Court to dis-
possess her of this Spirit ; but all would not do, till *Lamb* then Dean
of the *Arches* shot her through and through, with an Arrow borrowed
from her own Quiver ; For whilst the Bishop and Divines were rea-
soning the Point with her out of Holy Scripture, he took a Pen into
his hand, and at last hit upon this excellent *Anagram*, *viz. DAME*
ELEANOR DAVIES, NEVER SO MAD A LADIE :
Which having proved to be true by the Rules of Art, *Madam*, said
he, *I see you build much on Anagrams, and I have found out one which I*
hope will fit you ; This said, and reading it aloud, he put it into her
hands in Writing, which happy Phancy brought that grave Court in-
to such a laughter, and the poor Woman thereupon into such a con-
fusion, that afterwards she grew either wiser, or was less regarded.
This ended as successfully as he could desire : but he sped worse with
another of his Female Adversaries. The Lady *Purbeck*, Wife of
John Villers Viscount *Purbeck*, the elder Brother by the same Venter
to the Duke of *Buckingham*, had been brought into the *High-Commis-*
on, Anno 1627. for living openly in Adultery with Sir *Robert Howard*,
one of the younger Sons of *Thomas* the first Earl of *Suffolk* of that Fa-
mily. Sentenced among other things to do Penance at *St. Paul's Cross* ;
she escaped her Keepers, took Sanctuary in the *Savoy*, and was from
thence conveyed away by the *French* Ambassador. The Duke being
dead, all further prosecution against her died also with him ; which
notwithstanding, the proud woman being more terrified with the fear
of the Punishment, than the sense of the Sin, vented her malice and
displeasure against the Archbishop (who had been very severe against
her at the time of her Trial) when he was come unto his Greatness ;
spending her tongue upon him in words so full of deep disgrace and
reproach

PART II. reproach unto him, that he could do no less than cause her to be laid
Anno Dom. in the *Gatehouse*: But being not long after delivered thence by the
 1634. Practice of *Howard* aforementioned, *Howard* was seized upon, and laid
 up in her place; which Punishment (though it was the least that could
 be looked for) he so highly stomach'd, that as soon as the Archbishop
 was impeach'd by the House of Commons, and committed to Custody
 by the Lords (which hapned on *Friday, December 18. 1640.*) he
 petitioned for Relief against the Archbishop, and some other of the
High Commissioners by whom the Warrant had been signed. The
 Lords upon the reading of it imposed a Fine of 500*l.* on the Archbi-
 shop himself, and 250*l.* apiece upon *Lamb* and *Duck*, and pressed it
 with such cruel rigour, that they forced him to sell his Plate to make
 payment of it; the Fine being set on *Munday* the 21. of *December*,
 and ordered to be paid on the *Wednesday* after.

But these Particulars have carried me beyond my year: I return
 therefore back again; and having shewed what Actings had been set
 on foot both in *England* and *Scotland*, must now cross over into *Ireland*,
 where we find *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy in the place of *Faulk-*
land. We told you formerly of some dearness which was growing
 between him and *Laud* then Bishop of *London*, at his first Admission to
 the place of a Privy-Counsellor. Toward the latter end of *January*,
Anno 1630. *Wentworth* being then Lord President of the Council
 established for the Northern Parts, bestowed a Visit on him at *London-*
House, where they had some private Conference touching the better
 Settlement of Affairs both in *England* and *Ireland*, of which Kingdom
Wentworth not long after was Created Lord Deputy. He staid some-
 what longer from his Charge than he would have done, to be present
 at the Censure of *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, informed against in the
Star-Chamber by his Majesties Attorney-General, for some dangerous
 and disgraceful words which he was reported to have spoken of his
 Majesties Government, and revealing some Secrets which his Majesty
 had formerly committed to his Trust as a Privy-Counsellor: But
Williams found so many shifts to put off the Trial, that the Deputy was
 fain to leave him in the same estate in which he found him, and hoised
 Sail for *Ireland*. Scarce was he settled in his Power, but he began to
 reform some things which he beheld as blemishes in the face of that
 Church. In the Chappel of the Castle of *Dublin*, the chief Seat of his
 Residence, he found a fair large Pue at the end of the Choire, erected
 for the use of his Predecessors in that place; the Communion-Table in
 the mean time being thrust out of doors. This Pue he commands to
 be taken down, and the Holy Table to be restored to its antient place,
 where the Altar formerly had stood. In *Christ-Church* the Cathedral
 of that City, to which the Lord Deputies repair on *Sundays* and *Holy-*
days for Gods Publick Worship, he found the Holy Table situated in
 the middle of the Choire or Chancel, and day by day profaned by
 Boys and Girles, who sate upon it: This Table he caused to be re-
 moved also, as he did the other. And whereas the Earl of *Cork* had
 built a stately Monument for his Wife and some of her Ancestors, but
 chiefly for himself and his own Posterity, at the East end of the
 Choire

Choir in *St. Patrick's Church*, being the second of that City, the Lord Deputy required him to take it down, or otherwise to satisfy the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the standing of it.

L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1634.

Of all these things he gave Order to his Chaplain *Bramhall* to give the Archbishop an Account, which *Bramhall* did accordingly in his Letters of the tenth of *August* 1633. In which Letters he gave this testimony also of the Deputies Care, *That it was not possible for the Intentions of a mortal Man, to be more serious and sincere in those things that concerned the good of the Irish Church than his Lordships were.* And that he might lay a sure foundation to proceed upon, he procured the University of *Dublin* to make choice of *Laud*, then being Lord Elect of *Canterbury*, for their Lord and *Chancellor*. To this they cheerfully assented, passed the Election on the fourteenth of *September*, Anno 1633. being but six days before his actual Confirmation into the Metropolitane and Supreme Dignity of the Church of *England*. Nor was it long before they found on what a gracious Benefactor they had placed that Honour: He had been told by *Ryves*, his Majesties Advocate (who formerly had exercised that Office in the Realm of *Ireland*) of the deplorable condition of that Church in the respect of Maintenance. Most of the Tythes had been appropriated to Monasteries and Religious Houses, afterwards vested in the Crown, or sold to private Subjects, and made *Lay-Fees*; The Vicarages for the most part Stipendary, and their Stipends so miserable sordid, that in the whole Province of *Connaught* most of the Vicars Pensions came but to 40 s. per Annum, and in many places but 16. The Bishopricks at that time were many in number, but of small Revenue, having been much dilapidated in the change of Religion, some of them utterly unable to maintain a Bishop, and no good Benefice near them to be held *in Commendam*. This had been certified unto him by Letters from the Lord *Primate* about three years since; and it had been certified also by *Beadle* Bishop of *Killmore*, That the Churches were in great decay, and that some men of better quality than the rest were possessed of three, four, five, or more of those Vicarages, to the great disservice of the Church, and reproach to themselves.

Cant. Doom,
p. 104.

These things he could not choose but look on as great discouragements to Learning, and such as could produce no other effects than Ignorance in the Priest, and Barbarism in the People. Scandalous Benefices make for the most part scandalous Ministers, as naked Walls are said in the *English* Proverb to make giddy Housewives. Where there is neither Means nor Maintenance for a Learned Ministry, what a gross night of Ignorance must befall those men who were to hold forth the Light to others? And if the light it self be Darkness, how great a Darkness must it be, which doth follow after it? That Observation of (e) *Panormitan*, *That poor Churches will be filled with none but ignorant Priests*, being as true as old, and as old as lamentable. For remedy whereof, he took an opportunity to move his Majesty to restore all such Improvements to the Church of *Ireland*, as were then vested in the Crown. The Exchequer was at that time empty,

(e) *Ad tenuitatem beneficiorum necessario sequitur ignorantia Sacerdotum.*
Panor.

PART II. the Revenue low, which might seem to make the Proposition the more
Anno Dom. unseasonable: But so great was his Majesties Piety on the one side,
 1634. the Reasons so forcible on the other, and the Lord Deputy of that
 Kingdom so cordially affected to advance the Work, that his Majesty
 graciously condescended to it, and found his Ministers there as ready
 to speed the business, as either of them could desire. Encouraged
 by which Royal Example, the Earl of *Cork*, who from a very small
 beginning had raised himself to a vast Revenue in that Kingdom,
 Re-built some Churches, and Repaired others; restored some of his
 Improrpiations to those several Churches; and doubtless had proceed-
 ed further, if a difference had not hapned betwixt the Lord Deputy
 and him, about the removing of the Mounment which he had erected
 for himself and his Posterity, in one of the principal Churches of the
 City of *Dublin*, as before was said. And as for the improving of the
 Bishopricks, as *Ossory* and *Kilkenny*, *Killmore* and *Ardagh*, *Down* and
Connor, and possibly some others had before this been joyned together;
 so was it advised by the *Primate*, That *Kilsenore* should be joyned un-
 to that of *Killalow*, lying contiguous to each other; Both which being
 joyned by a perpetual union, were thought sufficient to make an in-
 different Competency for an *Irish* Bishop.

But all this Care had been to little or no purpose, if some course
 were not also taken to preserve Religion, endangered on this side by
*Poper*y, and on that by *Calvinism*; each side unwillingly contributing
 to the growth of the other. The perverse oppositions of the *Calvi-*
nist, made the *Papist* obstinate; and the insolencies of the *Papists*, did
 both vex and confirm the *Calvinists*. Betwixt them both, the Church
 of *England* was so lost, that there was little of her genuine and native
 Doctrine to be found in the Clergy of that Kingdom. The *Papists* be-
 ing first suppressed, it was conceived to be no hard matter to reduce
 the *Calvinians* to Conformity; and to suppress the *Papists*, it was found
 expedient, That the standing Army should be kept in continual Pay,
 and that Monies should be levied on the *Papists* themselves for the pay-
 ment of it: In order whereunto, the Bishop of *Killmore* before-menti-
 oned, had given an account unto his Grace then Bishop of *London*,
 touching the dangerous condition of that Church by the growth of *Po-*
*per*y; and now he finds it necessary to give the like Account unto the
 new Lord Deputy. Him therefore he informs by Letters dated *Nov-*
ember 5. 1633. (which was not long afer he had personally assumed
 the Government, and received the Sword) to this effect; *viz.*
 " That in that Crown the Pope had a far greater Kingdom than his Ma-
 " jesty had; That the said Kingdom of the Pope was governed by the
 " new Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, established not long since at
 " *Rome*; That the Pope had there a Clergy depending on him, double
 " in number to the *English*, the Heads of which were bound by a corpo-
 " ral Oath to maintain his Power and Greatness against all Persons
 " whatsoever; That for the moulding of the People to the Popes O-
 " bedience, there was a great rabble of *Irregular* Regulars, most
 " of them the younger Sons of Noble Houses, which made them the
 " more insolent and uncontrollable; That the Pope had erected an
 " University

“University in *Dublin*, to confront his Majesties Colledge there, and
 “breed up the Youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, one *Harris* be-
 “ing Dean thereof, who had dispersed a Scandalous Pamphlet against
 “the Lord *Primates* Sermon preach'd at *Wansteed* (one of the best
 “Pieçes that ever came from him) *Anno* 1629. That since the Dissolv-
 “ing of their new *Frieries* in the City of *Dublin*, they had erected
 “them in the Country, and had brought the People to such a sottish
 “negligence, that they cared not to learn the Commandments as
 “God spake and left them; but flocked in Multitudes to the hearing
 “of such Superstitious Doctrines as some of their own Priests were a-
 “shamed of; That a *Synodical* Meeting of their Clergy had been held
 “lately at *Drogheda* in the Province of *Ulster*, in which it was decreed,
 “That it was not lawful to take the Oath of Allegiance; And therefore,
 “That in such a conjuncture of Affairs to think that the bridle of the
 “Army might be taken away, must be the thought not of a Brain-sick,
 “but of a Brainless man: which whosoever did endeavour, not only
 “would oppose his Majesties Service, but expose his own neck to the
 “Skeanes of those *Irish* cut-throats. All which he humbly refers to his
 Lordships seasonable Care and Consideration. Upon this Information,
 the Deputy obtains his Majesties leave to hold a Parliament in that
 Kingdom, which he managed with such notable dexterity, that he
 made himself Master of a Power sufficient to suppress the Insolencies
 of the *Papists*, and yet exceedingly prevailed upon their Affections.
 From which time forwards the *Popish Recusants* in that Kingdom were
 kept in stricter duty, and held closer to loyal Obedience, for fear of
 irritating so severe a Magistrate, than ever they had been by any of his
 Predecessors.

L I B. IV.
 Anno Dom.
 1634.

This Parliament brought with it a Convocation, as a thing of course;
 and in that somewhat must be done to check the spreading of *Calvinism*
 in all parts of that Church. The Articles of Religion agreed upon in
 Convocation *Anno* 1615. were so contrived by *Usher* the now Lord
Priate, “That all the *sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours were de-
 “clared therein to be the Doctrines of that Church; Most grievous
 “Torments immediately in his Soul affirmed to be endured by Christ,
 “which *Calvin* makes to be the same with his *descent into Hell*; The
 “abstinencies from eating Flesh upon certain days, declared not to be
 “Religious Fasts: but to be grounded only upon Politick Ends and
 “Considerations; All Ministers adjudged to be Lawfully called,
 “who are called unto the Work of the Ministry by those that have
 “Publick Authority given them in the Church (but whether they
 “be Bishops or not, it makes no matter, so that he be Authorized unto
 “it by their several Churches): The Sacerdotal Power of Absolution
 “made *declarative* only, and consequently quite subverted; No
 “Power ascribed unto the Church in Ordaining *Canons*, or censu-
 “ring any of those who either carelessly or maliciously do infringe
 “the same; the *Pope* made *Antichrist*, according to the like Determi-
 “nation of the *French Hugonots* made at *Gappe* in *Dolphine*: And finally,
 “such a silence concerning the Consecration of Archbishops and Bi-
 “shops (expressly justified and avowed in the *English Book*) as if there

PART II. “were not a different Order from the Common *Presbyters*. All which
Anno Dom. being *Usher's* own Opinions, were dispersed in several places of these
 1634. Articles for the Church of *Ireland*, approved of in that Convocation,
 and finally confirmed by the Lord Deputy *Chichester* in the Name of
 King *James*. By means whereof these two great mischiefs did ensue; First, A great matter of division which it caused to the *Priests* and *Papists* of the Realm, that in three Kingdoms, under the Obedience of one Sovereign Prince; there should be three distinct and contrary Professions, and yet pretending every one to the same Religion. And secondly, Whensoever the Points were agitated here in *England* against the *Sabbatarian* and *Calvinian* Rigours, the Disputants were forthwith choaked by the Authority of these Articles, and the infallible Judgment of King *James*, who confirmed the same. If therefore the Archbishop meant to have Peace in *England*, the Church of *Ireland* must be won to desert those Articles, and receive ours in *England* in the place thereof.

This to effect, it was not thought expedient by such as had the managing of that design, to propose any abrogation or repealing of the former Articles, which had so many Friends and Patrons in that Convocation, that it was moved severally both in the House of the Bishops, and in that of the Clergy, to have them ratified and confirmed in the present meeting. And questionless it had been carried in that way, if it had not seasonably been diverted by telling the Promoters of it, That those Articles had already received as much Authority as that Church could give them, and that by seeking to procure any such Confirmation, they would weaken the Original Power by which they stood. This blow being thus handsomly broken, their next work was to move the *Primate*, That for the avoiding of such scandal which was given the *Papists*, and to declare the Unity in Judgment and Affections between the Churches, a *Canon* might be passed in approbation of the Articles of the Church of *England*. To this the Prelate being gained, the *Canon* was drawn up and presented to him; and being by him propounded, was accordingly passed, one only man dissenting when it came to the Vote, who had pierced deeper into the bottom of the Project than the others did. It was desired also by *Bramhall*, not long before the Lord Deputies Chaplain, but then Bishop of *Derrie*, That the whole Body of *Canons* made in the year 1603. might be admitted in that Church: But the *Primate* was ever so afraid of *bowing* at the Name of *JESUS*, and some other Reverences required in them, which he neither practised nor approved, that he would by no means hearken to it, which bred some heats between him and *Bramhall*, ending at last in this Temperament, That some select *Canons* should be taken out of that Book, and intermingled with some others of their own composing. But for the *Canon* which approved and received the Articles of the Church of *England*, it was this that followeth, *viz.*

Of the Agreement of the Church of England and Ireland in
the Profession of the same Christian Faith.

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1634.

For the manifestation of Our Agreement with the Church of England; in the Confession of the same Christian Faith, and Doctrine of the Sacraments, We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion; agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergie, in whole Convocation holden at London, Anno Dom. 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, That any of those Articles are in any part Superstitious and Erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto, let him be Excommunicated, and not Absolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.

Such was the Canon passed in this Convocation, for the approbation and reception of the Articles of the Church of England: Which Canon was no sooner passed, confirmed, and published, but the Primate and his Party saw the danger which they had cast themselves into by their inadvertency; and found too late, That by receiving and approving the English Articles, they had abrogated and repealed the Irish. To salve this sore, it concerned them to bestir themselves with their utmost diligence, and so accordingly they did. For first the Primate, and some Bishops of his opinions, required subscription to the Articles of both Churches of all such as came to be ordained at the next Ordination. But it went no further than the next, for if the Papists made it a matter of Derision to have three Confessions in the three Churches of his Majesties Kingdoms; How much more matter must it give them of scorn and laughter, that there should be two different Confessions in the same Church, and both subscribed unto, but as one and the same?

Judgment
of the Lord
Primate,
p. 121.

The Primate next applies himself to the Lord Deputy, beseeching him that the former Articles might receive a new Ratification by Act of Parliament for preventing all innovations in the Religion there established: But he found but little comfort there, the Lord Deputy threatning to cause the said Confession to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; if at the least the Scots Commissioners may be believed; amongst whose Articles against him I find this for one. Finding no better hopes on that side of the Sea, he dispatcheth his Letters of Advice to his Friends in England, one to an Honourable Person amongst the rest, assuring them that though by a Canon passed in that Convocation they had received and approved the Articles of England; yet that the Articles of Ireland were ever called in, might well be reckoned for a fancy. The like affirmed in a Certificate made by Bernard, and Pullen, two Members of the Lower House in this Convocation, where it is said, That whosoever do aver that the said Articles were abolished, are grossly mistaken and have abused the said Convocation in delivering so manifest an untruth. And to back this, another Certificate must be

Judg. L.Pri.
Ibid. 112.

Obs. Observ.
p. 42.

gained

PART II. gained from one who comes commended to us under the Title of a
Anno Dom. most eminent, judicious, and learned person, who having considered of
 I 634. the matter, *Conceives that both Confessions were consistent; and that the*
 Judg. of L. *Act of the Synod was not a Revocation of the Irish Articles, but an appro-*
 Pri. p. 121. *bation of the English, as agreeing with them.*

But all this would not serve the turn, or save those Articles from being brought under a *Repeal* by the present Canon. For first, it appeareth by the Canon, *That they did not only approve, but receive the Articles of the Church of England.* Their approbation of them, had they gone no further, had been a sufficient manifestation of their agreement with the Church of *England* in the Confession of the same Protestant Religion: But their *receiving* of the same doth intimate a superinducing of them upon the other, and is equivalent both in Fact and Law to the *Repealing* of the old. For otherwise *St. Paul* must needs be out in the Rules of *Logick* when he proved the *Abrogating* of the old *Covenant* by the superinduction of a new; For having affirmed, that God by speaking of a *New Covenant*, had (*d*) antiquated and made void the first, (or made the first old, as our English read it;) he adds immediately, *That that which is old, decayeth, and is ready to vanish away;* that is to say, as *Diodati* descants on it, The old being disannulled by the new, there must necessarily follow the abolishment of its use and practice. Nor find they any other abrogation of the *Jewish Sabbath* then by the superinducing of the *Lords day for the day of worship.* By means whereof the Sabbath was lessened in authority and reputation by little and little, and in short time was absolutely laid aside in the Church of Christ; the fourth Commandment, by which it was at first ordained, being still in force. So then according to these grounds the Articles of *Ireland* were *virtually*, though not formally, abrogated; or else it must be granted, that there were two Confessions in the same one Church, different both in form and matter, and contrary in some points unto one another, which would have been so far from creating an uniformity between the Churches in the concernments of Religion, that it would have raised a greater disagreement within *Ireland* it self than was before between the Churches of both Kingdoms. And certainly the gaining of this point did much advantage the Archbishop, conducing visibly to the promotion of his ends and Counsels in making the Irish Clergy subject to the two Declarations, and accountable for their breaking and neglect thereof, that is to say, his Majesties Declaration about Lawful Sports, and that prefixt before the book of Articles for appeasing Controversies. Take for a farewell this acknowledgment of a late Historian, speaking as well the sense of others as his own, *A Convocation (concurrent with a Parliament) was called (saith he) and kept at Dublin in Ireland, wherein the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England were received in Ireland, for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing that Kingdom complies with England in the Civil Government, it should also conform thereunto in matters of Religion.* And thereupon he thus concludes, *That in the mean time the Irish Articles concluded formerly in a Synod, 1616. (mistaken for 1615.) wherein Arminianism was condemned*

(d) *Dicendo autem novum, veteravit prius, &c.*

Heb. 8. 13.

Ch. Hist. B.
11. p. 128.

demned in terminis terminantibus, and the observation of the Lords day LIB. IV. resolved Jure divino) were utterly excluded.

Anno Dom.

1634.

But leaving *Ireland* to the care of the Lord Deputy, and the Bishop of *Derry*, who under him had the chief managing of the affairs of that Church; let us see how the new Archbishop proceeds in *England*, where he had so many plows going at once, too many, as it after proved, to work well together. For not thinking he had done enough in order to the peace and uniformity of the Church of *England*, by taking care for it here at home, his thoughts transported him with the like affection to preserve it from neglect abroad. To which end he had offered some considerations to the Lords of the Council, as before was said, *Anno 1622.* relating to the regulation of Gods publick Worship amongst the *English Factories*, and Regiments beyond the Seas, and the reducing of the *French* and *Dutch Churches*, settled in divers parts of this Realm, unto some conformity. In reference to the first, he had not sate long in the Chair of *Canterbury* when he procured an Order from the Lords of the Council, bearing date *Octob. 1. 1633.* By which their *English Churches* and Regiments in *Holland* (and afterwards by degrees in all other Foreign parts and plantations) were required strictly to observe the *English Liturgie* with all the Rites and Ceremonies prescribed in it. Which Order contained the sum and substance of those considerations which he had offered to the Board touching that particular. With which the Merchant Adventurers being made acquainted, with joynt consent they made choice of one *Beaumont* (reputed for a learned, sober, and conformable man) to be Preacher to their Factory residing at *Delf*, *Forbes*, a *Scot* by birth, who formerly had been Preacher to the Society, being either dead, or otherwise departed to avoid conformity. And that this man might be received with the better welcom. a Letter is sent with him to the Deputy Governour, subscribed by the Archbishop himself, in which he signifieth both to him and the rest in his Majesties name, *That they Cant. Doom,*
were to receive him with all decent and courteous usage sitting his person p. 407.
and calling, allowing him the antient Pension which formerly had been paid to his Predecessors. Which said in reference to the man, he lets them know that it was his Majesties express command, that both he, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant, that is or shall be residing in those parts beyond the Seas, do conform themselves to the Doctrine and Discipline settled in the Church of England: and that they frequent the Common-Prayer with all Religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do Sermons; and that out of their company they should yearly about Easter, as the Canons prescribe, name two Church-Wardens, and two Sides-men, which may look to the Orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. It was also required that these present Letters should be registred and kept by them, that they which come after might take notice what care his Majesty had taken for the well ordering of the said Company in Church affairs; and that a Copy of the same should be delivered to the said Beaumont, and to every Successor of his respectively, that he and they might know what his Majesty expected of them, and be the more inexcusable if they disobey it. With this Dis-
 patch,

PART II. patch, bearing date the seventeenth of June, this present year 1634.
 Anno Dom. away goes *Beaumont* into *Holland*, taking with him these Instructions
 1634. for his own proceedings; that is to say, *That he should punctually keep
 and observe all the Orders of the Church of England, as they are pre-
 scribed in the Canons and the Rubricks of the Liturgy; and that if
 any person of that Company shall shew himself refractory to that Ordinance of his Majesty, he should certifie the name of any such offender, and his offence to the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly.* Which Order and Instructions given to *Beaumont* in private, were incorporated also in the Letter, lest otherwise he might be thought to act any thing in it without good Authority. And he accordingly proceeded with such honest zeal, and was so punctual in observing his Majesties pleasure and commands, that for a reward of his good service he was preferred unto a Prebends place in the Church of *Canterbury*, though by the unhappy change of times, it brought more reputation than advantage with it.

And now at last we have the face of an *English Church* in *Holland*, responsal to the Bishops of *London* for the time being, as a part of their Diocess, directly and immediately subject to their Jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our Factories in *Hamborough*, and those further off, that is to say, in *Turkey*, in the *Moguls Dominions*, the *Indian Islands*, the Plantations in *Virginia*, the *Barbadoes*, and all other places where the English had any standing Residence in the way of Trade. The like done also for regulating the Divine Service in the Families of all Embassadors, residing in the Courts of Foreign Princes for his Majesties Service; as also in the English Regiments, serving under the States. The superinspection of which last was referred to *Boswel* his Majesties Resident at the *Hague*, and his Successors in that place; as he and all the rest of the Embassadors, in what place soever, were to be ordered by the care of the Lords of the Council; and they to be accountable therein to his Sacred Majesty, as the Supream Ordinary. The English Agents and Embassadors in the Courts of Foreign Princes had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the Church of *England*, as they might have been, in designing a set *Room* for religious uses, and keeping up the Vestments, Rites and Ceremonies, prescribed by Law in performance of them. It was now hoped that there would be a Church of *England* in all Courts of *Christendom*, in the chief Cities of the *Turk*, and other great *Mahometan* Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known Part of the world, by which it might be rendred as diffused and *Catholick* as the Church of *Rome*.

In reference to the regulating of the *French* and *Dutch Churches* here amongst our selves, he conceived himself in a capacity of putting his own Counsels in execution, either as Bishop of the Diocess, or Archbishop of the Province of *Canterbury*. He had considered of the dangers which those Foreign Churches drew on this, by standing divided & dismembred from the rest of the body; and of the countenance and encouragement which was given to the *Puritan Faction* in the promoting

moting of Schism. There was no *Traverse* to be made to this *Dilemma*, LIB. IV. but either they were or were not of the same Religion with the Church of *England*. If they were not of the same Religion, why should Anno Dom. they, being strangers, born in other Countries, or descending from 1634. them, expect more Liberty of Conscience than the *Papists* had, being all Natives, and descending from English Parents? If of the same, why should they not submit to the Government and Forms of Worship, being the outward acts and exercises of the Religion here by Law established? It was now as when they first fled into this Land from the Fire and Faggot; from which their own Countries having felt no Persecution for forty or fifty years last past, were at this time freed: And therefore if they did not like the Terms of their staying here, they might return from whence they came, in peace and safety, with thanksto God and the good *English* Nation, for the long and comfortable Entertainment they had found amongst them. Upon these grounds, and such Considerations as had before been offered to the Lords of the Council, before he had sate a whole year in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he caused these three Articles to be tendred to the *French* Congregation in that City, and the two *Dutch* Congregations in *Sandwich* and *Maidstone*, Apr. 14. 1634. 1. *What Liturgie do you use? or whether you have not the Dutch or French in use?* 2. *Of how many Discents for the most part they were born Subjects?* 3. *Whether such as are born Subjects, will conform to the Church of England?* For Answer to the Articles (after some fruitless Pleas touching their Exemptions) they obtained time till the fifth of *May*; against which time, with the consent of their severall Churches, they prepared these severall Answers. To the first it was answered, *That they had that Liturgie which all the Churches of the French Tongue (both in France, and in the United Provinces of the States) have had since the blessed Reformation, and which their Churches (refuged here) have had this sixty or seventy years, or more: That the English Liturgie was translated into French, but that they used it not; and that they knew not whether it were Translated in Dutch or not.* To the second it was answered, *That the greatest part of the Heads of the Families were not born here, but about a third part; because that the greatest part of the old ones were Strangers born, and many others are newly come since a few years.* But to the third they desired to be excused from making any Answer at all, foreseeing (as it was pretended) a dissipation of their Churches, in reference to the maintenance of their Ministry and relief of their Poor, if such Conformity should be pressed, which they endeavoured to avoid by all means imaginable. But before these Answers were returned, it was thought fit to consult with the *Cætus* (as they style it) of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London*, who were concerned as much as they, and who by reason of their wealth and number governed all the rest; by whom they were advised to suppress those Answers, and to present their *Declinator*, fixing themselves upon their Priviledges, and challenging the Exemption granted them by King *Edward* vi. confirmed by severall Acts of Council in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and his Sacred Majesty.

PART II. This *Declinator* no way satisfied his Grace of *Canterbury*. He knew, *Anno Dom.* none better, That Acts of Council were not like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, but might be changed and varied as occasion served; *1624.* That the Letters Patents granted by King *Edward vi.* to the first Congregation of Strangers under *John A Lasco* (by which they were Licenced to use their own Forms both of Worship and Government, without any disturbance) were vacated by the departure of the said Congregation in the time of *Queen Mary*; and that the *French* and *Dutch* Churches now in *England*, could pretend no succession unto that in the time of King *Edward vi.* And therefore as soon as *Brent* returned from his *Visitation* (of which we shall hear more anon) and had a while reposed himself after that long Journey, he was dispatched to *Canterbury* with these *Injunctions*, viz. 1. That all the Natives of the Dutch and Walloon Congregations in his Graces *Dioceſs*, are to repair to their ſeveral *Parish Churches* where they inhabit, to hear *Divine Service* and *Sermons*, and perform all *Duties* and *Payments* required in that behalf: And 2. That all the *Ministers*, and all other of the ſame *Walloon* or *French Congregations*, which are *Aliens born*, ſhall have and uſe the *Liturgie* uſed in the *English Churches*, as the ſame is or may be faithfully *Translated* into *French* or *Dutch*. Theſe two *Injunctions* being given on the nineteenth of *December*, with time for conforming thereunto till the firſt of *March*, were preſently communicated by the *Kentiſh* to the *London Churches*, and by thoſe of *London* to the reſt in the Province of *Canterbury*, requiring them to ſend their *Deputies* to conſult together with them in this *Common Danger*. There were at that time ten Churches of Strangers in this Province; that is to ſay, two in *London*, two in *Norwich*, and one apiece in *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone*, *Southampton*, *Colcheſter*, and *Yarmouth*, who were to ſend their ſufficient *Deputies*, conſiſting of *Ministers* and *Lay-Elders*, to make this *Synod*. But becauſe the time might be elapſed before theſe *Deputies* from ſo many Places could meet together, and reſolve upon any *Concluſion*; it was determined by the *Cætus*, that thoſe of *Kent*, whom it moſt immediately concerned, ſhould addreſs themſelves to the *Archbiſhop*, and deſire his favour for the enjoying of their *Priviledges*, as in former times; whoſe *Propoſitions* being heard, and their *Reasons* pondered, he answered, That it was his purpoſe to make a *General Viſitation* of all his Province, and that he would begin at home; That he did nothing but what had been communicated to the *King*, and reſolved by the *Council*; That neither the Letters Patents of *King Edward vi.* nor any *Reasons* by them alledged, ſhould hinder him from proceeding in the ſaid *Injunctions*; That their Churches were neſts and occaſions of *Schiſm*, which he would prevent in *Kent* as well as he could; That it were better there were no *Foreign Churches* nor *Strangers* in *England*, than to have them thereby to give occaſion of prejudice or danger to the *Church-Government* of it; That they endeavoured to make themſelves a State in a State, and had vaunted, That they feared not his *Injunctions*; but, That he hoped the *King* would maintain him in it, as long as he Governed by the *Canons*; That the diſſipation of their Churches, and maintenance of two or three *Ministers*, was not to be laid in the ſame Balance with the *Peace* and *Happineſs*

Happiness of the Church of England; That their ignorance in the English LI B. IV.
 Tongue, ought not to be used for a pretence for their not going to their Pa- Anno Dom.
 rish Churches, considering that it was an affected Ignorance, and they might I 634.
 avoid it when they would: And finally, That he was resolved to have his
 Injunctions put in execution, and that they should conform to them at their
 peril by the time appointed.

Finding no hope of Good this way, they expect the Sitting of the
 synod on the fifth of February; to which the Deputies made a Report
 of their ill Successes; and thereupon it was resolved, That a Petition
 in the name of all the Foreign Churches, should be presented unto the
 King; which way they found as unsuccessful as the other was: For
 his Majesty having read the Petition, delivered it to the Earl of Pem-
 broke, commanding him to give it to one of the Secretaries. And
 though Pembroke, either out of love to the Cause, or hate to the
 Archbishops Person, chose rather to deliver it to Cooke than Winder-
 bank; yet neither Cooke himself, nor Weckerly his chief Clerk (a Wal-
 loon by birth) who had very much espoused the Quarrel, could do
 any thing in it. The next course was to back that Petition with a
 Remonstrance, containing the chief Reasons which they had to urge
 in their own behalf; and that Remonstrance to be put into his Majesties
 hands by the Duke of Soubize, a Prince of great Descent in France,
 and a chief stickler in the Wars of the Hugonots against their King:
 In which Reasons, when they came to be examined more particularly,
 there was nothing found material, but what had formerly been ob-
 served and answered; except it were the fear of a Persecution to be
 raised in France, when it should there be known, how much the French
 Churches in this Kingdom had been discountenanced and distressed.
 And this they after aggravated by some fresh Intelligence which they
 had from thence, by which they were advertised of some words of
 the great Cardinal Richelieu, to this effect, viz. That if a King of Eng-
 land, who was a Protestant, would not permit two Disciplines in his
 Kingdom, why should a King of France, a Papist, permit two Religions?
 Great workings had been in the Court upon this occasion; though all
 which was effected by it, was but the present qualification of the se-
 cond Injunction; His Majesty on good Reason of state insisting so
 strongly on the first, that it could not be altered. But as for the
 second Injunction, it was qualified thus, viz. That the Ministers, and
 all others of the French and Dutch Congregations, which are not Na-
 tives, and born subjects to the Kings Majesty, or any other stranger that
 shall come over to them, while they remain Strangers may have and use
 their own Discipline, as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit
 that the English Liturgie should be Translated into the French and
 Dutch, for the better fitting of their Children to the English Government.
 But before the Injunction thus qualified could be sent to Canterbury,
 the Mayor and Brethren of that City were put upon a Petition in
 their behalf, insisting, among other things, on the great Charge which
 would fall upon them, if the relief of the poor French, which for-
 merly had been maintained on the common Purse of that Church,
 should be cast upon the several Parishes; and the great want of Work

PART II. which would happen to their own Poor in that City, if the Manufactures of the *French* should be discontinued. To which Petition they received a favourable Answer in respect of themselves; but without any alteration of his Graces purpose in such other points of it as concerned those Churches; A Temperament was also used in regard of the Ministers which did Officiate in those Churches; it being condescended to on the suit of their Deputies, That such of their Ministers as were *English* born should continue in their Place and Ministry, as in former times: but that hereafter none should be admitted to be Ministers in their Congregations, but such as were Strangers. Which Condescensions notwithstanding, It was directed by the *Cætus* of the *London* Churches, That by no means the *Kentish* Foreigners should publish the said *Injunctions* in their Congregations; and that if the prosecution of them should be strictly urged, they would then think upon some other course to bear off that blow. And by this Tergiversation they gained so much time, that the final Decree was not passed upon them till the 26th of *September*, 1635. when to the former *Injunction* they found this Clause or *Proviso* added, *viz.* That the Natives should continue to contribute to the maintenance of their Ministry, and the Poor of their Church, for the subsisting thereof; and that an Order should be obtained from his Majesty, if it were desired, to maintain them in their Manufactures, against all such as should endeavour to molest them by Informations. Some time was spent about the publishing of this Decree, the Ministers and Elders of those Churches refusing to act any thing in it: But at the last it was published in the *French* Church at *Canterbury* by one of their Notaries, and in *Sandwich* by the Chanter or Clerk of the Congregation, with Order to the Ministers and Churchwardens of the several Parishes, to take notice of such of the Natives as resorted not diligently to their Parish Churches.

This proved a leading Case to all the other *French* and *Dutch* Churches on this side of the Seas, though they opposed it what they could. For no sooner was the news of these *Injunctions* first brought to *Normich*, when a Remonstrance was presented to *Corbet*, (who was then Bishop of that Diocess) and by him transmitted to the Archbishop; in which they had expressed such Reasons against the tenour of the same, as we have met with formerly in this Narration. But the Archbishops Visitation of that Diocess in the year next following, *Anno* 1635. put an end to that business; the *Injunction* being published in the Churches of Strangers in that City, before any publication of them had been made in *Canterbury*. Nor was the like done only in all the Churches of Strangers in the Province of *Canterbury*, but in those of *York*, where the Archbishop kept them to a harder Diet; for having seen what had been done by *Frent* in his Visitation, and having no such powerful Sollicitors as the *Cætus* of the *London* Churches to take off his edge, he denied them the Exercise of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of their own; enjoyns them the use of the *English* Liturgie in the *French* Tongue, with Obedience to all the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of *England*; to receive the Sacrament once a year in the Church of the Parish where they dwell, and to perform all their Christenings,

strenuous, Marriages, and Burials there, or else none of their Congregations to be permitted. But notwithstanding all this care of the *Metropolitans*, the business went forward more or less, as the Ministers and Church-wardens stood affected in their several Parishes. And in most Parishes the Ministers and Church-wardens were so well pleased with that indecency which they had amongst them, in respect of any Superiors in Church-concernments, to whom they might be made accountable for Life or Doctrine, that generally they wish'd themselves in the same condition: And being freed from their greatest fear, of having the Poor of those Churches cast upon them in their several Parishes, they seem'd not much solicitous whether they came to the Church or not, to hear the Sermons, receive the Sacraments, or perform any other part of Publick Worship; especially if they were not scrupulous in paying to the Minister his accustomed Dues, and yielding to such Rates and Taxes as the Church-wardens laid upon them for Parochial uses. If any Minister began to look too strictly to them, they would find some means to take him off by Gifts and Presents, or by some powerful Letter from some of the Grandees residing in *London*, and sometimes from a neighbouring Justice, whose displeasure must not be incurred. And that they may not want encouragement to stand it out as long as they could, the leading men of the *Genevian* Faction in most parts of the Realm, did secretly sollicite them not to be too forwards in conforming to the said *Injunctions*, assuring them of such Assistances as might save them harmless, and flattering them with this Opinion of themselves, That the Liberty of the Gospel, and the most desirable freedom of the Church from Episcopal Tyranny, depended chiefly on their Courage and Resolution. What was done afterwards in pursuance of the said *Injunctions*, shall be told elsewhere: all which Particulars I have laid together, that the Proceedings of his Grace in this weighty business (so much calumniated and defamed) might be presented to the Reader without interruption.

It was once said by *Telesinus* to *Caj. Marius*, That he did well to scour the Country; but Italy would never want Wolves, so long as Rome continued so fit a Forest to afford them shelter. In like manner the Archbishop knew full well how small a Progress he should make in his Reformation, for reducing the *French* and *Dutch* to a Communion with the Church of *England*, and the Church of *England* to it self, if *London* were not brought to some Conformity. Which City having a strong influence on all parts of the Kingdom, was generally looked on as the Compass by which the lesser Towns and Corporations were to steer their Course, the practice of it being pleaded upon all occasions, for Vestries, Lectures, and some other Innovations in the State of the Church. And to this nothing more concurred, than that the Beneficed Clergy being but meanly provided for, were forced to undertake some Lectures, or otherwise to connive at many things, contrary to their own Judgment and the Rules of the Church, in hope that gaining the good will thereby of the Chief of their Parishes, they might be gratified by them with Entertainments, Presents, and some other helps to mend their Maintenance. The Lecturers in the mean time,

L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1634.

PART II. time, as being Creatures of the People, and depending wholly on the
Anno Dom. Purse of the wealthier Citizens, not only overtopped them in point
 1634. of Power and Reputation, but generally of Profit and Revenue also.
 Not that these Lecturers were maintained so much by the Zeal and
 Bounty of their Patrons, as by a general Fraud, which for many years
 last past had been put upon the Regular Clergy; by the diminishing
 of whose just Dues in Tythes and Offerings, such Lecturers and
 Trencher-Chaplains had been fed and cherished. For the better un-
 derstanding whereof, we are to know, That in the year 1228. *Roger*
Niger Bishop of *London*, ordained by a Synodical Constitution, *That*
the Citizens should pay of every pounds Rent by the year, of all Houses,
Shops, &c. the Sum of 3 s. 4 d. as time out of mind had formerly been
paid. Which 3 s. 4 d. did arise from the Offerings upon every *sun-*
day and thirty of the principal Holydays in the same year, after the
 Rate of one halfpeny for every twenty shillings Rent of their Houses,
 Shops, &c. This Order of *Roger Niger* remaining in force till the year
 1397. and the Clergy being kept to such Rates for the Rents of
 Houses, as at the first making of the same, it was decreed by *Thomas*
Arundell then Bishop of *Canterbury*, *That as the Rent increased, so the*
Offerings or Tythes should increase also; That the said Order should be read
in every Parish-Church four times in the year, and a Curse laid upon all
those who should not obey it. Confirmed by Pope *Innocent vii.* and *Ni-*
cholas iv. with a *Proviso*, *That the said Oblations should be paid according*
to the true yearly value of the Shops and Houses. It so remained until
 the twenty fifth year of *Henry viii.* at what time many of the former
 Holydays being abrogated by the Kings Authority, the yearly Profit
 of the Clergy found a great abatement; the greater, in regard of the
 variances which arose betwixt them and their Parishioners, about the
 payment of their Dues; the People taking the advantage of some
 Disorders which the Clergy at that present had been brought unto, by
 acknowledging the King for the Supream Head of the Church of
England. Upon this variance a Complaint is made unto the King,
 who refers the whole matter to *Craumer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
Audley Lord Chancellor, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winton*, *Cromwell* Chief
 Secretary of *Estate*, *Fitz-James* and *Norwich* Chief Justices of the se-
 veral Benches, by whom it was concluded, *That from thenceforth 2 s.*
9 d. only should be paid out of every pound for the Rents of Houses,
Shops, &c. And to this Order the Citizens did not only consent, as they had
 good reason, but bound themselves by an Act of Common Council to
 perform the same; the said Decree confirmed by Act of Parliament in
 the twenty seventh, and afterwards in the thirty seventh of that King,
 with a power given to the Lord Mayor to commit to Prison ever per-
 son whatsoever who should not pay his Tythes and Dues according to
 that Proportion.

But contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said Decrees, and
 the several Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same, the cove-
 tous and unconscionable Landlords, who had the Fee-simple, or some
 long Leases at the least, of such Shops & Houses, devised many base and
 fraudulent waies to put a cheat upon the Law, and abuse the Clergie;
 reserving

reserving some small sum in the name of a Rent, and covenanting for other greater Sumsto be paid quarterly or half yearly in the name of Fines, Annuities, Pensions, Incomes, Interest-money, &c. Finding these Payments so conditioned and agreed upon to be too visible a cheat, some were so wise as to take their Fines in gross, when they sealed their Leases, some inconsiderable Rent being charged upon them; others so cunning as to have two Leases on foot at the same time, one at a low contemptible Rent to gull the Incumbent of his dues, the other with a Rent four or five times as great to keep down the Tenent; and some by a more cleanly kind of conveyance (reserving a small Rent as others did) caused their Tenants to enter into several bonds for the payment of so much money yearly with reference to the term which they had in their Leases. By which devices and deceits the house-Rents were reduced to so low a value, that some Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in Sheds and Cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty shillings for a whole years Tythe; the Rent reserved amounts after that proportion but to seven pounds yearly. The Clergy by the Alteration of Religion had lost those great advantages, which had before accrued unto them by *Obits, Mortuaries, Obventions*, to the Shrines and Images of some special Saints, Church-Lands, and personal Tythes according to mens honest gain, which last was thought to have amounted to more than the Tythe of houses. Being deprived of the one, and abused in the other, they were forced in the sixteenth of King James, Anno 1618. to have recourse to the Court of Exchequer, by the Barons whereof it was declared, that according to the true intent of the said Acts the Inhabitants of London, and the Liberties thereof ought to pay the Tythe of their houses, shops, &c. after the rate of two shillings nine pence in the pound proportionable to the true yearly value of the rent thereof. In order whereunto it was then ordered by the Court, that a Shed, which had been built and made a convenient dwelling house, should pay twenty four shillings nine pence yearly in the name of a Tythe, as was afterwards awarded by Sir Henry Yelverton, upon a reference made unto him, that one Rawlins, who paid forty shillings yearly to his Landlord in the name of a Rent, and twelve pound by the name of a fine, should from thenceforth pay his Tythe to the Incumbent of the Parish in which he dwelt, after the rate of fourteen pound yearly.

This and the like Arbitrements about that time gave them some hope of finding more relief from the Court of Exchequer than they could expect from the Lord Mayor; who being at the first made Judge in the business for the ease of the Clergy, carried himself rather like a party concerned in it than an equal Umpire. But there was no contending with the Purse of the City; For though the proceedings of the City Landlords were declared to be unjust and Sacrilegious under the hands of many Bishops, and most of the Heads of Houses in both Universities, Anno 1620. yet the business going on from bad to worse, they were necessitated to cast themselves at the feet of King Charles, and to petition for a remedy of these growing mischiefs, which otherwise in some tract of time might become insupportable. Which Petition being

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1634.

PART II. being taken into consideration by his Sacred Majesty, he was graciously pleased to refer the same to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Cottingham*, Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, and Chief Justice *Richardson*, or any five, or three of them, of which the Lord Archbishop to be always one, requiring, and thereby authorizing to call before them all parties concerned in the business, and after a full hearing and examination thereof, to end if they could, or otherwise to report to his Majesty where the Impediment lay, that so his Majesty might take such further order therein as in his Princely wisdom he should think most meet. Which reference, being made the fifteenth of *May* of this present year, was carried on with such equality, and moderation, that the rich Landlords had no reason to complain of any obliquity or partiality in the conduct of it: But having been accustomed to feed on the Churches Bread, and to have the poor Clergy obnoxious to them, they could with no patience entertain the thoughts of relinquishing their former dyet, or suffer a deserving Clergy to enjoy their own. Nothing more feared, than that the Clergy by this means would grow too rich; They who conceived two thousand pound of yearly Rent not enough for an Alderman, think one hundred pound *per annum* (as was affirmed by one of that number) to be too much for a Minister. And should the Clergy once grow rich, they would become more absolute, and independent, not so obsequious to them as they had been formerly, and consequently more apt to cross them in their opposition or neglect of established Orders. And in this state the business stood when *Juxon* the Bishop of *London* was advanced to the Treasurers Staff in the end of *March* 1635. which much encreast the hopes of the one, and the fears of the other. Some of the Clergy had the hap to better their condition, and improve their Benefices by the appearing of so many powerful persons in their behalf; and possible enough it is that some expedient would have been resolved on by the Referrees to the general content of both parties (his Grace of *Canterbury* being very solicitous in behalf of the Clergy) if the troubles which brake out soon after in *Scotland*, and the preparations for the War, which ensued upon it, had not put the business to a stand, and perswaded both the King and Council to an unprofitable compliance with that stubborn City, from which he reapt nothing in conclusion but neglect and scorn. So frequently have the best designs been overthrown, not so much by the puissance and might of the adverse party, as through defect of Constancy and Resolution to go through with them.

Mention was made in the Narrative of our Archbishops late proceeding against the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch*, of somewhat which was done in order to it, in the *Metropolitick* Visitation of the Province of *Canterbury*. Concerning which we are to know, that in the beginning of the year 1634. he resolved upon that Visitation. And having some distrust of *Brent* his Vicar General, he prepared one of his Confidants to be a joynt Commissioner with him, that he might do no hurt, if he did no good. But afterwards, being more assured of

Brent than before he was, he resolved to trust him with himself, and not to fetter him with any such constant Over-seeer to attend his actings. The Articles for his Visitation, Printed for the use of Church-wardens and Sides-men in their several Parishes had little in them more than *ordinary*. But he had given directions to his Vicar General to enquire into the observation of his Majesties Instructions of the year 1629. to command the said Church-wardens to place the Communion Table under the Eastern Wall of the Chancel, where formerly the Altar stood; to set a decent Rail before it to avoid profaneness; and at the Rail the Communicants to receive the blessed Sacrament. It had been signified to the Archbishop, that a Dog in one place or other (but I remember not the name) had run away with the Bread appointed for the whole Communion; and that the Communion Wine had been brought unto the Table in many places, in Pint-pots and Bottles, and so distributed to the People. The placing of a Rail before the Table would prevent all infamies of the first sort, and he hoped the Ministers would take order to reform abuses of the last. *Williams*, at that time Bishop of *Lincoln*, had placed the Table of his own Chappel in the state of an *Altar*, and furnished it with Plate and other costly Utensils beyond most others in the Kingdom. The Table stood in the same posture in the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, of which he was both Bishop and Residentiary; and in the *Collegiate* Church of *Westminster*, whereof he was Dean. The Chancel of *St. Martins* Church in the Town of *Leicester* had been made a Library, which he when he was in his good humours perswaded the people to remove, to trim and prepare the said Choir with Railes and such other Ornaments as were fitting for it, and then to place therein their Communion Table, all which they accordingly performed. But understanding of the Order of the third of *November*, made by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council in the Case of *St. Gregories*, he untwisteth all this Line again. For a Certificate being presented to him by the Vicar, Church-wardens, and some others of the Parish, *That the place where the Table stood before, was far more fit, by reason of the more capacity to receive the Communicants, and the more audibleness of the Ministers voice, and the Proximity of it to the place where Morning and Evening Prayer had been appointed to be read, than the Chancel was;* he gave them leave to remove the Communion Table to the place where it formerly stood, especially at such times as they received the Communion. All which by his Letters of the nineteenth of *December* 1633. he signifies to *Burden*, one of *Lamb* Surrogates in the *Archdeaconry* of *Leicester*, requiring him not to be troublesome or molestful to the said parties in any thing concerning the Premises. Which Letter *Burden* sends to *Lamb*, and *Lamb* communicates to his Grace of *Canterbury*; who thereupon resolves to make that Diocess the Scene of his first Visitation.

The Diocess of *Lincoln* was anciently larger than it is, the Bishoprick of *Ely* being taken out of it in the Reign of King *Henry* the First; Anno 1109. and those of *Oxon.* and *Peterborough* by King *Henry* the Eighth, Anno 1541. But as it is, it is the largest of the Kingdom; both

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1634.

PART II. for the quantity of ground, and the number of Parishes, containing
Anno Dom. in it the whole Counties of *Lincoln, Leiceſter, Buckingham, Bedford,*
 1634. *Huntington,* and that part of *Hertfordſhire* which belonged to the
 Kingdom of *Mercia*. In which Counties are contained 1255 Parishes
 divided (though not equally) between ſix Archdeacons, that is to
 ſay, the Archdeacons of *Lincoln, How, Lieceſter, Buckingham, Bedford,*
 and *Huntingdon*; each of them having his ſeveral *Commiſſaries*, and
 every *Commiſſary* one or more *Surrogates*, to officiate under him in
 times of neceſſary abſence. Within this great Dioceſs he begins, firſt
 laying a Suspension on the Biſhop and the ſix Archdeacons, by which
 they were inhibited from the exerciſe of their Jurisdiction, as long as
 that Viſitation laſted. And after ſending out a Citation to all the Mi-
 niſters and Church-wardens of that Dioceſs, he required them to ap-
 pear at certain times and places before his Vicar General and the reſt
 of the Commiſſioners authorized for the ſeveral Archdeaconries of the
 ſame. But the Biſhop was too ſtout to yield at the firſt aſſault, pre-
 tending an exemption from ſuch Viſitations by old *Papal Bulls*. The
 Archbiſhop being herewith ſtartled, was not long after very well ſa-
 tisfied in that particular, by a Paper which was tendred to him, aſſert-
 ing his Metropolitan Right againſt thoſe Pretences, collected out of
 Hiſtories and old Records. Which being compared with the Origina-
 ls, and found to contain nothing but undoubted truths, the Biſhop
 is commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, where his
Papal Bulls were ſo well baited by the Archbiſhop and his Council, that
 not being able to hold any long play, they ran out of the Field, leav-
 ing the Biſhop to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could. This Bar re-
 moved, the *Vicar-General* proceeds to the Viſitation, and in all pla-
 ces gives command to the Church-wardens, not only to return their
 Preſentments, according to the Articles of the Viſitation; but to
 tranſpoſe the Communion Table to the Eaſt end of the Chancel, and
 to fence it with a decent Rail to avoid prophaneneſs, according unto
 ſuch Directions as he had received from the Lord Archbiſhop. He
 further ſignified, That they were to take eſpecial care of certifying
 the names of all the *Lecturers* in their ſeveral and reſpective Parishes;
 as alſo, Whether the ſaid *Lecturers*, and all other Preaching Miniſters
 within that Dioceſs, did carefully obſerve his Majeſties Inſtructions
 published in the year 1629. Their knowledge in which Particulars,
 with a Certificate of their doings about the removing of the *Commu-
 nion Table*, together with their Preſentments to the ſeveral Articles
 which were given them in charge, to be returned unto him by a time
 appointed. Which Charge thus given, and the Viſitation carried to
 another Dioceſs, he leaves the proſecution of it (as afterwards in all
 other places) to the care of the Biſhop. But the Biſhop having other
 deſigns of his own, was no ſooner diſcharged of that Suspension which
 was laid upon him, but he reſolves to viſit his Dioceſs in Perſon, to
 ſhew himſelf to thoſe of his Clergy, and gain the good affections of
 thoſe eſpecially who adhered to *Calvin* and *Geneva*: Inſomuch that
 meeting in the Archdeaconry of *Buckingham* with one Doctor *Bret*, a
 very grave and reverend man, but one who was ſuppoſed to incline that
 way,

way, he embraced him in his Episcopal Arms with these words of St. *Augustine*, viz. *Quamvis Episcopus major est Presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor est Hieronymo*: Intimating thereby, to the great commendation of his modesty amongst those of that Faction, That the said *Bret* was as much greater than *Williams*, as the Bishop was above a Priest And in compliance with that Party, he gave command for Railing in the Communion-Table (as appears by the Extract of his proceedings in the Archdeaconry of *Leicester*) not placed at the East end of the Chancel, with a Rail before it: but in the middle thereof, as it stood before, with a Rail about it. And by that kind of half-compliance, as he retracted nothing from his own Opinion, in his Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*; so he conceived, That he had finely frustrated the design of his Metropolitan, and yet not openly proceeded against his Injunction.

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1634.

The Visitation thus begun, was carried on from year to year, till it had gone over all the Diocesses in the Province of *Canterbury*. In the prosecution whereof, the *Vicar-General* having given the Charge, and allowed time to the Church-wardens to return a Certificate of their doings in pursuance of it, the further execution of it was left to the Bishops in their several Diocesses; in which it went forwards more or less, as the Bishops were of spirit and affection to advance the Work, either in reference to the transposing of the *Table*, or the observation of his Majesties *Instructions* above-mentioned, which had not the least place in the business of this Visitation. *Wright* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* having given order by his Chancellor for the transposing of the Tables in most parts of his Diocess, began at last to cast his eyes on the Churches of the *Holy Trinity* and *St. Michael the Archangel* in the City of *Coventry*; concerning which he prescribed these Orders: 1. *That the Ground at the upper end of the Chancels be handsomely raised by three steps, that the Celebration of the Sacrament may be conspicuous to all the Church.* 2. *That the Ground so raised at both Churches, the Communion-Table should be removed close to the East-wall of the Chancels.* 3. *That in both Churches all new Additions of Seats in the Chancels be taken away, and the Pews there reduced as near as may be to the ancient form.* But the Citizens of *Coventry* found a way to take off his edge, notwithstanding that he had received not only his Majesties Command, but encouragements also in pursuance of it (his Majesty spending at the least a fortnight in that Diocess, in the year 1636. at such time as the Bishop came to wait upon him in *Tutbury Castle*): For they so far prevailed upon him at his being in *Coventry*, that in the presence of the Mayor and some others of the Fraternity, he appointed, That the Communion-Table should be removed from its ascent of three Steps unto the Body of the Chancel, during the Administration of the Blessed Sacrament, commanding *Bird*, who had the Officiality of the place, not to trouble them in it. *Bird* not being well pleased with so much levity in the Bishop, gives notice of it unto *Latham* the Bishops Register in *Lichfield*, by whom it was signified to *Lamb*, by *Lamb* to the Archbishop, and by him to the King; from whom it is to be supposed that the Bishop could receive small

PART II. thanks for his disobedience. In *Effex* the business met with a greater
Anno Döm. difficulty. *Aylet* Official there under the Chancellor of *London*,
 1635. had caused many of the Communion Tables within the verge of his
 Jurisdiction to be transposed and railed in, and the People to come up
 and kneel and receive at the Rail. Opposed at first in some of the
 greater Towns, because they found it otherwise in the Churches of
London, whose example they conceived might be a sufficient warrant
 for them in that particular: But much more were they moved to stand
 out against him, upon sight of one of the Articles for the Metropoli-
 tical Visitation, by which they conceived that they had leave to re-
 move their Table at the time of Celebration, and place it as it might
 be most convenient for the Parishioners to come about it and receive
 the Sacrament. *Aylet* complains of this to *Lamb*, finding himself there-
 by under an imputation of crossing the Article delivered by his Graces
Visitors, and following after his own inventions, without any Author-
 ity. For remedy whereof, and to save all that he had done from re-
 turning back again to the same estate in which he found it, he desires
 to know his Graces Pleasure and *Lamb*s Directions. More constantly,
 and with better fortune, is the business carried on by *Pierce* in his Dio-
 cesis of *Bath* and *Wells*. No sooner had his Majesty signified his Plea-
 sure in the Case of *St. Gregories*, but he issueth out a Commission to
 some of his Clergy, to inquire into the State of all the Parish Churches
 within that Diocesis; and on the return of their Account, gives Order
 for the rectifying of such things as they found amiss, especially in the
 posture of the Holy Table. And that it might be seen, that his Com-
 mands were not only countenanced by Power, but backed by Reason,
 he prepares certain Motives and Considerations to persuade
 Conformity; as, *viz.* 1. That it was ordered by the *Queens* Injunctions,
 That the Communion Table should stand where the Altar did. 2. That
 there should be some difference between the placing of the Lords Table in
 the Church, and the placing of a Mans Table in his House. 3. That it
 was not fit the People should sit above Gods Table, or be above the Priest
 when he Consecrateth. 4. That when the Communion Table stands thus,
 the Chancel would be the fairer, and so there would be more room for the
 Communicants. 5. That the Table standing thus, the face of the Mini-
 ster would be better seen, and his voice more audibly and distinctly heard,
 than if it stood upon a Level in the midst of the Chancel. And 6. That
 it was expedient that the Daughters should be like their Mother, and that
 the Parochial Churches should conform themselves in that particular to
 their own Cathedrals. But that which seemed to be the most popular
 Argument to persuade Obedience, was the avoiding of those Propha-
 nations which formerly the Holy Table had been subject to; For
 should it be permitted to stand as before it did, Church-wardens would
 keep their Accounts on it, Parishioners would dispatch the Parish business
 at it, School-masters will teach their Boys to write upon it, The Boys will
 lay their Hats, Satchels, and Books upon it, Many will sit and lean irre-
 verently against it in Sermon time, The Dogs will piss upon it and defile
 it, and Glaspers would knock it full of Nail-holes. By which means he
 prevailed so far, that, of 469 Parishes which were in that Diocesis, 140
 had

had conformed to his Order in it, before the end of the *Christmas* LIB. IV.
 Holydays in this present year, *Anno* 1635. without any great relu- *Anno Dom.*
 ctancy in Priest or People. The first strong Opposition which he *1635.*
 found in the business, came from a great and populous Parish called *Beckington*, where *Hewish* Incumbent of the place, was willing of him-
 self to have obeyed his Directions in it: but the Church-wardens of
 the Parish were determined otherwise. For this being sent for by the
 Bishop, he gave them Order by word of mouth, to remove the Table
 to the East end of the Chancel, and to place a decent Rail before it:
 Which they refusing to perform, were cited to appear in the Bishops
 Court, before *Duck* the Chancellor of that Diocess, on the ninth of
June, by whom they were commanded to remove such Seats as were
 above the Communion Table, to obey the Bishops former Directions,
 and to return a Certificate of all that they had done therein by the
 sixth of *October* then next following: and for default thereof, were on
 the same day Excommunicated by the Bishop in person. But the
 Church-wardens being rich, well-backed, and disaffected to the Ser-
 vice, appealed from their Diocesan to the Dean of the *Arches*; at whose
 request, upon some hope given of their Conformity, they were ab-
 solved for a month, and admonish'd to submit to that which had been
 enjoined them. Continuing in their obstinacy, he Excommunicates
 them again, and they again appeal to the Dean of the *Arches*; where
 finding no Relief, they presented a Petition to the Archbishop, with
 no less than a hundred hands unto it, and afterwards to the King him-
 self, but with like success. *Pierce* had done nothing in that case, but
 what he had been warranted to do by their Authority, and there-
 fore was by their Authority to be countenanced in it. There is an
 ancient Priviledge belonging to the Church of *England*, *That he who*
standeth obstinately Excommunicated for forty days, upon Certificate
thereof into the Court of Chancery, shall be attached with a Writ De
excommunicato capiendo, directed to the Sheriff, for his Apprehension;
by him to be committed to Prison without Bail or Mainprise (as our
Lawyerscall it) till he conform himself, and seek Absolution. By vir-
 tue of this Writ these obstinate persons were laid up in the Common
 Gaol, after they had remained Excommunicate above a twelvemonth;
 which shews with how great patience they had been forborn. And
 then at last, perceiving what ill counsel they had followed, and into
 what perplexities they had cast themselves, they made their submissi-
 on to their Bishop, by whom they were enjoined to do Penance for
 their Contempt, and obstinate standing out against the Sentence of
 the Court, in a form prescribed: The Penance to be done in the great
 Church of *Bath*, their own Parish Church at *Beckington*, and in the
 Parish Church of *Frome-Selwood* the next Market-Town adjoining to
 it; and thereupon the Parties to be Absolved. Which Opposition
 thus suppressed, prepared the People in most other places of that Dio-
 cess for a more ready conformity, than otherwise the *Diocesan* might
 have found amongst them: So true is that of the Historian, *That the*
Resistances of the Subject being once suppressed, adde strength to that Au-
thority which they thought to crush. How he behaved himself in refe-
 rence

PART II. rence to his Majesties *Instructions*, we shall see hereafter, when he is
Anno Dom. brought upon the stage on that occasion; and we shall see hereafter al-
 1635. so, how much or how little was done in order to the purpose of this *Vi-*
 sitation, by the rest of the Bishops.

Nor was there only care taken for rectifying such things as were found amiss in *Parochial Churches*: but to enquire also into the State and Actions of the Mother *Cathedrals*, by which all other Churches which depended on them, were to be regulated and directed. And they found work enough in many of them; especially in those wherein there was a want of Statutes for the Common Government. There are in *England* twenty six *Cathedral* or *Episcopal Sees*, of which thirteen are reckoned of the old foundation, and the other moyety of the new; those of the old foundation such as anciently had been founded in *Secular Canons*, as they still continue. Of which sort are the Churches of *St. Paul* in *London*, together with those of *Chichester*, *Salisbury*, *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Lincoln*, *Lichfield*, *Hereford*, and the four *Welsh* Bishopricks, in the Province of *Canterbury*, and none but the Metropolitanical See of *Tork* in the other Province, all of which had their ancient Statutes, and required no alteration in them except *Hereford* only. Those of the new foundation (as they commonly called them) were such as had been founded on *Monastick Orders*, which being dissolved by King *Henry* the Eighth, he founded them a new in a *Dean and Chapter* of *secular Priests*, of which sort were the Churches of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Rocheſter*, *Norwich*, and the four new Bishopricks by him founded in the Abbeys of *Oxon*. *Peterborough*, *Gloceſter*, and *Bristol*, together with those of *Durham*, *Carlisle*, and *Cheſter*, (this last of his foundation also) in the other *Province*. For each of which Churches there was made a draught of Statutes, but never perfected or confirmed; and therefore either kept or broken at the *Deans* discretion, as it conduced most to his advantage from time to time; which proved the unavoidable occasion of many differences between the *Deans* and *Prebendaries* of those several Churches; the *Deans* affecting an arbitrary and absolute Government, and the *Prebends* looking on themselves as Brethren, not as Subjects to him. The perfecting of these Statutes to serve as a standing Rule to both for the times succeeding, took up much of his thoughts, and certainly he had effected it for all those Churches in convenient time, if the disturbances which hapned in *Scotland* first, and in *England* afterwards, had not diverted and disabled him from that performance,

Cant. Doom.
 P.79°

He began first with *Canterbury* his own *Cathedral*, where he found the Table placed at the East end of the *Choir* by the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and Adoration used toward it by their appointment; as was attested upon Oath by *Dr. Bleckinden* one of the *Prebends* of that Church at the time of his Trial. Which having found in so good order, he recommended to them the providing of *Candlesticks*, *Basons*, *Carpet*, and other Furniture for the adorning of the *Altar*, and the more solemn celebrating of the blessed Sacrament. And that these things might be perpetual to succeeding Ages, he composed a new body of Statutes

Statutes for the Government of that Cathedral, which was sent thither under the Great Seal, with his own hand subscribed to every leaf. In which there was this Statute amongst the rest, (which the *Deans, Trebends,* and Officers there were bound by Oath to observe) *That at their coming in and going out of the Choire, and all approaches to the Altar, they should by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God.* The like he did at *Winton* also, in this present year, where he required them by *Brent* his Vicar-General, to provide four Copes, to rail in the Communion Table and place it Altarwise, to bow towards it, and dayly to read the Epistles & Gospels at it; the said Epistles and Gospels to be read by none but such as were in holy Orders, contrary to the late practice of that Church, where the said Office was performed by their Lay Vicars at the will and pleasure of the *Dean*. To bind them to it for the present, certain *Injunctions* were left with them by *Brent* under the Seal of his Office. And that they might not fall again to their old confusions, a Book of *Statutes* was composed also to the use of that Church, for the rectifying of such disorders as had grown therein under the Government of *Abbot, Morton,* and *Young* the present *Dean* thereof, a *scot* by Nation, and one that never rightly understood the Constitution of the Church of *England*. The like *Injunctions* given by *Brent* to the Church of *Chichester*, to provide Copes by one a year for Gods publick Service, till they were sufficiently furnished with them; with the like Adorations toward the Communion Table, as before at *Winchester*. The Statutes of *Hereford* being imperfect, he caused to be cast in a new mold, and sent them thither under the Broad Seal for their future Reglement, to be there sworn to and observed. In which it was required, First, *That every Residentiary should officiate twice every year under the pain of paying forty shillings to be laid out on Ornaments of the Church.* Secondly, *That they should officiate on Sundaies and Holidais in their Copes.* Thirdly, *That they should stand up at the Creeds and Gospel, and Doxologies, and to bow so often as the name of Jesus was mentioned, and that no man should be covered in the Church.* Fourthly, *That every one should bow toward the Altar.* Fifthly, *That the Prayer afore their sermons should be made according to the 55. Canon, which as it shews to what disorders they were grown in point of practice, and how they had deviated from the Rules of the Church; so may it serve to verifie that old Observation,* (1) "That many times corrupt manners and evil Customs do beget good Laws. At *Worcester* *Manwaring*, who succeeded *Juxon* in that *Deanry*, prevented *Brent*, and acted many things of himself without any *Injunction*; for having erected a fair Table of Marble, standing on four well-fashioned Columns, he covered the Wall behind the same with hangings of Azure-coloured Stuff, having a white Silk Lace upon every Seam, and furnished it with Palls and Fronts, as he had observed in his Majesties and some Bishops Chappels; and ordered the Kings Scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the Choire to go in Rank, by two and two, and make their due obeisances at their coming in. Such Copes as belonged anciently to that Church, which had been lent many times unto common Actors, or otherwise Sacrilegiously profaned,

L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1635.

PART II. profaned, he caused to be burned, the Silver extracted out, and laid
Anno Dom. up in the Treasury, toward the buying of new ones, as more money
 1635. came in.

Ibid. p.81. In many other Churches the *Deans* and *Prebends* had been contented to put that money into their Purses, which might better have been expended on some publick Ornaments. And that he might proceed to a Reformation on the better grounds, he took order to be furnished with a just account of their present condition, what Vestments, and Utensils they had, and what they wanted. From *Lincoln* it was certified, *That the Communion Table was not very decent, and the Rail before it worse; that the Organs were old and naught, and that the Copes and Vestments were imbezeled, and none remained.* From *Norwich*, *That the Hangings of the Choires were old, and the Copes fair, but wanted mending.* From *Glocester*, *That there wanted Copes, and that many things were grown amiss since he left that Deanry.* From *Lichfield*, *That the Furniture of the Altar was very mean, care therefore to be taken in it for more costly Ornaments.* The like account from other places, which drew on by degrees such Reformation in Cathedral Churches, that they recovered once again their ancient splendour, and served for an example to the Parish Churches which related to them. Nor did the Archbishop stand alone in point of judgment as to these particulars. He had therein the testimony and assent of two such Bishops than which there could be none more averse from Popery, or any thing that tended to it. A difference hapning between the Minister and Church-wardens in a Parish of *Wilts*, about the placing of the Table, which the Minister desired to transpose to the end of the Chancel, and the Church-wardens to keep it as it stood before, the business was referred to *Davenant*, then Bishop of *Salisbury*, who on a full consideration of the matter, declared in favour of the *Incumbent*, and by a Decree under his Episcopal Seal settled the Table in the place where the Altar stood, as the Minister desired to have it. In which Decree there are these two passages to be observed; First, *That by the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, and by Canon 32. under King James, the Communion Tables should ordinarily be set and stand with the side to the East Wall of the Chancel.* And secondly, *That it is ignorance to think that the standing of the holy Table in that place doth relish of Popery.* This for the placing of the Table. And then as for the bowing and adoring toward it, we have this Authority from the Pen of *Morton*, then Bishop of *Durham*, in a Book by him written of the *Romish Sacrifice.* *The like difference (saith he) may be discerned between their manner of Reverence in bowing towards the Altar, for adoration of the Eucharist only, and ours in bowing as well when there is no Eucharist on the Table as when there is, which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to testify the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the People of God did in adoring him before the Ark his footstool, Psalm 99.* And here we also may observe, that though *Davenant* made not his Decree till the seventeenth of May 1637. when the business of the Table had been settled in most parts of the Kingdom, yet *Mortons* book came out this year, *Anno* 1635. at the first breaking out of those oppositions which were made against it. Yet

Archb. Sp.
 June 16.
 1637.

Yet did not the Archbishop think he had done sufficiently if he should leave the case to be ruled only by Injunctions and Decrees, unless he added vigour to them by his own example. When he was Bishop of *St. Davids*, he built a new Chappel to his House of *Aberguilly*, and furnished both the Chappel and the Altar in it with *Hangings, Palls, Fronts, Plate*, and other Utensils, to a very great value. According unto which beginning he continued till the end of his Race. When he came first to *Lambeth-house*, where he found the Chappel *lyz so nastily*, (as his own words are) the Windows so defaced, and all things in it so disordered, *that he was much ashamed to see it, and could not resort unto it without disdain*; the Images in the Windows being broken in many places, and most deformedly patcht up with ordinary Glass, he caused to be repaired, and beautified according to their former Figure, his Glasiers Bill amounting to no less than *148 li. 7 s. 6 d.* With like care, but with far less Charges, he repaired the ruined Windows in the Chappel of his house in *Croyden*, where he spent the greatest part of his Summers, and whither he retired at other times for his ease and privacy. And as for the Communion Table, which he found standing in the middle of the Chappel, a very sorry one in it self, he ordered it to be removed to some other Room, and caused a new one to be made, placed where the Altar sometimes stood, shadowed over-head with a very fair Frieze, and Fenced with a decent and costly Rail, the guilding of the one, and the curious workmanship of the other, together with the Table it self, amounting to 33 pounds, and upwards; *Copes, Altar-cloaths, Plate*, and other necessaries which belonged to the adorning of it he had been Master of before in his other Chappels, and therefore was at the less charge in compleating this. He put himself to some cost also in repairing and beautifying the Organs, which he found very much out of tune, and made great use of them in the celebrating of Divine Service on Sundays and Holydays, when his leisure could permit him to be present at it; some Gentlemen of his Majesties Chappel assisting many times to make up the Comfort when the solemnity required it. According unto which example of their Lord, and Chancellor, the principal Colledges in *Oxon.* beautified their Chappels, transposed their Tables, fenced them with Rails, and furnished them with *Hangings, Palls, Plate*, and all other necessaries. Yet neither his own Example, nor the Authority of the said two Bishops, nor practice of the Deans and Chapters in so many Churches, or the Governours of those principal Colledges, so stopt the mouths of divers railing *Rabshakehs* of the *Puritan-Faction*, as not to spit their venome and reproaches on them. Witness for all, that scurrilous passage of *H. B.* in his Seditious Sermon, called, *For God and the King*; *How then (saith he) will our new Masters, our Innovators, make good the bringing in of these things afresh into Cathedrals, and forcing all petty Churches to conform thereunto? Would the Prelates thus make the Mother Cathedrals (thus by themselves made and adopted Romes daughters) their Concubines, whereon to beget a new bestard Generation of sacrificing, idolatrous Miss-Priests throughout the Land, which our good Laws, and all our learned and pious Divines have proclaimed illegitimate?* So he.

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1635.

Cant. Doom,
p. 462.

P. 66.

P. 163.

PART II. More of this foul stuff might be found elsewhere, but that I hate the raking in such dirty puddles.

Anno Dom.

1635.



The business of the Table going on in so good a way, that of the Declaration about Lawful Sports seemed to be at a stand. Such Ministers as had readily obeyed the Mandates, and published the several Orders of the secular Judges in their several Churches, did obstinately refuse the publishing of this Declaration, when required to do it by their Bishops; and that they might not be thought to stand out against them without some good ground, they alledged some reasons for themselves, which when they came to be examined, had no reason in them. First, they alledged, That there was no express order in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be prest to the publishing of it. But then withal they should consider, that the Bishops were commanded to take order for the publishing of it in their several Parishes; and whom could they require to publish it in the Parish Churches but the Ministers only? Bound to them by an Oath of *Canonical Obedience* at their admission to their Cures. So that the Bishops did no more than they were commanded in laying the publication of this *Declaration* on the back of the Ministers; and the Ministers by doing less than they were commanded infringed the Oath which they had taken, rendring themselves thereby obnoxious to all such Ecclesiastical Censures as the Bishops should inflict upon them. It was alledged secondly, That the publishing of this Declaration was a work more proper for the Constable or Tything-man, or the Church-wardens at the least, than it was for the Ministers: But then it was to be considered, that the Constable or Tything-man were Lay-officers meerly, bound by the Law to execute the Warrants of the Judges and Justices, but not the Mandates of the Bishops, so far from being *Proper Instruments* in such a business, that none of the Judges thought it fit to command their Service in publishing their Orders against *Ales* and *Revels*. And though the Church-wardens had some relation to Church-matters, and consequently to the Bishop in the way of Presentments; yet was he not bound to execute any such Commands, because not tyed by an Oath of Canonical obedience, as the Ministers were. Or were it otherwise, yet doth it happen many times in Country Villages, that the Church-wardens cannot read, and therefore not to be employed in publishing such Declarations, which require a more knowing man than a silly Villager. And last of all it was alledged, that the Ministers of all others were most unfit to hold the Candle for lighting and letting in such a course of licentiousness, as was indulged on the Lords day, by the said Declaration. But then it was to have been proved, that any Sports of the allowed of in it, might have been brought within the compass of such Licentiousness, which neither the Word of God, nor the Canons of the Christian Church, nor any Statutes of the Realm had before forbidden. Or had it been as they pretended, that the command was contrary to the Law of God, and could not be obeyed with a safe conscience; yet this was only a pretence, their reading of the Book being no more an argument of their approbation of any thing therein contained, than when a common

mon. Crier reads a Proclamation, the Contents whereof perhaps he likes not. LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1635.

The Business being at this stand, it was thought fit that the Bishops should first deal with the Refusers in a Fatherly and gentle way, but adding menaces sometimes to their persuasions if they saw cause for it; and that in the mean season some discourses should be writ and published to bring them to a right understanding of the truth, and their several duties: which burden being held of too great weight for any one to undergo, and the necessity of the work requiring a quick dispatch, it was held fit to divide the employment betwixt two. The Argumentative and Scholastical part referred to the right learned Dr. *White*, then Bishop of *Ely*, who had given good proof of his ability in Polemical matters in several Books and Disputations against the Papists. The Practical and Historical, by *Heylyn* of *Westminster*, who had gained some reputation for his Studies in the antient Writers by *Afferting* the History of *St. George*, maliciously impugned by those of the *Calvinian* Party upon all occasions. Both of them, being enjoined their tasks, were required to be ready for the Press against *Michaemas* Term; at the end whereof both books came out, The Bishops under the Title of *A Treatise of the Sabbath day, containing a defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of England against Sabatarian Novelty*. The other called, *The History of the Sabbath*, was divided into two Books or Parts; The first whereof began with the Creation of the World, and carried on the Story till the destruction of the Temple; The second, beginning with our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, was drawn down to the year 1633. when the publishing of this Declaration was required. But going different ways to work they did not both encounter the like success. The Bishops Book had not been extant very long, when an Answer was returned unto it by *Byfield* of *Surrey*, which Answer occasioned a *Reply*, and that *Reply* begat a *Rejoynder*. To *Heylyn*s Book there was no Answer made at all, whether because unanswerable, or not worth the Answering, is to me unknown. And though it is not to be doubted, but that the Arguments of the one, and the Authorities of the other, prevailed with some to lay aside their former obstinacy and averfeness; yet did there still remain too many, who stopp'd their ears, like the *deaf Adder* in the *Psalmist*, and would not hear the voice of the *Charmers*, charmed they never so sweetly. By which it did appear too plainly, That there was some *Association* had and made amongst them, to stand it out to the last, and put some baffle or affront upon their Superiors, by whose Command the reading of the Book was imposed upon them. And thereupon it was resolved, That the Bishops in their several Diocesses should go to work more roundly with them, and either bring them to Conformity, if it might be done; or otherwise, to proceed against them by *Ecclesiastical Censures*.

But whilst these things were acting on the Stage of *England*, the Bishops of *Scotland* were as active in drawing of a Book of *Canons*, and framing a Publick *Liturgie* for the use of that Church. Both Undertakings warranted by the Act of a *General Assembly* held at *Aberdeen*,

PART II. *Anno* 1616. and the one brought to a good forwardness before the death of King James: But being discontinued by the Accidents and *Anno Dom.* Debates before-remembered, it pleased his Majesty at the last to yield *1635.* unto the importunity of the *Scottish* Bishops, in having a *Liturgie* of their own, differing in some things from that of the Church of *England*, to shew the independency and self-subsistence of their *Kirk*; but agreeing with it in the main, to testify the Conformity between the Churches: Which being thus condescended to, they were ordered to proceed with all speed and diligence, which they did accordingly. But the Canons being the shorter work, were first brought to an end; for the compiling whereof, his Majesty gives these Reasons in his large Declaration. First, *That he held it but exceeding necessary, that there should be some Book extant to contain the Rules of the Ecclesiastical Government; so that as well the Clergie as the Laity might have one certain Rule, to regulate the Power of the one, the Obedience and Practice of the other.* Secondly, *That the Acts of General Assemblies were written only, and not Printed; and therefore could not come to the knowledge of many: So large and voluminous, that it was not easie to Transcribe them, insomuch that few of the Presbyters themselves could tell which of them were authentical, which not: So unsafely and uncertainly kept, that they knew not where to address themselves for consulting with them: That by reducing those numerous Acts (and those not known unto themselves) to such a paucity of Canons, published and exposed to the publick view, no man should be insnared by ignorance, or have just reason to complain of their multiplicity.* And finally, *That not one in all that Kingdom did either live under the Obedience of the Acts of those General Assemblies, or did know what they were, or where to find them.* Upon which grounds, the Book of *Canons* being drawn up and presented to him, he gave a Warrant under his Hand to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, requiring him, together with the Bishop of *London*, to peruse the same, to see that they were well fitted to the Church-Government, and as near as conveniently might be to the *Canons* of the Church of *England*; giving them, and either of them full power to alter any thing in the said *Canons*, as they found most fitting. Which being done as he commanded, and the Book made ready for the Press, he pass'd his Royal Confirmation of it, under the Great Seal of the Kingdom, in this manner following.

CHARLES REX.

WE out of Our Royal Care for the Maintenance of the present Estate and Government of the Church of Scotland, have diligently and with great content considered all the Canons and Constitutions after following; and finding the same such as We are perswaded will be profitable, not only to our whole Clergie, but to the whole Church of that our Kingdom, if so they be well observed, Have for Us, Our Heirs, and Lawful Successors, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, given, and by these presents do give Our Royal Assent unto all the said Canons, Orders, and Constitutions, and to all and every thing in them contained, as they are afterwards set down. And

And further, We do not only by Our Prerogative Royall, and Supreme Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, Ratifie and Confirm by these Our Letters Patents, the said Canons, Orders and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained: But likewise We command by Our Authority Royal, and by these Letters Patents, the same to be diligently observed and executed by all Our loving Subjects of that Our Kingdom both within the Province of St. Andrews and Glasgow; in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them, according to this Our Will and Pleasure hereby expressed and declared. And for the better observation of them, We straightly Charge and Command all Our Archbishops, Bishops, and all others that exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within that Our Realm, to see the same Canons, Orders and Constitutions to be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall willingly break or neglect to observe the same, as they tender the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and their service and duty to Us their King and soveraign.

Given at Our Mannor of Greenwich, 23 May 1635.

These Canons when they came abroad, were presently quarrelled and disclaimed by the *Scottish Presbyters*: Quarrelled with in reference to the subject matter comprehended in them: Disclaimed, because imposed upon them without their own approbation and consent. The points most quarrelled at, were these. 1. That whosoever should affirm, That the Kings Majesty had not the same Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, that the Godly Kings had among the Jews, or the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church; or impugn in any part his Royal Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, was to incur the Censure of Excommunication. 2. The like censure to be inflicted on those who should affirm, That the Worship contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments (though at the making of these Canons there was no such Book of Common-Prayer recommended to them;) or, That the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, or the form of Making and Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c. did contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or was corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful in the service and Worship of God. 3. That the Ordinations were restrained to four times in the year; that is, the first Weeks of March, June, September, and December. 4. That every Ecclesiastical Person at his Admission should take the Oath of Supremacy, according to the form required by Parliament; and the like Oath for avoiding Simony, required in the Book of Consecration. 5. That every Presbyter shall either by himself, or by another Person lawfully called, read or cause Divine Service to be done, according to the form of the Book of that Common-Prayer, before all Sermons; and that he should officiate by the said Book of Common-Prayer, in all the Offices, Parts and Rubricks of it (when as yet none of them had seen the said Book or Liturgie.) 6. That no Preacher should impugn the Doctrine deliver'd by another in the same Church, or any near adjoining to it, without leave from the Bishop; which they conceived to be the way to pin their whole Religion on the Bishops Sleeves. 7. That

PART II. *no Presbyter should hereafter become Surety or Cautioner for any Person whosoever, in Civil Bonds and Contracts, under pain of Suspension.* 8. *Ann. Dom. 1635.* That whatsoever remained of the Bread and Wine prepared for the Communion, should be distributed to the poorer sort which receive that day, to be eaten and drunken of them before they go out of the Church. 9. That Presbyters are enjoyned to Minister the Sacrament of Baptism in private Houses, and upon every day alike, in case of infirmity; and that the People were required not to receive the sacrament of the Lords Supper but upon their knees. 10. That in all Sentences of Separation à Thoro & Mensa, there shall be a Caution inserted (and given accordingly) That the Persons so separated should live continently and chastly, and not contract Marriage with any Person, during each others life (which seemed to put the innocent Party into as bad a condition as the guilty, contrary to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches.) 11. That no private Meeting be kept by Presbyters, or any other Persons whatsoever, for expounding Scripture, or for consulting upon matters Ecclesiastical: Such matters to be handled only in the Lawful Synods held by Bishops. 12. That under pain of Excommunication, no Presbyter or Layman, jointly or severally, make Rules, Orders, or Constitutions in Causes Ecclesiastical; or to adde or detract from any Rubricks or Articles, or other things now established, without the Authority of the King or his Successors. 13. That National or General Assemblies were to be called only by the Kings Authority; That the Decrees thereof should bind as well the Absent as the Present in Matters Ecclesiastical; and, That it should not be lawful for the Bishops themselves, in such Assemblies, or otherwise, to alter any Articles, Rubrick, Canon Doctrinal or Disciplinary whatsoever, without his Majesties leave first had and obtained. 14. That no man should cover his Head in time of Divine Service, except with a Cap or Night-coise in case of infirmity; and that all Persons should reverently kneel when the Confession and other Prayers were read, and should stand up at the saying of the Creed. 15. That no Presbyter or Reader be permitted to conceive Prayers ex tempore, or use any other form in the Publick Liturgie or Service, than is prescribed, under the pain of Deprivation from his Benefice or Cure. 16. That by this Prohibition the Presbyters seemed to be debarred from using their own Prayers before their Sermons, by reason that in c. 3. num. 13. it is required, That all Presbyters and Preachers should move the People to join with them in Prayer, using some few and convenient words, and should always conclude with the Lords Prayer (which in effect was to bind them to the form of bidding Prayer, prescribed in the 55th. Canon of the Church of England.) 17. That no man should Teach either in Publick School or Private House, but such as shall be allowed by the Archbishop of the Province, or Bishop of the Diocesi, under their Hand and Seal; and those to Licence none but such as were of good Religion, and obedient to the Orders of the Church. 18. That none should be admitted to read in any Colledge or School, except they take first the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. 19. That nothing be hereafter Imprinted, except the same be seen and allowed by the Visitors appointed to that purpose; the Penalty thereof (as in all like Cases in which no Penalty is expressed) being left to the discretion of the Bishops. 20. That no Publick Fast should be appointed

appointed upon Sundays (as had been formerly accustomed) but on the Week-days only; and them to be appointed by none but His Majesty. 21. Anno Dom. 1635. L I B. IV. That for the Ministering of the Sacrament of Baptism, a Font should be prepared, and placed somewhat near the entry of the Church, as antiently it used to be, with a Cloth of fine Linnen, which shall likewise be kept all neatly. 22. That a comely and decent Table for Celebrating the Holy Communion should be provided, and placed at the upper end of the Chancel or Church, to be covered at the times of Divine Service with a Carpet of decent Stuff, and at the time of Ministration with a white Linnen cloth; And that Basons, Cups, or Chalices of some pure Metal shall be provided, to be set upon the Communion Table, and reserved to that only use. 23. That such Bishops and Presbyters as shall depart this life, having no Children, shall leave their Goods or a great part of them to the Church and Holy Uses; and that notwithstanding their having Children, they should leave some Testimony of their love to the Church and advancement of Religion. 24. That no Sentence of Excommunication should be pronounc'd, or Absolution given by any Presbyter, without the leave and approbation of the Bishop: And no Presbyter should reveal or make known what had been opened to him in confession, at any time, or to any Person whatsoever, except the crime be such as by the Laws of the Realm his own Life may be called in question for concealing the same. 25. And finally, That no Person should be received into Holy Orders, nor suffered to Preach, Catechise, Minister the Sacraments, or any other Ecclesiastical Function, unless he first subscribe to be obedient to these present Canons, Ratified and Approved by his Majesties Royal Warrant, and Ordained to be observed by the Clergie, and all others whom they concern.

These were the matters chiefly quarrelled in this Book of Canons, visibly tending (as they would make the World believe) to subject that Kirk unto the Power of the King; the Clergy to the command of their Bishops; the whole Nation, to the Discipline of a Foreign Church, and all together by degrees, to the Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Pope of Rome. But juster cause they seemed to have for disclaiming the said Book of Canons, because not made nor imposed upon them by their own approbation and consent, contrary to the usage of the Church in all Times and Ages. Had his Majesty imposed these Orders on them by the name of Injunctions, according to the example of King Henry viii. Anno 1536. of King Edward vi. Anno 1547. and of Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1559. he might perhaps have justified himself by that Supremacy which had been vested in him by the Laws of that Kingdom; which seems to have been the Judgment of King James in this very case. At his last being in Scotland, Anno 1617. he had prepared an Article to be passed in Parliament to this effect, viz. That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the External Government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishop, Bishops, and a competent number of the Ministry, should have the strength of a Law. But understanding that a Protestation was prepared against it by some of the most Rigid Presbyterians, he commanded Hay the Clerk or Register, to pass by that Article, as a thing no way necessary; the Prerogative of his Crown giving him more Authority than was declared or desired by it. But

History of Scot. Spots. 531.

533.

PART II. But as for Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, if they concerned the whole Church, they were to be advised and framed by Bishops, and other Learned men, assembled in a General Council, and testified by the Subscription of such Bishops as were then assembled. Or if they did relate only unto National Churches, or particular Provinces, they were to be concluded and agreed upon by the Bishops and Clergy; that is to say, so many of the Clergy as are chosen and impowred by all the rest for that end and purpose, assembled in a National or Provincial *synod*. No Canons nor Constitutions Ecclesiastical to be otherwise made; or if made otherwise, not to bind, without a voluntary and free submission of all Parties to them. And though it could not be denied, but that all Christian Emperors, Kings, and Princes reserved a Power unto themselves of Ratifying and Confirming all such Constitutions as by the Bishops and Clergy were agreed on; yet still the said Canons and Constitutions were first agreed on by the Bishops and Clergy, before they were tendred to the Sovereign Prince for his Ratification. The *Scottish Presbyters* had formerly disclaimed the Kings Authority either in calling their *Assemblies*, or confirming the Results and Acts thereof: which they conceived to be good and valid of themselves without any additional power of his to adde strength unto them. And therefore now they must needs think themselves reduced to a very great Vassalage in having a body of Canons so imposed upon them, to the making whereof they were never called, and to the passing whereof they had never voted. But as they had broke the Rules of the Primitive Church in acting Sovereignty of themselves without requiring the Kings approbation and consent in the times foregoing; so were they now upon the point of having those old Rules broken on them by the King, in making Canons, and putting Laws and Orders on them for their future Government, to which they never had consented. And therefore though his Majesty had taken so much care (as himself observed) for facilitating and conveniencing their obedience by furthering their knowledge in those points which before they knew not; yet they did generally behold it, and exclaimed against it, as one of the most grievous burthens that ever had been laid upon them.

Bibl. Regia,
p. 120.

More clamour, but on weaker grounds, was made against the Book of Common-Prayer when it first came out, which was not till the year 1637. and then we shall hear further of it. Mean while we will return to *England*, and see what our Archbishop doth, as a chief Counsellor and States-man in his Civil Actings. It was about four or five years since, *Anno 1631*. that he first discovered how ill his Majesties Treasury had been managed between some principal Officers of his Revenue, to the enriching of themselves, to the impoverishing of their Master, and the no small amazement of all good Subjects. But the abuses being too great to be long concealed, his Majesty is made acquainted with all particulars, who thereupon did much estrange his countenance from the principal of them.

For which good service to the King none was so much suspected by them as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, against whom they began to practise, endeavouring all they could to remove him from his Majesties ear,

ear, or at the least to lessen the esteem and reputation which his fidelity and upright dealing had procured of him. Factions are heightened in the Court. Private ends followed to the prejudice of Publick Service, and every mouth talkt openly against his proceedings. But still he kept his ground, and prevailed at last, appointed by his Majesty on the fifth of *February* 1634. to be one of the great Committee for Trade and the Kings Revenue; and seeing *Westons* Glories set under a cloud, within few weeks after, *Weston* being dead, it pleased his Majesty to commit the managing of the Treasury by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, bearing date on the fourteenth day of *March*, to the Lord Archbishop, *Cottingham* Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Cooke* and *Windebank*, principal Secretaries, and certain others; who with no small envy looked upon him as if he had been set over them for a Supervisor. Within two daies after his being nominated for this Commission, his Majesty brought him also into the Foreign Committee, which rendred him as considerable abroad as he was at home. This as it added to his power, so it increased the stomach which was born against him. The year 1635. was but new began, when clashing began to grow between him and *Cottingham* about executing the Commission for the Treasury. And that his grief and trouble might be the greater, his old Friend *Windebank*, who had received his preferment from him, forsook him in the open field, and joyned himself with *Cottingham* and the rest of that Party. This could not choose but put him to the exercise of a great deal of Patience, considering how necessary a Friend he had lost, in whose bosom he had lodged a great part of his Counsels, and on whose Activity he relied for the carrying on of his designs at the Council Table. But for all this he carries on the Commission the whole year about, acquaints himself with the Mysteries and Secrets of it, the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurers had for enriching themselves (to the value of seven thousand pound a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the King, or abusing the Subject. He had observed, that divers Treasurers of late years had raised themselves from very mean and private Fortunes to the Titles and Estates of Earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; and therefore he resolves to commend such a man to his Majesty for the next Lord Treasurer, who having no Family to raise, no Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Incomes of the *Treasury* to the Kings advantage than they had been formerly. And who more like to come into his eye for that preferment than *Juxon*, his old and trusty Friend, then Bishop of *London*; a man of such a well tempered disposition as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and People, and one whom he knew capable of as much instruction as by a whole years experience in the Commission for the Treasury he was able to give him.

It was much wondred at, when first the Staff was put into this mans hand; in doing whereof the Archbishop was generally conceived neither to have consulted his own present peace nor his future safety. Had he studied his own present peace, he should have given *Cotting-*

PART II. *ton* leave to put in for it; who being Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himself to be the next in that *Ascendent*, the Lord Treasurers Associate while he lived, and the presumptive heir to that office after his decease. And had he studied his own safety and preservation for the times to come, he might have made use of the power by recommending the Staff to the Earles of *Bedford*, *Hartford*, *Essex*, the Lord *Say*, or some such man of Popular Nobility; by whom he might have been reciprocated by their strength and interests with the People in the change of times. But he preferred his Majesties Advantages before his particular concernments, the safety of the Publick before his own. Nor did he want some seasonable considerations in it for the good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the Church depended much on the conformity of the City of *London*, and *London* did as much depend in their trade and payments upon the Love and Justice of the Lord *Treasurer* of *England*. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the Citizens to the directions of their Bishop, and the whole Kingdom unto them; No small encouragement being thereby given to the *London* Clergy for the improving of their Tithes. For with what confidence could any of the old Cheats adventure on a publick Examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper Court for suits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord Bishop of *London* sat therein as the principal Judge? Upon these Counsels he proceeds, and obtains the Staff, which was delivered to the Bishop of *London* on Sunday *March* 6. sworn on the same day Privy Counsellor, and on the first of the next Term conducted in great state from *London* House to *Westminster* Hall, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* riding by him, and most of the Lords and Bishops about the Town, with many Gentlemen of chief note and quality, following by two and two to make up the Pomp. It was much feared by some, and hoped by others, that the new *Treasurer* would have sunk under the burden of that place, as *Williams* did under the custody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that expectation, carrying himself with such an even and steady hand, that every one applauded, but none envied his preferment to it; insomuch as the then Lord *Faulkland*, in a bitter Speech against the Bishops about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could not chuse but give him this fair Testimony, *viz.* That in an unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier or White Staff.

The Queen about these times began to grow into a greater prevalency over his Majesties affections than formerly she had made shew of: But being too wise to make any open alteration of the conduct of affairs, she thought it best to take the Archbishop into such of her Counsels as might by him be carried on to her contentment, and with no dishonour to himself, of which he gives this intimation in the *Breviate* (a) on the thirtieth of *August* 1634. *viz.* That the Queen sent for him to *Oatlands*, and gave him thanks for a business which she had trusted him withall, promising him to be his Friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion. This seconded with the like

(a) P. 19.

like intimation, given us *May* 18. 1635. of which he writes, that LIB. IV. having brought his account to the Queen on *May* 18. *Whitsunday*, *Anno Dom.* the Court then at *Greenwich*, it was put off till the Sunday after, at 1635. which time he presented it to her, and received from her an assurance of all that was desired by him. *Panzani's* coming unto *London* in the *Christmas* holy-days makes it not improbable that the facilitating of his safe and favourable reception was the great business which the Queen had committed to the Archbishops trust; and for his effecting of it with the King, had given him those gracious promises of access unto her, which the *Breviate* spake of. For though *Panzani* was sent over from the Pope on no other pretence than to prevent a Schism which was then like to be made between the *Regulars* and the *secular* Priests, to the great scandal of that Church; yet under that pretence were muffled many other designs which were not fit to be discovered unto Vulgar eyes. By many secret Artifices he works himself into the favour of *Cottington*, *Windbank*, and other great men about the Court, and at last grew to such a confidence, as to move this question to some Court-Bishops, *viz.* *Whether his Majesty would permit the residing of a Catholick Bishop of the English Nation to be nominated by his Majesty, and not to exercise his Function but as his Majesty should limit?* Upon which Proposition, when those Bishops had made this *Quere* to him, *Whether the Pope would allow of such a Bishop of his Majesties nominating as held the Oath of Allegiance lawfull, and should permit the taking of it by the Catholick Subjects*, he puts it off by pleading that he had no Commission to declare therein one way or other. And thereupon he found some way to move the King for the permission of an *Agent* from the Pope to be addressed to the Queen for the concernments of her Religion; which the King, with the Advice and Consent of his Council, condescended to, upon condition that the party sent should be no Priest. This possibly might be the sum of that account which the Archbishop tendred to the Queen at *Greenwich* on the *Whitsontide* after *Panzani's* coming, which as it seems was only to make way for *Con* (of whom more hereafter) though for the better colour of doing somewhat else that might bring him hither, he composed the Rupture between the *seculars* and the *Regulars* above-mentioned.

I cannot tell whether I have hit right or not upon these particulars: But sure I am, that he resolved to serve the Queen no further in her desires than might consist both with the honour and safety of the Church of *England*; which as it was his greatest charge, so did he lay out the chief parts of his cares and thoughts upon it. And yet he was not so unmindful of the Foreign Churches, as not to do them all good offices when it came in his way, especially when the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of *England* was not concerned in the same. For in the year 1634. having received Letters from the Queen of *Bohemia* (with whom he held a constant course of Correspondence) about the furtherance of a Collection for the exiled Ministers of the *Palatinate*; he moved the King so effectually in it, that his Majesty granted his Letters Patents for the said Collection to be made in all parts of the King-

PART II. Kingdom; which Letters Patents being sealed and brought unto him
Anno Dom. for his further Direction in prosecution of the same, he found a pas-
 1625. sage in it which gave him no small cause of offence, and was this that
 followeth; *viz.* "Whose cases are the more to be deplored, for that
 Cant. Doom, "this extremity is fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy
 P. 92. "in the true Religion which we together with them professed, and
 "which we are all bound in conscience to maintain to the utmost of
 "our powers; whereas these Religious and Godly persons being in-
 "volved amongst other their Country-men might have enjoyed their
 "Estates and Fortunes, if with other backsliders in the times of Tri-
 "al they would have submitted themselves to the *Antichristian* Yoke,
 "and have renounced or dissembled the Profession of the true Reli-
 "gion. Upon the reading of which passage he observed two things:
 First, That the Religion of the *Palatine* Churches was declared to
 be the same with ours. And secondly, That the Doctrine and Go-
 vernment of the Church of *Rome* is called an *Antichristian Yoke*; nei-
 ther of which could be approved of in the same terms in which they
 were presented to him. For first he was not to be told, that by the
 Religion of those Churches all the *Calvinian* Rigors in the point of
 Predestination and the rest depending thereupon were received as
 Orthodox; that they maintain a Parity of Ministers directly contrary
 both to the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*; and
 that *Pareus*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Heidelberg*,
 (who was not to be thought to have delivered his own sense only in
 that point) ascribes a power to inferiour Magistrates to curb the pow-
 er, control the persons and resist the Authority of Sovereign Prin-
 ces; for which his Comment on the *Romans* had been publicly burnt
 by the appointment of King *James*, as before is said. Which as it
 plainly proves, that the Religion of those Churches is not altogether
 the same with that of ours, so he conceived it very unsafe that his Ma-
 jesty should declare under the Great Seal of *England*, that both him-
 self and all his Subjects were bound in conscience to maintain the Reli-
 gion of those Churches with their utmost power. And as unto the
 other point he looked upon it as a great Controversie, not only be-
 tween some Protestant Divines and the Church of *Rome*, but between
 the Protestant Divines themselves, hitherto not determined in any
 Council, nor positively defined by the Church of *England*; and there-
 fore he conceived it as unsafe as the other, that such a doubtful contro-
 versie, as that of the *Popes* being *Antichrist*, should be determined Po-
 sitively by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, of which
 there was great difference even amongst the Learned, and not resolv-
 ed on in the Schools. With these objections against that passage he
 acquaints his Majesty, who thereupon gave order that the said Letters
 Patents should be cancelled, and new ones to be drawn, in which that
 clause should be corrected or expunged; and that being done, the said
 Letters Patents to be new sealed, and the said Collection to proceed
 according to the Archbishops first desires and proposition made in that
 behalf.

But before this Collection was finished, and the money returned,
Charles

Charles Lodowick, Prince Elector *Palatine*, eldest surviving Son of the LIB. IV. Queen of *Bohemia*, comes into *England* to bestow a visit on his Uncle, *Anno Domini* and to desire his aid and counsel for the recovery of the Electoral Dignity and Estate which did of right belong unto him. On the twenty *1635.* second of *November* this present year 1635. he comes to *Whitehall*, graciously welcomed by the King, who assigned him for his quarters in the Court, the Lodgings properly belonging to the Prince his Son, where he continued whilst he made his abode in *England*, except such times as he attended his Majesty in his Summers Progress. Knowing how forward the Archbishop had expressed himself in doing all ready Services for the Queen his Mother, and the good offices which he had done for her sake to the distressed Ministers of his Dominions, on the 30 day of the same Month he crost over to *Lambeth*, and was present with the Archbishop at the Evening Prayer then very solemnly performed; and upon that day fortnight came unexpectedly upon him, and did him the honour to dine with him. And that he might the better endear himself to the English Nation by shewing his conformity and approbation of the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* here by Law established, he did not only diligently frequent the Morning and Evening Service in his Majesties Closet, but upon *Christmas* day received the Communion also in the *Chappel Royal* of *Whitehall*. For whose accommodation, at the receiving of it, there was a Stool placed within the *Traverse*, on the left hand of his Majesty, on which he sat while the Remainder of the Anthem was sung, and at the Reading of the Epistle, with a lower Stool and a Velvet Cushion to kneel upon both in the preparatory Prayers, and the Act of Receiving, which he most reverently performed to the great content of all beholders. During his being in the Court he published two Books in Print by the advice of the King and Council, not only to declare his Wrongs, but assert his Rights. The first he called by the name of a *PROTESTATION*, against all the unlawful and violent proceedings and actions against him and his Electoral Family. The second, called the *MANIFEST*, concerning the right of his Succession in the Lands, Dignities, and Honours, of which his Father had been unjustly dispossessed by the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second. After which Preparatory writings, which served to no other effect than to justify his own and the Kings proceedings in the eye of the world, he was put upon a course for being furnished both with men and mony to try his fortune in the Wars, in which he wanted not the best assistance which the Archbishop could afford him by his Power and Counsels. But as he laboured to advance his Interests in the recovery of his Patrimony and Estates in *Germany*, so he no less laboured to preserve the Interests of the Church of *England* against all dangers and disturbances which might come from thence. And therefore when some busie heads, at the time of the Princes being here, had published the Book entituled, *A Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the Palsgraves Churches*; A course was took to call it in, for the same cause, and on the same prudential grounds on which the Letters Patents before mentioned, had been stopt and altered. The Prince was welcome, but the Book might better

PART II. better have stayed at home, brought hither in *Dutch*, and here translated into English, Printed, and exposed to the publick view, to let the vulgar Reader see how much we wanted of the Purity and simplicity of the *Palatine Churches*.

Anno Dom.
1636.



Cant. Doom.
P. 149.

P. 4.

But we must now look back on some former Counsels in bringing such refractory Ministers to a just conformity in publishing his Majesties *Declaration* about lawful Sports, as neither arguments and persuasions could prevail upon. And that the Suffragan Bishops might receive the more countenance in it, the Archbishop means not to look on, but to act somewhat in his own Diocess which might be exemplary to the rest, some troublesome persons there were in it, who publickly opposed all established orders, neither conforming to his Majesties Instructions, nor the *Canons* of the Church, nor the Rubricks in the publick Liturgy. *Culmer* and *Plizer*, two men of the same affections, and such as had declared their inconformity in former times, were prest unto the publishing of this *Declaration*; *Brent* acting in it as Commissary to the Bishop of the Diocess, (not Vicar General to the Archbishop) of the Province of *Canterbury*. On their refusal so to do, they were called into the Consistory, and by him suspended. Petitioning the Archbishop for a release from that suspension, they were answered by him, *That if they knew not how to obey, he knew as little how to grant*. He understood them to be men of *Factionous spirits*, and was resolved to bring them to a better temper, or else to keep them from disturbing the publick peace. And they resolving on the other side, not to yield obedience, continued under this suspension till the coming in of the *Scottish Army*, not long before the beginning of the Long Parliament, Anno 1640. which wanted little of four years before they could get to be released. *Wilson*, another of the same Crew, was suspended about the same time also, and afterwards severely sentenced in the *High Commission*, the profits of his Living sequestred, (as the others were) and liberal assignments made out of it for supplying the Cure. In which condition he remained for the space of four years, and was then released on a motion made by *Dering* in the House of Commons, at the very opening, in manner, of the Long Parliament; that being the occasion which was taken by them to bring the Archbishop on the Stage, as they after did. And though he suspended, or gave order rather for suspending of no more than these; yet being they were leading-men, and the chief sticklers of the Faction in all his Diocess, it made as much noise as the great Persecution did in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. By one of which first County we are told in general, "That being promoted to this dignity, he thought he was now
"Plenipotentiary enough, and in full capacity to domineer as he listed,
"and to let his profest enemies feel the dint of his Spirit, but more
"particularly, that he caused the Book of Sports to be published,
"for no other reason than to gall and vex those Godly Divines,
"whose Consciences would not vail to so much impiety, as to
"promote the Work; and finally, That thereupon many of the
"most sound and orthodox Belief, were compelled to desert their
"Stations, and abandon their Livings, in which their livelihood

con-

“consisted, rather then to submit unto it. And here I had took my leave of *Kent*, but that I must first pass thorow the Diocess of *Rocheſter*, where I find one *ſnelling* to have been both Suspended and Excommunicated on the ſame account (ſome other Inconformities (as not bowing at the Name of *JESUS*) being taken into the Reckoning) by *Wood* then Chancellor of that Diocess under Bishop *Bowles*, and afterwards Sentenced to a Deprivation on the ninth of February 1637.

LIB. IV.
Anno Domini
1636,
(C151.)

But as for that great Persecution in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (greater, if *Burton* were to be believed, than any which hapned to the Church in *Queen Maries* Days) we shall hear it thus Preached up in that seditious Sermon of his, which he was pleased to entitle *For God and the King*; in which he telleth us, *That in those Counties they had made the greatest havock of good Ministers (and their Flocks now left desolate and exposed to the Wolves, as Sheep without their Shepherd) as our eyes had ever seen; That there were already threeſcore Ministers in that one Diocess Suspended, and between three and fourſcore more had time given them till Christs-tide, by which time they must either bid their good Conſciences ſarewell, or else their precious Ministry, and therewith their necessary Means: And finally, That in all Queen Maries Time there was not so great a havock made (in so short a time) of the faithful Ministers of God, in any part of, yea, in the whole Land.* Wren had not long before succeeded *Corbet* in the See of *Norwich*; a man who very well understood his Work, and resolved to do it: but finding himself more deeply galled with these Reproaches, than he had deserved, he caused his Registers to be searched, and the Acts of his Court to be examined, out of which we may take this short Account of his Proceedings; that is to say, 1. *That the Clergie of that Diocess, comprehending all that are in Spiritual Dignity or Office, and all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and School-Misters (taking in the Lecturers withal) amount unto the number of 1500, or thereabouts.* 2. *That there were not above thirty of all sorts involved in any Ecclesiastical Censure of what kind soever, and not above sixteen Suspended.* 3. *That of those sixteen, eight were then Absolved, for a time of further trial to be taken of them, and two did voluntarily resign their Places; so that there were but six Suspended absolutely, and perſiſting ſo.* 4. *That of the Residue, one was deprived, after notorious Inconformity for twelve years together, and ſinall Obſtinacy after ſeveral Admonitions; eight Excommunicated for not appearing at the Court, and four inhibited from Preaching; of which four, one by Trade had been a Draper, another a Weaver, and a third a Tayler.* 5. *That for the other number between sixty and eighty, which were Suspended upon day till Christmas, upon the Examination of the Register there appear but eight, and those not all Suspended neither, two being Excommunicated for not appearing in the Court.* And 6. *Taking it for granted, That sixty of all sorts had been Suspended, as it was suggested in the Libel; yet sixty in so great a number, comes to no more than four in one hundred, which would not have been looked upon as a Persecution in Queen Maries days, nor in a time of better temper and more moderation than the Libeller deserved to live in.* And yet the Minister

H.B. p.65.

PART II. Minister of *Lincoln* Diocess, in his *Holy Table* must needs fly out against this Bishop, comparing him unto a Wren mounted on the wings of an Eagle, and finding by the *Index* to the *Acts and Monuments*, That the Bishop of *Norwich* sent out Letters of Persecution.

And yet it was not thought sufficient to justifie themselves in matter of fact, unless they Advocated for themselves, and the King under whom they acted by strong Reasons also. And first, it was alledged in behalf of the King (who had commanded the said Declaration to be published by Order from the Bishops, in all the Churches of their severall and respective Diocesses) That all the Commands of the King, which are not upon the first inference and illation contrary to a clear passage in the Word of God, or to an evident Sun-beam of the Law of Nature, are precisely to be obeyed. 2. That it was not enough to find a remote and possible Inconvenience that might ensue therefrom; for every good Subject is bound in conscience to rest assured, That his Prince, environed with such a Council, will be able to discover, and as ready to prevent any ill sequel that may come of it, as himself possibly can be. And 3. That we must not by disobeying our Prince, commit a certain Sin, in preventing a probable but contingent Inconveniency. And then it was alledged in behalf of themselves, That the Declaration was commanded to be published by Order from the Bishops in the Parish Churches; That there were none on whom the Bishops could impose the Publishing of it in the Churches of their severall Diocesses, but the Ministers only; which was a sufficient warrant for them to enjoin the Ministers to do it. And lastly, That though no Penalty was prescribed in it to such as should refuse to publish the same; yet that some Penalty was implied, or otherwise the Command had been impertinent, and to no purpose and effect whatsoever. Finally, it was alledged, in respect of those who were enjoined the publishing of it, That there was nothing contained in the said Declaration, which was either plainly contrary to the Word of God, or the Canons of the Church, or the Laws of the Land, or the Practice of the Protestant or Reformed Churches in all parts of the World; That if it should appear otherwise with some scrupulous men, yet even those scrupulous men were bound to obey their Superiors in making publication of it (a), for fear of dissolving by their disobedience the whole frame of Government; That if it should be lawful for particular Persons first to dispute, and afterwards to disobey the Commands of those higher Powers, to which the Lord had made them subject, the Subject would seem to be in a better condition, and more absolutely at his own disposing, than the Sovereign was; That by the Laws a Sheriff is bound to publish his Majesties Proclamations, though tending to the Apprehension of his dearest Friends, or otherwise containing matter of dangerous consequence to the Publick Interest; That a Presbyter or Minister without any sin, may safely pronounce an Excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conscience he be convinced, that the Party is unjustly excommunicated; That when the *Jews* commanded by *Antiochus*, gave up the Divine Books to his Officers to be destroy-

(a) *Pereunte obsequio imperium etiam intercidit, Si ubi imperatur, quere singulis liceat. Tacit. Hist. l. i.*

destroyed, it was afterwards adjudged in favour of them by *Optatus* L I B. IV. Bishop of *Milevis*, a right godly man, to be (a) sin rather in them *Anno Dom.* that commanded, than of those who with fear and sorrow did obey 1636. their *Mandates*; That when the Emperour *Mauritius* had made an Edict, That no Souldier should be admitted into any Monastery, and sent it to be published by *Gregory* surnamed the Great, the Pope forthwith dispersed it into all parts of the Christian World, (b) because he was subject to his command; though in his own judgment he conceived the said Edict to be unlawful in it self, and prejudicial unto many particular persons, as well in reference to their spiritual as their temporal benefit; and finally, That it was resolved by St. *Augustine*, in his Book against *Faustus* the *Manichee*, cap. 75. That a Christian Souldier fighting under a Heathen Prince, may lawfully pursue the War, or exercise the Commands of his immediate or Superior Officers, in the course of his Service, though he be not absolutely assured in the justice of the one, or the expedience of the other. Such were the Reasons urged in behalf of all Parties concerned in this business; and such the Defences which were made for some of them in matter of fact: but neither the one nor the other could allay that storm which had been raised against him by the Tongues and Pens of unquiet Persons; of which more anon.

Nor was the Clamour less which was raised against such of the Bishops as either pressed the use of his Majesties Instructions, concerning Lecturers, and silencing the *Arminian* Controversies; or urged the Ministers of their severall and respective Diocesses, to use no other form of Prayer before their Sermons than that which was prescribed *Canon 55*. It had been prudently observed, That by suffering such long Prayers as had accustomably been used of late before the Sermons of most Preachers; the Publick Liturgie of the Church had been much neglected; That the *Puritan* Preachers for the most part had reduced all Gods Service in a manner to those Pulpit-Prayers; That the People in many places had forbore to go into the Church till the Publick Liturgie was ended, and these Prayers begun; That by this means such Preachers prayed both what they listed, and how they listed; some so seditiously, that their very Prayers were turned into Sin; others so ignorantly and impertinently, that they dishonoured God and disgraced Religion. For remedy whereof, it was thought convenient by the Archbishop, and some other Prelates, to reduce all to the form of Prayers appointed in the *Canon* above-mentioned, according to the like form prescribed in the *Injunctions* of Queen *Elizabeth*, and before her time by King *Edward* the Sixth, and before his time also by King *Henry* the Eighth; practised accordingly in the times of their severall Reigns, as appears by the Sermons of Bishop *Latimer*, Bishop *Gardiner*, Archbishop *Parker*, Bishop *Jewell*, Bishop *Andrews*, , and generally by all Divines of the Church of *England*, till by the artifices and endeavours of the *Puritan* Faction, these long Prayers of their own making had been taken up, to cry down the *Liturgie*. Which being in charge in the Visitation, and afterwards in the Articles of severall Bishops, made as much noise amongst ignorant

(a) *Peccatum imperantis & minantis; non populi, cum dolore & tremore secundantis.*
Oprat. lib. 7.
 (b) *Quia erat subiectus ejus iussionibus.*
Greg. Mag. lib. 2. Ep. 61.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1636.

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and factious People, under colour of quenching the Spirit of God, expressed in such extemporary Prayers of the Preachers conceiving, as silencing the Doctrines of *Predestination*, changing the afternoons Sermons into Catechisings, and regulating the Extravagances of some of their Lecturers, under the colour of a Plot to suppress the Gospel.

In which last Calumny, as most of the Bishops had a share, so did it fall as heavy on *Pierce of Bath and Wells*, as on any other, though he did nothing in that kind, but what he was required to do by the Kings Instructions. His crimes were, That he had commanded the Ministers in his Diocess to turn their afternoons Sermons into *Catechisings*, and those *Catechisings* to be made according to the Questions and Answers in the *Catechism* authorised by Law, and extant in the Book of Common Prayer; which some few absolutely refusing to conform unto; and others (contrary to the meaning of the said Instructions) taking some *Catechism*-point for their Text, and making long Sermons on the same, were by him suspended, and so continued till they found a greater readines in themselves to obey their *Ordinary*. But the great Rock of Offences against which they stumbled, and stumbling filled all places with their Cries and Clamours, was, That he had suppressed the *Lecturers* in most parts of his Diocess; and some report, That he proceeded so far in it as to make his brag, (not without giving great Thanks to God for his good Success) *That he had not left one Lecturer in all his Diocess, of what sort soever, whether he Lectured for his Stipend, or by a voluntary combination of some Ministers amongst themselves.* Which if it should be true, (as I have some reason to believe it is not) ought to be rather attributed to some exiliency of humane frailty, (of which we are all guilty more or less) than to be charged amongst his Sins. But for his Actings in this kind, as also for his vigorous proceedings in the Case of *Beckington*, he had as good Authority as the Instructions of the King, and the Directions of his Metropolitan could invest him in. And so far *Canterbury* justified him in the last particular; as to take the blame (if any thing were blame-worthy in it) upon himself, though then a Prisoner in the Tower, and under as much danger as the Power and Malice of his Enemies could lay upon him: For such was his undaunted Spirit, that when *Ash*, a Member of the House of Commons, demanded of him in the Tower, Whether the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* had received his Directions from him in the Case of *Beckington*? he answered roundly, That he had; and that the Bishop had done nothing in it, but what became an obedient *Diocesan* to his *Metropolitan*. So careful was he of preserving those who had acted under him, that he chose rather to augment the number of his own misfortunes, then occasion theirs. If all the Bishops of that time had joined their hearts and hands together, for carrying on the work of Uniformity, as they were required, the Service might have gone more happily forwards, and the Envy would have been the less by being divided: but leaving the whole burden upon so few, and turning it over to their Chancellors and Under-Officers (if they did so much) they did not only, for as  
much

as much as in them was, destroy the business, but expose such as took care of it, to the publick hatred. For such was their desire to ingratiate themselves amongst the people, that some of them being required to return the names of such Ministers as refused the reading of the Book, made answer, That they would not turn *Informers* against their Brethren, there being enough besides themselves to perform that Office. Others conceived, that they had very well performed their duty, and consulted their own peace and safety also, by waving all Proceedings against them in their own *Consistories*, wherein they must appear as the principal Agents, and turning them over to be censured by the *High-Commission*, where their Names might never come in question. The like done also in transposing the Communion Table; in which it was believed by many, that they had well complied with all expectations, if they did not hinder it, but left the Ministers to proceed therein as best pleased themselves; or otherwise, to fight it out with the Church-wardens, if occasion were.

L I B. IV.  
Anno Dom.  
1636.

And yet the fortune of the Church had not been so wretched, if none of that Order had pulled down more with one hand, than many of the rest had built up with both. The *Metropolitanical Visitation* being held in the Diocess of *Normich*, Anno 1635. Order was given by *Brent*, as in other places, for Railing in the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, and there to dispose of it under the Eastern Wall, with the ends of it North and South. In order whereunto, it was found necessary in many places to remove such Seats as had been built in that end of the Chancel, for the use and ease of private Persons. The Church-wardens of *St. Mary Towres* in the Borough of *Ipswich*, a Town of great Wealth and Trade in the County of *Suffolk*, refusing to remove such Seats, and advance the Table in their rooms, were Excommunicated for their obstinacy and contempt, by one of *Brent's* Surrogates for that *Visitation*. The Church-wardens, animated by some of the Town, who had better Purfes than themselves, appeal unto the Dean of the *Arches*, and after exhibited a Bill in the *Star-Chamber* against the Surrogate: but without remedy from either. And on these terms the business stood, when *Wren* succeeded *Corbet* in the See of *Normich*; and looking upon *Ipswich* as a place of great influence and example on the rest of the Diocess, took up his dwelling in the same. It was not long before he came to understand, that a great part of the opposition which was made as well against himself, as the Vicar-General, about the removing and railing in of the Holy Table, proceeded from a Letter written from the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the Vicar of *Grantham*; which though it was written some years since, and had long been dead; yet now it was revived again, and the Copies of it scattered in all parts of the Kingdom (the better to discourage or discountenance the Work in hand): but no where more than in the Diocess of *Normich*, being next neighbour unto *Lincoln*, and under the inspection of a diligent and active Prelate. Some of them coming to his Hand, and an Advertisement withal, That they were ordinarily sold amongst the Booksellers in *Duck-lane* in written Copies, it was thought fit that an answer should be made unto it; in

PART II. which the Sophistry, Mistakes, and Falshoods of that Letter, whose *Anno Dom.* ever was the Writer of it, might be made apparent: Which Answer, being made ready, approved, and licenced, was published about the middle of *May*, under the Title of *A COAL from the ALTAR*, or, *An Answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar of Grantham, against the placing of the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, &c.* As it cooled the heat of some, so it inflamed the hearts of others, not with Zeal, but Anger; the Book occasioning much variety of Discourse on both sides, as men stood variously affected in the present Controversie: But long it will not be before we shall hear of a Reply unto it, a Rejoynder unto that Reply, and other Writings *pro and con*, by the Parties Interestted.

But it had been to little purpose to settle a Conformity in Parochial Churches, if Students in the Universities (the constant Seminaries of the Church) were not trained up to a good perswasion of the Publick Counsels: Upon which ground it had been prudently Ordained in the *Canons* of the year 1603. not only, *That the prescribed Form of Common Prayer should be used in all Colledges and Halls; but, That the Fellows and Scholars of the said Houses should wear the surplice at those Prayers on the Sundays and Holy-days, the better to inure them to it, when they came to any Publick Ministry in their severall Churches.* Many things had been done at *Cambridge* in some years last past, in order to the Work in hand; as beautifying their Chappels, furnishing them with Organs, advancing the Communion Table to the place of the Altar, adorning it with Plate and other Utensils for the Holy Sacrament, defending it with a decent Rail from all prophanations, and using lowly Reverence and Adorations, both in their coming to those Chappels, and their going out: But in most Colledges, all things stood as they had done formerly; in some there were no Chappels at all, or at the best, some places used for Chappels, but never Consecrated. In *Sidney Colledge* the old *Dormitory* of the *Franciscans* (on the *Site* of which *Friery* the said Colledge was built) was after some years trimmed and fitted, and without any formal Consecration converted to a *House of Prayer*; though formerly, in the opinion of those who allowed thereof, it had been no better nor worse than a *Den of Thieves*. The Chappel of *Emannel Colledge*, though built at the same time with the rest of the House, was both irregular in the situation, and never Consecrated for Divine and Religious uses. And what less could this beget in the minds of the Students of those Houses, than an Opinion touching the indifferency of such Consecrations, whether used, or not? and at the last a positive Determination, *That the continued Series of DIVINE DUTIES in a place set apart to that purpose, doth sufficiently Consecrate the same?* And what can follow thereupon in some tract of time, but the executing of all Divine Offices in Private Houses, the Ruine and Decay of Churches, the selling of their Materials, and alienating their Glebe and Tythes to the next fair Chapman? It is therefore thought expedient to carry on the Visitation to that University, and put such things in order there, as were found in this. But against this the University opposed, pretending

ing an exemption from his Jurisdiction, by their ancient Priviledges; LIB. IV and that they had no Visitor but his Majesty only. But *Canterbury*, Anno Dom. who before had over-ruled the like Plea in the Bishop of *Lincoln*, 1636, would not give way to this of *Cambridge*, which caused the matter on both sides to be thorowly canvased: But neither yielding to the other, and the Earl of *Holland* stickling strongly for the University (of which he had the Honour to be chosen Chancellor on the death of the Duke) the deciding of the Controversie is referred to his Majesty. On *Tuesday June 21.* they both appear before the King at *Hamp-ton-Court*, where the Counsel of both sides being heard, it pleased his Majesty to give Judgment for the Metropolitan, and to submit that University to his Visitation: But before any thing was done in it, the Troubles in *scotland*, and the Disturbances at home, kept it off so long, that a greater Visitation fell upon the Visitor, than could have hapned unto them. Howsoever, the bare Reputation of it did prevail so far, that many who were slack or fearful in embellishing their Chappels and publick Places of Divine Worship, went on more confidently then before; insomuch that not only in the Chappels of some private Colleges, but in *St. Maries Church* it self, being the Publick Church of that University, the Table was railed in like an Altar, towards which many of the Doctors, Scholars, and others usually bowed.

In *Oxon.* where he was more absolute, he found less comptrol. Chancellor of the University by their own Election, Visitor of the Colledges of *All souls* and *Merton* in the right of his See, and such a Patron to the rest, that he could hardly recommend that Affair unto them, which they did not expedite. In many of their Letters and Addressses to him, they gave him the Title of *His Holiness*, and *most Holy Father*; which though appropriated to the Pope in the darker Times, were generally communicated to all Christian Bishops in the clear Sun-shine of the Gospel. And on the other side, in his Missives and Dispatches to them, he recommends himself unto their Devotions, beseeching them, That as often as they made their approaches toward the Altar, they would remember him in their Prayers (a) to Almighty God. He had his breeding (as before was said) in that University, and could not chuse but know, That many of the old Statutes were grown out of use by the change of Religion; others, by long neglect and discontinuance; some never rightly understood; and all so mingled and confounded, that it was very hard to say which of them were in force, which not; and yet all Students bound to keep them under corporal Oaths, if not at their first Matriculations, yet at their taking of Degrees. For remedy whereof, with great pains and judgment, he digested a new Body of Statutes, to serve as a perpetual standing Rule for their future Government, as well in commanding as obeying: Which being first sent down unto them, advisedly considered of, explained, corrected, and accommodated to their best advantages, were afterward revised by him, and upon full deliberation engrossed in Vellum, fairly bound up, confirmed by his most Sacred Majesty, and so obtained the strength of

(a) *Inter orandum sicut memores mei peccatoris., &c.*

Laws:

PART II. Laws: Received and published for such in the *Convocation*, on *Wednesday June 22.* being the morrow after the Judgment had passed on his side at *Hampton-Court*, for the Visitation at *Cambridge*. And in those Statutes, he took care that the *Vice-Chancellor*, *Proctors*, and all *Proceeeders*, year by year in their several *Faculties*, (b) should make their Offerings with that due and accustomed Reverence at the Holy Table. He procured also from his Majesty a Confirmation of their former Priviledges over the Town, and an enlargement of them also in respect of the *Londoners*: By which last they were enabled to Print all Books, which either his Majesties Printers or the Company of *Stationers* had engrossed to themselves, as Bibles, Common-Prayer Books, Homilies, Grammars, &c. which brought them in a Composition of 200 *l. per Annum* for the times ensuing. Nor could his Care and Providence for the encouragement of Learning, be confin'd to this side of the Sea, the like course being taken by him shortly after, as well for reviling and perfecting the broken Statutes of the Colledge near *Dublin*, as the enlarging of the Priviledges of that University.

And yet he could not hold his hand, till he had added Bounty and Munificence to his former Cares. The University of *Oxon.* was long since honoured with the Title of *Generale studium* (a), conferred upon none else in the former times, but the Universities of *Paris* in *France*, *Bononia* in *Italy*, and *Salamanca* in *Spain*: In all which, by a Decree of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, in the Council of *Vienna* in *France*, Anno 1511. it was Ordained, That there should be Professors of the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Arabick*, and *Chaldean Languages*: But it was only so Ordained, no execution following on it till some Ages after. The *Arabick* Tongue was known in *Spain*, by reason of the great Command which the *Moor*s had in that Country: but never entertained in any of the other three. And as for the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Chaldee*, those times were so extremely ignorant of them, that the Study of the *Greek* Tongue was sufficient to condemn a man of *Herese*; and a small spattering in the *Hebrew*, made him subject unto some suspicion of *Heretical Fancies*. And so it stood till *Reuchlin* and *Budæus* in *France*, *Erasmus* and *Paulus Fagius* in *England*, restored again the *Greek* and *Hebrew* to those several Nations. The *Greek* so coarsly entertained in this University, whilst *Erasmus* taught it quietly enough at *Cambridge*, that when a (b) Learned young man began publickly to read the *Greek* Tongue there, he was encountred presently in a poor but popular declamation, with base and barbarous Revilings. But long it was not before Cardinal *Wolsey* took a course to put this University into a way of Nobler Studies, founding therein two Publick Lectures for the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, with a liberal Salary (according to the Standard of that time) of 40 *l. per Annum* to either of them; which afterwards being confirmed by King *Henry* viii. continued without further encouragement and augmentation, till such time as *Land* was come to his *Ascendent*; when by the Power and Favour which he had with his Majesty, a *Canonry* in *Christ-Church* was annexed perpetually to the Publick Professor for the *Hebrew*, Doctor *John Morris* being the first who enjoyed the benefit of that Grant: By means whereof, the

*Hebrew*

(b) Ad sacram  
Eucharistia  
Mensam cum  
debita reve-  
rentia oblatio-  
nes faciant.

(a) Hebraica,  
Chaldaica, A-  
rabica, Græca,  
Lingæ Studi-  
um propagandæ  
Fidei ergo in  
mobilissimis  
quatuor Euro-  
pæ Academiis  
instituitur, &c.  
Ex Angel. Ro-  
cha. p. 214.

(b) Hist. of  
Cambridg. f.  
88.

Hebrew and Chaldaick Tongues, which few in Oxon. understood when I first came thither, became to be so generally embraced, and so chearfully studied; that it received a wonderful proficiency, and that too, in a shorter time than a man can easily imagine: So great a Spur the hope of Honour and Preferments, gives to Arts and Languages. But all this while, the Arabick was utterly laid aside in these parts of Europe; till, in conformity to the said Decree of the Council holden at Vienna; it came into our Archbishops mind to establish a Publick Lecture in that Language also; which having for a long time taken up his thoughts, was at last effected: The first Lecture in that Language, read publickly on the tenth of August in this present year; a Revenue of 40 l. per Annum setled upon the University for the maintenance of it; his first Professor in that Tongue being Edward Pocock, Fellow of Corpus Christi Colledge, one who had spent much time in the Factory of Aleppo, and other places of the East, returning home well studied in all the Languages of those Countries. And that Rhetorick might thrive as well under his Encouragements, as Grammar and the Tongues were in a hopeful way to do, he obtained from his Majesty another Canonry in Christ-Church, to be annexed for ever to the Orators place, (whose yearly Pension till that time was but twenty Nobles.) Injoynd first by Dr. William Strode, admitted thereunto on the first of July, Anno 1638. and after his decease by Dr. Henry Hammond, Anno 1644.

Such were the benefits which the University received from him in this present year. And that he might both do himself and the University some honour in the eye of the Kingdom, he invites the King, the Queen, the Prince Elector, and his Brother, to an Academical entertainment, on the twenty ninth day of August then next following, being the Anniversary day, on which the Presidentship of St. Johns Colledge was adjudged to him by King James. The time being come, and the University put into a posture for that Royal Visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent Speech as he passed by the house, being directly in his way betwixt Woodstock, and Christ-Church, not without great honour to the Colledge, that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the same Foundation. At Christ-Church his Majesty was entertained with another Oration by Strode, the University Oratour; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of Gloves (as their custom was) the Queen with a fair English Bible, the Prince Elector with Hookers Books of Ecclesiastical Politie, his Brother Rupert with Casars Commentaries in English, illustrated by the learned Explanations and Discourses of Sir Clement Edmonds. His Majesty was lodged in Christ-Church, in the great Hall whereof (one of the goodliest in the World) he was entertained, together with the Queen, the two Princes, and the rest of the Court, with an English Comedy, (but such as had more of the Philosopher than the Poet in it) called, Passions Calmed, or the settling of the Floating Islands. On the morrow morning, being Tuesday, he began with a Sermon, Preacht before him in that Cathedral on these words

**PART II.** words of St. Luke, viz. *Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven, and glory in the highest*, Luke 19. 38. The *Anno Dom.* Sermon being ended, the Archbishop, as Chancellor of the University, **1636.** calls a Convocation, in which he admits the Prince *Elect*or, his Brother Prince *Rupert*, and many of the chief Nobility to the degree of *Masters of Art*; and that being done, attends the King and Queen to *St. Johns Colledge*. Where in the new Gallery of his own building, he entertains the King and Queen, the two Princes, with all the Lords and Ladies of the Court, at a stately and magnificent Dinner, the King and Queen sitting at one Table at the South end of the Room; the two Princes, with the Lords and Ladies, at a long Table, reaching almost from one end to the other; at which all the Gallantry and beauties of the Kingdom seemed to meet. Nor did he make Provision only for those two Tables, but every Office in the Court had their several diets, disposed of in convenient places for their reception with great variety of *Achates*, not only sufficient for contentment, but for admiration. After dinner he entertains his principal Guests with a pleasant Comedy, presented in the publick Hall; and that being done, attends them back again to *Christ-Church*, where they were feasted after Supper with another Comedy, called, *The Royal Slave*; the Enterludes represented with as much variety of Scenes and motions as the great wit of *Inigo Jones* (Surveyor General of his Majesties Works, and excellently well skilled in setting out a *Court-Masque* to the best advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of *St. Felix* (as himself observeth) and all things went happily. On *Wednesday* the next morning the Court removed, his Majesty going that same night to *Winchester*, and the Archbishop the same day, entertaining all the Heads of Houses at a solemn Feast, order being given at his departure, that the three Comedies should be acted again, for the content and satisfaction of the University, in the same manner as before, but only with the Alteration of the Prologues and Epilogues.

But to return unto the publick. On the same day in which the new Statutes were received at *Oxon.* he procured a Supplement to be added to the old Statutes of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, touching the letting of their Lands. Some Informations had been given, that the *Deans* and *Prebends* of those Churches had enrich themselves, their Wives and Children by taking great Fines, for turning leases of twenty one years into leases for lives, leaving their Successors destitute of that growing means, which otherwise might come in to help them. This was the outside of the business, but the chief motive to it was, that the Gentry and Yeomanry (and some of the Nobility also) holding Lands of those Churches, might have a greater respect to the Church and Church-men, when they must depend upon them from time to time for renewing of their said Estates at the end of every ten or twelve years at the most. For though it be alike lawful by the Law of the Land, 13. *Eliz. c. 20.* to make Leases of three lives, or one and twenty years, at the pleasure of the Dean and Chapter; yet the difference is so great between them, that once a Tenant to my knowledge, after a Lease for three lives had continued 29 years in being, chose rather



rather to give a Fine for the change of one life than to take a new Lease of 21 years without paying any thing. All which his Majesty taking into his Princely consideration, he caused Letters under his Royal Signature to be sent to all the Deans and Chapters of this Kingdom respectively, "Calling and commanding them upon pain of his "utmost displeasure, that they presumed not to let any Lease belonging to their Church into lives, which was not in lives already; and "further that when any fair opportunity was offered (if any such be) "they fail not to reduce such as are in lives, into years; requiring "further that those his Majesties said Letters should be exemplified in "the Register-books of the said Churches, and preserved in the Registers of the Bishops of their several Dioceses, to the end that the said Bishop might take notice of their doing therein, and give his Majesty and his Successors notice thereof, if any presumed to disobey. And in regard that some of the Deans of the said Cathedrals were a Corporation of themselves, and held their Lands distinct from the rest of their Chapters; a clause was added to those Letters to preserve those Lands for the benefit of their Successors, as formerly in his Majesties Instructions for ordering and disposing the Lands of Bishops on the like occasions. His Majesty therefore first declares, *That he had taken order by his late Instructions, that no Bishop should let any Lease after they had been named to a better Bishoprick, but had not therein named the Deans, as he therein intended. And therefore secondly, That no Dean should presume from thenceforth, after his being named to a Bishoprick, or a better Deanry, to renew any Lease either into lives or years: His Majesty having well observed, that at such times of remove many men care not what or how they let their Estates, to the prejudice of the Church and their successors. Which Letters bear date at Greenwich in the twelfth year of his Reign, June 27.*

Nor was he less careful to preserve the Parochial Clergy from being oppressed by their neighbours in rates and taxes than he had been in maintaining the Estates of Capitular bodies, for the greater honour of those bodies at the present time, and the benefit of Succession for the time to come. During the Remiss Government of King James, his Majesties late embroyments with *France* and *Spain*, and his entanglements at home, the *Hollanders* had invaded the Regality of the Narrow Seas, and questioned the property of his Dominion in the same; not only growing to such an height of insolency, as to dispute their striking Sail in passing by any of his Majesties Ships: but publishing a Discourse in Latine, called, *Mare Liberum*, in defence thereof. These affronts occasioned *Noj*, the Attorney-General, to put his Majesty in mind of setting out a strong power of Ships for the recovery of his Rights against all pretenders. And the better to enable him for it, adviseth him to set on foot the *old Naval Aide*, required of the Subject by his Predecessors. He was a man extremely well versed in *old Records*, with which consulting frequently in the course of his studies, he had excerpted and laid by many notes and precedents for the Kings levying of such Naval Aide upon the Subjects, by his own Authority, whensoever the preservation and safety of the Kingdom did

PART II. require it of them, which Notes and Precedents he had taken as they  
*Anno Dom.* came in his way, in small pieces of Paper (most of them no bigger  
 1636. than ones hand) he kept in the Coffin of a Pye, which had been sent  
 him by his Mother, and kept there till the mouldiness and corrupti-  
 bleness had perished many of his Papers. And by these Notes it did  
 appear, that many times in the same years, wherein the Kings had  
 received Subsidies by way of Parliament, they levied this *Naval Aide*  
 by their own sole power. For if (as he discoursed it to me at his  
 house near *Brentford*) the King wanted money, either to support his  
 own expences, or for the enlarging of his Dominions in Foreign Con-  
 quests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the World,  
 good reason he should be beholden for it to the love of his People. But  
 if the Kingdom was in danger, and that the safety of the Subject was  
 concerned in the business, he might, and did raise such sums of mo-  
 ney as he thought expedient for the preventing of the danger, and  
 providing for the publick safety of him and his Subjects. According  
 to which precedents he prepares a Writ, by which his Majesty com-  
 mandeth the Maritime Counties to provide a certain number of Ships  
 for defence of the Kingdom, prescribing to each Ship its several bur-  
 den, the number of Mariners, and great Pieces of Ordnance, with  
 Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition thereunto proportioned. The Sub-  
 ject not daring at the first to dispute the Command, collected money  
 for the Service according to the several rates imposed on them in their  
 several Counties; but dealt so unmercifully with the Clergy in the  
 levying of it, that they laid upon them generally the fifth or sixth part  
 of the sum imposed. The Ice thus broken, and his Majesty finding  
 that provision not sufficient to effect his purpose, issued out his Writs  
 in the next year after, *Anno 1635.* into all the Counties of the Kingdom  
 for preparing of a Royal Fleet to be in readiness against the beginning  
 of this year, in which the Clergy were as like to suffer as before they  
 did. But the best was, that they had not only a gracious Patron, but  
 a very powerful Mediator, Upon whose humble desire his Majesty  
 was pleased to direct his Letters to all the Sheriffs in *England* respec-  
 tively, requiring them that no Tax should be laid upon any Cler-  
 gy-man, possessor of a Parsonage, above the tenth part of the Land-  
 rate of their several Parishes; and that consideration should be had of  
 the poor Vicars in their several Parishes according to their small reve-  
 nue, compared with the Abilities of the Parishioners amongst whom  
 they lived. The whole Sum levied by this Tax amounted to 236000 *l.*  
 or thereabouts, which comes not to 20000 *l.* a month; and being in-  
 stead of all other payments, seemed to be no such heavy burthen as it  
 was generally made by the Popular Party, many of which quarrellèd  
 and refused it.

But his Majesty was too just a Prince to exact any thing by power,  
 when he had neither Law nor Reason to make it good. And therefore  
 as he had the opinion of all his Judges subscribed by their hands for  
 justifying the Legality of this Naval Tax amongst the Subjects; so  
 he thought fit to publish some defence of his Dominion, Right, and  
 Sovereignty in the Narrow Seas for the satisfaction of his Neighbours.

*John Selden* of the Inner Temple, a name that stands in need of no Titles of honour, had written a Discourse in the time of King *James*, which (in answer to that of *Grotius*, called, *Mare Liberum*) he intituled by the name of *Mare Clausum*. But stomaching the submission and acknowledgment which he was forced to make in the High Commission for publishing his book of Tythes, and sensible of the smart which he had found from the Pens of *Tilley*, *Montague*, and *Nettles*, in their Answers to him, he did not only suppress the Book which he had written in the Kings defence, but carried an evil eye to the Court and Church for along time after. But being a man of great parts, and eminent in the retired walks of Learning, he was worth the gaining, which *Canterbury* takes upon him, and at last effecteth. By his perswasion he not only perfected, but published that laborious piece, which he dedicated to his Majesty, whose cause he pleaded. By whom it was so well approved, that he sent it by Sir *William Beecher* (one of the Clerks of his Council) to the Barons of the Exchequer in open Court, by them to be laid up as a most inestimable Jewel amongst the choice Records, which concerned the Crowns. In this book, which came out this year, he first asserts the Sovereignty or Dominion of the Brittain Seas to the Crown of *England*. And that being cleared, he proved by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of *England* used to levy money from the Subjects (without help of Parliament) for the providing of Ships and other necessaries to maintain the Sovereignty which did of right belong unto them. This he brought down unto the times of King *Henry* the Second, and might have brought it nearer to his own times had he been so pleased, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of *Ship-money*, as they commonly called it. But then he must have crost the proceedings of the House of Commons in the last Parliament, (wherein he was so great a stickler) voting down under a kind of *Anathema* the Kings pretensions of right to all help from the Subject, either in *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, or any other way whatsoever, the Parliament not cooperating and contributing towards it. Howsoever the Service was as grateful as the Author acceptable, from henceforth both a frequent and a welcom guest at *Lambeth* house, where he was grown into such esteem with the Archbishop, that he might have chose his own preferment in the Court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in respect of his Studies. But possibly there might be some other reason for his declining such employments as the Court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his History of Tythes, (for in the notion of affronts, he beheld them alwaies) and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himself on the Church and Church-men, the King being took into the reckoning. For no sooner did the Bishop begin to sink in power and credit under the first pressures of the late Long Parliament, but he published a book in Greek and Latine by the name *Eutichyus*, with some Notes upon it. In which he made it his chief business to prove, that Bishops did no otherwise differ from the rest of the *Presbyters* then doth a Master

PART II. of a Colledge from the rest of the Fellows, by consequents, that they differed only in *degree*, not *order*. And afterwards, when his Majesty began to decline in the love of the Parliament, and that the heats grew strong between them, he was affirmed to have written the Answer to his Majesties Declaration about the *Commission of Array*: Which in effect proved a plain putting of the Sword into the hands of the People. So hard it is for any one to discern the hearts of men by their outward actions, but the God that made them.

Anno Dom.  
1636.

Thus leaving *England* for a time we must go for *Scotland*, in which we find the Canons finished, and the Bishops busie and intent on a publick Liturgie. It was his Majesties first intent to introduce the *English* Liturgie amongst them; and to that end, had ordered that it should be daily read in his Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, as before was said. But *Ballentine*, the Bishop of *Dumblaine*, and Dean of the Chappel (to whom the care thereof had been recommended) was so negligent in it, that the Archbishop found it necessary to remove him to some other Bishoprick on the next avoidance. The See of *Aberdeen* proving vacant, he procured his translation thither, and preferred *Wederbourne*, a *Scot* by birth, but bred in *Cambridge*, beneficed in *Hampshire*, and made one of the *Prebends* of *Ely* by the learned *Andrews*, to be his Successor in those places. By this new *Dean* his Majesties design was followed with more care then ever; and possibly might have took effect, if the rest of the *Scottish* Bishops had been pleased therewith as well as this. But the *Scottish* Bishops having prevailed with his Majesty, as before was noted, to have a distinct Liturgie of their own, His Majesty commanded the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give them the best assistance he could in that way and work; which notwithstanding he delayed as long as he could, in hope to bring them in the end to a better perswasion. But finding them so resolved upon it, that they could not be altered, he contributes his assistance to it, humbly intreated so to do by some Letters brought unto him by *Maxwell* (not long before made Bishop of *Ross*) bearing date *April 2. 1635.* and subscribed by the Archbishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Murrey*, *Dumblaine*, and *Brechine*. The Book being first hammered and prepared in *Scotland*, and from thence transmitted to the Court, his Majesty referred it to the consideration of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Treasurer Juxon* Bishop of *London*, and *Wren* Bishop of *Norwich*: But the Lord *Treasurer* being taken up with other employments, the burden of the work remained on the other two. They found on the perusal of it that *Wederbourne* had followed such instructions as he had carried with him about the making of that Book (if it must be made) in keeping so much in it of the *English* Liturgie, and they found also certain notes which he had sent together with it, to the end that as many of them as his Majesty liked, might be made use of in that book. Thus authorised and instructed they proceed unto the making of such Alterations as were offered to them, consisting for the most part in these Particulars: First, *That the Magnificat and the rest of the Hymns, together with the Epistles and Gospels, should be Printed according to*

the

the last Translation in the time of King James; conform therein to such L I B. IV.  
 Directions as they had received for Printing the Psalms of David in Anno Dom.  
 the last Translation. Secondly, That for the better singing of those 1636.  
 Psalms to the Organ, a Colon should be made in the middle of every  
 Verse, as it was in the English. Thirdly, That they could not agree to  
 any more Emendations in the Creed of Saint Athanasius, than they had  
 noted in that Book. Fourthly, That though the Bishops there desired  
 some time to consider further of the Holydays, yet it was never other-  
 wise meant, but that the Office appointed for every of them, should be  
 kept in the Liturgie; the Practice and Observation of them being respit-  
 ed for a time to their further thoughts. Fifthly, That though they ad-  
 mitted of all the Sentences which they found in the Offertory, yet they  
 wished that some which were in the English Book, might be added also.  
 Sixthly, That every Prayer or Action through the whole Communion, should  
 be named in the Rubrick before it, that it might be known to the People  
 what it is; as they should find done to their hands in the Prayer of Con-  
 secration, and the Memorial of Oblation next after following. Seventh-  
 ly, That the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Prefaces,  
 and Doxologie, should be retained in the same place and Order which  
 they had in the Liturgie of England; and that the Prayer of humble Access  
 to the Holy Table, would stand very well (as they conceived) before the  
 very Act of Participation. Eighthly, and finally, That in the Margin  
 of the Prayer of Consecration, they should adde some Note, directing him  
 that Celebrates, at what words he should take the Patin with the Bread on  
 it, and the Chalice with the Wine in it, into his hands, according to the  
 Practice of the Church of England.

These Alterations being not only made by his Majesties Warrant,  
 and approved by him in a Memorial under his Hand, bearing date the  
 nineteenth day of April in this present year; but confirmed also with  
 the like Royal Signature as they stood in the Book: Of which Partic-  
 ulars, and some others, the Bishop gives an account to Wederbourne  
 by his Letters of the twentieth of April, being the morrow after his  
 Majesty had Signed the said Memorial. It seems that Wederbourne  
 had given our Archbishop notice of some defects which he had found  
 in the Book of Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. as it was  
 then used amongst the Scots, viz. 1. That the Order of Deacons was  
 made but a Lay-Office at the best, as by that Book might be understood.  
 And 2. That in the Admission to the Priesthood, the very essential words  
 of conferring Orders were left out. With which the King being made  
 acquainted, he gave command to the Archbishop to make known un-  
 to them, That he would have them either to admit the English Book,  
 or else to rectifie their own in those two great over-sights. After  
 which, taking the whole business of that Church into his considera-  
 tion; it pleased him to direct his Further Instructions to the Archbishops  
 and Bishops of it, bearing date on the eighteenth of October follow-  
 ing; In which he requires them to take care, "That the Proclamation  
 "to be made for Authorising the service-Book, should not derogate  
 "in any thing from his Royal Prerogative. 2. That in their Kalendar  
 "they should keep such Catholick Saints as were in the English, such of  
 "the

PART II. “the Saints as were most peculiar to that Kingdom (especially those  
*Anno Dom.* “which were of the Royal Blood, and some of the most holy Bi-  
 1636. “shops) being added to them: but that in no case *St. George* and *St.*  
 “*Patrick* be omitted. 3. That in their Book of *Ordination*, in giving  
 “*Orders to Presbyters*, they should keep the words of the *English Book*  
 “without change, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* 4. That they should  
 “insert among the *Lessons* ordinarily to be read in the *Service*, out of  
 “the Book of *Wisdom* the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth  
 “*Chapters*; and out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, the first, second,  
 “fifth, eighth, thirty fifth, and forty ninth *Chapters*. 5. That every  
 “*Bishop* within his *Family* twice a day cause the *Service* to be read;  
 “and that all *Archbishops* and *Bishops* make all *Universities* and *Col-*  
 “*leges* within their *Diocesses*, to use daily twice a day the *Service*.  
 “6. That the *Preface* to the Book of *Common Prayer*, Signed by his  
 “*Majesties Hand*, and the *Proclamation* for Authorising the same,  
 “should be Printed, and inserted in the Book of *Common Prayer*.  
 According to which *Instructions*, and the *Corrections* above-mention-  
 ed, this *Liturgie* at the last (after it had been twenty years in conside-  
 ration) was fully finished and concluded; and being thus finished  
 and concluded, was Ratified and Confirmed by his *Majesties Royal*  
*Edict*, as followeth, *viz.*

CHARLES By the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France  
 and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Lovits

*Messengers, Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and severally, specially*  
*constitute, Greeting.* Forasmuch as We, ever since Our entry to the *Im-*  
*perial Crown* of this Our ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, especially since  
 Our late being here in the same, have divers times recommended to the  
*Archbishops* and *Bishops* there, the publishing of a *Publick Form* of *Service*  
 in the *Worship* of God, which We would have uniformly observed therein,  
 and the same being now condescended unto: Although We doubt not but  
 all our *Subjects*, both *Clergie* and others, will receive the said *Publick*  
*Form of Service*; yet thinking it necessary to make Our *Pleasure known*,  
 touching the *Authority* thereof, Our *Will is*, and We straightly command,  
 That incontinent these Our *Letters seen*, you pass, and in Our *Name and*  
*Authority* command and charge all our *Subjects* both *Ecclesiastical* and  
*Civil*, by open *Proclamation* at the *Market-Crosses* of the *Head Burroughs*  
 of this Our *Kindom*, and other *Places needful*, to conform themselves to  
 the said *Publick Form* of *Worship*, which is the only *Form* which We  
 (having taken the *Counsel* of Our *Clergie*.) think fit to be used in *Gods*  
*Publick Worship* in this Our *Kingdom*: Commanding also all *Archbishops*  
 and *Bishops*, and other *Presbyters* and *Church-men*, to take a special  
 care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the *Contraveners* con-  
 dignly censured and punished; to have special care that every *Parish*  
 betwixt this and *Pasche next*, procure unto themselves two at the  
 least of the said *Books* of *Common-Prayer*, for the use of the *Pa-*  
*rish*; The which to do, We commit to you conjunctly and severally Our  
 full Power by these Our *Letters Patents*, delivering the same to be by  
 you

you duly executed, and endorsed again to be delivered to the Bearer. LIB. IV.  
 Given under Our Signet at Edenborough, 20 December, in the Anno Dom.  
 Twelfth year of Our Reign, 1636.

1636.

Such was the form of Passing and Confirming the *Scottish Liturgie*, never presented to that *Kirk*, nor tendered to the Approbation of any *General Assembly*; as in the Restitution of Episcopal Government, and Introduction of the five Articles of *Perth*, had been done before. And this is that at which the *Scottish Presbyters* did seem to be most offended; sufficiently displeas'd with any *Liturgie* at all, but more in having such an one as either was so near the *English*, or so different from it. Which fault, if any fault it were, is rather to be charged upon the *Scottish* than the *English* Prelates. For when the way of introducing it was in agitation, our Archbishop ever advis'd them, as well in his Majesties presence, as elsewhere, "To look carefully to it, and to be sure to do nothing in it but what should be agreeable  
 "to the Laws of the Kingdom; and not to fail of taking the Advice  
 "of the Lords of the Council, and governing themselves according  
 "to it. But as it seems, those Bishops durst not trust their Clergy, or venture the reception or refusal of it to the Vote of a *General Assembly*, from which they could not promise themselves any good success. So that the Case seems to be much like that of King *Edward vi.* when the first *Liturgie* was Compos'd by some few of the Bishops, and other Learned men (not above thirteen in number) especially thereto Authoris'd: Or unto that of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the second *Liturgie* of that King was fitted and corrected by her appointment. Neither of which durst trust their Clergy, but acted Sovereignly therein of their own Authority, not venturing either of the said Books to their Convocations: but only giving them the strength of an Act of Parliament; and then the Point in issue will be briefly this; *viz.* Whether the King, consulting with a lesser part of the Bishops and Clergie, and having their consent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a Reformation, the residue and greatest part not advis'd withal, nor yielding their consent in a formal way? Now for my Answer, that it may be built upon the surer grounds, it is to be consider'd, 1. Whether the *Reformation* be in corruption of Manners, or abuses in Government? Whether in matters *Practical*, or in points of *Doctrine*. 2. If in matters *Practical*, Whether such Practice have the Character of *Antiquity*, *Universality*, and *Consent* imprinted on it? or that it be the Practice of particular Churches, and of some *Times* only? And 3. If in points of *Doctrine*, Whether such Points have been determin'd of before in a *General Council*, or in *Particular Councils* universally received and countenanced? or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent Controversies?

Hidd. Works  
 p. 155.

And these Distinctions being thus laid, I shall Answer briefly. 1. If the things to be reformed be either Corruptions in Manners, or neglect of Publick Duties to Almighty God, Abuses either in Government, or the Parties governing; the King may do it of himself, by his sole Authority: The Clergy are beholden to him, if he takes any  
 of

PART II. of them along with him when he goes about it. And if the Times  
*Anno Dom.* should be so bad, that either the whole body of the Clergy, or any  
 1636. (though the greatest) part thereof, should oppose him in it, he may  
 go forwards notwithstanding, punishing such as shall gainsay him  
 in so good a Work, and compelling others. And this I look on as  
 a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and so inseparably annexed,  
 that Kings could be no longer Kings, if it were denied them. And  
 on the other side, if the Reformation be in Points of Doctrine, and  
 in such Points of Doctrine as have not been before defined, or not  
 defined in form and manner as before laid down, the King only, with  
 a few of his Bishops and Learned Clergy (though never so well stu-  
 died in the Point disputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only  
 to the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* rightly called  
 and constituted; whose Acts being Ratified by the King, bind not  
 alone the rest of the Clergy, in whose name they Voted: but all the  
 residue of the Subjects of what sort soever, who are to acquiesce in their  
 Resolutions. But if the thing to be *Reformed* be a matter *Practical*, we  
 are to look into the usage of the *Primitive Times*: And if the *Practice*  
 prove to have been both ancient, and universally received over all  
 the Church, though intermitted for a *Time*, and by *Time* corrupted,  
 the King, consulting with so many of his Bishops, and others of his most  
 able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their Consent  
 and Direction in it, may in the case of *intermission* revive such *Practice*,  
 and in the case of *corruption* and *degeneration*, restore it to its Primitive  
 and Original Lustre. Now that there should be *Liturgies* for the use  
 of the Church, and that those *Liturgies* should be Celebrated in a  
 Language understood by the People, That in those *Liturgies* there  
 should be some prescribed Forms, for Giving the Communion in  
 both Kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent Celebration of  
 Marriage, performing the last Office to the Sick, and the decent Bu-  
 rial of the Dead; as also, for set Fasts and appointed Festivals, hath  
 been a thing of Primitive and General Practice in the best times of the  
 Church: And being such, though *intermitted* and *corrupted* as before  
 is said, the King advising with his Bishops and other Church-men  
 (though not in a *synodical* way) may cause the same to be *revised* and  
 revived; and having fitted them to Edification and encrease of Piety,  
 either commend them to the Church by his sole Authority, or else  
 impose them on the People under certain Penalties by his Power in  
 Parliament. (a) *The Kingdom of Heaven* (said the Reverend *Isidore*  
*of Sevil*) doth many times receive increase from these Earthly Kingdoms;  
 in nothing more, than by regulating and well ordering of Gods Publick  
 Worship. Add hereunto what was before alledged, for passing the  
 Canons in the same way; and then we have the sum of that which was,  
 and probably might have been pleaded in defence hereof.

(a) *Sape Cæ-  
 leste Regnum  
 per Terre-  
 num Proficit*

The prosecution of this *Liturgie* on the one side, and the exaction of  
 those Publick Orders on the other, kindled such fires in the breasts of  
 some of the *Puritan* Faction, that presently they brake out into open  
 Flames. For first the *Scots* scattered abroad a virulent and seditious  
 Libel in the year 1634. wherein the King was not only charged with  
 altering



altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of Rome: The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Palmerino*; for which he was Legally convicted, and condemned of Treason: but pardoned by the Kings great Goodness, and by that Pardon kept alive for the mischiefs following. And as the *English* had *Scotized* in all their Practises (by railing, threatening, and stirring up of Sedition) for bringing in the *Genevian* Discipline in *Queen Elizabeths* Time; so they resolve to follow their Example now. *Bastwick* a Doctor of *Physick* (the second part of *Leighton*) first leads the Dance, beginning with a Pestilent Pamphlet called *Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*, maliciously venomous against the Bishops, their Function, Actions, and Proceedings. But this not being likely to do much hurt amongst the People, because writ in *Latine*, he seconds it with another, which he called his *Litany*, in the *English* Tongue: A Piece so silly and contemptible, that nothing but the Sin and Malice which appeared in every line thereof, could possibly have preserved it from being ridiculous. *Prynne* follows next, and publisheth two Books at once (or one immediately on the other) one of these called *The Quench-Coal*, in answer unto that called *A Coal from the Altar*, against placing the Communion-Table *Altarwise*: The other named *The Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus*, against the Apostolical Institution of *Diocesan Bishops*. But that which was entituled to him by the name of a *Libel*, was, *The News from Ipswich*; intended chiefly against *Wren* then Bishop of *Norwich*, who had taken up his dwelling in that Town, as before is said: but falling as scandalously foul on the Archbishop himself, and some of the other Bishops also, and such as acted under them in the present Service. For there he descants very trimly (as he conceived) on the Archbishop himself, with his *Arch-Piety*, *Arch-Charity*, *Arch-Agent for the Devil*; that *Beelzebub himself had been Archbishop*, and the like to those, a most triumphant Arch indeed to adorn his victories. With like reproach he falls on the Bishops generally, calling them *Luciferian Lord Bishops*, execrable *Traytors*, devouring *Wolves*, with many other odious names not fit to be used by a *Christian*; and more particularly on *Wren*, telling us, *That in all Queen Mariés time no such havock was made in so short a time of the Faithful Ministers of God in any part, nay, in the whole Land, than had been made in his Diocess*. And then he adds with equal Charity and Truth, *That Corbet, Chancellor to this Bishop, had threatned one or two godly Ministers with Pistolling, and Hanging, and I know not what, because they had refused to read his Majesties Declaration about lawful sports*. More of this dish I could have carved, but that this may serve sufficiently for a taste of the whole.

But the great Master-piece of mischief, was set out by *Burton* (so often mentioned before) who Preaching on the fifth of *November*, in his own Parish Church of *St. Matthews* in *Friday Street*, took for his Text those words in the *Proverbs*, viz. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, Chap. 24: 22. In this sermon (if I may wrong the Word so far as to give it to so

PART II. lewd a Libel) he rails most bitterly against the Bishops, accuseth them  
*Anno Dom.* of *Innovating* both in Doctrine and Worship, impeacheth them of  
 1637. exercising a Jurisdiction contrary to the Laws of the Land, 1. *Edw.6.*  
 c. 2. and for falsifying the Records of the Church by adding the first  
 clause to the twentieth Article; arraigneth them for oppressing the  
 Kings Liege people, contrary unto Law and Justice, exciting the peo-  
 ple to rise up against them; magnifying those disobedient Spirits,  
 who hitherto have stood out in defiance of them; and seems content  
 in case the Bishops lives might be called in question, to run the hazard  
 of his own. For this being taken and imprisoned by a warrant from  
 the *High Commission*, he makes his appeal unto the King, justifies it  
 by an Apology, and seconds that by an Address to the Nobility: In  
 which last he requires all sorts of People, Noblemen, Judges, Cour-  
 tiers, and those of the inferiour sort, to stand up stoutly for the Gos-  
 pel against the Bishops. And finally Prints all together with an Epi-  
 stle Dedicatory to the King himself; to the end that if his Majesty  
 should vouchsafe the reading of it, he might be brought into an ill o-  
 pinion of the Bishops and their proceedings in the Church. Whose  
 P. 74. actionstend only (as he telleth us) to corrupt the Kings good peoples  
 hearts, By casting into them fears and jealousies, and sinister opinions  
 toward the King; as if he were the prime cause of all those *Grievances*,  
 which in his name they oppress the Kings good Subjects withal. Thus  
 P. 75. also in another place, These Factors of *Antichrist* (saith he) practise  
 to divide Kings from their Subjects, and Subjects from their Kings,  
 that so between both they may fairly erect *Antichrists* Throne again.  
 For that indeed, that is to say, the new building of *Babel*, the setting  
 up again of the Throne of *Antichrist*, the bringing in of Popery to  
 subvert the Gospel, is made to be the chief design of the Prelates and  
 Prelatical party; to which all innovations, usurpations, and more dan-  
 gerous practices, which are unjustly charged upon them, served only  
 as preparatives and subservient helps.

Such being the matter in the *Libel*, let us next look upon the Or-  
 naments and dressings thereof, consisting most especially in those infam-  
 ous Attributes, which he ascribes unto the Bishops. For Fathers he  
 calls them Step-fathers; Pillars, for Caterpillars; their houses haunted,  
 and their Episcopal Chairs poisoned, by the Spirit that bears rule in the  
 Air. They are (saith he) the Limbs of the Beast, even of *Antichrist*,  
 taking his very courses to bear and beat down the hearing of the Word of  
 God, whereby men might be saved, p. 12. Their fear is more toward  
 an Altar of their own invention, towards an Image or Crucifix, toward  
 the sound and syllables of Jesus, then toward the Lord Christ, p. 15.  
 He gives them the reproachful Titles of Miscreants, p. 28. The trains and  
 miles of the Dragons dog-like flattering tail, p. 30. New Babel Builders,  
 p. 32. Blind Watchmen, Dumb Dogs, Thieves and Robbers of Souls,  
 False Prophets, Ravening Wolves, p. 48. Factors for *Antichrist*, p. 75.  
*Antichristian Musbrumps*. And that it might be known what they chiefly  
 aimed at, we shall hear him say that they cannot be quiet, till (*res novas*  
*moliendo*) they set up Popery again in her full Equipage, p. 95. Tooth  
 and nail for setting up Popery again; p. 96. Trampling under feet  
 Christs

*Christ's Kingdom, that they may set up Antichrists Throne again, p. 99. LIB. IV. According to the Spirit of Rome which breathes in them, by which they Anno Dom. are so strongly biaised to wheel about to their Roman Mistress, p. 108. 1636. The Prelates confederate with the Priests and Jesuites for rearing up of that Religion, p. 140. Calling them upon that account in his Apologie, Jesuited Polypragmaticks, and Sons of Belial. Having thus lustily laid about him against all in general, he descends to some particulars of most note and eminence, Reviling White of Ely, with railing and perverting, in fighting against the truth, which he makes to be his principal quality, p. 127. And Mountague of Chichester for a tryed Champion of Rome, and the devoted Votary to his Queen of Heaven, p. 126. And so proceeding to the Archbishop (for of Wren he had spoken enough before) he tells us of him, That he used to set his foot on the Kings Laws, as the Pope did on the Emperours neck, p. 54. That with his right hand he was able to sweep down the third part of the Stars in Heaven, p. 121. And that he had a Papal infallibility of Spirit, whereby, as by a divine Oracle, all Questions in Religion are finally determined, p. 132. These are the principal flowers of Rhetorick which grew in the Garden of H. B. sufficient questionless to shew how sweet a Champion he was like to prove of the Church and Gospel.*

And yet this was not all the mischief which the Church suffered at that time, for presently on the neck of these came out another, entitled, *The holy Table, name and thing*, intended purposely for an Answer to the *Coal from the Altar*, but cunningly pretended by him to be written long ago by a Minister in *Lincolnshire* against Dr. Coale, a judicious Divine in Queen *Maries* days; Printed for the Diocess of *Lincoln*; by the Bishop whereof, under the name of *John Lincoln, Dean of Westminster*, it was authorized for the Press. In managing whereof, the point in Controversie was principally about the placing of the *Holy Table* according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the received Rules of the Church of *England* at the first *Reformation* of it. In prosecution of which point he makes himself an Adversary of his he knows not whom, and then he useth him he cares not how, mangling the Authors words whom he would confute, that so he might be sure of the easier conquest; and practising on those Authors whom he was to use, that they may serve his turn the better to procure the victory. Of the composure of the whole we may take this Character from him who made the Answer to it, viz. "That he that conjectured of the house by the trim or dress, would think it very richly furnished; the Walls whereof (that is the Margin) richly set out with *Antick* hangings, and whatsoever costly workmanship all nations of these times may be thought to brag of; and every part adorned with flourishes and pretty pastimes, the gay devices of the Painter: Nor is there any want at all of *Ornaments*, or *Utensils* to set out the same, such especially as may serve for ostentation, though of little use; many a fine and subtle *Carpet*, not a few idle couches for the credulous Reader; and every where a pillow for a *Puritans* elbow; all very pleasing to the eye, but slight of substance; counterfeit stuff most of it, & wrought with so much fraud & falshood,

Preface to  
*Antid. Linc.*

PART II. "that there is hardly one true stitch in all that work from the very  
*Anno Dom.* "beginning to the end. Hardly one testimony or authority in the  
 1637. "whole Discourse which is any way material to the point in hand :  
 ~~~~~ "but is as true and truly cited, as that the Book it self was writ long  
 "ago in answer unto D. *Coale* of Queen *Maries* days. The King he
 tacitely upbraids with the unfortunacies of his Reign by Deaths and
 Plagues, the Governours of the Church with carrying all things by
 strong hand, rather by Canon-shot than by Canon-Law. The Bishop
 of *Norwich* he compares (as before was noted) to a *Wren* mounted on
 the feathers of an Eagle, and falls upon his Adversary with as foul a
 mouth as *Burton* doth upon the Prelates ; the Parable betwixt him and
Burton being very well fitted, as appears by the Preface to the *Mini-*
Antid. Linc. sters of *Lincoln* Diocesis in the Answer to him. Obliquely and upon
 P. 5. the by he hath some glancings against bowing at the name of *Jesus*,
Adoring toward the East, and Praying according to the Canon ; and
 makes the transposing of the Table to the place where the *Altar* stood,
 to be an Introduction for ushering in the whole body of Popery. Which
Eleusian Doctrine (for so he calleth it) though these new *Reformers*
 (for fear of so many Laws and Canons) dare not apparently profess,
 yet (saith he) they prepare and lay grounds for it, that the out-works
 of Religion being taken in, they may in time have a bout with the
 Fort it self.

To these two Books his *Majesty* thought fit that some present Answer
 should be made, appointing the same hand for both which had writ the
 History of the *sabbath*. The one being absolutely destructive of the
 uniformity in placing the Communion-Table, which was then in hand ;
 The other labouring to create a general hatred unto all the Bishops,
 branding their persons, blasting their Counsels, and decrying the Fun-
 ction. And hard it was to say whether of the two would have proved
 more mischievous if they were not seasonably prevented. The An-
 swer unto *Burton* was first commanded and prepared : That to the
Hist. K. C. *Lincoln* Minister, though afterwards enjoyed, was the first that was
 P. 151. published. This of the two, the subtler and more curious piece, ex-
 ceedingly cried up when it first came out ; the disaffection of the times,
 and subject matter of the Book, and the Religious estimation which
 was had of the Author, concurring altogether to advance the Reputa-
 tion of it to the very highest, sold for four shillings at the first, when
 conceived unanswerable ; but within one month after the coming out
 of the Answer (which was upon the twentieth of *May*) brought to less
 than one. The Answer published by the name of *Antidotum Lincol-*
niense, with reference to the *Licenses* and *Author* of the *Holy Table*.
 The publishing of the other was delayed upon this occasion : A Re-
 solution had been taken by command of his Majesty to proceed a-
 gainst the *Triumvirate* of Libellers (as one fitly calls them) to a pub-
 lick Censure, which was like to make much noise amongst the igno-
 rant People. It was thought fit by the Prudent Council of Queen
Elizabeth upon the execution of some Priests and Jesuits, that an A-
 pology should be published, by the name of *Justitia Britannica*, to
 vindicate the publick Justice of the State from such aspersions, as by
 the

the Tongues and Pens of malicious persons should be laid upon it. LIB. IV. And on the like prudential grounds it was thought expedient, that an *Anno Dom.* answer should be made to the Book which seemed most material; and 1637. being so made, should be kept in readiness till the execution of the Sentence; to the end that the people might be satisfied, as well in the greatness of the Crimes, as the necessity and justice of the Punishment, inflicted upon one of the Principals, by whom a judgment might be made of all the rest. But the Censure being deferred from *Easter* until *Midsomer* Term, the Answer lay dormant all the while at *Lambeth* in the hands of the *Licenser*, and was then published by the name of *A brief and moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous challenges of H. B. &c.* Two other Books were also published about that time, the one about the name and situation of the Communion-Table, which was called, *Altare Christianum*, writ by one *Pocklington*, then beneficed in *Bedfordshire*, and seconded by a *Chappel Determination* of the well studied *Joseph Mede*; The other against *Burton* by name, published *Dow of Basell* in *Suffex*, under the Title of *Innovations unjustly charged, &c.* And so much for the Pen Combates, managed on both sides in the present Controversies.

But whilst these things were in agitation, there hapned toward the end of this year, such an Alteration in the Court, as began to make no less noise then the rest before. It had been an antient custom in the Court of *England* to have three Sermons every week in the time of *Lent*. Two of them Preached on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, the third in the open Preaching place near the Council Chamber on *Sundays* in the Afternoon. And so it continued till King *James* came to this Crown. Who having upon *Tuesday* the fifth of *August* escapt the hands and treasons of the Earl of *Gowrie*, took up a pious resolution, not only of keeping the Anniversary of that day for a publick Festival in all his Dominions, but of having a Sermon, and other divine Offices every *Tuesday* throughout the year. This custom he began in *Scotland*, and brought it with him into the Court of *England*; and thereupon translated one of the *Lent* Sermons from *Wednesday* to *Tuesday*. This Innovation in the Court, where before there were no Sermons (out of *Lent*) but on *Sundays* only, came in short time to have a very strong Influence upon the Country, giving example and defence to such Lectures and Sermons on the working days, as frequently were appointed and continued in most Corporations, and many other Market-Towns in all parts of the Kingdom. In which respect it was upon the point of being laid aside at the Court on the death of that King, in reference to whose particular concernments it was taken up, and therefore his Successor not obliged to the observation. But then withal it was considered, that the new King had married with a Lady of the *Roman* Religion, that he was ingaged in a War with *Spain*, which could not be carried on without help from the Parliament, wherein the *Puritan* Party had appeared to be very powerful. The discontinuing of that Sermon in this conjuncture, might have been looked on in the King as the want of zeal toward the Preaching of the Gospel, and a strong tendency in him to the Religi-
on

PART II. on of the Church of *Rome*, and a betraying of the Court to Ignorance and Superstition by depriving them of such necessary means of their Instruction. Upon these grounds it stood as before it did, as well in the holy time of *Lent* as in other Weeks. But now *Laud* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wren* Dean of the Chappel, it was resolved to move his Majesty, that the *Lent* Sermons might be preached on *Wednesdaies* as they had been Anciently. To which his Majesty condescending, and the Bill of *Lent*-Preachers being drawn accordingly, it was first muttered secretly, and afterwards made a publick clamour, that this was one of the Archbishops Artifices, a trick devised for putting down the *Tuesday* Sermons, of which you should never hear more, when this *Lent* was over: Which Cry growing lowder and lowder, as the *Lent* continued, was suddenly hush'd and stilled again on the *Easter Tuesday*, when they saw the Preacher in the Pulpit, as at other times. So usual is it with some men to be afraid of their own shadows, and terrified with fears of their own devising.

This Interruption thus past over, I shall unwillingly resume my former Argument concerning *Bastwick* and the rest of his fellow-Criminals, who being called unto their Answer, used so many delays, that the Case could not come to Sentence before *Midsomer* Term. Some Answers they had drawn: but they were so Libellous and full of Scandal, that no Counsellor could be found to put his hand to them, according to the course of that Court; Instead whereof, they exhibited a cross Bill against *Canterbury* and his Confederates, (as they called them) charging them with the greatest part of those Reproaches; which had been made the subject-matter of their former *Libels*; which being signed by no hands but their own, and tendred so to the Lord Keeper, was by him rejected, and themselves taken *pro confessis*, their obstinacy in not answering in due form of Law, being generally looked on by the Court as a self-conviction. On the fourteenth of *June* they received their Sentence, which briefly was to this effect: *Prjme* to be Fined 5000*l.* to the King, to lose the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the Letters *S. L.* for a *Schismatical Libeller*, and to be perpetually imprisoned in *Carnarvan* Castle: *Bastwick* and *Burton* condemned in the like Fine of 5000*l.* to be Pilloried, and lose their Ears; the first to be imprisoned in the Castle of *Lanceston* in *Cornwal*, and the second in the Castle of *Lancaster*. On the thirtieth of the same Month, *Burton* being first degraded of his Ministry in the *High-Commission*, they were brought into the Palace-yard of *Westminster* to receive their punishment, not executed on them with such great severity as was injuriously given out: But being executed howsoever, it was a great trouble to the spirits of many very moderate and well-meaning men, to see the three most Eminent Professions in all the World (*Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physick*) to be so wretchedly dishonoured in the Persons of the Malefactors, as was observed by the Archbishop himself in his Epistle to the King. Which part of the Punishment being inflicted, they were conveyed with care and safety to their several Prisons, the People either foolishly or factiously resorting to them as they passed, and seeming to bemoan their Sufferings

De bronze's
Hist. King
Charles. p.
151.

ings as *unjustly Rigorous*. And such a haunt there was to the several Castles, to which they were condemned of purpose for preventing all intelligence and Correspondence to be held between them, that the State found it necessary to remove them further; *Prynne* to the Castle of *Mont Orgueil* in the Isle of *Jersey*, *Burton* to *Castle-Cornet* in the Road of *Guernsey*, and *Bastwick* to *Saint Maries* Cattle in the Isle of *Silly*; Which last remembreth me of the like Confinement, to which *Instantius* a professed *Priscilianist* (a very near Kinsman of the *English Puritan*) had been condemned by the Justice of the *Primitive Times*.

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1637.
Ad Sillinam
Insulam ultra
Britanniam
deportatus.
Sulp. Sever.
l. 2.

At the pronouncing of this Sentence the Archbishop made a long and elaborate Speech, in vindication of himself and the rest of the Bishops from any Design to bring in *Poperie*, or innovating in the Government and Forms of Worship, here by Law established. “ He made his Introduction to it in a brief Discourse touching the nature of the Crime, shewing how odious a thing it was to think of defending Religion in the way of *Libels*; a thing not used by any of the Primitive Christians, in the greatest heats of Persecution; and then professing for his own part, That he had done nothing as a Bishop, but with a sincere intention for the good Government and Honour of the Church of *England*, and the maintenance of the *Orthodox* Truth and Religion professed and established in it; adding withal, That nothing but his Care of reducing the Church into *Order* in the External Worship of God, and the settling of it on the Rules of its first *Reformation*, had raised this Storm against himself and the rest of the Bishops, for which alone they stood accused of *Innovations*; by those which were the greatest *Innovators* in the Christian world. He spake next touching the *Calling* of Bishops, which he maintained to be *Jure Divino*, though not all the *Adjuncts* of that *Calling*; averring further, That from the time of the Apostles, to the days of *Calvin*, the Government of the Church was by Bishops only; *Lay-Elders* being never heard of; which Claim by *Divine Right*, derogateth not from the King either in Right or Power (as the *Libellers* made it) no more then the *Calling* of the *Presbyters* by the same *Right*, could be thought to do; in regard they exercised not any *Jurisdiction* in the Kings Dominions, but with his License for so doing: Or were it otherwise, yet that the Bishops stood in *England* in as good a case as the present Laws could make them; and therefore they that *Libelled* against them, *Libelled* against the King and State, by the Laws whereof they were established; and consequently, could aim at no other end, than the stirring of *Sedition* amongst the People. As touching the design of bringing in *Poperie* (by which Artifice they chiefly hoped to inflame the People) he first acquitted the King of it, by shewing his *sincerity* and constancy in his Religion, exemplified by his Carriage in *Spain*, where he wanted no temptations to draw him from it; and his Deportment since in *England*, in which he had so often declared a settled Resolution, to maintain the same: Or were it otherwise, and that the King had any mind to change Religion, he must seek for other Instruments than himself to effect

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1637.



“effect that purpose; most humbly thanking God, That as yet he knew
 “not how to serve any Man, against the Truth of Christ; so he hoped
 “he should never learn: professing further, for the satisfaction of all
 “which heard him: That he knew of no plot nor purpose of altering
 “the Religion here established; and that for his own part he had ever
 “been far from attempting any thing which might be truly said to tend
 “that way, in the least degree; to both which he was ready to take
 “his *Oath*. Which said in general, he briefly touch’d on those *Inno-*
 “*vations* which in those *Libels*, had been charged on him and the rest
 “of the Bishops, in order unto that Design.

“To the first *Innovation*, touching the suppressing of Sermons
 “(during the time of the late *Fast*) in infected places, contrary to the
 “Orders in former times, he answered, First, That *after-Ages* might
 “without *offence* learn to avoid any visible *inconvenience* observed in
 “the former: And secondly, That the suppressing of those Sermons
 “was no *Act* of the Bishops, but a Command proceeding (on a full
 “debate) from the Lords of the Council, the better to avoid the
 “spreading of the Contagion: And thirdly, That as Sermons on the
 “Fast-days had been used of late, they were so far from *humbling*
 “*men in the sight of God*, that they were fitter for other operations, as
 “the raising of Sedition amongst the People; of which there could
 “not be a clearer instance, than in that of *Burton*. To the second,
 “That by appointing the Weekly Fasts to be on *Wednesdays*, and
 “those Fasts to be kept without any Sermons, there was a plot for
 “suppressing all *Wednesday Lectures* for ever after: It was answered,
 “That *Wednesday* was the usual day for such Publick Fasts; That it
 “was named by the *Lord Keeper*, no great Friend to *Popery*; and that
 “those men had lived to see the Fast ended; and the *Wednesday Le-*
 “*ctures* still continued. To the third, That the Prayer for *Seasonable*
 “*Weather* was left out of the last Book; and that the leaving of it out,
 “was one cause of the Shipwracks and Tempestuous Weather which
 “followed after: He answered *generally*, first, That all *Fast-Books*
 “are made by the command of the King (who alone had Power to
 “call such *Fasts*); and that the Archbishops and Bishops, who had
 “the ordering of those Books, had also Power under the King, of
 “putting in and leaving out of those Books, whatsoever they think
 “fit for the present occasion. Secondly, as to this particular, That
 “when the *Fast-Book* was made, the Weather was very *Seasonable*,
 “and the Harvest in; and that it was not the Custom of the Church to
 “pray for *Seasonable Weather* when they had it, but when it was
 “wanting. Thirdly, That it was very boldly done, to ascribe the
 “cause of those Tempests to the leaving out of that Prayer, which
 “God had never *revealed* unto them, and they could not otherwise
 “know but by *Revelation*. To the fourth, touching a clause omitted
 “in the first Collect, in which Thanks had been given to God for de-
 “livering us from *Popish Superstition*; He answered, That though
 “our Fore-fathers had been delivered from such *superstitions*; yet
 “(God be blessed) that for our parts, we were never in them, and
 “therefore could not properly be said to have been delivered. To the
 “fifth,

“ fifth, touching the leaving put of a passage in one of the *Orders* for LIB. IV.
 “ the *Faſt*, concerning the abuſe thereof in relation to *Merit*, He an- Anno Dom.
 “ ſwered, That it was left out, becauſe in this Age and Kingdom there 1637.
 “ was little opinion of *Merit* by *Faſting*; inſomuch that all *Faſts* were
 “ contemned and ſcorned (both at *Lent*, and all other ſet times) ex-
 “ cept ſuch as ſome humerous men called for of themſelves, to pro-
 “ mote their ends. The ſixth *Innovation* charged upon them, was
 “ the leaving of the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Children, out of one of
 “ the *Collecſs*: And the ſeventh, That out of the ſame *Collecſs*, the
 “ words, *Father of thine Elecſt, and of their Seed*, was expunged alſo:
 “ To which it was answered, That the ſaid *Collecſt* was not in the
 “ *Common-Prayer-Book* confirmed by Law, neither King *Edward* vi.
 “ nor Queen *Elizabeth* having any Children. Secondly, That it was
 “ added to the Book at the coming in of King *James*, who brought a
 “ Princely Iſſue with him; and left out again in the beginning of the
 “ Reign of King *Charles*, who at that time, and for four years after,
 “ had no Iſſue neither. Thirdly, That as the Lady *Elizabeth* and her
 “ Children were put into the *Collecſt* when the King had no Iſſue of his
 “ own; ſo when the King had Iſſue of his own, there was much as reaſon
 “ to leave them out. Fourthly, For the leaving out of that Clause,
 “ *Father of thine Elecſt, &c.* it was done by his Predeceſſor; and that
 “ the leaving out of the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Iſſue, was done by the
 “ Command of the King. The eighth *Innovation* charged upon them,
 “ was bowing at the Name of *JESVS*, and altering to that end the
 “ words in the *Epistle* on the *Sunday* next before *Eaſter*, by changing
 “ *IN the Name of Jeſus*, to *AT the Name of Jeſus*. And it was an-
 “ ſwered unto this, That bowing at the Name of *JESVS*, was no
 “ *Innovation* made by the Prelates of this Age, but required by the
 “ *Injunction* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the very firſt beginning of the
 “ *Reformation*: And ſecondly, Though it be *IN the Name of Jeſus*,
 “ in the old Editions of the *Liturgie*; yet it is *AT the Name of Jeſus*,
 “ in the Translation of *Geneva*, Printed in the year 1567. and in the
 “ New Translation Authoriſed by King *James*. The ninth relates
 “ to the Alteration of two Paſſages in the Form of Prayer ſet forth by
 “ Act of Parliament, for the Fifth of *November*; in which Form it is
 “ thus expreſſed, *Root out the Babylonish ſect, which ſay of Jeruſalem,*
 “ *Down with it, &c.* And in the other place, *Cut off thoſe Workers of*
 “ *Iniquity, whoſe RELIGION is REBELLION*: Which are
 “ thus altered in the Books which came out laſt, *viz. Root out that Ba-*
 “ *bylonish and Antichriſtian ſect (of them) which ſay, &c.* And in
 “ the other, *Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, who turn RELIGION*
 “ *into REBELLION, &c.* To which it was replied, That the
 “ Book of Prayer appointed for the Fifth of *November*, was neither
 “ made, ſet forth, or commanded to be read by Act of Parliament:
 “ but only made and appointed to be read by the Kings Authority,
 “ Secondly, That being made and appointed to be read by no
 “ other Authority than the *Kings*, the King might alter in it what he
 “ thought convenient; and that he had the Kings hand for thoſe Al-
 “ terations. (What Reaſons there might be to move his Maſteſty to it,

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1637.



“we may enquire into hereafter on another occasion) To the tenth,
 “for the leaving out the Prayer for the *Navy*, he answered, that the
 “King had then no Fleet at Sea, nor any known enemy to assault, as
 “he had when that Prayer was first put in; and that howsoever, if there
 “had been any design to bring in *Poperie* (to which these *Innovations*
 “must be made subservient) they should rather have kept in that
 “Prayer than have left it out.

Concerning the *Communion Table* there were three *Innovations* urg-
 ed, the placing of it *Altarwise*, reading the second Service at it, and
 bowing towards or before it. For answer to the first, “It was prov-
 “ed to have been no *Innovation* in regard of Practice, because it
 “had so stood in his Majesties Chappels, and divers Cathedrals of
 “this Kingdom since the first *Reformation*. Which posture if it be
 “decent and convenient for the Service of God, either in the Kings
 “Chappels or Cathedrals, it may be used also in other Churches: but
 “if it served to bring in *Poperie* it was not to be used in them. Nor
 “was it any *Innovation* in regard of Law, the holy Table being ap-
 “pointed to be placed where the Altar stood by the Queens Injuncti-
 “ons, Anno 1559. and that position justified by an order of Dr. *Da-*
 “*venant* Bishop of *Sarum* (of which we have already spoken) whom
 “the *Libellers* themselves were not like to accuse for a man that pur-
 “posed the *ushering in* or *advancing of Popery*, The setting of a Raile
 “before it, or about it, howsoever placed, was only for avoiding of
 “Prophanation, and for that cause justifiable. As for the reading of
 “the *Second* (or *Communion*) *Service* at the holy Table, it was no
 “more than what had formerly been used in many places to his own re-
 “membrance; first altered in those Churches where the *Emissaries* of
 “that Faction came to preach, and therefore the *Innovation* to be laid
 “on them. Secondly, That it is not only fit and proper for that part
 “of the Divine Service to be read at the Communion Table, but that
 “it is required so to be by the Rules and *Rubricks* of the Church: It
 “being said in the first *Rubrick* after the Communion, that on the
 “Holy Days (if there be no Communion) all shall be read which is
 “appointed at the Communion; and in the last *Rubrick* before the
 “*Communion*, that the Minister standing at the North side of the ho-
 “ly Table, shall say the Lords Prayer with that which follows. And
 “finally, as to that of *bowing* towards it at their first entrance in the
 “Church, or approaches to it, it is answered, that it was agreeable
 “to the Practice of *Moses*, *David*, *Hezekiah*, recorded in the holy
 “Scriptures, and that *Venite Adoremus*, O come let us worship and fall
 “down, &c. was used constantly in the beginning of the Ancient
 “Liturgies, and preserved in the beginning of ours in *England*; and
 “therefore that the people may as well refuse to come, as at their
 “coming not to *Worship*: he added, that by the Statutes of the noble
 “Order of St. *George*, called the Garter, the Knights whereof were
 “bound to do their Reverence *versus Altare*, toward the Altar; that
 “it had so continued ever since the time of King *Henry* the fifth; that
 “if there were any Idolatry in it, neither Queen *Elizabeth* (who
 “drove out *Poperie*) nor King *James* (who kept out *Poperie*) would
 “have

LIB. IV.
Anno Domini
1637.

“ have suffered it to remain in Practice; and in a word, that if it
 “ were *Gods Worship* and not *Idolatry*, he ought to do it as well as
 “ they: but if it were *Idolatry*, and no *Worship of God*, they
 “ ought to do it no more than he. But the fourteenth and last charge
 “ which most concerned him and the rest of the Bishops to make
 “ answer to, was the *forging* of a new Article of Religion brought
 “ from *Rome* (to justify their proceedings and Innovations) and
 “ foysting it to the beginning of the twentieth Article. The Clause
 “ pretended to be added, is, *That the Church hath power to decree*
 “ *Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith*, be-
 “ cause not found (say they) in the Latine or English Articles of
 “ King *Edward* the sixth, or Queen *Elizabeth*, ratified by Parlia-
 “ ment; adding, that if to forge a Will or Writing be censurable in
 “ the Star-Chamber, though it be but a wrong to a Private man:
 “ how much more should the forgery of an Article of Religion be
 “ censured there, which is a wrong to the whole Church? And unto
 “ this he answered, that the Articles made in the time of King *Ed-*
 “ *ward* the sixth were not now in force, and therefore not material
 “ whether that Clause be in or out; that in the Articles as they passed
 “ in Queen *Elizabeths* time this Clause was to be found in the English
 “ Edition of the year 1612. of the year 1605. of the year 1593. and
 “ in Latine in the year 1563. being one of the first Printed Copies
 “ after the Articles had been agreed on in the Convocation; that it
 “ was to be found in the same terms in the Records of Convocation,
 “ Anno 1562. as he proved by a Certificate under the hand of a pub-
 “ lick Notary; and therefore finally, that no such forgery in adding
 “ that Clause unto that Article had been committed by the Prelates
 “ to serve their *own turns* by gaining any power to the Church: but
 “ that the said Clause had been razed out by some of those men, or some
 “ of that Faction to weaken just the power of the Church, and to serve
 “ their own.

These *Innovations* thus passed over and discharged, he signifies un-
 to their Lordships, “ That some other Charges were remaining in
 “ matter of Doctrine; that they should presently be answered, *justo*
 “ *volumine*, to satisfy all well-minded people; and that when *Burtons*
 “ Book was answered, (his *Book* he said, but not his *raylings*) none
 “ of the rest should be answered either by him or by his care; leav-
 “ ing that Court to find a way for stopping the mouths of such *Libel-*
 “ *lers*, or else for him, they should rail on as long as they listed. And
 “ thus beginning to draw toward end, he declares himself to be
 “ in the same case with Saint *Cyprian*, then Bishop of *Carthage*, bitterly
 “ railed upon by a pack of *Schismaticks*, and yet conceiving himself
 “ bound (which he made his own Resolution also) not to answer
 “ them with the like *Levites* or *Revilings*, but to write and speak only
 “ as becomes a *Priest* of God; that by Gods grace the Reproaches
 “ of such men should not make him faint or start aside, either from
 “ the right way in matter of Practice, or à *certa Regula*, from the cer-
 “ tain rule of Faith. Which said, and craving pardon of their Lordships
 “ for his necessary length, he thanks them for their just and honour-

Non oportet me
paria cum illis
facere.

PART II. "able censure of those men in their unanimous *dislike* of them, and
Anno Dom. "defence of the Church; Makes his excuse from passing any censure
 1637. "of them, in regard the business had some reflection on himself; and
 "so leaves them to Gods mercy and the Kings Justice.

Thus I have acted *Phocion's* part in cutting short the long and well-studied Speech of this grave and Eloquent *Demosthenes*; which I have been the more willing to reduce to so brief an Abstract, that the Reader may perceive, without the least loss of time and labour, on what weak grounds the *Puritan Faction* raised their outcry against *Innovations*, and what poor trifles many of those *Innovations* were, against which they clamoured and cryed out. But for the Speech in its full length, as it gave great satisfaction unto all that heard it: so by his Majesties Command it was afterwards Printed, for giving the like satisfaction to all those who should please to read it. In obedience unto which Command he caused the said Speech to be Printed and Published, although he was *not ignorant* (as he declares in his Epistle to the King) that many things while they are spoken, and pass by the ears but once, give great content, which when they come to the eyes of men, and their open scanning, may lie open to some exceptions. And so it proved in the event; for though the Speech was highly magnified as it came from his mouth: yet it had not been long published in Print, when it was encountred with a base and *Libellous* Answer, without the name of any *Author, Place, or Printer, or any Book-seller* (according to the usual Custom) where, and of whom it might be bought. I shall not trouble my self any more about it than by a *Transcript* of the Title, which was this that followeth: *viz. DIVINE and POLITICK OBSERVATIONS newly translated out of the Dutch Language, wherein they were lately divulged, upon some lines in the Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced in the STAR-CHAMBER the fourteenth of June, 1637. VERY expedient for preventing all prejudice which as well through ignorance, as through malice and flattery, may be incident to the judgment which men make thereby, either of his Graces power over the Church, and with the King: or of the Equity, Justice and Wisdom of his ENDS in his said Speech; and of the reasons used by him for attaining to his said ENDS.* And though he took great care and pains concerning that supposed additional clause to the 20th Article, so much as might satisfie any man, not extremely partial; yet find I a late Writer so unsatisfied in it, that he leaves it to the *State-Arithmeticians* to decide the Controversie, whether the Bishops were more faulty in the addition, than the opposites in their subtraction of it.

One other Charge there was, and a great one too, which I find not touched at in this Speech; and that is, that the Prelates neither had, nor sought to have the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England for their keeping Courts and Visitations, &c. but did all in their own Names, and under their own seals, contrary to the Law in that behalf. Concerning which we are to know, that by a Statute made in the first year of King Edward the Sixth, it was Enacted, "That all Summons, "Citations, and other Procces Ecclesiastical in all Suits and causes "of Instance, and all causes of Correction, and all causes of Bastardy,

Burt. Serm.
p. 69.

1 Edw. 6.
c. 2.

“or Bigamy, or *De jure Patronatus*, Probates of Testaments, and LIB. IV.
 “Commissions of Administrations of persons deceased, be made in *Anno Dom.*
 “the name, and with the Style of the King, as it is in Writs *Original* 1637.
 “or *Judicial* at the Common Law, &c. As also that no manner of
 “person or persons who hath the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdicti-
 “on, use any other Seal of Jurisdiction but wherein his Majesties
 “Arms be engraven, &c. on pain of incurring his Majesties indigna-
 “tion, and suffering imprisonment at his will and pleasure. Which
 Statute, and every branch thereof, being repealed by Queen *Mary*,
 and not revived by Queen *Elizabeth* in all her Reign, the Bishops
 of her time were safe enough from any danger of that side. But in
 the first Parliament of King *James* there passed an *Act*, for continuing
 and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of some others, 1 Jac.
 c. 25. Into the Body whereof a Clause was cunningly conveyed (his
 Majesties Council learned, not considering, or fraudulently conniving
 at it) for the repealing of that Statute of the Reign of Queen *Mary*,
 by which King *Edwards* stood repealed; of which no notice being
 taken for some while by those whom it chiefly did concern, it was now
 discovered, and made use of as a Rod to affright the Prelates from
 exercising their Jurisdiction over obstinate and incorrigible Non-con-
 formists, as formerly they had been accustomed. For remedy where-
 of, and for encouraging the Bishops to perform their duties, it was
 declared by the Judges with an unanimous consent, and so delivered
 by the Lords Chief Justices in the *Star-Chamber*, the fourteenth of
May in this present year, That the said Act of Repeal, 1 of Queen
Mary, did still stand in force as unto that particular Statute by them
 so much pressed. This was sufficient for the present, but the Arch-
 bishop would not trust to it for the time to come; and thereupon in
 his Epistle to the King, before remembred, He humbly desired his Ma-
 jesty in the Churches name, That it might be resolved by all the Reverend
 Judges of England, and then published by his Majesty, that the Bishops
 keeping of their Courts, and issuing Processes in their own names, and the
 like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, were not against the
 Laws of this Realm, that so the Church Governours might go on cheerfully
 in their duty, and the peoples minds be quieted by this assurance, that nei-
 ther their Law, nor their Liberty, as Subjects, was thereby infringed. A
 motion favourably heard, and graciously granted; his Majesty issuing
 out his Royal Proclamation, on the eighteenth day of *August* then
 next following, For declaring that the proceedings of his Ecclesiastical
 Courts and Ministers were according to Law. The Tenour of which
 Proclamation or Declaration was as followeth:

By the KING.

WHereas in some of the Libellous Books and Pamphlets lately pub-
 lished in the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Archbishops
 and Bishops of the Realm are said to have usurped upon his Majesties Pre-
 rogative Royal, and to have proceeded in the High Commission, and
 other Ecclesiastical Courts contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the
 Realm:

PART II. *Realm: It was Ordered by his Majesties High Court of Star-Chamber, the twelfth of June last, that the Opinion of the two Lords Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, and the rest of the Judges, and Barons should be had and certified in these particulars, viz. Whether Processés may not issue out of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the names of the Bishops? Whether a Patent under the Great Seal be necessary for the keeping of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and enabling Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church? And whether the Citations ought to be in the Kings Name, and under his Seal of Arms; and the like for Institutions and Inductions to Benefices, and correction of Ecclesiastical offences? And whether Bishops Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons may or ought to keep any Visitation at any time, unless they have express Commission or Patent under the great Seal of England to do it; and that as his Majesty Visitors only, and in his name and right alone.*

Whereupon his Majesties said Judges having taken the same into their serious consideration, did unanimously agree and concur in opinion, and the first day of July last certified under their hands as followeth: *That Processés may issue out of Ecclesiastical Courts in the name of the Bishops, and that a Patent under the Great Seal is not necessary for the keeping of the said Ecclesiastical Courts, or for the enabling of Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church. And that it is not necessary that Summons, Citations, or other Processés Ecclesiastical in the said Courts, or Institutions, and Inductions to benefices, or correction of Ecclesiastical offences by Censure in those Courts be in the Kings name, or with the Style of the King, or with the Kings Seal, or the Seals of the Office have in them the Kings Arms; And that the Statute, 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. which enacted the contrary, is not now in force; And that the Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons, may keep their Visitations, as usually they have done, without Commission under the Great Seal so to do. Which opinions and resolutions being declared under the hands of all his Majesties said Judges, and so certified into his Court of Star-Chamber, were there recorded: And it was by that Court further ordered the fourth of the said July, That the said Certificate should be enrolled in all other his Majesties Courts at Westminster, and in the High Commission and other Ecclesiastical Courts for the satisfaction of all men; That the proceedings in the High Commission and other Ecclesiastical Courts are agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.*

And his Royal Majesty hath thought fit, with the Advice of his Council, that a publick Declaration of these the Opinions of his reverend and learned Judges, being agreeable to the Judgment and Resolution of former times, should be made known to all his Subjects, as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his Ecclesiastical Courts and Ministers from the unjust and scandalous imputation of invading or intrenching on his Royal Prerogative, as to settle the minds and stop the mouths of all unquiet spirits, that for the future they presume not to censure his Ecclesiastical Courts, or Ministers in these their just and warranted proceedings. And hereof his

his Majesty admonisheth all his Subjects to take warning as they will answer the contrary at their Peril.

Given at the Court at *Lindhurst* the 13 day of *August* in the 13th year of his Reign, 1637.

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1637.

Having carried on this business as far as we can without breaking the rule of time in too gross a manner, we must go back to the *Star-Chamber*, where we left the Bishop of *Lincoln* ready to put in his Answer after many delays. In which estate the business stood, when *Kilvert*, a *Proctor* in the Arches, who had been formerly employed in hunting *Bennet*, a corrupt Judge of the Prerogative Court, to his final Sentence, was entertained to prosecute this Bishop to the like confusion; who having found by diligent enquiry, and subtle practices, that the Bishops purgation depended most upon the testimony of one *Prigeon*, the Register of the Court of *Lincoln*, he made it his chief work, by discrediting the Witnesses, to invalidate and make void his evidence, he lays a Bastard to his charge, and there appeared sufficient ground to indict him for it. The Bishop apprehending himself necessitated to weight up *Prigeon* his repute, engaged himself more zealously therein than was consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate for so inconsiderable a person. The Fathering of this Bastard is bandied betwixt *Prigeon* and one *Boone* from Sessions to Sessions, and from one year unto another, till the Mother of the Child was found to have been tampered with by some of the Bishops Creatures to charge it wholly upon *Boone*. On the discovery of which practice *Kilvert* lets go his former hold, and exhibits a new Bill against the Bishop for *subornation* of Witnesses, a crime most proper for that Court. The Bishop now finds himself at a loss, and endeavours a Composition with his Majesty, being willing to lay down a good Sum of Money, for the purchasing of his own Peace and his Majesties Favour; which afterwards was urged against him, to prove him conscious of the Crime which he stood accused for. On *Tuesday* the eleventh of *July* he received his Doom, which was to pay 8000 *l.* unto the King, to be Suspended à *Beneficiis* & *Officiis*, and stand committed unto Prison at his Majesties Pleasure. To this Sentence the Archbishop consented amongst the rest, aggravating the fault of *Subordination* of *Perjury*, with a pathetic Speech of almost an hour long, shewing how the World was above three thousand years old, before it was ripe enough to commit so great a Wickedness; That *Jezabel* was the first in Scripture, which had been branded with that Infamy, whose Witnesses could find no other name in Scripture than the Sons of *Belial*: And therefore, That considering the greatness of the offence, though before he had been five times on his knees before his Majesty in the Bishops behalf, yet now he could not but agree to the heaviest Censure. To which Sentence the whole Court concurred, his best Friends amongst them, who gave themselves not a little hope, that the rigour of it (especially as unto the Fine) might receive mitigation; though in the end, his Majesty looking on him, both as adjudged to be guilty, and well known to be solvent, it was no wonder if the utmost penny of it were exacted.

Ch. Hist. lib.

11. p. 157.

He

PART II. He had not lain long under this Suspension and Imprisonment, but *Anna Dom.* he began to find how dreadful a thing it was to fall into a Kings displeasure; and thereupon made use of all his Friends at Court, for the re-obtaining of his own Liberty, and his Majesties Favour: And to that end, he made means by the Queen to be admitted to a Reconciliation with him, offering both his Bishoprick, and Deanry of *Westminster*, in confidence that the King would so provide for him, that he should not go much less than he was. The King, upon the Queens desire, sent the Earl of *Dorset* (from whose mouth I had it) to accept the Bishops Offer on the one side; and on the other side, to promise him in his Majesties Name, the next good Bishoprick which should fall in *Ireland*. Which Proposition being made, the Bishop absolutely refused to hearken to it, telling the Earl of *Dorset*, That he had made a shift, by the Power and Mediation of his Friends, to hold out against his Enemies here for seven years together: but if they should send him into *Ireland*, he should there fall into the hands of a man, who once in seven Months would find out some old Statute or other to cut off his head. Which double dealing did so cool the Affections of his Friends in Court, that for three years and more there were no further Endeavours used for his Enlargement: During which time, he never went unto the Chappel of the *Tower*, where he was Imprisoned, to attend the *Divine Service* of the Church, or hear the *sermon* there, or receive the *Sacrament*, as all other *Protestant* Prisoners had been used to do: but kept himself only to his Private Devotions, to which his nearest Servants were not often admitted: Which whether it gave the greater scandal to the *Protestants*, *Puritans*, or *Papists*, it is hard to say.

But great Persons must not fall alone. Three of his Servants which had been most active in the business, were censured at the same time also; *Walker* his Secretary, fined at 300*l.* *Powell* an Officer of his Household, fined no more than he: But *Laud*, who left his Business in the Court of *Lincoln* to attend his Suit, at 1000 Marks. All of them censured to Imprisonment, which none suffered but he, and that but for a short time neither. Nor were their Fines exacted of them, which (as the Bishop after found to his cost) were in short time to be commuted into such other Offices as they were to do for *Kilvert* against their Master: The Story whereof, desireth the Readers further patience, though it come somewhat out of time and is briefly this. *Osbeston* the late Schoolmaster, and then *Prebend* of *Westminster*, a profess'd Creature of the Bishops, and much employed by him in his greatest businesses, had written a Letter to him about *Christmas*, in the year 1635. touching some Heats which hapned in that cold Season, betwixt the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treasurer *Weston*: *Osbeston* conceiving this to be a fit opportunity for the Bishop to close in with *Weston*, and by his means to extricate himself out of those Perplexities, in which this *star-Chamber* Suit had so long intangled him. This Intelligence he disguised in these expressions, *viz.* *The little Vermin, the Urchin and Hocus Pocus, is this stormy Christmas at true and real variance with the great Leviathan.* And this conceit the Bishop

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1637.

shop out of too much jollity makes known to others, by whom at last it came to *Kilvert*; who laying hold on the advantage, exhibits a new Bill against him, for divulging Scandalous Libels against Privy Counsellors; there being good proof to be produced, That by the names of *Little Vermin*, *Urchin*, and *Hocus Pocus*, the writer of that Letter designed no other than the Archbishop, and the Lord Treasurer *Weston* by the *Great Leviathan*. Both being made Parties to the Bill, *Osbeston* answers for himself, That by *Leviathan*, he intended Chief Justice *Richardson*; and *Spicer* a Doctor of Laws, by the other *Character*: The differing statures of the men, seeming to make good this *Construction*, which the *Grammar* of the Text might bear, as well as the other. The Bishop pleaded for his part, That he remembered not the receiving of any such Letter; and that if any such Letter had come unto him, it could not be brought within the compass of a *Libel*, because not written in such plain and significant terms as might apparently decypher and set forth the Person intended in it. But all this proved to be but shifts on either side; for *Kilvert* had a Letter ready (which *Walker* was supposed to have put into his hands) to make sure work of it; a Letter which the Bishop had writ to the said *Walker*, being then his Secretary, at the time of that falling out betwixt *Laud* and *Weston*. Here is a strange thing (saith that Letter) *Mr. Osbeston importunes me to contribute to my Lord Treasurers use, some Charges upon the Little Great Man, and assures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refused to meddle in this business; and I pray you learn from Mr. S. and Mr. H. if any such falling out be, or whether somebody hath not gulled the Schoolmaster in these three last Letters; and keep it unto your self, what I write unto you. If my Lord Treasurer would be served by me, he must use a more neer, solid, and trusty Messenger; and free me from the Bonds of the Star-Chamber; else let them fight it out for me.*

This secret thus discovered, and the Mystery opened, it was not long before the Cause was brought to Censure: For the two Letters being compared with the Time and Circumstances, it was no hard matter to the Lords (who had their own concernment in it) to conclude both of them to be guilty of the Crime called *scandalum Magnatum*, a Libelling and defaming the Great men of the Realm, prohibited and punishable by the Laws of the Land. So that no Buckler being found to bear off the Blow, a Fine of another 8000*l.* was imposed on the Bishop, *Osbeston* fined 5000*l.* to be deprived of his Ecclesiastical Preferments, his Ears to be tack'd to the Pillory in the Palace-yard, and Damages or Costs of Suit to be paid by both to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. A Censure greater than the Crime (as most men conceived) in respect of *Osbeston*, whose Indiscretion might have been corrected with far less severity; and less severity was intended, then the Sentence intimated; For though *Osbeston* at that time conceived the Archbishop to be his greatest Enemy, yet the Archbishop was resolved to shew himself his greatest Friend, assuring the Author of this History (before any thing was known of his supposed flight) that he would cast himself at the Kings feet, for obtaining a discharge

PART II. of that corporal punishment unto which he was Sentenced. Which
Anna Dom. may obtain the greater credit, first, in regard that no course was
 1637. taken to stop his flight, no search made after him, nor any thing done
 in order to his Apprehension. And secondly, by *Osbestons* readines
 to do the Archbishop all good Offices in the time of his Troubles, up-
 on the knowledge which was given him (at his coming back) of such
 good intentions: For *Osbeston* not hoping for so much favour, and
 fearing more the shame of the Punishment, than the loss of Prefer-
 ment had seasonably withdrawn himself to a Friends House in *London*,
 where he lay concealed, causing a noise to be spread abroad of his
 going beyond Sea, and signifying by a Paper which he left in his
 Study, That he was gone beyond *Canterbury*. But this hapned not
 till the latter end of the year next following though I have laid it here
 together, because of the coherence which it hath with the former
 Story.

To look back therefore where we left; The Bishop of *Lincoln* was
 no sooner Suspended by the *High-Commission* (that part of the Sen-
 tence being executed *July 24*) but all the Profits of his Preferments
 in the Church, were Sequestred to the use of the King: A Privy Seal
 is sent to the *sub-Dean* and *Prebends* of the Church of *Westminster*,
 requiring them to set apart all the Profits, certain and uncertain,
 which of right accrued unto that *Dean*, and to pay the same from time
 to time into the Receipt of the Exchequer. And that his Majesties
 Profits might not suffer any diminution, nor the *Prebends* of that
 Church be punished for the fault of their *Dean*, a Commission was is-
 sued under the Great Seal of *England*, inabling them to Let and Set,
 to Renew Leases, keep Courts and make Grants of Offices; and final-
 ly, to act and do all manner of things which concerned the Govern-
 ment of that Church, in as ample manner as if the *Dean* himself had
 been present at the doing of them. The like course also taken, in ga-
 thering in the Profits of his other Promotions; those of the Bishoprick
 of *Lincoln*, naturally flowing into the Exchequer as in times of Vacan-
 cy. And as for his *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, that fell as naturally to the
 Archbishop of the *Province*, as the Temporal Revenue to the King; the
 Archbishop of *Canterbury* exercising all kind of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*
 throughout the Diocess of *Lincoln*, not only as *Ordinary* of that Diocess,
 but as *Visitor* of all those Colledges which had any dependence on that
 See. Amongst which Colledges, as that of *Eaton* was the chief, so
 there was somewhat in it which was thought to want a present Re-
 medy; some Information being given, That they had diminished the
 number of their Fellows from Ten to Seven. This being a matter
 easily to be proved, they were required to make up their number,
 according to their first Foundation by King *Henry vi*. But against this,
 the Fellows pleaded, That out of an hatred to their Founder a great
 part of their Lands had been taken from them by King *Edward iv*.
 conferred by him upon the *Abby of Westminster* and the Church of
Windsor, and by them enjoyed untill this day; and that they hoped his
 Grace would not tye them to maintain the whole number of their
 Fellows, with little more then half their Lands. To which so reason-
 able

able a desire, upon full proof made of the Suggestion, his Grace did L I B. IV. readily consent, and left them in the same state in which he found them. *Anno Dom.*

The noise of these Proceedings in *England*, in the *June* and *July* of 1637. this year, being quickly posted to the *Scots*, became a principal Incentive of those Combuſtions, which not long after inflamed that Kingdom; for it could be no hard matter for the *Presbyterians* there, to possess the People with the sense of the like smart Sufferings, by the Pride and Tyranny of their Bishops, if they permitted them to grow great and powerful, and did not cast about in time to prevent the mischief. And to exasperate them the more, the Superstitions of the *Liturgie*, now at the point of being put in execution, were presented to them; which if once settled amongst them, as was then intended, would in short time reduce them under the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*. They could not but confess, That many things were found fault with in the English *Liturgie*, were in this altered unto the better, the name of *Priest* (so odious unto them of the *Puritan* Faction) changed to that of *Presbyter*; no fewer than sixty Chapters, or thereabouts, taken out of the *Apocrypha*, appointed to be read by the Church in the English Book, reduced to two, and those two to be read only on the Feast of *All-Saints*; The new Translation Authorized by King *James*, being used in the *Psalms*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymns*, and *Sentences*, instead of the old Translation so much complained of in their Books and Conferences. But what was this compared with those Superstitions, those horrible Corruptions, and Idolatries, now ready to be thrust upon them, in which this Liturgy as much exceeded that of *England*, as that of *England* had departed from the simplicity and purity of the holier Churches? Now therefore somewhat must be done to oppose the entrance of the Popish Superstitious Service-Book, either now or never: But the *Presbyterian* Ministers, who had gone thus far, did not alone bring fuel to feed this flame, to which some men of all degrees and qualities did contribute with them. The Lords and Gentry of the Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of *Surrendries* above-mentioned, laid hold on this occasion also; and they being seconded by some male-contented Spirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his bounties to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possess them with Fears and Jealousies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the Form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done also by some Lords of secret Counsel, who before had governed as they listed; and thought their power diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in Chief. So that the People generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberty was no small danger, became capable of any impresson which the Presbyterian Faction could imprint upon them; nor did they want encouragements from the Faction in *England*, to whom the Publication of the Book for *sports*, the transposing of the holy Table, the suppressing of so many Lecturers, and Afternoon Sermons, and the inhibiting of Preaching, Writing, Printing, in defence of *Calvinism*, were as

PART II. distasteful and offensive, as the new *Liturgie* with all the supposed *Anno Dom.* perfusions of it, was to those of *Scotland*.

1637.



This Combination made, and the ground thus laid, it is no wonder if the people brake out into those distempers, which soon after followed. *Sunday* the 23. of *July* was the day appointed for the first reading of the New *Liturgie* in all the Churches of that Kingdom; and how it sped at *Edenburgh* (which was to be exemplary to all the rest) shall be told by another, who hath done it to my hand already, “*July* 23. “being *Sunday*, the *Dean* of *Edenburgh* began to read the Book in St. “*Giles* his Church (the chief of that City) but he had no sooner “entred on it than the inferiour multitude began in a tumultuous “manner to fill the Church with upore, whereupon the Bishop of “*Edenburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by “minding them of the Sanctity of the place, they were the more en- “raged, throwing at him Cudgels, Stools, and what was in the way “of Fury, unto the very endangering of his life. Upon this the Arch- “bishop of *St. Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, was enforced to call down “from the Gallery the *Provost*, *Bailiffs*, and other Magistrates of the “City to their assistance, who, with much ado, at length thrust the un- “ruly Rabble out of the Church, and made fast the doors. This “done, the *Dean* proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in “the mean while rapping at the doors, pelting the Windows with “stones, and endeavouring what in them lay to disturb the Sacred Ex- “ercise: but notwithstanding all this clamour the Service was ended, “but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishops retiring to his “Lodging, so assaulted him, as had he not been rescued by a strong “hand, he had probably perisht by their violence. Nor was Saint “*Giles* his Church thus only pestered and profaned, but in other “Churches also (though not in so high a measure) the peoples disor- “ders were agreeable. The morning thus past, the Lord Chancellor “and Council assembled to prevent the like darings in the Afternoon, “which they so effected as the *Liturgie* was read without any distur- “bance: Only the Bishop of *Edenburgh* was in his return to his Lodg- “ing rudely treated by the people, the Earl of *Roxboroughs* Coach, “in which he passed, serving for no protection to him; though *Rox- “borough* himself was highly favoured of the People, and not with- “out some cause suspected to have had a hand in the Commotions of “that day.

Hist. K. C.
P. 153.

The business, having thus miscarried in *Edenborough*, stood at a stand in all other Churches of that Kingdom; and therefore it will not be amiss to enquire in this place into the causes and occasions of it: it seeming very strange to all knowing and discerning men, that the Child that had so long lain in the Womb, perfectly formed, and now made ready for the birth, should not have strength enough to be delivered. Amongst which causes, if disposed into rank and order, that which appears first is the confidence which *Canterbury* had in the Earl of *Traquaire*, whom he had raised from the condition of a private Laird to be a Peer of that Realm, made him first *Treasurer Deputy* (*Chancellor* of the *Exchequer* we should call upon him in *England*) afterwards
Lord

Lord *Treasurer* and Privy Counsellor of that Kingdom. This man he wrought himself so far into *Lauds* good liking, when he was Bishop of *London* only, that he looked upon him as the fittest Minister to promote the Service of that Church, taking him into his nearest thoughts, communicating to him all his Counsels, committed to his care the conduct of the whole Affair, and giving order to the Archbishops and Bishops of *Scotland* not to do any thing without his privity and direction. But being an *Hamiltonian Scot* (either originally such, or brought over at last) he treacherously betrayed the cause, communicated his Instructions to the opposite Faction from one time to another, and conscious of the plot for the next days tumult, withdrew himself to the Earl of *Mortons* house of *Dalkeith*, to expect the issue. And possible it is, that by his advice, the executing of the Liturgy was put off from *Easter*; at what time the reading of it was designed by his Majesty, as appears by the Proclamation of *December 20.* which confirmed the Book. By which improvident delay he gave the *Presbyterian* Faction the longer time to confederate themselves against it, and to possess the people with Fears and Jealousies, that by admitting of that book they should lose the Purity of their Religion, and be brought back unto the Superstitions and Idolatries of the Church of *Rome.* And by this means the People were inflamed into that Sedition, which probably might have been prevented by a quicker prosecution of the Cause at the time appointed, there being nothing more destructive of all publick Counsels than to let them take wind amongst the People, cooled by delays, and finally blown up (like a strong Fortres undermined) by some subtle practice. And there were some miscarriages also amongst the Prelates of the Kirk in not communicating the design with the Lords of the Council, and other great men of the Realm, whose Countenance both in Court and Country might have sped the business. *Canterbury* had directed the contrary in his Letters to them, when the first draughts of the Liturgy were in preparation, and seems not well pleased in another of his to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, bearing date *September 4.* that his advice in it was not followed, nor the whole body of the Council made acquainted with their Resolutions, or their advice taken, or their power called in for their assistance till it was too late. It was complained of also by some of the Bishops, that they were made strangers to the business, who in all Reason ought to have been trusted with the knowledge of that intention, which could not otherwise than by their diligence and endeavours amongst their Clergy, be brought to a happy execution. Nor was there any care taken to aduice the Ministers, to gain them the Cause by fair hopes and promises, and thereby to take off the edge of such Leading men as had an influence on the rest; as if the work were able to carry on it self, or have so much Divine assistance as countervailed the wants of all helps from man. And which perhaps conduced as much to the destruction of the Service as all the rest, a publick intimation must be made in all their Churches on the *sunday* before, that the *Liturgie* should be read on the Lords day following, of purpose, as it were, to unite all such as were not well affected to it, to disturb the same.

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1637.

Cant. to Traquaire. Sept. 11. Hidd. Works, p. 168.

And

PART II. And there were some miscarriages also, which may be looked on
Anno Dom. as *Accessories* after the Fact, by which the mischief grew remediless,
 1637. and the malady almost incurable. For first, *The Archbishops and Bishops* most concerned in it, when they saw what hapned, consulted by themselves apart, and sent up to the King without calling a Council, or joyn-
 ing the Lay Lords with them; whereas all had been little enough in a business of that nature, and so much opposed by such *Factionous* persons as gathered themselves on purpose together at Edenborough to disturb the Service. A particular in which the Lay Lords could not be engaged too far; if they had been treated as they ought. But having run upon this error they committed a worse in leaving Edenborough to it self, and retiring every one to his own *Diocess*, except those of Galloway and Dumblaine, For certainly they must needs think (as Canterbury writes in one of his Letters to Traquaire) that the Adverse party would make use of the present time to put further difficulties upon the work; and therefore that they should have been as careful to uphold it, the Bishop of Ross especially, whose hand had been as much in it as the most. But possibly the Bishops might conceive the place to be unsecure, and therefore could not stay with safety, neither the Lords of the Council, nor the Magistrates of the City having taken any course to bring the chief Ringleaders of the Tumult to the Bar of Justice: which must needs animate all disaffected and seditious persons, and almost break the hearts of those who were well inclined. And such indeed was the neglect of the Civil Magistrate that we hear of no man punished, scarce so much as questioned, for so great a Riot, as was not to be expiated but by the death, or some proportionable punishment of the chief offenders. Which had it been inflicted on some three or four for a terror to others, it might have kept that City quiet, and the whole Kingdom in obedience for the time to come, to the saving of the lives of many thousands (some hundreds of thousands at the least in all the three Kingdoms) most miserably lost in those long and cruel Wars, which ensued upon it. But the Lords of *Scotland* were so far from looking before them, that they took care only for the present, and instead of executing Justice on the Malefactors, *suspended* the Liturgie it self as the cause of the Tumult, conceiving it a safer way to calm the differences than to encrease the storm by a more rigorous and strict proceeding. All that they did in order to his Majesties Service, or the Churches peace, was the calling in of a scandalous Pamphlet, intituled, *A dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded on the Kirk of Scotland*; which not being done till October 20 following, rather declared their willingness to suffer the said Book to be first dispersed and set abroad, then to be called in and suppressed.

Nor seemed the business to be much taken to heart in the Court of *England*, from whom the *Scots* expected to receive Directions: Nor Order given them for unsheathing the Sword of Justice, to cut off such unsound and putrified Members, which might have saved the whole Body from a *Gangreen*: the drawing of some Blood in the Body Politick, by the punishment of Malefactors, being like letting Blood in the Body Natural, which in some strong Distempers doth preserve the

the whole. Or granting that the Tumult had been grown so high, and so strongly backed, that Justice could not safely have been done upon them; a way might have been found to have cooled the Fever, without loss of Blood, by bringing the whole Corporation under the danger of a forfeiture of their Lands and Liberties in a Legal way; which course proved so successful unto King JAMES on the like occasion, Anno 1597. Or finally, supposing that the Cause admitted not such a long delay, if then his Majesty had but sent a Squadron of the Royal Navy which he had at Sea, to block up their Haven, he had soon brought the *Edenburghers* unto his devotion, and consequently kept all the rest of the Kingdom in a safe Obedience. This was the way to keep them under; and of this course the People of the City were more afraid, than of any other. Somewhat they are to do, which might make his Majesty hope better of them than they had deserved; and nothing they could do which might better please him, than to express their chearfulness in admitting the *Liturgie*. To this end they addressed their Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as more concerned in this Affair than any other of the Lords which were near his Majesty, expressing in the same their great dislike of the late Tumult; for their Innocency therein, they refer themselves to his Majesties Council in that Kingdom, declaring further their concurrence with the Bishops which remained in the City, and the Ministry of the same, for settling the *Service-Book*; and offering Means above their Power, to such as should undertake the Reading of it; and finally, desiring his Grace to make known to his Majesty, how ready they were at all points to advance the Service, which they promised to accept as an accumulation of his Graces Favours unto them and their City. And that this Letter of theirs, which bears date the nineteenth of *August*, might bear the greater credit with him, they did not only seem industrious for the apprehending of some, and the inquiring after others of the Principal Actors; but bound themselves by an Obligatory Act of the Common-Council, both for the Indempnity and Maintenance of such as should read the Book, the Ministers of *Edenborough* refusing to do their parts in it, without such Encouragements. But the danger was no sooner over, by the coming home of the Fleet; but they Petitioned the Lords of the Council to put them into the same condition with the rest of the Subjects; and that the *Service-Book*; should be no further pressed on them, than it had been in all the other parts of the Kingdom: To which they were encouraged by a general confluence of all sorts of People, such most especially, as had most shewn their disaffection to the work in hand.

For the Harvest was no sooner in, and the People at more leisure than before to pursue that Quarrel: but the City swarmed with throngs of People from all parts, even to a formidable number, which moved the Lords to publish two Proclamations on the seventeenth of *October*; the first commanding all of them to repair to their Dwellings, except such as should shew sufficient reason for their stay and continuance there: The second, for Adjourning the Sessions from *Edenborough*, to the Town of *Linlithgow*. But this served rather like the

LIB. IV.
Anno Domini
1637.

Hist. R. C.
by H. L.
P. 154.

powring

PART II. powring on of Oyl, to encrease the Flame; than of Water to quench
Anno Dom. it: For the next day the Bishop of *Galloway* being to Sit with the Lord
 1637. Chief Justice upon some especial Business in the Council-House; he
 was pursued all along the Street with bitter Railings to the very Door; and being drawn in from the rage of the People, they immediately beset the House, demanding the delivery of him, and threatening his destruction. The Earl of *Traquair* being advertised of the Bishops danger (who formerly had been his Tutor) came to his Relief, and with much ado forced an Entrancethorow the Press: But being got in, he was in no better plight than the Bishop, the Clamour still increasing more and more, and encompassing the Council-House, with terrible Menaces. Hereupon the *Provost* and City-Council was called to raise the Siege: but they returned answer, That their condition was the same; for they were surrounded with the like Multitude, who had enforced them, for fear of their Lives, to sign a Paper importing, First, *That they should adhere to them, in opposition to the Service-Book*: Secondly, *To restore to their places Ramsay and Rollock two Silenced Ministers, and one Henderson a silenced Reader*. No better answer being returned, the Lord *Treasurer*, with the Earl of *Wigton*, went in Person to the Town-Council-House where they found the heat of the fury somewhat abated, because the Magistrates had signed the Paper; and returned with some hope that the Magistrates would calm the Disorders about the Council-House, so as the Bishop might be preserved: But they no sooner presented themselves to the Great Street, than they were most boysterously assaulted, the Throng being so furious, as they pulled down the Lord *Treasurer*, took away his Hat, Cloak, and White Staff, and so haled him to the Council-House. The Lords seeing themselves in so great danger, at length pitch upon the best expedient for their safety, and sent to some of the Noblemen and Gentry, who were dis-affected to the *Service-Book*, to come to their Aid. These Lords and Gentlemen came, as was desired, and offered both their Persons and Power to protect them; which the Lords and the Council-House readily embraced, and so were quietly guarded to *Holy-Rood-House*, and the Bishop to his Lodging. The Lords of the Council not thinking themselves to be secure, published a Proclamation the same day in the afternoon, for repressing such Disorders for the time to come: But they found slender Obedience yielded to it, Commissioners being sent unto them from the Citizens, in an insolent manner, for demanding the Restitution of their Ministers to their Place and Function, and performing all such Matters as had been agreed on at the *Pacification*.

These Riots and Seditions might have served sufficiently in another Reign, to have drawn a present War upon them, before they were provided in the least degree to make any resistance: But the *Edenburghers* knew well enough what they were to do, what Friends they had about the King, and what a Party they had got among the Lords of his Council, which Governed the Affairs of that Kingdom: And they were apt enough to hope, by the unpunishing of the first Tumult on July 23. That the King might rather have patience enough to bear
 such

such Indignities, than *Resolution* to revenge them; so that he came at last to that perplexity, which a good Author speaks of, (a) That he must either *out-go* his Nature, or *fore-go* his Authority. For instead of using his just Power to correct their Insolencies, he courts them with his Gracious Proclamation of the seventh of *December*, in which he lets them know, *How unwilling he was that his Loyal and Faithful Subjects should be possessed with groundless and unnecessary doubts and fears touching their Religion; and therefore was pleased to declare, That as he abhorreth all Superstitions of Popery, so he would be most careful that nothing should be allowed within his Dominions, but that which should most tend to the Advancement of the true Religion, as it was presently professed within his Ancient Kingdom of Scotland; and that nothing was nor should be done therein, against the laudable Laws of that his Native Kingdom.* The Rioters perceived by this Proclamation, that the King was more afraid than hurt: And seeing him begin to shrink, they resolved to put so many fears upon him one after another, as in the end might fashion him to their desires. First therefore they began with a new Petition, not of a rude Multitude but of Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgesses and Commons (the very Flower of the whole Nation) against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*. This Petition being sent to the Court, could do no less (and it did no more) than produce another Proclamation in Reply to the Substance of it, some Menaces being intermingled: but sweetned in the close, to give them the better relish. His Majesty first lets them know the Piety of his intent in appointing the *Liturgie*, assuring them, “ That he had no other end in “ it, than the maintenance of the true Religion there already professed, “ and the beating down of all Superstition; That nothing passed in “ the said Book, but what was seen and approved by himself, before “ the same was either divulged or Printed; and that he was assured, “ That the Book it self would be a very ready means to preserve the “ Religion there professed, of which he doubted not to give them satisfaction in his owntime. Which said, he lets them know, That such as “ had Assembled for subscribing the said Petition, had made themselves “ liable to his highest Censures, both in Life and Fortune; That notwithstanding, he was pleased to dispence with the error (upon a “ confidence that it proceeded rather from a preposterous Zeal, than “ a disaffection to Sovereignty) on condition that they retired themselves upon notice hereof, as became good and dutiful Subjects. He “ interdicted also the like Concourse as had been lately made at *Edenborough*, upon pain of Treason; commanding that none of them “ should repair to *Starling* (to which the Term was then Adjourned) “ or any other place of Counsel and Session, without Warrant from “ the Lords of the Council; and that all such, of what sort soever (not “ being Lords of the Council or Session) which were not Inhabitants “ of the Town, should within six hours after publication thereof, depart the same, except they were so Licensed and Warranted as before “ is said, under pain of *Treason*: And finally, he concludes with this, “ he would not shut his ears against any Petition, upon this or any other subject, which they should hereafter tender to him; provided

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1637.

(a) Cum vel
excidenda sit
natura, vel
minuenda dignitas.
Vell. Paterc.
Hist. L. D.
Bib. Reg p. 1
& 144.

Ibid. p. 114.

PART II. "that the matter and form thereof be not prejudicial to his Regal
Anno Dom. " Authority.

1637.

Had his Majesty followed at the heels of this Proclamation, with a powerful Army, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, Kings of *England*, it might have done some good upon them. But Proclamations of Grace and Favour, if not backed by Arms, are but like Cannons charged with Powder, without Ball or Bullet, making more noise than execution; and serve for nothing in effect, but to make the Rebel insolent, and the Prince contemptible, as it proved in this: For on the very day, and immediately after the reading of it, it was encountered with a Protestation, published by the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsy*, and others, justifying themselves in their Proceedings, disclaiming all his Majesties Offers of Grace and Pardon, and positively declaring their Resolution to go on as they had begun, till they had brought the business to the end intended. And in pursuance hereof, they erected a new Form of Government amongst themselves, despotical enough in respect of those who adhered unto them, and unaccountable to his Majesty for their Acts and Orders. This Government consisted of four Tables, for the four Orders of the State, that is to say, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgesses, and Ministers: each Order consulting at his own Table, of such things as were necessary for the carrying on of the Design; which being reduced into Form, were offered, debated, and concluded at the General Table, consisting of a choice number of Commissioners out of all the rest. And that this new Government might be looked on with the greater reverence, they fixed themselves in *Edenborough*, the Regal City, leaving the Lords of Council and Session to make merry at *Sterling*, where they had little else to do than to follow their Pleasures. The Tables were no sooner formed, but they resolved upon renewing of the Ancient *Confession* of that *Kirk*, with a Band thereunto subjoined, but fitted and accommodated to the present occasion, which had been signed by King *James* on the 28th of *January*, *Anno* 1580. after their Account, and generally subscribed by all the Nation. And by this Band they entred Covenant for Maintenance of their Religion then professed, and his Majesties Person: but aiming at the destruction of both; as appeareth both by the Bandit self, and their Gloss upon it: For by the one they had bound themselves to defend each other against all Persons whatsoever, the King himself not being excepted; and by the other they declared, That under the general Names of *Popery*, *Herese* and *superstition*, which were there expressed, they had abjured (and required all others so to do) not only the *Liturgie* and *Canons* lately recommended to them, but the *Episcopal Government*, and the *five Articles* of *Perth*, though confirmed by Parliament. And to this Covenant, in this sense, they required an Oath of all the Subjects, which was as great an Usurpation of the Regal Power, as they could take upon themselves, for confirming their own Authority and the Peoples Obedience, in any Project whatsoever which should afterwards issue from those Tables.

In this Estate we leave the *scots*, and return to *England*, where we shall find all things in a better condition, at least as to the outward appearance, whatsoever secret workings were in agitation amongst the *Grandees*. and chief Leaders of the *Puritan* Faction. Little or no noise raised about the publishing of the Book for Sports, or silencing the *Calvinian* Doctrines, according to his Majesties Declaration before the Articles: No clamour touching the transposing of the Holy Table, which went on leisurely in most places, vigorously in many, and in some stood still. The *Metropolitcal Visitation*, and the Care of the Bishops had settled these Particulars in so good a way, that mens Passions began to calm, and their thoughts to come to some repose, when the Commands had been more seriously considered of, than at first they were. And now the Visitation having been carried into all parts of the Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, his Grace began to cast his eye upon the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, two Islands lying on the Coast of *Normandy*, to the Dukedom whereof they once belonged, and in the Right of that Dukedom to the Crown of *England*. *Jersey*, the bigger of the two, more populous, and of richer soil: but of no great Trading. *Guernsey* the lesser, the more barren: but nourishing a wealthier People, Masters of many stout Barques, and managing a rich Trade with the neighbouring Nations. Attempted often by the *French*, since they seized on *Normandy*: but always with repulse and loss, the People being very affectionate to the *English* Government, under which they enjoy very ample Priviledges, which from the *French* they could not hope for. As parts of *Normandy*, they were subject in Ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops of *Constance* in that Dukedom, and so continued till the Reformation of Religion here in *England*, and were then added to the Diocess and Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Winchester*. But the *Genevian* Discipline being more agreeable to such Preachers as came to them from *France*, they obtained the Exercise thereof in the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1565. The whole Government distinguished into two Classes or Colonies; that of *Jersey* of it self being one, and that of *Guernsey*, with the Islands of *Sark* and *Alderney*, making up the other; both Classes meeting in a *Synod* every second or third year, according to the Order of their Book of Discipline, digested by *Snape* and *Cartwright*, (the two great Ring-leaders of that Faction here in *England*) in a *Synod* held at *Guernsey*, June 28. 1576. And this manner they continued till the time of King *James*, when the Churches in the Isle of *Jersey* falling into some disorder, and being under an immediate Governour who was no great Friend to *Calvin's* Plat-form, they were necessitated, for avoiding of a great mischief, to cast themselves into the Arms of the Church of *England*. The principal Ecclesiastical Officer, whilst they were under the Bishops of *Constance*, had the Title of *Dean*; for each Island one; the several Powers both of the *Chancellor* and *Archdeacon*, being united in his Person. This Office is restored again, his Jurisdiction marked out, his Fees appointed, his Revenue settled: but made accountable for his Administration, to the Bishops of *Winchester*. The *English Liturgie* is Translated also into

PART II. *French*, to be read in their Churches; *Instructions* first, and afterwards
Anno Dom. a body of *Canons* framed, for Regulating both the Ministers and
 1637. People in their several Duties; those *Canons* bearing date the last of
 June, in the one and twentieth year of that King.

For the confirming of this Island in their Conformity to the Government and Forms of Worship there established, and the reducing of the others to the like condition, it was resolved, That the *Metropolitcal Visitation* should be held in each of them, at the next opening of the Spring. And that it might be carried on with the greater assurance, the Archbishop had designed a Person for his Principal *Visitor*, who had spent some time in either Island, and was well acquainted with the Bayliffs, Ministers, and men of special note amongst them: But the Affairs of *Scotland* growing from bad to worse, this Counsel was discontinued for the present, and at last laid by for all together.

But these Islands were not out of his mind, though they were out of sight, his care extending further than his Visitation. The Islanders did use to breed such of their Sons as they designed for the Ministry either at *Saumur* or *Geneva*, from whence they returned well seasoned with the Leaven of *Calvinism*. No better way to purge that old Leaven out of the Islands than to allure the people to send their Children to *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; nor any better expedient to effect the same than to provide some preferments for them in our Universities. It hapned, that while he was intent on these considerations, that one *Hubbard*, the Heir of Sir *Miles Hubbard*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, departed this Life; to whom, upon an inquisition taken after his death in due form of Law, no Heir was found which could lay claim to his Estate. Which falling to the Crown in such an unexpected manner, and being a fair Estate withal, it was no hard matter for the Archbishop to perswade his Majesty to bestow some small part thereof upon pious uses. To which his Majesty consenting, there was so much allotted out of it, as for the present served sufficiently to endow three Fellowships for the perpetual Education of so many of the Natives of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*; not without some probable hope of doubling the number, as the old Leases of it should expire. These Fellowships to be founded in *Exeter*, *Jesus*, and *Pembroke* Colledges; that being disperst in several Houses, there might be an increase both of Fellows, and Revenues of the said foundations. By means whereof he did both piously and prudently provide for those Islands, and the advancement of Conformity amongst them in the times to come. For what could else ensue upon it: but that the breeding of some Scholars out of those Islands in that University, where they might thoroughly acquaint themselves with the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship establisht in the Church of *England*, they might afterwards at their return to their native Countries, reduce the Natives by degrees to conform unto it; which doubtless in a short time would have done the work with as much honour to the King, and content to himself, as satisfaction to those People.

It is not to be thought that the Papists were all this while asleep, and that neither the disquiets in *England*, nor the tumults in *Scotland* were

were husbanded to the best advantage of the Catholick Cause. *Panzani*, as before is said, had laid the foundation of an Agency or constant correspondence between the Queens Court and the Popes; and having so done, left the pursuit of the design to *Con a Scot*, by birth, but of a very busie and pragmatistical head. Arriving in *England* about the middle of Summer, *Anno 1636*. he brought with him many pretended reliques of Saints, Medals and Pieces of Gold with the Popes Picture stamped on them, to be distributed amongst those of that Party, but principally amongst the Ladies of the Court and Country, to whom he made the greatest part of his applications. He found the King and Queen at *Holdenby* House, and by the Queen was very graciously entertained, and took up his chief Lodgings in a house near the new Exchange. As soon as the Court was returned to *Whitehall*, he applyed himself diligently to his work, practising upon some of the principal Lords, and making himself very plausible with the King himself, who hoped he might make some use of him in the Court of *Rome* for facilitating the restitution of the Prince *Elect*. And finding that the Kings Councils were much directed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he used his best endeavours to be brought into his acquaintance. But *Canterbury* neither liked the man, nor the Message which he came about, and therefore kept himself at a distance, neither admitting him to Complement, nor Communication. Howsoever by the Kings Connivence, and the Queens Indulgence, the *Popish* Faction gathered not only strength, but confidence; multiplying in some numbers about the Court, and resorting in more open manner to the Masses at *Somerſet*-house, where the *Capuchins* had obtained both a *Chappel* and *Convent*. Of this none bears the blame but *Laud*, who is traduced in Libels and common talk for the principal Architect in the Plot, and the Contriver of the mischief.

On this account, and the proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, before remembred, one Libel is dropt at the *South Gate* of *St. Pauls*, on *August 23*. declaring that the Devil had left that house to him for the saying of Mass, and other abominations of the Church of *Rome*; another two days after fastned to the *North Gate* of it, signifying that the Church of *England* was like a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a stench. His Speech in the *Star-Chamber* put into a kind of Pillory, and hang-ed up at the Standard in *Cheapside*; and another short Libel made against him in Verse four days after that. Awakened by so many Alarms he had good cause to look about him, but more at the great noise, not long after raised, about the seducing of the Countess of *Newpart*, a Kinswoman of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Church of *Rome*; effected by the Practices of *Walter Mountague*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Manchester*, and the importunities of *Toby Matthews*, an underserving Son of a worthy Father) *Con* interposing in it as he found occasion. The Archbishop had long stomackt at the Insolencies of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, and had forborn the taking of any publick notice of them, till he had almost lost himself in the sight of the people. But laying hold on this opportunity, he passionately declares himself at the Council-Table, on *October 22*. in a full and free Speech to the King,

PART II. King, concerning the increase of the *Roman* Party, the frequent resort of Papists to *Somerſet*-house, the unfufferable misdemeanors of *Matthews*, and *Mountague*, in practising upon his Subjects, and chiefly upon those which lived within the verge of the Court, and were nearest to him, humbly beseeching him to put some strong restraint upon them, whereby they either might be barred from coming into the Court at all, or to give no offence and scandal by their misbehaviours. Of this the Queen had notice that very night, who seemed much displeas'd at the matter, and let him see it in her Countenance, whensoever he had any cause of coming where she was. But the Pill was given in a very good hour, and wrought so effectually with the King, that *Mountague* and *Matthews* was purged out of the Court; the one betaking himself to his Country practice, the other for a time to his former travels in *France* and *Italy*. Which the Queen finding to be past remedy, and knowing how necessary a Servant the Archbishop was to his *Great Master*, and how useful he might be to her in her own affairs, she admitted him to her speech again in *December* following; and after some expostulations concerning *Mountague*, she began to clear her Countenance, and to part fair with him.

Bibl. Regia,
part. 1. p. 39

Follow this business into the next year, and we shall find him moving for a Proclamation, about the calling in of a Popish Book, written in *French* by *Francis Sales* Bishop of *Geneva*, translated into *English*, and published by the name of an *Introduction to a devout life*, which Book being brought to *Haywood*, the Archbishops Chaplain, and by him purged of divers unsound passages apparently tending unto Popery before it was licensed to the Press, was notwithstanding published as it came to his hands, without alteration, the Translator inserting the same passages into it again, and the Printer conniving at the same. The Printer was thereupon apprehended, and the Translator diligently sought for to be brought to Justice; his Majesties care for maintaining the Religion professed in the Church of *England* in its natural purity, being so remarkable that he caused the said Book to be called in, and as many as could be seized on, to be publickly burned. But that which did most generally vindicate his Reputation, was the enlarging and reprinting of his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuite*, to which he had been moved by some of his private friends (none of them knowing that any other but himself had made the motion) when the Libellers were most fierce against him, and afterwards advised to it by the King himself at the Council-Table. The former Propositions had disposed him to it, and this desire of the Kings served for a command to confirm him in it: But multiplicity of business gave him so little leisure to attend his Studies, that the year was almost ended before the Book could be made ready for the publick view. But at the last it came from the Press, and was presented to his Majesty on *Sunday* the tenth of *February*, and the next day exposed unto open sale. A Piece so solidly compacted, that one of our Historians (who shews himself to be none of his greatest Friends) gives it the commendation of being *the exactest Master-piece of Polemique Divinity of any extent* at that time; further affirming, That he declared himself therein to be so little theirs (he means

Epist. to the
King .p. 8.

Hist. R. C.
p. 178.

means the *Papists*) as he had for ever disabled them from being so much their own as before they were. And *DERING*, his most professed Adversary, in the Preface to his Book of Speeches, could not but confess, but that in his Book, especially the last half of it, he had muzzled the *Jesuite*, and should strike the *Papists* under the fifth Rib, when he was dead and gone. And being dead, that wheresoever his grave should be, Pauls would be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book his Epitaph.

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1638.
Collection of
Speeches.
p. 5.

But such was his unhappy Fate, that many obstinate and malicious *Puritans* would not be otherwise perswaded of him, than before they were; which they spared not to express upon this occasion: One of his Majesties Chaplains in *Ordinary* had Preached two Sermons in *January* foregoing on *Mat. 13. 26.* which being brought into discourse at such time as the Archbishops Book was newly published, it was affirmed by some moderate men, that the Doctor in those two Sermons had pulled up Popery by the very roots; one of the company replying thereunto, That the Archbishop might Print, and the Doctor might Preach what they pleased against Popery, but that he should never think them, or either of them to be the less *Papists* for all that. A Censure of so strange a nature, and so little favouring of Christianity, that I believe it is not easie to be paralleled in the worst of times. And when no Priest nor *Jesuite* could be found so confident as to venture on an Answer to it, one of the *Presbyterian Scots* (for such he was then generally affirmed to be) published an unlicensed Piece against him, under the Title of *A Reply to a Relation of the Conference betwixt William Laud and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite*, said to be writ by a *Witness of Jesus Christ*. In the whole course whereof the Author, whosoever he was, most miserably perverts his words, and mistakes his meaning, wresting the most *Orthodox* and innocent truths to his wicked ends, and putting his own corrupt Glos and sense upon them. And which is yet most strange of all, with an unparalleled impudence he dedicates it to his Sacred Majesty, calling upon him, “ To send out his Royal Edict for the taking down of all
“ Altars, (which where ever they stand, are by him said to stand in
“ open defiance of Christ;) Another for calling in the Book for
“ Sports on the Lords day; A third, for calling in his Declaration be-
“ fore the Articles of Religion; A fourth for calling in of all Orders
“ for the Restraint of Preaching; A fifth, for restoring to their place
“ and Ministry all those who out of Conscience of their duty to God
“ had by the Prelates been thrust out of all for refusing to read the said
“ Book: And finally, for releasing and setting at liberty the three poor
“ banished prisoners, the loud cry of whose oppressions might other-
“ wise provoke the thunderbolt of Divine Revenge to blast the beauty
“ of his State.

Now as he laboured by these means to preserve the Church of *England* from the growth of *Popery*, so he took care for preventing the subversion of it, by the spreading of the *Socinian* Heresies. He had before took care for suppressing all Books of that nature which had been imported into *England* out of other Countries, and had received thanks for it from the Pen of a *Jesuit*: But *Burton* chargeth it upon him among his

PART II. his Crimes, reproaching him for suppressing those books for no other
Anno Dom. reason but because they magnified the Authority of the holy Sriptures;
 1638. and by the late Decree for Printing (of which more anon) he had
 took such order, that no Eggs of that pestiferous Brood should be laid
 in *England*, or if they were, should ever peep out of the Shell, or appear
 in sight. There had been published a Discourse, called, *Disquisitio*
Brevis, in which some of the principal *Socinian* Tenants were cunningly
 inserted, pretending them for the best Expedients to appease
 some Controversies betwixt us and *Rome*: The Book ascribed in
 common Speech to *Hales* of *Eaton*; a man of infinite reading, and no
 less ingenuity; free of Discourse, and as communicative of his know-
 ledge as the *Cœlestial* Bodies of their light and influences. There past
 also up and down a Discourse of *Schism*, not Printed, but transmitted
 from hand to hand in written Copies (like the Bishop of *Lincolns* Letter
 to the *Vicar* of *Grantham*) intended chiefly for the encouragement
 of some of our great Masters of Wit and Reason, to despise the Au-
 thority of the Church. Which being dispersed about this time, gave
 the Archbishop occasion to send for him to *Lambeth*, in hope that he
 might gain the man, whose abilities he was well acquainted with when
 he lived in *Oxon*. An excellent *Grecian* in those days, and one whom
Savil made great use in his *Greek* Edition of *St. Chrystoms* Works.
 About nine of the Clock in the Morning he came to know his Graces
 pleasure, who took him along with him into his Garden, commanding
 that none of his Servants should come at him upon any occasion.
 There they continued in discourse till the Bell rang to Prayers, and
 after Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and after that
 too, till the coming in of the Lord *Conway* and some other Persons of
 honour, put a necessity upon some of his Servants to give him notice
 how the time had passed away. So in they came, high coloured, and
 almost panting for want of breath; enough to shew, that there had
 been some heats between them, not then fully cooled. It was my
 chance to be there that day, either to know his Graces pleasure, or
 to render an account of some former commands, but I know not which;
 and I found *Hales* very glad to see me in that place, as being himself
 a meer stranger to it, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards,
 That he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble
 Disputant) to be as well versed in books as business; That he had been
 ferretted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left
 to afford him any further shelter; That he was now resolved to be
 Orthodox, and to declare himself a true Son of the Church of *England*,
 both for Doctrine and Discipline; That to this end he had obtained
 leave to call himself his Graces Chaplain, that naming him in his Pub-
 lick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the greater notice might be
 taken of the Alteration. Thus was *Hales* gained unto the Church,
 and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the
 Archbishops Commendation to be Prebend of *Windsor*, and to hold
 the same by special dispensation, with his place in *Eaton*.

Nor was the Archbishop less intent upon all Advantages for keeping
 down the *Genevian* Party, and hindring them from Printing and Pub-
 lishing

lishing any thing which might disturb the Churches Peace, or corrupt her Doctrine. To this end he procured a Decree to be pass'd in the Star-Chamber, on July 1. Anno 1637. to Regulate the Trade of Printing, and prevent all Abuses of that Excellent Art, to the disturbance of the Church. By which Decree it had been Ordered, *That the Master-Printers from thenceforth should be reduced to a certain number; and that if any other should secretly or openly pursue that Trade, he should be set in the Pillory, or whipped through the Streets, and suffer such other Punishment as that Court should inflict upon him; That none of the said Master-Printers should from thenceforth Print any Book or Books of Divinity, Law, Physick, Philosophy, or Poetry, till the said Books, together with the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Tables, or Commendatory Verses, shall be lawfully Licensed; either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London for the time being, or by some of their Chaplains, or by the Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of either of the two Universities, upon pain of losing the Exercise of his Art, and being proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, or the High-Commission Court respectively; That no Person or Persons do hereafter Re-print, or cause to be Re-printed, any Book or Books whatsoever (though formerly Printed with License) without being reviewed, and a new License obtained for the Re-printing thereof: That every Merchant, Book-seller, or other Person, who shall Import any Printed Books from beyond the Seas, shall present a true Catalogue of them to the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, before they be delivered, or exposed to Sale, upon pain of suffering such Punishment as by either of the said two Courts respectively shall be thought fit, That none of the said Merchants, Book-sellers, or others, shall upon pain of the like Punishment, deliver any of the Books so Imported, till the Chaplains of the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, or some other Learned Man by them appointed, together with the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, or one of them, shall take a view of the same, with Power to seize on all such Books which they found to be Schismatical and Offensive, and bring them to the said Archbishop or Bishop, or to the High-Commission Office: And finally, That no Merchant, Book-seller, &c. should Print, or cause to be Printed beyond the Seas, any Book or Books, which either totally, or for the greatest part, were written in the English Tongue, whether the said Books have been here formerly Printed, or not; nor shall willingly nor knowingly Import any such Books into this Kingdom, upon pain of being proceeded against in either of the said two Courts respectively, as before is said. By means of which Decree he had so provided both at home and abroad, That neither the Patience of the State should be exercised (as in former times) with continual Libels; nor the Church troubled by unwarrantable and Out-landish Doctrines.*

But good Laws are of no effect without execution; and if he took no care for that, he had lost his labour. King James had manifested his dislike of the Genevian Bibles, and the Notes upon them; some of which did not only teach Disobedience to Kings and Princes, but the murdering of them also, if they proved Idolaters; and others did not only teach the Lawfulness of breaking Faith and Promise;

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1638.

PART II. when the keeping of it might conduce to the hurt of the Gospel: but Anno Dom. ranked Archbishops, Bishops, and all men in Holy Orders, or *Academical Degrees*, amongst those *Locusts* in the *Revelation*, which came out of the Pit. That King gave Order thereupon, that the Bible of the New Translation should be Printed with no Notes at all; which course he also recommended to the *Synod of Dort*, to be observed in the new Translation of the Bible into the *Dutch* or *German* Tongue, which was then intended. Upon this ground, the Printing of those Bibles with Notes upon them had been forbidden in this Kingdom: but were Printed in *Holland* notwithstanding, and brought over hither, the better to keep up the Faction, and affront Authority. Some of them had before been seized in *Holland*, by the care of *Boswel* the Resident at the *Hague*: And in the beginning of this year, he received Advertisement of a new Impression of the same designed for *England*, if the terrour of this Decree did not stop their coming. Because *Holland*, and the rest of the Provinces under the Government of the States, was made the Receptacle of many of our *English* Male-contented, who there and from thence vented their own Passions, and the Discourses of their Party in this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the Church; it concerned him to keep a careful watch over them and their Actions. Of these he had Advertisement from time to time, by one *John de Maire*; and thereupon, by the means of *Boswel* his right trusty Friend, he dealt so effectually with the *States-General* of those Provinces, that they made a Proclamation against the Printers and Spreaders of Libellous and Seditious Books against the Church and Prelates of *England*; and took Order with the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam* (two great Towns in *Holland*) for apprehending and punishing of such *Englishmen* as had Printed any of the said Lawless and Unlicensed Pamphlets.

Cant. Doom.
P.349:

There was a time when Queen *Elizabeth* beheld the Pope as her greatest Enemy, in reference to her Mothers Marriage, her own Birth, and consequently her Title to the Crown of *England*; and many of the Books which were Printed in and about that time, were full of bitterness and revilings against the Church of *Rome* it self, and all the Divine Offices, Ceremonies, and Performances of it. There was a time also when the *Calvinian* Doctrines were embraced by many for the Genuine Doctrines of this Church, to the great countenancing of the *Genevian* Discipline and Forms of Administration: And not a few of the Books then Printed, and such as after were Licensed in *Abbot's* Time, aimed principally at the Maintenance of those Opinions, which the latter Times found inconsistent with the Churches Doctrines. With equal diligence he endeavoured by his Decree to hinder the Reprinting of the one and the other, that so the Church might rest in quiet, without any trouble or molestation in her self, or giving offence to any other.

As little Trouble could be feared from Lecturers, as they now were Regulated. The greatest part of those who had been Superinducted into other Mens Cures (like a *Doctor* added to the *Pastor* in *Calvin's* Plat-form) had deserted their Stations, because they would not read the

the Common-Prayers in their Hoods and Surplices, according to the Kings Instructions before remembred; such as remained being either founded on a constant or certain Maintenance, or seeing how little was to be gotten by a fiery and ungoverned Zeal, became more pliant and conformable to the Rules of the Church: Not a Lecturer of this kind found to stand out in some great Diocesses, to keep up the Spirits of the Faction, and create disturbances. And as for Combination-Lecturers, named for the most part by the Bishops, and to them accountable, they also were required in some places to read the second Service at the Communion-Table, to go into the Pulpit at the end of the Nicene Creed, to use no other form of Prayer than that of the 55 Canon, after the Sermon ended, to go back to the Table, and there read the Service. All which being to be done in their Hoods and Surplices, kept off the greatest part of the Rigid Calvinists from exercising their Gifts, as formerly in great Market-Towns. And as for the position of the Communion-Table, it was no longer left to private Instructions, as it was at the first, when the Inquiry went no further, than, *Whether the Lords Table was so conveniently placed, that the Minister might best be seen and heard of the Congregation?* The more particular disposing of it, being left to Inference, Conjecture, or some private Directions. It now began to be more openly avowed in the *Visitation-Articles* of several Bishops and Archdeacons, some of which we shall here produce, as a light to the rest: For thus we find it in the Articles for the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, Anno 1637. Art. 5. *Have you a decent Table, or a Frame for the Holy Communion, placed at the East end of the Chancel? It is Railed in or Enclosed, so as Men or Boys cannot sit upon it, or throw their Hats upon it? Is the said Rail and Inclosure so made with Settles and kneeling-Benches, at the foot or bottom thereof, as the Communicants may fitly kneel there at the Receiving of the Holy Communion? The like for the Diocess of Norwich in the year before, where we find it thus; viz. Have you in your Church a Communion-Table, a Carpet of Silk? &c. And is the same placed conveniently, so as the Minister may best be heard in his Administration, and the greatest number may reverently Communicate? To that end, Doth it ordinarily stand up at the East end of the Chancel, where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South? And in another Article it is thus inquired, viz. Do all your Parishioners, of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly then commandeth, draw near, and with all Christian Humility and Reverence, come to the Lords Table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion? But because these Articles might be thought too general, if not otherwise limited, certain Injunctions were annexed in Writing, in one of which it was required, That the said Tables should be Railed in, to avoid Prophanations; and secondly, That all Communicants should come up by Files, and Receive the Sacrament at the same. Which was performed in this manner: As many as could well kneel close to the Rails, came up out of the Church or Chancel, and then upon their knees received (from the Priest standing within the Rails) the Bread and Wine; who being thus Communicated, retired into the Church or Chancel, and made room for others.*

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
1638.

Art. of the
Visit. of B.
Wren.

PART II. Which course was constantly observed, till they had all Received the Sacrament in their ranks and forms, according to the antient Custom of the Church of *England*; till Novellism, and Compliance with the Forms of *Geneva*, had introduced a deviation from their own appointments.

Anno Domini
1638.

In this condition stood that Diocess, as to these particulars, when *Wren*, translated unto *Ely*, left the place to *Mountague*; who though he was as zealous, and as forward as he in railing in the Communion-Table at the East end of the Chancel where the Altar stood, (as appears by his Visitation Articles for this present year) yet he had fancied to himself a middle Course between receiving at the Rail and carrying the Communion to all parts of the Church, as had been most irreverently used in too many places. And therefore that he might do somewhat to be called his own, he caused a meeting of the Clergy to be held at *Ipswich* for the parts adjoining, where he prescribed these following Orders: That is to say, “First, After the words, or
“Exhortation pronounced by the Minister (standing at the Communion-Table, the Parishioners as yet standing in the body of the
“Church) *Draw near*, &c. all which intended to Communicate should
“come out of the Church into the Chancel. Secondly, That all being
“come in, the Chancel door should be shut, and not opened till the
“Communion be done; That no Communicant depart till the Dis-
“mission; That no new Communicant come in amongst them; And
“that no Boys, Girls, or Gazers be suffered to look in as at a Play.
“Thirdly, That the Communicants being entred should be disposed of
“orderly in their several Ranks, leaving sufficient room for the Priest
“or Minister to go between them; by whom they were to be com-
“municated one Rank after another, till they had all of them received.
“Fourthly, and finally, That after they had all received, the Priest
“or Minister should dismiss them with the Benediction. Which
though it differed very little from the Rules prescribed by his Predecessor, yet some diversity there was, for which he rendred an account to his Metropolitan, and was by *Wren* sufficiently answered in all points thereof. It was not coming up to the Rail, but going into the Chancel, which had been stomached, and opposed by the Puritan Faction, who loved to make all places equal, and to observe as little reverence in the Participation as in all other Acts of Worship: Which *Mountague* either not considering or fancying to himself some hopes which he had no ground for, resolved to fall upon this course, which he conceived to be more agreeable to the course of Antiquity, and most consistent as he thought with the Rules of Politie. For by this condescension he presumed, as himself informs us, to keep many men at home with their Wives and Families, in obedience to his Majesties Laws, who otherwise were upon a resolution of departing the Kingdom; wherein how much he was deceived, the event discovered.

For so it was, that the people in many great trading Towns, which were near the Sea, having been long discharged of the Bond of Ceremonies, no sooner came to hear the least noise of a Conformity; but they began to spurn against it. And when they found that all their
striving

striving was in vain, that they had lost the comfort of their Lecturers, and that their Ministers began to shrink at the very name of a Visitation, it was no hard matter for those Ministers and Lecturers. to persuade them to remove their dwellings, and transport their Trades. The Sun of Heaven, say they, doth shine as comfortably in other places, the Son of Righteousness much brighter: Better to go and dwell in *Goshen*, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such an *Egyptian* darkness as was then falling on this Land. The sinful corruptions of the Church (said they) were now grown so general, that there was no place free from that Contagion, and infections of it; and therefore go out of her my people, and be not partaker of her sins. And hereunto they were the more easily persuaded by seeing so many Dutchmen with their Wives and Children to forsake the Kingdom; who having got Wealth enough in *England*, chose rather to go back to their Native Countries, than to be obliged to resort to their Parish Churches, as by the Archbishops Injunctions they were bound to do. Amongst the first which separated upon this account were *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Burroughs*, *Bridge*, and *Sympson*; who taking some of their followers with them, betook themselves to *Holland*, as their City of Refuge. There they filled up their Congregations to so great a number, that it was thought fit to be divided; *Goodwin* and *Nye* retiring unto *Arnheim*, a Town of *Gelderland*; *Sympson* and *Bridge* fixing at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*: but what became of *Burroughs* I am yet to seek. These men affecting neither the severe Discipline of *Presbytery*, nor the Licentiousness incident to *Brownism*, embraced *Robinsons* Model of Church-Government in their Congregations, consisting of a Co-ordination of several Churches for their mutual comfort, not a Subordination of the one to the other, in the way of direction or command. Hence came that name of *Independents*, continued unto those amongst us, who neither associate themselves with the *Presbyterians*, nor embrace the Frenies of the *Anabaptists*. But they soon found the Folly of their Divisions, *Rotterdam* growing too narrow a place for *Bridge* and *Sympson*, so that this last was forced to leave it, and *Ward* who succeeded him could not tarry long. More unity there was at *Arnheim*, where their Preachers did not think they had done enough in confirming their new Church to the Pattern which they saw in the Mount, if it were not Apostolical in the highest perfection: To which end they not only admitted of *Hymns*, and *Prophecys* which the Sister-Congregations had not enterrained: but of *Widdows*, and the *holy Kiss*, cashired for the avoiding of Scandal in the Primitive times; yea, and of the *Extreme Unction* also, the exercise whereof by *Kiffin* and *Patients* I had rather the Reader should take out of the *Gangræna*, than expect from me.

The curteous entertainment which these people found in the *Belgick* Provinces, might easily have served for a strong temptation to bring over the rest to enjoy the like: But the Country was too narrow for them, and the Brethren of the Separation desired elbow-room for fear of *Enterfeering* with one another. *New-England* was chiefly in their eye, a *Puritan* Plantation from the first beginning, and there-

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1638.

PART II. therefore fitter for the growth of the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* Gospel than any Country whatsoever. A Country first discovered to any purpose by one Captain *Cosnold*, Anno 1602. and in the next year more perfectly surveyed by some of *Bristol*; afterwards granted by King *James*, Anno 1606. unto a Corporation of Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants to be planted and disposed of for the Publick, under the Ordering and Direction of Chief Justice *Popham*, by whom a Colony was sent thither in the year next following; at what time they built *St. Georges* Fort to secure their Haven, that they might have a door open for their going thence, which soon after followed. And though the Adventurers made a further attempt in the year 1616. yet it never settled into Form till the building of *New-Plymouth*, in the year 1620. and some encouragements being sent thence to bring others on, it came in very short space to so swift a growth, that no *Plantation* for the time ever went beyond it; *New Bristol*, *new Boston*, and *new Barnstable*, being quickly added to the other. (a) The growth of old *Rome* and new *England* had the like foundation, both *Sanctuaries* for such of the neighbouring Nations as longed for Novelties and Innovations both in Church and State. But let the Reader take their Character from (b) *de Laet* a right good *Chorographer*, in the third Book of his Description of *America*, where he informeth us, that the first Planters, and those which followed after them were altogether of that Sect, which in *England* were called *Brownists* or *Puritans*; many of which had formerly betaken themselves to *Holland*, but afterwards departed thence to joyn with their brethren in *New-England*. The Churches cast into the same mould with those before, all of them following the device of *Robinson*, that notorious *Schismatick*, at the spawning of the second separation in *Amsterdam*: Who, to distinguish his followers from the brethren of the first separation governed by a Tryformed *Presbytery* of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, introduced a new way of his own, leaving as much Exercise of Church Discipline to the whole Congregation, as was elsewhere enjoyed by the Pastors and Elders.

In this estate they stood in the year 1633. at what time *John de Laet* made that Character of them: Exceedingly increased in short time after, both in Men and Buildings, by those who frequently flocked thither from most parts of this Kingdom, either for fear of Punishment, or for danger of Debt, or to enjoy the folly of their Schism with the greater safety. But whatsoever were the causes of the Separation, certain I am, the crime was laid on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, amongst the Articles of whose Impeachment by the House of Commons, I find this for one, viz. That in his own Person, and his *Suffragans*, *Visitors*, *Surrogates*, *Chancellors*, or other Officers by his Command, he had caused divers Learned, Pious and Orthodox Preachers of Gods Word to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, or otherwise grieved and vexed without any just and lawful cause; whereby, and by divers other means he hath hindered the Preaching of Gods Word, and caused divers of his Majesties Subjects to forsake the Kingdom. So is the Judge to be accused for all those mischiefs, which the

(a) Ad quam turba omnis ex finitimis gentibus, novarum rerum cupida confluxit. Liv. Hist. Lib. 1.
 (b) Primos hosc Colonos, uti & illos qui postea accesserint, potissimum aut omnino fuisse ex eorum hominum Secta quos in Anglia Brownistas & Puritanos vocant, &c.
 lib. 3. cap. 8.

condemned Malefactors, when they once brake Prison may design L I B. IV. and execute. The principal Bell-weatheres of these flocks, were *Cotton, Chancy, Wells, Hooker,* and perhaps *Hugh Peters*; the rest, let them look after, who affect such Company. Not much took notice of at the first, when they were few in Numbers, and inconsiderable for their Power: but growing up so fast both in strength and multitude, they began to carry a face of danger. For how unsafe must it be thought both to Church and State, to suffer such a constant Receptacle of discontented, dangerous, and schismatical Persons, to grow up so fast; from whence, as from the Bowels of the Trojan Horse, so many Incendiaries might break out to inflame the Nation? *New-England*, like the Spleen in the Natural Body, by drawing to it so many sullen, sad, and offensive Humours, was not unuseful and unserviceable to the General Health: But when the Spleen is grown once too full, and emptieth it self into the Stomach, it both corrupts the Blood, and disturbs the Head, and leaves the whole man wearisom to himself and others. And therefore to prevent such mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under Consultation of the chief Physitians, who were to take especial care of the Churches Health, to send a Bishop over to them, for their better Government; and back him with some Forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to perswade Obedience. But this Design was strangled in the first Conception, by the violent breakings out of the Troubles in *Scotland*, which call upon us from this place to look towards them.

And now again we are for *Scotland*, where we spent the last year in doing nothing, and shall spend this in doing that which was worse than nothing. The Insolencies of the *Covenanters* were now grown so great, that some advised the King to take the Sword into his hand, and to reduce them to Obedience by force of Arms, before they had ripened their Intelligences, and formed a Party to their will both at home and abroad: But the King would not hearken to it, resolved upon his Fathers way of sending Commissioners, and trying what he might effect by Treaty and Negotiation. Which Resolution being taken, the next Consideration was for the choice of the man. The well-affected *Scots* pitched on the Marquis of *Huntley*, a man of great Power in his own Country, true to the King, and a professed Enemy to the *Presbyterians*. And to this end the Earl of *Sterling* Principal Secretary of Estate, the Bishops of *Ross* and *Brechin* Privy-Counsellors both, *Hay* the Clerk-Register, and *Spotswood* Lord President of the *sessions* (a most deserving Son of a Reverend Father) made a journey thence unto the King, and used their best Endeavours with him, to commit the managing of that great Trust into *Huntley's* hands: But the Court-Faction carried it for the Marquis *Hamilton*, whose Head was better than his Heart, a notable dissembler, true only to his own ends, and a most excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, by which he *screwed* himself so far into his Majesties good opinion, that whosoever undertook the *unrivetting* of him, made him faster in it. And so far had the man prevailed by his Arts and Instruments, that the Duke of *Lenox* was brought over to contribute his Assurances,

PART II. to him; and rather chose to commend the known Enemy of his House
Anno Dom. to that great Employment, than that a private Country-Gentleman
 1638. (such as *Huntley* was) should carry the Honour from them both. And
 therefore briefly in this place to speak of *Hamilton*, and his Proceedings
 in the weighty Charge committed to him (in which he hath been
 generally suspected to betray his Master) we will fetch the Story some-
 what higher, that we may see what ends he aimed at for himself, and
 what enclined him rather to foment than quench the flames which had
 been kindled in that Kingdom.

Know therefore, That the *Hamiltonian* Family derives it self from
 one *Hamilton* an *Englishman*, who went to try what Fortunes he could
 find in *Scotland*: Neither himself nor his Posterity of any great note,
 till *James* iii. bearing a great affection to Sir *James Hamilton*, married
 him to one of his Sisters whom he had forcibly taken from the Lord
Boyd her former Husband. From this unlawful Marriage descended
 another *James*, the Grandchild of this, as impious and adulterous in
 his second Marriage, as his Grandmother had been before: For having
 married a Wife of one of the Noble Houses of *Scotland*, he put her
 shamefully away, and took into his Bed, a Niece of Cardinal *Beton's*,
 who then swayed all things in that Kingdom. Of this last Marriage
 came *John* Earl of *Arran*, Created by King *James* vi. the first Marquiss
 of *Hamilton*, the Father of *John*, and Grandfather of *James* Marquiss
 of *Hamilton*, of whom we now speak. This man considering with
 himself, that he was descended from a Daughter of King *James* ii. (but
 without taking notice of any intervenient Flaws which occurred in
 the Pedigree) conceived by little and little, That a Crown would look
 as lovely upon his Head, as on the Heads of any which descended
 from a Daughter of *James* v. To give some life unto his Fancies,
 he found the Great Men amongst the *Scots* in high discontentments,
 about the Revocation of Church-Lands, which the King then busily
 intended: The Popular Party in *England* no less discontented,
 by the Dissolving of three Parliaments one after another; and the
Puritans in both, by the great Power and Credit which some Bishops
 had attained unto in either Kingdom. In which conjuncture, it was not
 hard for him to conceive, That he might make unto himself a
 strong Party in That, without fear of any opposition to be made
 from This. And so far had his hopes gone with him, when he ob-
 tained the Conduct of an Army, intended by his Majesty for assist-
 ing of the King of *Sweden* in the Wars of *Germany*: An Army for
 the most part raised in *Scotland*, and most of the Commanders of that
 Nation also, whom he had so obliged unto him by his Arts and Flat-
 teries, that a Health was openly begun by *David Ramsey* (a boisterous
Russian of that Court) to King *James* the Seventh: And so much of
 the Design was discovered by him unto *Donald Mankie* Baron of *Ree*,
 than being in the Marquisses Camp, that the Loyal Gentleman
 thought himself bound in duty to make it known unto the King. *Ram-*
sey denying the whole matter, and the Lords having no proof thereof
 (as in such secret Practices it could hardly be) more then a confident
 asseveration, and the engagement of his Honour, the King thought good

to refer the Controversie to the Earl of *Lindsey*, whom he made Lord L. I B. IV. High-Constable to that end and purpose. Many days were spent accordingly in pursuance of it: But when most men expected that the matter would be tryed by Battel, as had been accustomed in such cases, the Business was hushed up at Court, the Lord *Ree* dismissed to his Employment in the Wars, and, contrary to the mind of all good men, the Marquis did not only continue in the Kings great Favour: but *Ramsfey* was permitted to hold the Place of Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, which had been formerly procured for him. Anno Dom. 1638.

As for the Army of *Scots*, consisting of 7000. if my memory fail not, transported into *Germany* in the Summer before, Anno 1631. they mouldred away by little and little, without acting any thing; the King of *Sweden* being then in a prosperous condition, and not desiring the *Scots* should carry away any part of the Spoil and Honour which he doubted not of acquiring to his own Nation in the course of the War. This puts the Marquis upon new Counsels; and in the course of these new Counsels, he was not only to foment those Animosities which had been raised in that Nation against the King, but to remove all those Impediments which might lye in the way betwixt him and his affected Greatness. Two men there were whom he more feared than all the rest, both of the House of *Graham*, and both descended from a Son of King *Robert* the Second; and that too by a clearer Descent, than the *Hamiltons* could pretend from the Daughter of King *James* ii. The first was *William* Earl of *Menteith*, descended from an Heir-general of *David* Earl of *Stratherne*, one of the younger Sons of King *Robert* ii. as before was said: A man of sound Abilities and approved Affections, and therefore by the King made President of the Council in *Scotland*: In which Office he behaved himself, and stood so stoutly in behalf of the King his Master upon all occasions; that nothing could be done for Advance of *Hamiltons* Designs, till he was removed from that Place. In order whereunto it was put into his head by some of that Faction, that he should sue unto the King to be Created Earl of *Stratherne*, as the first and most honourable Title which belonged to his House; That his Merits were so great, as to assure him not to meet with a denial; and that the King could do no less, than to give him some nominal Reward for his real Services. On these Suggestions, he repaired to the Court of *England* 1632. where without any great difficulty, he obtained his Suit, and waited on the King the most part of the Summer-Progress; no man being so openly honoured, and courted by the *Scottish* Nation, as he seemed to be: But no sooner was he gone for *Scotland*, but the *Hamiltonians* terrified the King with the Dangers which he had run into by that Creation, whereby he had revived in that proud and ambitious Person, the Rights which his Ancestors pretended to the Crown of *Scotland*; That the King could not choose but see how generally the *Scots* flock'd about him (after his Creation) when he was at the Court, and would do so much more when he was in *Scotland*: And finally, That the proud man already had so far declared himself, as to give it out, *That the King held the Crown of him*. Hereupon a Commission was speedily

PART II. posted into *Scotland* (in which those of *Hamiltons* Faction made the
Anno Dom. greatest number) to inquire into his Life and Actions, and to consi-
 1638. der of the Inconveniencies which might redound unto the King by
 his affecting this new Title. On the Return whereof, the poor Gentleman is removed from his Office, from being one of the Privy Council; and not only deprived of the Title of the Earl of *Stratherne*, but of that also of *Menteith*, which for a long time had remained in his Ancestors. And though he was not long after made Earl of *Airth*, yet this great fall did so discourage him from all Publick Businesses, that he retired to his own House, and left the way open to the *Hamiltonians* to play their own Game as they listed. Faithful for all this to the King, in all changes of Fortune; neither adhering to the *Covenanters*, nor giving the least countenance to them, when he might not only have done it with safety, but with many personal Advantages which were tendred him.

The other Bar to be thrust back, was the Earl of *Montross*, of the same House, and descended from the same Original; as plausible with the Souldiers and Men of War, as his Cousin of *Menteith* was powerful at the Council-Table. This man returning out of *France* in the flower and Bravery of his Age, had an intent of putting himself into the Kings Service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of *Hamilton*; who, knowing the Gallantry of the Man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majesties Favour, cunningly told him, That he would do him any Service: but that the King was so wholly given up to the *English*, and so discountenanced and slighted the *Scottish* Nation, that were it not for doing Service to his Country (which the King intended to reduce into the form of a Province) he could not suffer the Indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repairs unto the King, tells him of the Earls return from *France*, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed: but that he was so Powerful, so Popular, and of such esteem amongst the *Scots*, by reason of an old Descent from the Royal Family, that if he were not nipped in the bud (as we use to say) he might indanger the Kings interest and affairs in *Scotland*. The Earl being brought unto the King, with very great demonstrations of affection on the Marquis his part, the King without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiss, and so turned aside; which confirmed him in the Truth of that false Report, which *Hamilton* had delivered to him: So that in great displeasure and disdain, he makes for *Scotland*. There finds he Colonel *Alexander Lesly* (an obscure fellow, but made rich with the Spoils of *Germany*) as discontented as himself, for being denied the honourable Title of a *Baron*, which he ambitiously sought for at the Kings being there. And he found them there also, who perceived on what foot he halted, and knew well how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till by seconding the Information which he had brought from *Hamilton*, they had fashioned him wholly to their will: For they prevailed so far upon him, that at the first he cordially espoused their Quarrel against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*, and whatsoever else they found fault withal in the Publick Government; he being one of those
 Great

Great Persons (and as forward as any of them all) who published a *LIB. IV.*
Protestation at the Cross in *Edenborough*, against one of his Majesties *Anno Dom.*
 Proclamations of Grace and Favour. But afterwards being displeas'd *1.638.*
 that *Lesly* was preferred before him in Commanding the Army; and
 looking thereupon more carefully into the depth of the Design than
 at first he did, he estranged himself from them by degrees, and at last
 became the most eminent Instrument that ever his Majesty employed in
 his Wars with that People.

But *Hamilton* had another remove to make, without which all the
 rest were nothing; and that was the removing of the Earl of *Mar* from
 the Custody and Command of the Castle of *Edenborough* (some time
 Hereditary to that House) and gaining it unto himself. To this Remove
 the Earl consented, because he found how earnestly his Majesty desi-
 red it of him; from whom he received a Compensation in Money for it.
 At so great charge was the King, to put *Hamilton* into as full posses-
 sion of the Strengths of that City, as he had got before in the hearts of
 the Citizens. The way being thus prepared, and all Rubs removed,
 on *Saturday May 26.* he set forwards for *Scotland*, and in short time
 came to *Dalkeith*, an House of the Earl of *Mortons* four Miles from *Eden-*
borough, where he reposed himself a while; that he might make his En-
 try into the City with the greater honour. After some seeming diffiden-
 ces betwixt him and the *Covenanters*, he puts himself into *Holy-Rood*
 House, where the first thing he did, was the waving of his Attendance at
 the Reading of the *English Liturgie*, which had been settled in the *Chap-*
pel-Royal of that House by the care of King *James*, *Anno 1617.* and after
 some neglects and intermissions, restored by the Piety of King *Charles*,
Anno 1633. as before was signified. It was no hard matter to discern by
 his acts in this, whose Game it was he meant to play, for what it was
 that he had held the shuffling of the Cards so long, and who was like to
 win the Set, when none but he had the dealing of them: For he so pli-
 ed the King from one time to another, sometimes by representing the
 extreme difficulties, and sometimes the apparent dangers in which his
 Affairs there stood involved; that he drew him to fling up all in less
 than three Months; which King *James* and he had been projecting
 above thrice ten years. For first, by his Proclamation bearing date
June 28. he suspends the present execution of the *Canons* and *Liturgie*,
 dischargeth all Acts of Council made for the establishment of them,
 and promiseth so to regulate the *High-Commission*, that it should nei-
 ther impugn the Laws, nor be a just grievance to the Subject. By a
 second, bearing date *September 9.* he dischargeth the *Liturgie*, *Ca-*
nons, and *High-Commission* (this last being of King *James* his institu-
 ting, *Anno 1610.*) rescinding all Proclamations and Acts whatsoever,
 which had been made for the establishing of the same; and by the
 same, suspends the executing of the Five Articles of *Perth*, though
 confirmed by Parliament. By the same also he subjecteth all his Mi-
 nisters, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, to the Censure of Parliaments,
 General Assemblies, or any other competent Judicatory: And frees
 all Ministers at their Entry from taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*;
 that against *Symonie*, or any other not enjoined by Acts of Parliament.

PART II. By the same also he commands the Subscribing of the *Confession of Faith*, with the *Band* thereunto annexed, which the *Covenanters* before
Anno Dom. 1638. had pres'd on the People, and upon which they had placed such a
 great part of their confidence, that they solemnly protested to *Hamilton* at his first coming thither, *That they would rather renounce their Baptism, than relinquish their Covenant.* And this he did for no other
 Reason, as appears by a Letter of the same date to the Lords of the Council, than to legitimate the Rebellion; *Because not being Warranted before by Regal Authority, it must needs be in it self ineffectual, and prejudicial to the Antient Form of Government kept within that his Kingdom of Scotland.* And finally, by his *Royal Edict*, bearing date the 22d. of the same month, he gives Order for a *General Assembly*, to be held at *Glasgo* on *November 21.* next following; in which he could not but be sure, that after so many previous Condescensions on his part, they would be able to do whatsoever they list'd in defiance of him.

Bibl. Reg. p.
1. p. 151.

For, before the assembly was Indicted, the *Covenanters* had so laid the Plot, that none but those of their own Party should have Suffrage in it; as afterwards by several Orders from their Tables, they directed that no Chaplain, nor Chapter-man, nor any who have not subscribed the *Covenant*, should be chosen to it; not suffering the Archbishops or Bishops to sit as Moderators in their *Presbyteries*, where the Elections were to pass; and citing them to appear as Criminal Persons at the said Assembly: by means of which Exclusions and Prelimitations, the greatest part of the Assembly did consist of such as either were irregularly chosen by the over-ruling Voices of *Lay-Elders* which were thrust upon them, or else not capable of being Elected, some of them being under the Censures of the *Kirk of Scotland*, others under the Censures of the Church of *Ireland*, and some not having taken the Oath of *supremacy* required by the Laws of the Land. Upon which just and weighty Reasons, as also the Admission of the Schismatical Clergy to sit as Judges over their Bishops; the intrusion of so many *Lay-Elders*, contrary to the Constitution of former *General Assemblies*; the countenancing of a scandalous Libel against their Function and Persons; and the prejudging of their Cause in their several *Presbyteries*, by excluding them from having any Vote in the said Assembly, when they were not present to interpose or speak any thing in their own behalf, the Archbishops and Bishops, in the name of themselves, and all which did adhere unto them, prepared their *Declinator* or Protestation against the said *General Assembly*, and all the Acts and Conclusions of it, as being void, and null in Law to all intents and purposes whatsoever. The day being come, *Hamilton* marcheth to the place appointed for the Session, in the equipage of a High-Commissioner, the Sword and Seal being carried before him, the Lords of the Council, and all the Officers of State, attending on him like a King indeed. The reading of his Commission, the putting in and rejecting of the *Declinator*, the chusing of *Henderfon* to be Moderator of the Assembly, the constituting of the Members of it, and some Debates touching the Votes and Suffrages, challenged by *Hamilton* for such as were Assessors

to him, took up all the time between their first Meeting and their
 Dissolution, which was by Proclamation solemnly declared on the
 twenty ninth of the same Month, having fate one eight days by the
 Kings Authority.

L I B. IV.
 Anno Domi.
 1638.

For notwithstanding the said Dissolution, the Members of the said
 Assembly continued and kept their Session, and therein passed many
 Acts for the utter overthrow of the Politie and Government of the
 Church, the infringing of his Majesties Prerogative Royal, and vio-
 lating the Authority of Parliaments. For they not only Excommu-
 nicated the Bishops and their Adherents, but condemned the very
 Function it self to be *Antichristian*, and utterly to be abolished out of
 the Church; notwithstanding that several Parliaments had confirmed
 the same. The like Censure they also past on the *Service-Book* and
Canons, with the five *Articles of Perth*; though the two first received
 the Stamp of Royal Authority, and the five last were confirmed in
Parliament also. They condemned in one breath all the *Arminian*
 Tenents, in case of *Predestination*, without examining the Arguments
 on which they were built; and declared all men subject to *Excommu-
 nication*, and other Censures of the Church, who should refuse to yield
 obedience to all their unlawful Actings and Determinations. And
 though his Majesty by the same Proclamation had commanded all his
 faithful Subjects not to yield any obedience to their Acts and Ordina-
 nances, and bound himself in the Word of a King to defend them in
 it; yet those of the Assembly were resolved to maintain their Autho-
 rity. For notwithstanding his Majesties late Declaration and Com-
 mands, not only the Bishops and Clergy, but also as many of the Layty
 as had refused to subscribe to the Acts thereof, were deprived of their
 Offices and Preferments, banished their Country, and forced to flye
 into *England*, or other places, the King not being able to protect them
 from the power and malice of their Adversaries. For having lost the
 opportunity of suppressing them in their first Insurrection in the year
 precedent, and afterwards of reducing them by force of Arms in the
 year next following, he was forced to shuffle up such a Pacification in
 the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, *Anno 1641.* as left his Party desti-
 tute of all protection, but what they found in *England* by his Majesties
 Favour in providing the Clergy of some small Benefices for their pre-
 sent subsistence, which possibly might amount to more than formerly
 they enjoyed in their own Country.

And yet the Covenanters did not play all parts in this Assembly, the
 King and his Commissioner had one part to act, which was the present-
 ing of a Declaration, containing the sum and substance of all his Maje-
 sties gracious Condescensions, exprest in the several Proclamations
 before remembered, and a Command to have it registred in the Acts
 and Records thereof. But upon what considerations and reasons of
 State his Majesty might be moved to commit that Paper to be registred
 amongst the Acts of *Assembly*, is beyond my reach. For though many
 times the wisest Princes have sent out Proclamations of Grace for red-
 ress of Grievances, and pardoning of fore-past offences; yet were
 those Proclamations and Acts of Grace beheld no otherwise than as
 temporary

PART II. temporary and occasional Remedies for the present mischiefs, not to
Ann. Dom. be drawn into Example, and much less put upon Record for the times
 1638. ensuing; his Majesties Condescensions had been large enough, and
 too much to the prejudice of his Crown and Dignity without this En-
 rollment. Nor wants it somewhat of a Riddle, that at such time as
Hamilton tendred the Paper of his Majesties gracious Concessions for
 discharging of the *Service-Book*, &c. to be enrolled amongst the Acts
 of the *Assembly*; he both declared, and protested that his so doing
 should be no acknowledgment of the lawfulness and validity of that
Convention which was instantly to be dissolved: or that his Majesty
 should give order to have those Acts of Grace and Favour enrolled in
 the Records of the Assembly, to stand full and sure to all his good
 Subjects for their assurance of and in the true Religion; which Assem-
 bly at the same time he declared to be illegal, and all the Acts there-
 of to be null and void. I must confess I am not *Oedipus* enough for so
 dark a *sphinx*, and must therefore leave this depth of State-craft to
 more able heads. Only I cannot chuse but note, how little his Majesty
 got by those Condescensions; the stubborn and rebellious *Scots* being
 so far unsatisfied with these Acts of Grace, that they not only forced
 all those who adhered unto him to flye the Country: but intercepted
 his Revenues, seized on all his Forts and Castles, and put themselves
 into a posture of open War. And that they might be able to manage
 it with the greater credit, they called home some of their Commanders
 out of *Germany*, and some which served under the Pay of the States
 General; so far prevailing with those States as to continue such Com-
 manders in their Pay and Places as long as they remained in the Ser-
 vice of the *Scottish Covenanters*. A favour which his Majesty could
 not get at their hands, nor had he so much reason to expect it as the
 others had, if considered rightly. It had been once their own case;
 and they conceived they had good reason to maintain it in others.

It may deservedly be a matter of no small amazement, that this
 poor and unprovided Nation, should dare to put such baffles and af-
 fronts upon their Lawful King; the King being backt by the united
 Forces of *England* and *Ireland*, obeyed at home, and rendred formi-
 dable unto all his Neighbours by a puissant Navy, they must have
 some assurances more than ordinary which might enflame them to this
 height; and what they were it may not be amiss to enquire into. First
 then they had the King for their natural Country-man, born in that
 Air, preserving a good affection for them to the very last; and who
 by giving them the Title of his *Antient* and *Native Kingdom* (as he did
 most commonly) gave them some reason to believe, that he valued
 them above the *English*. They had in the next place such a strong
 Party of *Scots* about him, that he could neither stir or speak, scarce
 so much as think, but they were made acquainted with it. In the *Bed-*
Chamber they had an equal number of Gentlemen, and seven Grooms
 for one; in the *Presence-Chamber* more than an equal number a-
 mongst the Gentlemen Ushers, Quarter-Waiters, &c. In the *Privy-*
Chamber, besides the *Carvers* and *Cup-bearers*, such a disproportion
 of the Gentlemen belonging to it, that once at a full Table of Waiters,
 each

each of them having a Servant or two to attend upon him, I and my man were the only *English* in all the Company. By which the King was so observed, and betrayed withal, that as far as they could find his meaning by Words, by Signs, and Circumstances, or the silent language of a *shrug*, it was posted presently into *Scotland*, some of his Bed-Chamber being grown so bold and saucy, that they used to Ransack his Pockets when he was in bed, to transcribe such letters as they found, and send the Copies to their Countrymen in the way of intelligence. A thing so well known about the Court, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in one of his Letters, gave him this *memento*, that he should not trust his Pockets with it. For Offices of trust and credit they were as well accommodated as with those of service, *Hamilton* Master of the Horse, who stocked the Stables with that People; The Earl of *Morton*, Captain of his Majesties Guard; The Earl of *Arncram*, Keeper of the Privy Purse; The Duke of *Lenox*, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of *Dover Castle*; *Balfore* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the Fortres of most power and command in *England*; And *Wemmys*, the Master Gunner of his Majesties Navy, who had the issuing of the Stores, and Ammunition, designed unto it. Look on them in the Church, and we shall find so many of that Nation beneficed and preferred in all parts of this Country, that their Ecclesiastical Revenues could not but amount to more then all the yearly Rents of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and all of these scarce one in ten, who did not cordially espouse and promote their Cause amongst the People. They had beside no less assurance of the *English Puritans* than they had of their own; those in Court (of which there was no very small number) being headed by the Earl of *Holland*) those in the Country by his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*; the first being aptly called in a Letter of the Lord *Conways* to the Lord Archbishop, *The spiritual, and invisible head*, the other, *The visible and temporal head* of the *Puritan Faction*. And which was more than all the rest, they had the Marquis of *Hamilton* for their Lord and Patron, of so great power about the King, such authority in the Court of *England*, such a powerful influence on the Council of *Scotland*, and such a general Command over all that Nation, that his pleasure amongst them past for Law, and his words for Oracles; all matters of Grace and Favour ascribed to him, matters of harshness or distaste to the King or *Canterbury*. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown of *scots* in Fact, though not in Title; His Majesty being looked on by them as a Cypher only in the *Arithmetick* of State.

But notwithstanding their confidence in all these *Items*, taking in the *Imprimis* too, they might have reckoned without their Host in the *Summa Totalis*, the *English Nation* being generally disaffected to them, and passionately affecting the Kings quarrel against them. The sense and apprehension of so many indignities prevailed upon the King at last to unsheath the Sword, more justly in it self, and more justifiably in the sight of others; the Rebels having rejected all his offers of Grace and Favour, and growing the more insolent by his Condescensions. So that resolved, or rather forced upon the War, he must bethink

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1638.

PART II. bethink himself of means to go thorow with it: To which end *Bur-*
Anno Dom. rows the Principal King of Arms, is commanded to search into the

1638. Records of the Tower, and to return an Extract of what he found relating to the War of *Scotland*; which he presented to the Archbishop in the end of *December*, to this effect, *viz.* 1. "That such Lords and others as had Lands and Livings upon the Borders, were commanded to reside there with their Retinue; and those that had Castles there, were enjoined to Fortifie them. 2. That the Lords of the Kingdom were Summoned by Writ, to attend the Kings Army with Horse and Armour at a certain time and place, according to their Service due to the King; or repair to the Exchequer before that day, and make Fine for their Service: As also were all Widows, Dowagers of such Lords as were deceased; and so were all Bishops and Ecclesiastical Persons. 3. That Proclamations were likewise made by Sheriffs in every County, That all men holding of the King by *Knights-Service* or *Sergeancy*, should come to the Kings Army, or make Fines as aforefaid; with a strict command, That none should conceal their Service under a great Penalty. 4. As also, That all men having 40*l.* Land *per Annum*, should come to the Kings Army with Horse and Armour; of which if any failed to come or to make Fine, their Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels were distrained by the Sheriff upon Summons out of the Exchequer. 5. That Commissions should be issued out for Levying of Men in every County, and bringing them to the Kings Army: That the like be done for Mustering and Arraying the Clergy throughout *England*; or otherwise, to furnish the King with a proportion of Armed Men for the present Service. 6. That Writs be issued out into all Counties, for certifying the King what number of Horse and Foot every County could afford him in his Wars with *Scotland*. 7. The like also to the Borders, requiring them to come unto the Kings Army well armed; Commissions to be made for punishing such as refused. 8. That the Sheriffs of the Counties were commanded by Writ to make Provisions of Corn and Victuals for the Kings Army, and to cause them to be carried to the place appointed. The like Command sent to the Merchants in the Port-Towns of *England* and *Ireland*; and the Ships of the Subject taken to Transport such Provisions to the place assigned. 9. Several Sums of Money raised by Subsidies and Fifteens from the *English* Subject, and Aid of Money given and lent by the Merchant-Strangers, toward the Maintenance of the War. 10. That the King used to suspend the payment of his Debts for a certain time, in regard of the great occasions he had to use Money in the Wars of *Scotland*. Other Memorials were returned to the same effect: but these the principal.

According to these Instructions, his Majesty directs his Letters to the Temporal Lords, his Writs to the High-Sheriffs, his Orders to the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants in their several Counties, his Proclamations generally to all his Subjects; Requiring of them all such Aids and Services in his present Wars, as either by Laws, or Antient Customs of the Land, they were bound to give him. He caused an

an Order also to be made by the Lords of the Council, directed to the the two Archbishops, *January, 29.* by which they were Required and Commanded, "To write their severall and respective Letters to all the Lords Bilhops in their severall Provinces respectively, forthwith to convene before them all the Clergy of Ability in their Diocesses, and to incite them by such ways and means as shall be thought best by their Lordships, to aid and assist his Majesty with their speedy and liberal Contributions, and otherwise, for defence of his Royal Person, and of this Kingdom: And that the same be sent to the Lord Treasurer of *England* with all diligence: Subscribed by the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Bishop of *London* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel* Earl-Marshal, the Earl of *Dorset* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Holland* Chancellor of *Cambridge*, *Cottingham* Master of the Wards, *Vane* Treasurer of the Household, *Cooke* and *Windebank* the two Principal Secretraries. Which Warrant, whether it proceeded from the Kings own motion, or was procured by the Archbishop himself to promote the Service, is not much material: Certain I am, that he conformed himself unto it with a chearful diligence, and did accordingly direct his Letters to his Suffragan Bishops in this following form.

L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1638.

My very good Lord,

I Have received an Order from the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, giving me notice of the great Preparations made by some of Scotland, both of Arms and all other Necessaries for War: And that this can have no other end, than to invade or annoy this his Majesties Kingdom of England. For his Majesty having a good while since, most graciously yielded to their Demands for securing the Religion by Law established amongst them, hath made it appear to the World, That it is not Religion but Sedition that stirs in them, and fills them with this most irreligious Disobedience, which at last breaks forth into a high degree of Treason against their Lawful Sovereign. In this Case of so great danger both to the State and Church of England, your Lordships, I doubt not, and your Clergie under you, will not only be vigilant against the close Workings of any Pretenders in that kind: but very free also to your Power and Proportion of means lest to the Church, to contribute toward the raising of such an Army, as, by Gods Blessing and his Majesties Care, may secure this Church and Kingdom from all intended Violence. And according to the Order sent unto me by the Lords (a Copy whereof you shall herewith receive) these are to pray your Lordship to give a good Example in your own Person; and with all convenient speed to call your Clergie, and the abler Schoolmasters (as well those which are in Peculiars as others) and excite them by your self, and such Commissioners as you will answer for, to contribute to this Great and Necessary Service; in which if they give not a good Example, they will be much too blame. But you are to call no poor Curates, nor Stipendaries: but such as in other Legal ways of Payment

PART II. *have been, and are by Order of Law bound to pay. The Proportion I know Anno Dom. not well how to prescribe you: but I hope they of your Clergie whom God 1638. hath blessed with better Estates than Ordinary, will give freely, and thereby help the want of Means in others. And I hope also your Lordship will so order it, as that every man will at the least give after the Proportion of 3s. 10d. in the Pound, of the valuation of his Living, or other Preferment, in the Kings Books. And this I thought fit to let you further know, That if any man have double Benefices, or a Benefice and a Prebend, or the like, in divers Diocesses; yet your Lordship must call upon them only for such Preferments as they have within your Diocess, and leave them to pay for any other which they hold, to the Bishop in whose Diocess their Preferments are. As for the time, your Lordship must use all the diligence you can, and send up the Moneys if it be possible by the first of May next. And for your Indempnity, the Lord Treasurer is to give you such discharge, by striking a Tally or Tallies upon your several Payments into the Exchequer, as shall be fit to secure you without your Charge. Your Lordship must further be pleased to send up a List of the Names of such as refuse this Service within their Diocess: but I hope none will put you to that trouble. It is further expected, That your Lordship, and every other Bishop, express by it self, and not in the general Sum of his Clergie, that which himself gives. And of this Service you must not fail. So to Gods blessed Protection I leave you, and rest,*

*Lambeth, Jan. ult.
1638.*

Your Lordships very Loving Friend
and Brother,

WILL. CANT.

On the receiving of these Letters, the Clergy were Convented in their several Diocesses, encouraged by their several Ordinaries not to be wanting to his Majesty in the Present Service, and divers Preparations used before hand to dispose them to it; which wrought so powerfully and effectually on the greatest part of them (those which wish'd well unto the *scots*, seeming as forward in it as any other) that their Contributions mounted higher than was expected. The Benevolence of the Diocess of *Normich* only amounting to 2016*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* The Archdeaconry of *Winchester* only, to the sum of 1305*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* And though we may not conclude of all the rest by the greatness of these, yet may it be very safely said, that they did all exceeding bountifully in their several proportions, with reference to the extent of their Diocesses, and the ability of their Estates. Nor were the Judges of the several Benches of the Courts at *Westminster*, and the great Officers under them, Protonotaries, Secondaries, and the like, deficient in expressing their good affections to this general cause; in which the safety of the Realm, was as much concerned as his Majesties honour. And for the Doctors of the Laws, Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, and other Officers belonging to the Ecclesiastical Courts, they were spurred on to follow the example of the Secular Judges (as having a more particular concernment in it) by a Letter
sent

sent from the Archbishop to the Dean of the *Arches*, on *February 11.* LIB. IV. and by him communicated to the rest. By which Free-will offerings Anno Dom. on the one side, some commanded duties on the other, and the well- 1638. husbanding of his Majesties Revenue by the Lord Treasurer *Juxon*, he was put into such a good condition, that he was able both to raise and maintain an Army with no charge to the Common Subject: but only a little Coat and Conduct money at their first setting out. These preparations were sufficient to give notice of a War approaching without any further denouncing of it by a publick Herald; and yet there was another accident which seemed as much to fore-signifie it as those preparations. *Miry de Medices*, the Widow of King *Henry iv.* of *France*, and Mother to the Queens of *England* and *Spain*, arrived at *Harwich* on *October 19.* and on the last of the same was with great State conducted through the Streets of *London* to his Majesties Palace of *St. James.* A Lady which for many years, had not lived out of the smell of Powder, and a guard of Muskets at her door, embroyed in wars and troubles when she lived in *France*, and drew them after her into *Flanders*, where they have ever since continued. So that most men were able to presage a Tempest, as Mariners by the appearing of some Fish, or the flying of some Birds about their ships, can foresee a storm. His Majesty had took great care to prevent her coming, knowing full well how chargeable a guest she would prove to him, and how unwelcome to the Subject. To which end *Boswel* was commanded to use all his wits for perswading her to stay in *Holland*, whither she had retired from *Flanders* in the year precedent. But she was wedded to her will, and possibly had received such invitations from her Daughter here, that nothing but everlasting foul weather at Sea, and a perpetual cross wind, could have kept her there.

All things provided for the War, his Majesty thought fit to satisfy his good Subjects of both Kingdoms, not only of the Justice which appeared in this Action: but in the unavoidable necessity which enforced him to it. To which end he acquaints them by his Proclamation, of the 20. of *February*, “How traiterously some of the *Scottish* Nation had “practiced to pervert his Loyal Subjects of this Realm, by scattering “abroad their Libellous and Seditious Pamphlets, mingling themselves at their publick meetings, and reproaching both his Person “and Government; That he had never any intention to alter their Religion or Laws, but had condescended unto more for defence thereof than they had reason to expect; That they had rejected the Band “and Covenant which themselves had prest upon the people, because “it was commended to them by his Authority; and having made “a Covenant against God and him, and made such Hostile preparations, as if he were their sworn Enemy, and not their King; That “many of them were men of broken Fortunes, who because they “could not well be worse, hoped by engaging in this War to make themselves better; That they had assumed unto themselves the power of the Press, one of the chief markes of the Regal Authority, prohibiting to Print what he commanded, and commanding to Print what he prohibited, and dismissing the Printer whom he had established

PART II. "in that Kingdom; That they had raised Arms, blockt up and be-
Anno Dom. "sieged his Castles, laid Impositions and Taxes upon his people,
 1638. "threatned such as continued under Loyalty, with force and violence;
 ~~~~~ "That they had contemned the Authority of the Council-Table, and  
 "set up Tables of their own, from which they send their Edicts  
 "throughout all parts of the Kingdom, contrary to the Laws therein  
 "established, pretending in the mean time that the Laws were vio-  
 "lated by himself; That the question was not now, whether the Ser-  
 "vice-Book should be received or not, or whether Episcopacy should  
 "continue or not, but whether he were King or not; That many of  
 "them had denied the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance (for  
 "which some of them had been committed) as inconsistent, and in-  
 "comptable with their holy Covenant; That being brought under a  
 "necessity of taking Arms, he had been traduced in some of their  
 "writings for committing the Arms he had then raised, into the hands  
 "of professed *Papists*, a thing not only dishonourable to himself, and  
 "the said noble persons, but false and odious in it self; *That some of po-*  
 "*wer in the Hierarchy had been defamed for being the cause of his taking*  
 "*Arms to invade that Kingdom, who on the contrary had been only Council-*  
 "*lors of peace, and the chief perswaders (as much as in them lay) of*  
 "*the undeserved moderation wherewith he had hitherto proceeded toward*  
 "*so great Offenders*; That he had no intent by commending the Ser-  
 "vice-Book unto them to innovate any thing at all in their Religion,  
 "but only to create a conformity between the Churches of both King-  
 "doms, and not to infringe any of their Liberties which were accord-  
 "ing to the Laws; That therefore he required all his loving Subjects  
 "not to receive any more of the said seditious Pamphlets, but to de-  
 "liver such of them as they had received, into the hands of the next  
 "Justice of the Peace, by him to be sent to one of his Majesties prin-  
 "cipal Secretaries; And finally, That this his Proclamation and De-  
 "claration be read in time of Divine Service in every Church within  
 "the Kingdom, that all his People to the meanest, might see the noto-  
 "rious carriages of these men, and likewise the Justice and Mercy of  
 "all his proceedings.

And now his Majesty is for Action, beginning the Journey towards the North, *March 27.* being the Anniversary day of his Inauguration. His Army was advanced before, the best for quality of the Persons, compleatness of Arms, number of serviceable Horse, and necessary Provision of all sorts, that ever waited on a King of *England* to a War with *Scotland*. Most of the Nobility attended on him in their Persons; and such as were to be excused for Age and indisposition, testified their affections to his Majesties Service in good Sums of Money. The Flower of the English Gentry would not stay behind, but chearfully put themselves into the Action, upon a confidence of getting honour for themselves, as well as for their King or Country; many of which had been at great charge in furnishing themselves for this Expedition, on an assurance of being repaid in Favours what they spent in Treasure. And not a few of our old Commanders, which had been trained up in the Wars of *Holland*, and the King of *Sweden*, deserted

deserted their Employments there to serve their Sovereign, whether with a greater gallantry or affection, it is hard to say. The Horse computed to 6000. as good as ever charged on a standing Enemy; The Foot of a sufficient number, though not proportionable to the Horse, stout men, and well affected for the most part to the Cause in hand; the Cannon, Bullets, and all other sorts of Ammunition, nothing inferiour to the rest of the Preparations. An Army able to have trampled all *scotland* under their feet, (Gods ordinary providence concurring with them) and made the King as absolutely Master of that Kingdom as any Prince could be of a conquered Nation. The chief Command committed to the Earl of *Arundel*, who, though not biaised toward *Rome*, (as the *scots* reported him) was known to be no friend to the *Puritan* Faction: The Earl of *Holland* having been Captain of his Majesties Guard, and formerly appointed to conduct some fresh Recruits to the Isle of *Rhee*, was made *Lieutenant* of the Horse. And the Earl of *Essex*, who formerly had seen some service in *Holland*, and very well understood the Art of War, *Lieutenant-General* of the Foot. Besides which power that marcht by Land, there were some other Forces embarqued in a considerable part of the Royal *Navy*, with plenty of Coin and Ammunition, which was put under the command of *Hamilton* (who must be of the *Quorum* in all busineses) with order to ply about the Coasts of *scotland*, and thereby to surpriseth their Ships, and destroy their Trade, and make such further attempts to Landward, as opportunity should offer, and the nature of affairs require.

It is reported (and I have it from a very good hand) that when the old Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, came to take his leave of the King, at his setting forward toward the *North*, he desired leave to give his Majesty three Advertisements before his going. The first was, That his Majesty would suffer none of the Scottish Nation to remain in his Army, assuring him that they would never fight against their Countrymen: but rather hazard the whole Army by their tergiversation. The second was, that his Majesty would make a Catalogue of all his Counsellors, Officers of Household, and domestick Servants; and having so done, would with his Pen obliterate and expunge the *scots*, beginning first with the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* himself who had given the Counsel; conceiving (as he then declared) that no man could accuse the King of Partiality, when they found the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who had so faithfully served his Father and himself, about sixty years, should be expunged amongst the rest. A third was, That he must not hope to win upon them by Condescensions, or the sweetness of his disposition, or by Acts of Grace: but that he should resolve to reduce them to their duty by such ways of Power as God had put into his hands. The Reason of which Counsel was, because he found upon a sad experience of sixty years, that generally they were a people of so cross a grain, that they were gained by Punishments, and lost by Favours. But contrary to this good Counsel, his Majesty did not only permit all his own Servants of that Nation to remain about him: but suffered the Earls of *Roxborough* and *Traquaire*, and other Noble-

LIB. IV.

Anno Domini

1638.

## PART II.

AÑO Dom.

1639.



Noblemen of that Kingdom with their several Followers and Retinues to repair to *York*, under pretence of offering of some expedient to compose the differences. Where being come, they plyed their business so well, that by representing to the Lords of the *English* Nation the dangers they would bring themselves into by the Pride and Tyranny of the Bishops, if the *Scots* were totally subdued, they mitigated the displeasures of some, and so took off the edge of others, that they did not go from *York*, the same men they came thither. On the discovery of which Practice, and some intelligence which they had with the *Covenanters*, they were confined to their Chambers (the first at *York*, the other at *Newcastle*) but were presently dismissed again, and sent back to *Scotland*. But they had first done what they came for, never men being so suddenly cooled as the Lords of *England*; or ever making clearer shews of an alteration in their words and gestures.

This change his Majesty soon found, or had cause to fear; and therefore for the better keeping of his Party together, he caused an Oath to be propounded to all the Lords, and others of chief Eminency which attended on him, before his departure out of *York*; knowing full well, that those of the inferiour Orbs would be wholly governed by the motion of the higher Sphears. The Tenor of which Oath was this that followeth.

**I** A. B. do swear before the Almighty and Ever-living God, That I will bear all faithful Allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign King CHARLES, who is lawfull King of this Island, and all other his Kingdoms and Dominions both by Sea and Land, by the Laws of God and Man, and by Lawfull Succession; And that I will most constantly and most chearfully, even to the utmost hazard of my Life and Fortunes, oppose all Seditions, Rebellions, Conjurations, Conspiracies whatsoever, against his Royal Dignity, Crown, and Person, raised or set up under what pretence or colour soever: And if it shall come vailed under pretence of Religion, I hold it more abominable both before God and Man. And this Oath I take voluntarily, in the Faith of a good Christian and Loyal Subject, without Equivocation or mental Reservation whatsoever; from which I hold no Power on Earth can absolve me in any part.

Such was the Tenour of the Oath; which being refused by two, and but two of the Lords, of which one would not say it, nor the other *Brook* it, the said Refusers were committed to the Custody of the Sheriffs of *York*; and afterwards, for their further Tryal, Interrogated upon certain Articles touching their approbation or dislike of the War: To which their Answers were so doubtful and unsatisfactory, that his Majesty thought it safer for him to dismiss them home, than to keep them longer about him to corrupt the rest: by means whereof he furnished them with an opportunity of doing him more disservice at home, where there was nobody to attend and observe their Actions, than possibly they could have done in the Army, where there were so many eyes to watch them, and so many hands to pull them back if they proved extravagant.

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As to the carrying on of the War, the Earl of *Essex* was Commanded by his Majesty, at his first coming to *York*, to put a Garrison into *Berwick*, and to take with him such Provisions of Canon, Arms and Ammunition as were assigned for that Employment, Which as he chearfully undertook, so he couragiously performed it, notwithstanding all the terrours and affrightments which he found in his March. For being encountred in his way with the Earls of *Roxborough*, *Traquair*, and the rest of the *Scots* then going to *York*, they laboured all they could to dissuade him from it, assuring him, That either the *Scots* would be in the Town before him; or that their whole Army would be so near, that he must needs run the hazard of losing all, without doing any thing. Which notwithstanding, he went on, entred the Town, repaired the Breaches in the Walls, and placed his Canon on the same, proceeding in the Work as became a Souldier. With less fidelity and courage dealt the Earl of *Holland*, at the Kings coming near the Borders, where long he had not been encamped, when he had Intelligence that the *Scots* Army was advancing; on which Advertisement, he dispatch'd *Holland* with a great Body of Horse to attend upon them. *Lesly* had drawn his Army into a very large Front, his Files exceeding thin and shallow: but intermingled with so many Ensigns, as if every twenty or thirty men had been a Regiment; and behind all, a great Herd of Cattel, which raised up so much dust with their feet, as did cloud the Stratagem. *Holland* dismayed with such a formidable appearance, or being afraid that his great Horse would be under-ridden with the *Galloway* Nags, sent Messenger after Messenger to acquaint the King with his present condition, who sent him order to draw off and retire again, and not to hazard himself and the Forces under him, on such a visible disadvantage. How *Hamilton* behaved himself, we are next to see; who having anchored his Fleet in the *Firth* of *Edenborough*, and landing some of his spent men in a little Island, to give them breath, and some refreshments, received a Visit from his Mother, a most rigid and pragmatical *Covenanter*; the *Scots* upon the shore saying with no small laughter, *That they knew the Son of so good a Mother, could not do them hurt*: And so it proved; for having loytered thereabouts to no purpose, till he heard that the Treaty of the *Pacification*, was begun near *Berwick*, he left his Ships, and came in great haste, as it was pretended, to disturb the business, which was to be concluded before he came thither.

For so it hapned, That as soon as *Essex* had brought his Forces into *Berwick*, the *Scots* began to fear the approaching danger which they had drawn upon themselves; and thereupon some Chiefs amongst them addressed their Letters to him on the 19th. of *April*, Laying the cause of all these Troubles to some ill Countrymen of their own, whom they conceived to have provoked the King against them; endeavouring to make the Remedy of their Evils, and the scope of their deserved Punishment, the beginning of an incurable Disease betwixt the two Nations, to whom the Quarrel should in no way extend. They complained also, That there were many of the English in Place and Credit, whose Private Byass did run clean contrary to the Publick Good; such as did rise early to poison

L. B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1639.

Bibl. Regia,

p. 1. p. 363.

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PART II. *the Publick Fountain, and to sow the Tares of unhappy Jealousies and*  
*Anno Dom. Discords between the Kingdoms, before the good Seed of our Love and*  
 1639. *Respect to the English Nation, could take place in their hearts. They de-*  
 ~~~~~  
clared next, how strange and unexpected it was unto them, to see his
Forces drawn toward the Borders, which they could not but interpret as a
pregnant presumption of some further Project against their Nation by his
Power; which must needs cause them to bestir themselves in time, for their
own preservation. And though they gave themselves some assurance,
grounded upon the Reputation of his former Life, that his Lordship would
be very wary to begin the Quarrel, at which Enemies only would rejoyce
and catch advantage; yet at the last (fearing that neither Threats nor
Complements would do the business) they fall to a downright begging of a
Pacification. For having taken God to witness, That they desired no
National Quarrel to arise betwixt them, or to taste any of the bitter Fruit,
which might set their Childrens Teeth on edge; They professed themselves
obliged in conscience to God, their Prince, Nation, and Brethren, to try
all just and lawful means for the removal of all Causes of difference be-
twixt the two Nations, and to be always ready to offer the occasion of greater
Satisfaction, for clearing of their Loyal Intentions to their Prince, and
to all those whom it may concern: but more particularly to his Lordship,
in regard of his Place and Command at that time; And this to do by any
means whatsoever, which should be thought expedient on both sides. But
Essex; though perhaps he might like their Cause, did not love their
Nation (the Affront put upon him by Carr Earl of Somerset running
still in his mind;) so that the Practise edified very little with him; for
ought I can find; whatsoever it might do with others about the King;
to whom the Letter was communicated, which in duty he was bound
to do on the first receiving.

With greater comfort they applyed themselves to the Earl of *Arundel*, whom at first they feared more than all the rest: but had now placed the greatest part of their confidence on him. For whilst the *Puritans* in both Kingdoms stood at a gaze upon the Issue of this War, one *Mosely* Vicar of *Newark* upon *Trent*, obtained leave to pass through the Army into *Scotland*: A man of zeal enough to be put upon any business which the wiser ones durst not be seen in; and of such silliness withal, that no body could fear any danger from him. By this Man (as appears by their Letter) they understood of his Lordships particular affection to the continuance of the Common Peace betwixt the Nations, being before assured of his Noble Disposition in the general (as the Letter words it.) And this being said, they signifie unto him, and wish that they could do the like to all the good Subjects of *England*, “That they were neither weary of *Monarchical Govern-*”
 “ment, nor had entertained the least thoughts of casting off the yoke
 “of Obedience, or invading *England*; That they desired nothing else
 “than peaceably to enjoy their Religion, and the Liberties of their
 “Country, according to the Laws; and that all Questions about the
 “same, might be decided by Parliament and National Assemblies,
 “which they conceived his Lordship would judge to be most equita-
 “ble, and for which no National Quarrel (as they hoped) could justly
 “arise.

“ arise. And finally, That they had sent him a Copy of the Supplicati- L I B. IV.
 “ tion, which they intended to present unto the King, as soon as he Anno Dom.
 “ was prepared for it; to the end that by the meditation of his Lord- 1639.
 “ ship, and other Noble Lords of *England*, to whom they had written
 “ in like manner, his Majesty might be pleased to hear them at large,
 “ and grant such things as they had desired; which they conceived to
 “ tend to his Majesties great Glory, to put an end to all the present
 “ Questions to their mutual rejoycing, and to make the blessed In-
 “ struments of so good a work to be thankfully remembred to Poste-
 “ rity. In their letter to the Earl of *Holland*, of the seventh of *June*,
 they express more confidence (as being more assured of him then of
 any other) not only justifying themselves in their former proceedings:
 but requesting his assistance to promote their desires in a petition ten-
 dred to his Majesties hands, descending by degrees to this particular,
 “ That by a meeting in some convenient place, and of some prime and
 “ well affected men to the Reformed Religion and the Common
 “ Peace, all matters might be so well amended, and with such expe-
 “ dition, that their evils (through further delays) might not prove
 “ incurable.

These preparations being made, they found an easier business of it,
 then they had any reason to expect or hope, to bring his Majesty to
 meet them in the middle way; who was so tender of their case that he
 was more ready to accept their supplication, then they were to offer
 it. It was not his intent to fight them, (as I have heard from a person
 of great trust and honour) but only by the terrour of so great an Ar-
 my to draw the *scots* to do him reason. And this I am the more apt
 to credit, because when a Noble and well experienced Commander
 offered him (then being in Camp near *Berwick*) that with two thou-
 sand horse (which the King might very well have spared) he would
 so waste, and spoil their Countrey, that the *scots* should creep upon
 their bellies to implore his mercy, he would by no means hearken to
 the proposition. And having no purpose of out-going *Musters* and
Ostentation, it is no wonder if he did not only willingly give way to
 the presenting of their Petition, and chearfully embraced all *Overtures*
 tending to a *Pacification*: but make choice also of such persons, to
 Negotiate in it, who were more like to take such terms as they could
 get, then to fight it out. Commissioners being on both sides appointed,
 they came at last to this conclusion on the seventeenth of *June*, viz.
 First, That his Majesty should confirm whatsoever his Commissioner have
 already granted in his Majesties name, and that from thenceforth all mat-
 ters Ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk,
 and all matters Civil by the Parliament; and to that end a General Assem-
 bly to be Indicted on the sixth of August, and a Parliament on the twen-
 tieth of the same Month, in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion was to
 pass for the common peace and satisfaction of all parties; that the Scots
 upon the publication of the accord, should within forty eight hours disband
 all their Forces, discharge all pretended Tables, and Conventicles, restore
 unto the King all his Castles, Forts and Ammunition of all sorts; the like

PART II. *Restitution to be made to all his good Subjects, of their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken and detained from them, Anno Dom. 1639.* Since the late pretended General Assembly held at *Glasco*; that thereupon his Majesty should presently recal his Fleet, and retire his Land Forces, and cause Restitution to be made of all persons of their Ships and Goods Detained and Arrested since the first of February. But as for the proceedings of the Assembly of *Glasco*, as his Majesty could not allow them with Honour on the one side; so neither do I find that they were condemned, or that the *scots* were bound to abandon the conclusions of it, so that it seems to have been left in the same condition, (as to all the Acts, Determinations, and Results there) in which it stood before his Majesties taking Arms; Which as it was the chief ground of the Quarrel, so the King doing nothing in Order to the Abrogating of it, and the conclusions therein made, when he was in the head of a powerful Army, he could not give himself much hopes, that the *scots* could yield to any such Abrogation, when he had no such Army to compel obedience.

And this appeared immediately on his Majesties signing the Agreement, and the discharging of his Forces upon the same. For the Declaration of this accord was no sooner published, but the Covenanters produced a Protestation; "First, of adhering to their late General Assembly at *Glasco*, as a full and free Assembly of their Kirk, and to all the proceedings there; especially the sentences of Deprivation, and Excommunication of the sometimes pretended Bishops of that Kingdom: And secondly, of adhering to their Solemn Covenant, and Declaration of the Assembly, whereby the office of Bishop is abjured. Thirdly, that the pretended Archbishops and Bishops, that usurp the title and office abjured by the Kirk and be contemptners of the sentences of the Kirk, have been malicious Incendiaries of his Majesty against this Kingdom, by their wicked calumnies; and that if they return to this Kingdom, they be esteemed and used as accursed, and they delivered up to the Devil; and cast off from Christ his body, as *Ethnicks*, and *Publicans*: And fourthly, that all the entertainers of the Excommunicated Bishops, should be orderly proceeded against with Excommunication, conform to the Acts, and Constitutions of this Kirk. And this they did as well to justify their proceeding in the said Assembly, as to terrify and affright the Bishops from presenting themselves and members of Assembly and Parliament at the next Conventions. Which done they dispersed abroad a scandalous Paper, pretending to contain the heads of the late Agreement; but drawn so advantageously for themselves, so disagreeably to the true intention of his Majesty, that he could do no less in honour then call it in, and cause it to be publickly burnt by the hand of the Hangman. And being conscious to themselves how much his Majesty, must be incensed with these Indignities, they continued their meetings and Consultations as before they did, maintained their Fortifications at *Leith* the Port Town to *Edenborough*, disquieted, molested, and frightened all of different inclinations, and kept their Officers and Commanders in continual pay, to have them in a Readiness on the

next occasion. With which disorders his Majesty being made acquainted, he sent for some of the Chiefs of them to come to him to *Berwick*: but was refused in his Commands under pretence, that there was some intention to entrap them at their coming thither; and that his Majesty might be staved off from being present at the next *Assembly* in *Edenborough*, as he had both promised, and resolved, they commit a riotous assault on the Earls of *Kinnoul*, and *Traquaire*, Chief Justice *Elphinston*, and Sir *James Hamilton*, all Privy Counsellors of that Kingdom. These they pulled violently out of their Coach, on a suspicion that some Bishops were disguised amongst them; but really that the King might have some cause to suspect that there could be no safety for him in such a place, and amongst people so enraged, notwithstanding his great clemency shewed unto them in the *Pacification*.

His Majesty was now at leisure to repent the loss of those Advantages which God had put into his hands. He found the *Scots* so unprovided (not having above 3000. compleat Arms amongst them) that he might have scattered them like the dust before the wind at the very onset. By making this agreement with them he put them into such a stock of Reputation, that within the compass of that year they furnished themselves out of *Holland* with Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition upon days of Payment without disbursing any money, which he knew they had not. He came unto the borders with a gallant Army, which might assure him (under God) of a very cheap and easie victory; an Army governed by Colonels, and other Officers of approved Valour, and mingled with the choicest of the *English* Gentry, who stood as much upon his honour as upon their own. This Army he disbanded without doing any thing which might give satisfaction to the world, himself, or them. Had he retired it only to a further distance, he had done as much as he was bound to by the Capitulations: But he disbanded it before he had seen the least performance on their parts of the points agreed on; before he had seen the issue and success of the two Conventions, in which he did expect a settling of his peace and happiness; which had he done, he had in all reasonable probabilities preserved his honour in the eye of Foreign Nations, secured himself from any danger from that people, and crushed those Practices at home which afterwards undermined his Peace, and destroyed his Glories. But doing it in this form and manner, without effecting any thing which he seemed to Arm for, he animated the *Scots* to commit new Insolencies, the *Dutch* to affront him in his own Shores, by fighting and destroying the *Spanish* Navy, lying under his protection, and (which was worst of all) gave no small discontentment to the *English* Gentry. Who having with great charge engaged themselves in this Expedition out of hope of getting honour to the King, their Country, and themselves by their faithful service, were suddenly dismissed, not only without the honour which they aimed at, but without any acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty. A matter so unpleasing to them, that few of them appeared in the next years Army; many of them turned against him in the following troubles, the greatest part

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1639.

PART II. looking on his Successes with a careless eye, as unconcerned with his *Anno Dom.* Affairs, whether good or bad.

1639. In this condition of Affairs he returned toward *London* in the end of *July*, leaving the *scots* to play their own Game as they listed; having first nominated *Traquaire* as his High Commissioner for managing both the Assembly, and the following Parliament. In the first meeting of the two, they acted over all the parts they had plaid at *Glasco*, to the utter abolition of *Episcopacy*, and the destruction of all those which adhered unto it; their Actings in it being confirmed in his name by the High Commission. In the Parliament they altered the old form of chusing the Lords of the *Articles*, erected a third Estate out of *Lairds* and *Barons*, instead of the *Bishops*; invaded the Sovereign power of *Coynage*; Resolved upon an Act for abrogating all former Statutes concerning the Judicature of the Exchequer for making of Proxies, and governing the Estates of Wards; and finally, conceived the King to be much in their debt by yielding to a prorogation till a further time. The news whereof reduced the King to such a stand, that he was forced to send for *Wentworth* out of *Ireland*, where he had acted things in settling the Estate of that broken Kingdom, beyond expectation or belief. This charged on *Canterbury*, as a project and crime of his, and both together branded for it in a Speech made by the Lord *Faulkland*, in the first year of the Long Parliament, where speaking first of the *Bishops* generally, he tells the Speaker, "That they had both
 " kindled and blown the fire in both Nations; and more particularly,
 " that they had both sent and maintained that book, of which the
 " Author hath no doubt long since wished with *Nero* (*Utinam nescissem*
 " *Literas*) And of which more than one Kingdom hath cause to wish,
 " that he who writ it, had rather burned a *Library*, though of the
 " value of *Ptolomies*. And then he adds, We shall see then (saith he)
 " who have been the first and principal cause of the breach, I will not
 " say of, but since the *Pacification* at *Berwick*. We shall find them to
 " have been the almost sole Abettors of my Lord of *Stafford*, whilst
 " he was practicing upon another Kingdom that manner of Govern-
 " ment which he intended to settle in this, where he committed so
 " many, so mighty, and so manifest enormities, as the like have not
 " been committed by any Governour in any Government since *Verres*
 " left *Sicily*. And after they had called him over from being *Deputy*
 " of *Ireland* to be in manner *Deputy* of *England* (all things here being
 " governed by a *Juntillo*, and that *Juntillo* governed by him) to have
 " assisted him in the giving of such Counsels, and the pursuing of such
 " courses, as it is a hard and measuring cast, whether they were more
 " unwise, more unjust, or more unfortunate, and which had infallia-
 " bly been our destruction, if by the grace of God their share had not
 " been as small in the subtilty of Serpents as in the innocence of
 " Doves. But these were only the Evaporations of some Discon-
 " tents, which that noble Orator had contracted; of which more else-
 " where.

Wentworth being called unto this Service, was presently made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and not long after with great solemnity
 Created

Created Earl of *strafford* in the County of *York*. As Lord Lieutenant LIB. IV.
 he had Power to appoint a Deputy, that so he might the better attend Anno Dom.
 the Service here, without any prejudice to that Kingdom; which I 639.
 Office he committed to *Wansford* a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, and an especial
 Confident of his, whom he had took along with him into *Ireland* at his
 first going thither. And because great Counsels are carried with most
 faith and secrecie, when they are entrusted but to few, his Majesty was
 pleased to commit the Conduct of the *Scottish* Busineses to a *Juncto*
 of three; that is to say, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the new Lord
 Lieutenant, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; which last the other two
 knew not how to trust, and therefore communicated no more of their
 Counsels to him, than such as they cared or feared not to make known
 to others. By these three joyned in Consultations, it was conceived
 expedient to move his Majesty to try his fortune once more incalling
 a Parliament, and in the mean time to command some of the Princip-
 al *Covenanters* to attend his Pleasure at the Court, and render an
 account of their late Proceedings. In order to the first, they had no
 sooner signified what they thought fit for his Majesties Service, but
 it was chearfully entertained by the Lords of the Council, who joyn-
 ed together with them in the Proposition; promising his Majesty to
 assist him in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should fail him in
 it, as they after did. Upon these Terms his Majesty yielded to the
 Motion on the fifth of *December*, causing an Intimation to be publick-
 ly made of his Intent to hold a Parliament on the 13th of *April*, then
 next following: An Intimation which the *Londoners* received with
 great signs of joy, and so did many in the Country: but such withal,
 as gave no small matter of disturbance unto many others, who could
 not think the calling of a Parliament in that point of time, to be safe
 or seasonable. The last Parliament being dissolved in a Rupture, the
 Closets of some Members searched, many of them imprisoned, and
 some fined; it was not to be thought but that they would come thi-
 ther with revengeful Spirits. And should a breach happen betwixt
 them and the King, and the Parliament be Dissolved upon it, as it
 after was; the breach would prove irreparable, as it after did. Besides
 which fear, it was presumed, that the interval of four Months time,
 would give the discontented Party opportunity to unite themselves,
 to practice on the Shires and Burroughs, to elects such Members as
 they should recommend unto them; and finally, not only to consult,
 but to conclude on such Particulars as they intended to insist upon,
 when they were Assembled. In which Respects, the calling a Parlia-
 ment at that time, and with so long warning before-hand, was concei-
 ved unsafe: And if it was unsafe, it was more *unseasonable*. Par-
 liaments had now long been discontinued, the People lived happily
 without them, and few took thought who should see the next: And
 which is more, the Neighbouring Kings and States beheld the King
 with greater Veneration, than they had done formerly, as one that
 could stand on his own Legs, and had raised up himself to so great
 Power both by Sea and Land, without such discontents and brabbles
 as his Parliaments gave him. So that to call a Parliament, was
 feared

PART II. feared to be the likeliest way to make his Majesty seem less in estimation both at home and abroad, the eyes of men being distracted by so many objects.

Anno Dom.
1639.

But whatsoever other thought, it was thought by *Wentworth*, that he could manage a Parliament well enough to the Kings Advantage; especially by setting them such a Lesson as should make them all ashamed of not writing after such a Coppy. Two ends they had in advising the Intimation of the Parliament to be given so long before the Sitting. First, That the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did accordingly, and governed the Affair so well, that an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot (some of our Writers say 10000) was speedily raised, and Money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furnish them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other Necessaries. Secondly, That by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow Money for the carrying on of that War, if the Parliament should chance to fail of doing their Duty: wherein the Lords performed their parts, in drawing in great Sums of Money upon that account. For causing a List to be made of most of the Persons of Ability, which had relation to the Courts of Judicature, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, of such as held Officers of the Crown as attained unto his Majesties Service, or otherwise were thought to be well affected to the present Cause, and had not formerly contributed toward it, they called them to the Council-Table, where they endeavoured, by the prevailing Rhetorick of Power and Favour, to persuade them to a bountiful Contribution, or a chearful Loan, according to the Sums proportioned and requested of them. In which they did proceed so well, that money came flowing in apace, enough to put the King into a condition of making new Levies of Men both for Horse and Foot, Lifting them under their Commanders, and putting them into a Posture for the War approaching. And that they might be sure to speed the better, by the encouragement of a good Example, the Lord Lieutenant subscribed for a Loan of 20000 *l.* the other Lords with the same Loyalty and Affection proportioning their Engagements to their Abilities, and thereby giving Law to most of the Noblemen in all parts of the Kingdom. Nor was the Queen wanting for her part to advance the Service; For knowing how great a share she had in his Majesties Fortune, she employed her Secretary *Winter*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and others of her Confidants of that Religion, to negotiate with the rest of her party, for being Assistant to his Majesty in so just a quarrel. In which design she found such a liberal correspondence from the *Roman Catholics*, as shewed them to be somewhat ambitious of being accounted amongst the most Loyal and best affected, of his Majesties Subjects.

These preparations being Resolved on and in some part made, it was thought convenient that his Majesty should take the opportunity of the coming of some Commissioners from the *scots* to call for an account of their late proceedings. According unto which advice his Majesty appointed a Select Committee from the rest of the Council,

to

to bring those Commissioners to a reckoning, to hear what they could say for themselves and the rest of their Fellows, and to make report thereof to his Majesty; The Commissioners were the Earl of *Dumfremelling*, the Lord *Loudon*, *Douglas* and *Barkley*, both of inferiour rank, but of like Authority; Of which the Speakers part was performed by *Loudon*, A confident bold man, of a Pedantical expression, but one that loved to hear himself above all men living. Being Com-
 manded to attend the Committee at the time appointed, they ranted high, touching the Independency of the Crown of *Scotland*, and did not think themselves obliged to treat with any, but his Majesty only. His Majesties vouchsafing his presence at the said Committee; *Loudon* begins with a defence of their proceedings, both in the General Assembly, and the late Parliament held at *Edenborough* by his Majesties Order; Alledged that nothing was done in them contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Precedents of former times, and finally besought his Majesty to ratifie and confirm the Acts, and Results of both Commissions. They could shew none to qualifie them in the nature of Publick Agents; Nor had they any power to Oblige their party in the performance of any thing which might give his Majesty full satisfaction for the time to come, whatsoever satisfaction he was able to give them in debating the business, his Majesty endeavoured not by reason only, but by all fair and gentle means, to let them see the unreasonableness of their demands, the legality of their proceedings, and the danger which would fall upon them, if they continued obstinate in their former courses. But *Loudon* governed all the rest, who being of a fiery nature in himself, and a dependent on the Earl of *Argile*, who had declared himself for the Covenanters at the Assembly at *Glasco*, resolved to stand to the Conclusion which he brought along with him, though he found himself unable to make good the Premises; so that some days being unprofitably spent in these debates, the Archbishop and the rest of the Committee, made a report of the whole business to the rest of the Council, who upon full consideration of all particulars, came to this Result: That since the *scots* could not be reclaimed to their obedience by other means, they were to be reduced by Force.

This was no more then what the *scots* could give themselves Reason to expect; and therefore they bestirred themselves as much on the other side. Part of the Walls of the Castle of *Edenborough*, with all the Ordnance upon it, had fallen down on the nineteenth of *November* last, being the Anniversary day of his Majesties Birth (not without some preface of that ill fortune which besel him in the course of this War) for the Repair whereof, they would neither suffer Timber, nor any other Materials to be carried to it: but on the contrary, they began to raise Works and Fortifications against it, with an intent to block it up, and render it useless to his Majesties Service: And to keep the Soldiers therein Garrisoned (most of them *English*) to hard meats, they would not suffer them to come into the Market to recruit their Victuals. They made Provisions of great quantity of Artillery, Munition and Arms from Foreign Parts; laid Taxes of ten Marks in the hundred

LIB. IV.
 Anno Dom.
 1639.

PART II. dred upon all the Subjects, according to their several Revenues, *Anno Dom.* which they Levied with all cursed Rigour, though bruiting them a-
 1639. broad to be *Free-will Offerings*; scattered abroad many Seditious and
 Scandalous Pamphlets, for justifying themselves and seducing others, some of which were burnt in *England* by the hand of the Hangman; Fortified *Inchgarvie* and other places, which they planted with Ordnance; Imprisoned the Earl of *southesk*, and other Persons of Quality, for their Fidelity to the King; took to themselves the Government of the City of *Edenborough*, contrary to their Charters and Immunities, by which the Citizens were disabled from serving his Majesty in any of his just Commands; and finally, employed their Emissaries in all Parts of *England*, to dissuade those who were too backward of themselves, from contributing to the War against them, and to solicit from them such several Aids as might the better enable them to maintain the War against their Sovereign.

But their cheif Correspondence was with *France* and *Ireland*. In *France* they had made sure of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who Governed all Affairs in that Kingdom. Following the *Maxim* of Queen *Elizabeth*, in securing the Peace of his own Country by the Wars of his Neighbours, he practised the Revolt of *Portugal*, and put the *Catalonians* into Arms against their King, to the end that he might waist the fiery Spirit of the *French* in a War on *Flinders*, with the better fortune and success. But knowing that it was the interest of the Crown of *England*, to hold the Balance even between *France* and *Spain*; and that his Majesty by removing the Ships of *Holland*, which lay before *Duyn-kirk*, *Anno* 1635. had hindred the *French* from making such a Progress by Land, as might have made them Masters of the *spanish Netherlands*; he held it a chief piece of State-Craft (as indeed it was) to excite the *scots* against their King, and to encourage them to stand it out unto the last, being so excited. “Upon which ground he sent *Chamberlain*, a *scot* “by Birth, his Chaplain and Almoner, to assist the Confederates in advancing the business, and to attempt all ways for exasperating the “*first heat*; with Order not to depart from them, till (things succeeding as he wished) he might return with good News: And on the same appointed one of his Secretaries to reside in *Scotland*, to march along with them into *England*, to be presented at all Councils of War, and direct their business. And on the other side, *Hamiltons* Chaplains had free access unto *Con* the same Countryman also, at such time as *Chamberlain* was Negotiating for the Cardinal, to foment the Flames, which had begun to rage already. And by a Letter subscribed by the Earl of *Rothes*, and others of chief note amongst the *Covenanters*, they craved the Assistance of that King, cast themselves upon his Protection, beseeching him to give credit to *Colwill* the Bearer thereof, whom they had instructed in all Particulars which concerned their Condition and Desires. In *Ireland* they had a strong Party of Natural *scots*, planted in *Ulster* by King *James*, upon the forfeited Estates of *Tir-Owen*, *Tir-Connel*, *Odighirtie*, &c. not *scots* in Birth and Parentage only, but Design and Faction. But *Wentworth* was not to be told of their secret Practises; he saw it in their general disposition to
 Schism

Schism and Faction, and was not unacquainted with their old Rebel-
 lions. It must be his care that they brake not into any new; which he
 performed with such a diligent and watchful eye, that he crushed them
 in the very beginning of the Combination, seising upon such Ships
 and Men as came thither from *Scotland*, Imprisoning some, Fining o-
 thers, and putting an Oath upon the rest: By which Oath they were
 found to abjure the *Covenant*, not to be aiding to the *Covenanters* a-
 gainst the King, nor to *Protest* against any of his *Royal Edicts*, as their
 Brethren in *Scotland* used to do. For the refusing of which Oath he
 Fined one (a) Sir *Henry Steward* and his Wife (Persons of no less
 Power than Disaffection) at no less than 5000 *l.* a piece; two of their
 Daughters, and one *James Gray* of the same Confederacy, at the Sum
 of 3000 *l.* a piece; committing them to Prison for not paying the
 Fines imposed upon them. All which he justified when he was brought
 unto his Tryal, on good Reasons of State; There (b) being at that
 time one hundred thousand Souls in *Ireland* of the *Scottish Nation*, most
 of them passionately affected to the Cause of the *Covenanters*, and some
 of them conspiring to betray the Town and Castle of *Carickfergus*
 to a Nobleman of that Country, for which the Principal Conspirator
 had been justly Executed. Nor staid he there, but he gave finally a
 Power to the Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*, and other Bishops of that
 Kingdom, and their several Chancellors, to attatch the Bodies of all
 such of the meaner sort, who either should refuse to appear before
 them upon Citation, or to perform all Lawful Decrees and Orders
 made by the said Bishops and their Chancellors; and to commit them
 to the next Gaol, till they should conform, or answer the Contempt at
 the Council-Table. By means whereof, he made the poorer sort so
 pliant, and obedient to their several Bishops, that there was good hopes
 of their Conformity to the Rules of the Church.

L I B. IV.
 Anno Dom.
 1639.

(a) Impeach-
 ment of Straf-
 ford, Art. 19.

(b) Relation
 of the Answers
 of the Earl of
 Straff. p. 34.

Having thus carried on the Affairs of *Scotland* till the end of this
 year, we must return to our Archbishop; whom we shall find intent
 on the preservation of the *Hierarchy*, and the Church of *England*;
 against the Practices of the *Scots*, and *Scotizing English*: and no less
 busied in digesting an Apology for vindicating the *Liturgie* commended
 to the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. In reference to the last, he took order for
 translating the *Scottish Liturgie* into the Latine Tongue; that being
 published with the *Apologie*, which he had designed, it might give sa-
 tisfaction to the world of his Majesty Piety, and his own great care,
 the Orthodoxie and simplicity of the Book it self, and the perverse-
 ness of the *Scots* in refusing all of it. Which Work was finished and left
 with him, but it went no further; the present distemper of the times,
 and the troubles which fell heavily on him putting an end to it in the
 first beginning. But the best was, that the English *Liturgie* had been
 published in so many Languages, and the *Scottish* so agreeable to the
English in the Forms and Offices, that any man might judge of the one
 by perusing the other. The first *Liturgie* of King *Edward* vi. tran-
 slated into Latine by *Alexander Alesius*, a learned *Scot*, for the better
 information of *Martin Bucer*, when he first came to live amongst us;
 the second *Liturgie* of that King with Queen *Elizabeths* Emendation

PART II. by *Walter Haddon*, President of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxon.* and Dean *Anno Dom.* of *Exeter*; and his Translation rectified by *Dr. Morket*, in the times of King *James*, according to such Explications and Additions as were made by order from the King. The same translated into *French*, for the use of the Isle of *Jersey*, by the appointment of the King also; into the *Spanish* for the better satisfaction of that Nation, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*; And finally, by the countenance and encouragement of this Archbishop, translated into Greek by *Petley*, much about this time, that so the *Eastern Churches* might have as clear an information of the *English* Piety as the *Western* had.

In order to the other he recommended to *Hall*, then Bishop of *Exon.* the writing of a book in defence of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, in opposition to the *Scots* and their Adherents. *Exeter* undertakes the Work, and sends him a rude draught or *Skeleton* of his design, consisting of the two main points of his intended discourse, together with the several Propositions which he intended to insist on in pursuance of it. The two main points which he was to aim at, were, "First, " That Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine institution (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of Jurisdiction) and therefore where it hath through Gods providence obtained, cannot by any humane power be abdicated without a manifest violation of Gods Ordinance. And secondly, That the *Presbyterian* Government, however vindicated under the glorious names of " Christs Kingdom, and Ordinance, hath no true footing either in " Scripture or the Practice of the Church in all Ages from Christs time " till the present; and that howsoever it may be of use in some Cities " or Territories, wherein Episcopal Government through iniquity " of times cannot be had; yet to obtrude it upon a Church otherwise " settled under an acknowledged *Monarchy*, is utterly incongruous " and unjustifiable: In which two points he was to predispose some Propositions (or *Postulata* as he calls them) to be the ground of his proceedings; which I shall here present in his own conceptions, that so we may the better judge of those corrections which were made upon them. The *Postulata* were as followeth, *viz.* " 1. That Government which was of Apostolical Institution, cannot be denied to be of " Divine Right. 2. Not only that Government which was directly " commanded and enacted, but also that which was practiced and " recommended by the Apostles to the Church, must justly pass for " an Apostolical Institution. 3. That which the Apostles by Divine " Inspiration instituted, was not for the present time, but for continuance. 4. The universal Practise of the Church, immediately " succeeding the Apostles, is the best and surest Commentary upon the " Practice of the Apostles, or upon their Expressions. 5. We may " not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the Saints and Fathers of " the Primitive Church, that they who were the immediate Successors " of the Apostles, would, or durst set up a Government, either faulty, " or of their own heads. 6. If they would have been so presumptuous, yet they could not have diffused an uniform form of Government through the world in so short a space. 7. The ancient Histories

"stories of the Church, and Writings of the eldest Fathers, are ra- LIB. IV.
 "ther to be believed in the report of the Primitive Form of the *Anno Dom.*
 "Church-Government, than those of this last Age. 8. Those whom *1639.*
 "the ancient Church of God, and the holy and Orthodox Fathers con-
 "demned for Hereticks, are not fit to be followed as Authors of our
 "Opinion or Practise for Church-Government. 9. The accession of
 "honourable Titles or Priviledges, makes no difference in the sub-
 "stance of the calling. 10. Those Scriptures wherein a new Form of
 "Government is grounded, have need to be very clear and unquestio-
 "nable, and more evident than those whereon the former rejected Poli-
 "tie is raised. 11. If that Order which, they say, Christ set for the
 "Government of the Church (which they call the Kingdom and Or-
 "dinance of Christ) be but one, and undoubted, then it would, and
 "shall have been ere this, agreed upon against them, what, and which
 "it is. 12. If this (which they pretend) be the Kingdom and Ordi-
 "nance of Christ, then if any Essential part of it be wanting, Christs
 "Kingdom is not erected in the Church. 13. Christian Politie re-
 "quires no impossible or absurd thing. 14. Those Tenets which are
 "now and unheard of in all Ages of the Church, (in many, and Es-
 "sential points) are well worthy to be suspected. 15. To depart
 "from the Practise of the Universal Church of Christ ever from the
 "Apostles times) and to betake our selves voluntarily to a new Form,
 "lately taken up, cannot but be odious and highly scandalous.

These first Deliniations of the Pourtaicture being sent to *Lambeth*,
 in the end of *October*, were generally well approved of by the *Metropo-*
litan. Some lines there were which he thought to have too much
shadow and *umbrage*, might be taken at them, if not therwise qualified
 with a more perfect Ray of Light. And thereupon he takes the Pensil
 in his hand, and with some Alterations of the Figure, accompanied
 with many kind expressions of a fair acceptance, he sent them back
 again to be compleatly Limned and Coloured by that able hand.
 Which alterations, what they were, and his reasons for them, I shall ad-
 venture to lay down, as they come before me, that so the Reader may
 descern as well the clearness of his apprehension, and the excellency
 of his judgment in the points debated. The Letter long, and there-
 fore so disposed of without further coherence, that so it may be per-
 used or pretermitted without disturbance to the sequel; some prepa-
 rations being made by the hand of his Secretary, he proceeds thus to the
 rest.

The rest of your Letter is fitter to be answered by my own hand, and
 so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to *Cant. Doom.*
 acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to *p. 233.*
 my censure, and better advice (so you are pleased to write) I do not only
 thank you heartily for it: but shall in the same brotherly way, and with
 equal freedom put some few Animadversions, such as occur on the sudden
 to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the
 perfection of the work in which so much is concerned, And first, for Mr.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1639.

whom Hall had signified to have renounced his Episcopal Function) I leave you free to work upon his business, and his ignorance as you please, assuring my self that you will not depart from the gravity of your self, or the cause therein. Next you say in the first head, That Episcopacy is an antient, holy, and divine Institution. It must needs be antient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus? So antient as that it is of Divine Institution. Next you define Episcopacy by being joyned with imparity and superiority of Jurisdiction, but this seems short; for every Archpresbyters or Archdeacons place is so, yea, and so was Mr. Henderson in his Chair at Glasco, unless you will define it by a distinction of Order. I draw the superiority, not from the Jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops jure positivo, in their Audience of Ecclesiastical matters: but from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of Excommunication. Again, you say in the first point; That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of Gods Ordinance. This Proposition I conceive is interminus habentes; for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained. The Christian Faith was never yet planted any where, but the very first feature of a Church was by, or with Episcopacy; and wheresoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an Abdication, for certainly there it was a Principio. In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian Government may be of use, where Episcopacy may not be had. First, I pray you consider whither this conversion be not needless here, and in it self of a dangerous consequence: Next I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more then in Title only. Thirdly, since they challange their Presbyterian Fiction to be Christs Kingdom and Ordinance (as your self expresseth) and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper our selves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva: and this must be sadly thought on.

Concerning your Postulata I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongst which the two first are true (but as exprest) two restrictive. For Episcopacy is not so to be asserted unto Apostolical Institution, as to bar it from looking higher and from fetching it materially and originally in the ground and Intention of it, from Christ himself; though perhaps the Apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adversaries of Episcopacy are not only the furious Arian Hereticks (out of which are now raised, Prynne, Bastwick, and our Scottish Masters) but some also of a milder and subtler alloy both in the Genevian and Roman Faction. And it will become the Church of England so to vindicate it against the furious Puritans as that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning and more learned adversaries. Not to the Roman faction for that will be content; it shall be Juris Divini mediati, by, far, from, and under the Pope, that so the Government of the Church may be Monarchical in him; but not Immediati, which makes the Church Aristocratical in the Bishops. This is the Italian Rock, not the Genevian; for that will not deny Episcopacy to be Juris Divini;

so you will take it, ut suadentis vel aprobantis but not imperantis; for L I B. IV. then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Anno Dom. Nay (if I much forget not) Beza himself is said to have acknowledged 1639. Episcopacy to be Juris Divini Imperantis, so you will not take it as universaliter imperantis, For then Geneva might escape: & citra considerationem durantis; for then though they had it before, yet now upon wiser thoughts they may be without it, which Scotland says now, and who will may say it after, if this be good Divinity; and then all in that time shall be Democratical. I am bold to adde, because in your second Postulatum I find, that Episcopacy is directly commanded: but you go not so far as to meet with this subtilty of Beza, which is the great Rock in the Lake of Geneva. In your ninth Postulatum, that the Accession of Honourable Titles, or Priviledges, makes no difference in the substance of the calling, You mean the titles of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Patriarks, &c. 'Tis well, And I presume you do so: But then in any case take heed you assert it so, as that the Faction lay not hold of it, as if the Bishops were but the Title of Honour, and the same calling with a Priest; For that they all aim at, &c. The eleventh Postulatum is larger, and I shall not Repeat it; because I am sure you retain a Copy of what you write to me, being the Ribbs of the work; nor shall I say more to it, then that it must be warily handled for fear of a saucy Answer, which is more ready with them a great deal then a Learned one. I presume I am pardoned already for this freedom by your submission of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to send me up, (keeping a Copy to your self against the accidents of Carriage) not the whole work together, but each particular head or Postulatum, as you finish it; that so we here may be the better able to consider of it, and the work come on faster. So to Gods blessed Protection, &c.

Such was the freedom which he used in declaring his judgment in the case, and such the Authority which his reasons carried along with them, that the Bishop of Exon found good cause to correct the obliquity of his opinion according to the Rules of these Animadversions; agreeably unto which the book was writ and published not long after, under the name of *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, &c.

Such care being taken to prevent all inconveniencies which might come from Scotland, he casts his eye toward the Execution of his former Orders for Regulating the French and Dutch Churches here in England. It had been to no purpose in him to endeavour a Conformity amongst the Scots, as long as such examples of separation did continue amongst the English. If the *post-nati* in the Churches, born and bred in England, should not be bound to repair with other of their Neighbours to their Parish Churches, it might create a further mischief then the present Scandal, and come up close at last to formal Schism. His Order had been published in all the Congregations of strangers within his Province, as before is said; but Executed more or less, as the Minister and Church-Wardens stood affected to those Congregations. And therefore that the Church-Wardens might more punctually proceed in doing their duty, It was thought fit that certain

PART II. Articles should be framed and commended to them for their future direction. The Reformation being pursued in his own Diocess, and the Metropolitan City first, it was to be presumed, that those in other places would gladly follow the example. Of laying Taxes on those strangers in their several Parishes for repairing of, and adorning their several Parish-Churches, and providing Ornaments for the same they were in all places careful enough; because their own profit was concerned in it. *And for their proceedings in the rest they were directed by these Orders to inquire of all such strangers as lived amongst them, the names of all married persons in their Congregations as of the second descent in their several Parishes, to the end that order might be taken for decent seats for them, according to their Estates and qualities: that they should return the names and ages of those unmarried of the second descent, and whose children and servants they were; to the end that the like care might be taken of their due resort to the Church, there to be Catechised, and Communicate according to their ages: that those at sixteen years and upwards, that had not already Communicated should prepare themselves to receive the blessed Sacrament in their Parish-Church at the next Communion; and from thence forward thrice in the year afterwards as the Canons of the Church require, as they would avoid presentment to their Ordinary for their neglect therein: that such as were Parents and Masters of Families of the first and second descent, did thenceforth every Lords day, half an hour after Evening Prayer, send all such, their Children and Servants as were under sixteen to their Parish-Church, there to be Catechised according to the Orders of the Church, as they themselves upon presentment would answer the Contrary.* These Articles being given in the middle of April, were Executed for the rest of the year more punctually then in any of those before. But it held not much longer then the rest of that year: The troubles which the Archbishop fell into, in the year next following dissolving all his Orders and Injunctions of this kind, as if never made.

With equal constancy he governed his Counsels in all other particulars. Some informations had been given him of certain misdemeanours and corruptions in *Merton* Colledge, of which he was the Ordinary, and immediate Visitor, in the Right of his See; and in that Right he resolves upon a Visitation both in Head, and Members. To this employment he deutes his Right Trusty Friend and Assured Servant, The *Dean* of the *Arches*; who entring on his charge in the year forgoing 1638. made this Enquiry amongst others, *viz. Whither they made due Reverence (by bowing towards the Altar, or Communion Table) when they came into the Chappel.* And finding by a return to this enquiry, that *Corbet*, and *Cheynel* two of the Fellows, not only had neglected but refused to make any such Reverence, he tryed all fair and plausible perswasions by himself and others to induce them too it. But not prevailing either way, he certified the Archbishop of his Proceedings, who thereupon caused some *Injunctions* to be sent to the Colledge for their future Governance, Amongst which I find this for one, that they use due and lowly Reverence towards the Lords Table, at their first entrance into the Quire. Upon the coming where-

Habeant debitam reverentiam, ad mensam Domini, &c.

of there was no more dispute about it, those Reverences being made LIB. IV.
 by most, and constantly continued by them till the Parliament of *Anno Domini*
Novem. 3. In matters which concerned the Warden, it was thought 1639.
 fit by *Lamb* the Chief Commissioner, to do nothing without further
 direction, but only to acquaint the Archbishop, in what State he found
 them; who thereupon recalled the business to himself. The parties
 to appear before him *October* following, at which time he spent three
 days in hearing and examining the Points in difference between *Brent*
 the Warden, and such of the Fellows of the Colledge as complained
 against him: But for determining the Cause (*the Warden appearing*
very foul, as himself acknowledgeth) he took time till the first of
July in this present year, that *Brent* might have the better oppor-
 tunities to content his Fellows, for the Errors of his Government in
 the times precedent, and give them some assurance of a Reforma-
 tion for the time to come. Which noble Favour notwithstanding,
 and that he went off with no other Censure than a fair and Fatherly
Admonition: yet *Brent* unmindful of so great a moderation toward
 him, express'd more readiness in contributing towards his Condemna-
 tion in the time of his Tryal, than any of those who did most eagerly
 desire his Ruine.

The course and method of my business having brought me to *Oxon*.
 I cannot depart thence, without taking notice of his further Bounty
 and Munificence to that University. He had before entertained some
 thoughts of clearing the great Square betwixt Saint *Maries* and the
schools, intending to have raised a fair and capacious Room, advanced
 on Pillars; the upper part to serve for Convocations and Congrega-
 tions, which till that time were held in the Church it self; the lower
 for a Walk or place of Conference, in which Students of all sorts
 might confer together, at their repairing to the Schools, the Library,
 or any other business which concerned the Publick. But finding the
 Owners of those Houses not so willing to part with them, as he had
 probably presumed, he was fain to shift the Scene, though he held his
 purpose, which fell out very happily for that University: For being
 resolved to free *St. Maries* Church from those Inconveniencies, which
 the continual keeping of the Publick Convocations and Congregati-
 ons must of necessity carry with it, he erected a stately and most ele-
 gant Pile at the West end of the Divinity School, and Publick Libra-
 ry; The lower part whereof was fitted and accommodated for the
 Convocations, and other Publick Meetings of that Famous Body:
 The upper part, opening into the *Bodleian Library*, he trimmed with
 all the Curiosities of Art and Cost, to serve as a Repository for such
 Learned Writings, as the Piety of ensuing Times might confer upon
 it. And that it might not be reported, that he had given them no-
 thing but an empty Box, he furnished it with no fewer than 1276
 Manuscripts in several Languages, 700 whereof had been sent before
 at divers times; when this beautiful Structure was in raising: The rest
 were sent on *June 28.* in this present year; 100 of these last being
 in the *Hebrew, Greek, Arabick, and Persian* Tongues. And that he
 might make some Acknowledgment to the Town of *Reading*, in which
 he

PART II. he was born, and in the Grammer-School whereof he had received
Ann. Dom. the first part of his Education, he bestowed upon it about this time also
 1639. a Revenue of no less than 200*l.* per *Annum*, to be thus disposed of;
 that is to say, 120*l.* thereof to be parcelled out every two years, for
 the placing of Apprentices, and setting up of young Beginners who
 had honestly served out their Times; and every third year, for the
 Marriage of five young Maidens which had lived with one Master or
 Mistress for seven years together; 50*l.* of it to be yearly added for
 an Augmentation to the Minister of the Parish-Church of St. *Laurence*
 in which he was born, whose means before was miserably short of that
 which some call a *Competency*; and having purchased the perpetual
 Parsonage of it, he conferred it on St. *John's* Colledge in *Oxon.* to be
 a fit Preferment for any one of the Fellows of that House for the time
 to come: 20*l.* of it be allotted yearly to encrease the Stipend of the
 Schoolmaster there; 8*l.* for the yearly Entertainment of the President
 and Fellows of St. *John's* Colledge, whom he made his Visitors, to see
 that all things should be carried as fairly on, as by him piously in-
 tended; the remaining 40*s.* being added as a yearly Fee to the Town-
 Clerk, for Registring the Names of those who should from time to
 time enjoy the benefit of so great a Charity. Some other great De-
 signs he had, but of a far more Publick and Heroick Nature; as the
 encreasing of the Maintenance of all the poor Vicars in *England*; To
 see the Tythes of *London* settled between the Clergy and the City;
 For setting up a *Greek* Press at *Oxon.* and procuring Letters and Mat-
 trices for the same, wherewith to Print and Publish all such *Greek* Ma-
 nuscripts as were to be found in that Library; For obtaining the like
 Grant from his Majesty for buying in all Impropriations, as had been
 made for the Repairing of St. *Pauls*: but not to take beginning, till that
 Work was finished; For procuring an *Extract* of all the *Records* of the
Tower relating to the Church and Clergy, to be written in a fair Vel-
 lom Book, which had been drawn down from the 20th. of *Edward I.*
 to the 14th of *Edward iv.* with an intent to carry on the Work till the
 last year of King *Henry viii.* that so the Church might understand her
 own Power and Priviledges. But the prosecution of this Work from
 the said 14th. of King *Edward iv.* and of all the rest before-mentioned,
 which he had hammered in design, were most unfortunately intermit-
 ted, by the great alteration of Affairs which soon after followed. I
 cannot tell whether Posterity will believe or not, That so many great
 and notable Projectments could be comprehended in one Soul; most of
 them Ripened in a manner, the residue in the Bud or Blossom, and some
 of them bringing forth the Fruits expected from them. But the best
 is, that none of his Designs were carried in so close a manner, or left
 in so imperfect a condition, as not to give some visible Remem-
 brances, as well of his Universal Comprehensions, as his Zeal and
 Piety.

For notwithstanding the present Distractions which the Faction and
 Tumultuousness of the *scots*, had drawn upon him (enough to have
 decreed a right *Constantine*) let us look on him in the pursuit of his
 former purposes, and we shall find him still the same. The Bishop of
Exeter's

Exeter's Book being finished, and recommended by the Author to his last perusal before it went unto the Press, he took the pains to read it over with care and diligence; in the perusal whereof he took notice, amongst other things, that the strict Superstition of the *Sabbatarians* was but lightly touch'd at; whereas he thought, that some smarter Plaister to that Sore, might have done no harm. He observed also, that he pass'd by this Point, *viz.* Whether Episcopacy be an Order or Degree, as not much material; whereas in the Judgment of such Learned Men as he had consulted, it was the main ground of the whole Cause: And therefore he desired him to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own Pen as soon as might be. But that which gave him most offence was, That the Title of *Antichrist* was positively and determinately bestowed upon the *Pope*; Which being so contrary to the Judgment of many Learned *Protestants*, as well as his own, he allowed not of: but howsoever thought it fit to acquaint his Majesty with the Business; and having so done, to submit it to his Will and Pleasedure. Concerning which, he writes thus to the Bishop in his Letter of Jan. 14. this present year, *viz.* The last (with which I durst not but acquaint his Majesty) is about *Antichrist*, which Title in three or four places you bestow upon the *Pope* positively and determinately; whereas King James of Blessed Memory, having brought strong proof in a Work of his, as you well know, to prove the *Pope* to be *Antichrist*: yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this Answer, when the King that now is went into Spain, and acquainted with it; That he writ, that not concludingly, but by way of Argument only, that the *Pope* and his adherents might see, there was as good and better Arguments to prove him *Antichrist*, than for the *Pope*, to challenge Temporal Jurisdiction over Kings. The whole Passage being known to me, I could not but speak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualifie your Expression in these Particulars, and so not differ from the known Judgment of his Pious and Learned Father. This is easily done with your own Pen; and the rather, because all *Protestants* joyne not in this Opinion of *Antichrist*. According to which good advice, the Bishop of *Exon.* qualified some of his Expressions, and deleted other, to the Contentment of his Sovereign, the Satisfaction of his *Metropolitan*, and his own great Honour.

But whilest the Archbishop laboured to support *Episcopacy* on the one side, some of the *Puritan* Party did as much endeavour to suppress it, by lopping off the Branches first, and afterwards by laying the Axe to the root of the Tree. *Bagshaw* a Lawyer of some standing of the Middle Temple, did first prepare the way to the ruine of it, by questioning the Bishops Place and Vote in Parliament, their Temporal Power, and the Authority of the *High-Commission*. For being chosen Reader by that House for the *Lent* Vacation, he first began his Readings on *February* 24. selecting for the Argument of his Discourses the the Statute 25 *Edm.* 3. cap. 7. In prosecuting whereof, he had distributed his Conceptions into ten Parts, and each Part into ten several Cases; by which account he must have had one hundred blows at the Church in his ten days Reading. His main design was in the first place,

PART II. intended chiefly for the defence of such Prohibitions as formerly had
Anno Dom. been granted by the Courts in *Westminster-Hall* to stop the Proceed-
 1639. ings of the *Court Christian*, and specially of the *High-Commission*; and in the next place, to deny the Authority of the Commission it self, as before was noted. In order whereunto, he began first to state these Questions, *viz.* 1. *Whether it be a good Act of Parliament without the Assent of the Lords spiritual?* which he held affirmatively. 2. *Whether any beneficed Clerk were capable of Temporal Jurisdiction at the time of making that Law?* which he held in the negative. And 3. *Whether a Bishop, without calling a Synod, have Power as Diocesan to convict an Heretick?* which he maintained in the negative also. The news whereof being brought to *Lambeth*, there was no need of warning the Archbishop to look about him, who was not to be told what a strong Faction some of the *Scottish Lawyers* had made against the Church in *Queen Elizabeths* Time, carried it on under the Government of *King James*, and now began to threaten as much danger to it as in former times. He thereupon informs his Majesty both of the Man and his Design, and how far he had gone in justifying the Proceedings of the *Scottish Covenanters*, indecrying the Temporal Power of Churchmen, and the undoubted Right of Bishops to their Place in Parliament. His Majesty hereupon gives Order to *Finch* the new Lord Keeper, to interdict all further Reading on those Points, or any others of like nature, which might administer any further Flame to the present Combuſtions. The Lord Keeper having done his part, and the Reader addressing himself to him, that by his leave he might proceed in the course of his Exercise, it was soon found, that nothing could be done therein without leave from the King; and no such leave to be obtained, but by the Approbation and Consent of the Lord Archbishop. To *Lambeth* therefore goes the Reader, where he found no admittance till the making of his third Address, and was then told, *That he was fallen upon a Subject neither safe nor seasonable, which should stick closer to him then he was aware of.* *Bagshaw* endeavoured something in his own defence, as to the choice of the Argument; and somewhat also, as to the impossibility of settling to any other Subject in the present Conjunction desiring his Grace to be a means unto the King, that he might proceed in performance of the Task he had undertaken. To which the Archbishop stoutly answered, *That his Majesty was otherwise resolved in it; and that perhaps it had been better for the Reader himself to have given over at the first, than have incurred his Majesties Royal Indignation by that unseasonable Adventure.* No better Answer being given him, away goes *Bagshaw* out of Town, accompanied with forty or fifty Horse, (and it was a great Honour to the House that he had no more, who seemed to be of the same Faction and Affections also, as their designed Reader was, being instructed, though too late, that they could not have so great a care of their Courts and Profit, as the Archbishops had of the Churches power. Such was the constancy of his spirit, that notwithstanding the Combuſtions in *Scotland*, the ill prosecuting of the last Summers Action, and the uncertainties of what might happen in the next, he always steered his course with a steady

steady hand to the Port he aimed at, though it pleased God to let him suffer Shipwreck in the mouth of the Haven. L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1639.

The interrupting of this man in the course of his Reading, the holding of so strict an hand over the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* within his Province, and these compliances on the other side with the Church of *Rome*, were made occasions of the clamour, which was raised against him concerning his design to suppress the Gospel, and to bring in *Poperie* and *Arminianism*; or at the least to make a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*, towards which the Doctrine of *Arminius* was given out for a certain Preamble. Which general clamour being raised against him and the rest of the Bishops, I find thus flourish'd over by one of their Oratours in the House of Commons.

“ A little search (saith he) will find them to have been the destructive of Unity under pretence of Uniformity; To have brought in Superstition and Scandal under titles of Reverence, and Decency; To have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches; To have slackned the strictness of that Union which was formerly between us and those of our Religion beyond the Seas, An Action as unpolitick as ungodly: Or we shall find them to have resembled the Dog in the Manger, to have neither preached themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would; To have brought in Catechising only to thrust out Preaching, and cried down Lectures by the name of Factions, either because their industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of it, or with intention to have brought in darkness, that they might the easier sow their tares while it was night: and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that Religion which accounts it the Mother of Devotion. In which (saith he) they have abused his Majesty, as well as his People; for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions which have often tormented the Church, and have, and always will trouble the Schools, They made use of this Declaration to tie up one side, and to let the other loose, whereas they ought either in discretion to have been equally restrained, or in justice to have been equally tollerated. And it is observable, that the party to which they gave this Licence, was that, whose Doctrine, though it was not contrary to Law, was contrary to Custom, and for a long while in this Kingdom was no oftner Preached than Recanted, &c. We find them introducing such Doctrines, as admitting them to be true, the truth could not recompence the scandal; or such as were so far false, as Sir *Thomas More* says of the *Casuists*, their business was not to keep men from sinning, but to inform them, *Quam prope ad peccatum, sine peccato liceat accedere*. So it seem'd their work was to try how much of a *Papist* might be brought in without *Poperie*, and to destroy as much of the Gospel without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by Law. To go yet further, some of them have so industriously laboured to deduce themselves from *Rome*, that they have given great suspicion that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half way; some have evidently laboured to bring in an *English*, though not a *Roman* *Poperie*.

Speech of the
L. Faulkland,
p. 3. 1643.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1639.

P. 4.

“ I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but equally absolute, a
 “ blind dependance on the people upon the Clergy and of the Clergy
 “ upon themselves; and have opposed the *Papacy* beyond the Seas,
 “ that they might settle one beyond the water.

Such being the general charge which was laid against him, we will consider in this place what may be said in order to his defence, as to some seeming *Innovations* into the Worship of God, his design to bring in Popery by the back-door of *Arminianism*, and his endeavouring of a Reconciliation betwixt us and *Rome*. And first, as touching such *Innovations* in the Worship of God, he makes a general purgation of himself in his Speech made in the *Star-Chamber*, the sum and substance whereof you have seen before. Out of which I shall only take this short and pithy Declaration which he makes of himself, in relation to this part of his charge, *viz.* “ I can say it clearly and truly, “ as in the presence of God, that I have done nothing, as a Prelate, to “ the utmost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with “ a sincere intention for the good Government and honour of the “ Church, and the maintenance of the Orthodox truth, and Religion “ of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in the Church of “ *England*. For my care of this Church, the reducing it to Order, the “ upholding of the External Worship of God in it, and the settling “ of the Rules of its first Reformation, are the cause (and the sole cause, “ whatsoever is pretended) of this malicious storm that hath lowred “ so black upon me, and some of my Brethren. The like Declaration he also makes in his first Speech to the Lords, at the time of his tryal, where we find it thus: “ Ever since I came into place (saith he) “ I have laboured nothing more than that the External Worship of “ God (so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be “ preserved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might “ be: For I evidently saw, that the publick neglect of Gods Service in “ the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated “ to that Service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward “ Worship of God, which while we live in the body needs External “ helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did “ to the utmost of my knowledge according both to Law and Canon, “ and with the consent and liking of the People; nor did any Com- “ mand issue out from me against the one or the other. And finally, we shall find the like Declaration made by him on the Scaffold at the time of his death, in which sad hour there was no dissembling (and I conceive all charitable men will believe so of it) before God or man. But because it relates also to the next particular, we shall there meet with it.

And for the next particular, concerning the designing to bring in *Popery*, it hath been further aggravated by his correspondency with the Popes Ministers here in *England*, and his indulgence to that Party upon all occasions. But of this he cleansed himself sufficiently in the *Star-Chamber* Speech before remembred, in which he publickly avowed: “ First, That he knew of no plot or purpose of altering the “ Religion established. Secondly, That he had never been far from “ attempt-

P. 14.

" attempting any thing that may truly be said to tend that way in the
 " least degree. And thirdly, having offered his Oath for the other
 " two, that if the King had a mind to change Religion (which he knew
 " he had not) his Majesty must seek for other Instruments, how basely
 " soever those men had conceived of him. The like assurance he
 " gives also in the last hour of his life, when he was going to render an
 " account of all his Actions before Gods Tribunal. " Here is a Cla-
 " mour that I would have brought in Popery, but I was born and bap-
 " tized (saith he) in the bosom of the Church of *England*, established
 " by Law; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come
 " now to dye. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in
 " matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I
 " have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in *England*,
 " and in that I come now to dye. And then he adds with reference
 " to the point before, " What Clamours and Ilanders I have endured
 " for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the External Service of God,
 " according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all men
 " know; and I have abundantly felt. His *Conference with Fisher the*
 " *Jesuite*, in the year 1622. and his enlarging of that *Conference*, *Anno*
 " 1637. with *Derings* attestation to it, which before we had, do most
 " abundantly evince this truth, that he approved not the Doctrine of
 " the Church of *Rome*. And as he approved not of their Doctrines, so
 " he as much disliked their practices for gaining Profelytes, or multiply-
 " ing their followers in all parts of the Kingdom: concerning which he
 " tells his Majesty, *That though he never had advised a persecution of the*
 " *Papists in any kind, yet God forbid (saith he) that your Majesty should*
 " *let both Laws and Discipline sleep for fear of a Persecution, and in the*
 " *mean time let Mr. Fisher and his Fellow Angle in all parts of your Domi-*
 " *nions for your Subjects. If in your Grace and Goodness you will spare*
 " *their persons; yet I humbly beseech you to see to it, that they be not suffer-*
 " *ed to lay either their Weels, or bait their Hooks, or cast their Nets in*
 " *every stream, lest the Temptation grow both too general, and too strong.*
 " So he in the Epistle Didicatory to his *Large Relation* of the Conference
 " between him and *Fisher*, published in the end of the year foregoing.
 " Assuredly it must needs seem extremely ridiculous to others, and con-
 " tradictory to it self, to confute the chief Doctrines of the Papists, and
 " oppose their practicings, if he had had any such design to bring in
 " Popery.

L I B. IV.
Anno Dom.
 1639.
Relation of
his Death,
 &c. p. 20.

Epist. to the
King before
the Conf.

And being thus averse from them in point of Doctrine he declined
 all correspondence and acquaintance with them, whereby he might
 come under the suspicion of some secret Practice. I hold it probable
 enough, that the better to oblige the Queen unto him (of whose Pre-
 valency in the Kings affections he could not be ignorant) he might
 consent to *Con's* coming hither over from the Pope, to be assistant to
 her in such affairs as the nature of her Religion might occasion with
 the See of *Rome*: But he kept himself at such a distance, that neither
Con, nor *Panzani* before him (who acted for a time in the same capa-
 city) could fasten any acquaintance on him. The Pamphlet called, *Pop. Nunc.*
The Popes Nuncio, Printed in the year 1643. hath told us, " That *Pan-*
zani

Pop. Nunc.
 p. 7.

PART II. *Panzani* at his being here, did desire a Conference with the Archbishop
Anno Dom. of *Canterbury*, but was put off and procrastinated therein from day
 1639. to day; That at the last he departed the Kingdom without any Speech
 with him. The like we find in the discovery of *Andreas ab Habern-*
Subolfecit ab *field*, who tells us of his *Con*, "That finding the Kings Judgment to de-
Domino; Archi- pend much on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his faithful Servant,
episcopo Regi "he resolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gain
fidelissimo ro- "him to his side: being confident he had prepared, the means. For
tum animum "he had a command to make offer of a Cardinals Cap to the Lord
Regis in eis "Archbishop in the name of the Pope of *Rome*; and that he should
pendulum, R. "allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sin-
Ma&r. p 16. "cere mind; yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he
 might insinuate himself into the Lord Archbishop, to whom free
 access was to be impetrated, by the *Earland Countess of Arundel*, as al-
 so by Secretary *Windebank*, all whose intercessions he neglected,
 and did shun (as it were, the Plague) the company or Familiarity of
Con. He was also solicited by others of no mean Rank, well known
 to him, and yet he continued unmovable. And whereas some found
 a way to help at last by making *Windebank* the *Internuncio* betwixt
 him and them, that only serves to make the matter rather worse than
 better, there being a great strangeness grown betwixt him and *Win-*
debank; not only before *Con's* coming into the Realm: but before
Panzani had settled any course of intelligence in the Court of
England.

As for his favours towards those of the Catholick Party, and his
 connivence of their Practices, which is next objected; as he had good
 reason for the one: so there could be no reason to object the other.
 He had good reason for the one, *viz.* That by shewing favours to the
Papists here, they might obtain the like favours for such Protestants as
 lived in the Dominion of Popish Princes. Upon which ground King
James extended many favours to them in his time, as appears by the
 letter written on their behalf by the Bishop of *Lincoln* then Lord
Keeper. And yet perhaps he had a better Reason for it then this, which
 was, That seeing the *Puritans* grown so strong even to the endanger-
 ing of our Peace both in Church and State, by the negligence and
 remissness of the former Government, he thought it necessary to shew
 some countenance to the *Papists*; that the ballance being kept even be-
 tween the parties, the Church and State might be preserved (as in-
 deed they were) in the greater safety. And this appeareth to be his
 Chief inducement to it, in regard, that when the Protestant party was
 grown strong enough to stand and go without such Crutches, he then
 declared himself openly before the King at a Council-Table against
Mountague, *Matthews*, and the like; and wrought so far, that he re-
 moved them from the Court to learn more moderation: and this may
 sufficiently absolve him from all such connivence as without Reason is
 objected. And yet I have another Demonstration to discharge him
 of it. In the *November* of this year I received a message from him to
 attend him the next day at two of the Clock in the Afternoon. The
 Key being turned which opened the way into his Study, I found him
 sitting

sitting in a Chair holding a Paper in both hands, and his eyes fixed upon the Paper that he observed me not at my coming in. Finding him in that Posture I thought it fit in manners to retire again; but the noise I made by my retreat, bringing him back unto himself, he recalled me to him, and told me after some short pause, that he well remembered he had sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleased to say (not without tears in his eyes) that he had then newly received a letter, acquainting him with the Revolt of a Person of quality in North Wales to the Church of Rome; that he knew that the increase of Popery, by such frequent Revolts would be imputed unto him, and his Brethren the Bishops, who were least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost so far forth as it might consist with the Rules of prudence, and the preservation of the Church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condigne punishment. To the truth whereof (lifting up his wet eyes to Heaven) he took God to witness; conjuring me (as I would answer it to God at the day of Judgment) that if ever I come to any of those places; which he and his Brethren by reason of their great age were not likely to hold long, I would imploy all such abilities as God had given me, in suppressing the Romish party, who by their open undertakings, and secret practices were like to be the ruine of this flourishing Church.

LIB. IV.
Anno Domini
1639.

Finally touching the design of working a *Reconciliation* betwixt us and Rome. I find it charged upon him by another writer who holds it as unlawful to be undertaken, As it was impossible to be effected; Most apparent it is (saith he) by severall passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome, so to comprise the difference, and to bring us to a vicinity, if not contiguity therewith. An impossible design (if granted lawful) as some every way his equals, did adjudge. For composition is impossible with such, who will not agree unless all they sue for, and all the charges of the suit be to the utmost farthing awarded to them. Our *Reconciliation* with Rome is clogged with the same impossibilities; she may be gone to, but will never be met with, such her pride or Peevishness, not to stir a step to obviate any of a different Religion. Rome will never so far Unpose her self, as to part with her pretended *Supremacy*, and *Infallibility*, which cuts off all possibility of Protestants treating with her, if possible without prejudice to Gods glory and truth, other controversies might be composed. Which done England would have been an Island as well in Religion, as situation; cut off from the Continent of Foreign Protestant Churches, in a singular posture by it self, hard to be imagined, but harder to be effected.

Ch. Hist. lib.
II. p. 217.

But unto this it hath been Answered, that if it be a *Crime*, it is *Novum Crimen*; that is to say, a Crime of a new stamp never coyned before. I thought, when our Saviour said, *Beati Pacifici*, it had been sufficient warrant unto any man to endeavour peace, to build up the breaches in the Church, and to make Jerusalem like a City which is

Animad.
p. 261.

PART II. *at unity in it self*; especially where it may be done not only *salva*
Anno Dom. *Charitate*, without breach of *Charity*; but *salva fide* too, without
 1639. wrong to *faith*; the greatest part of the controversies betwixt us and
 the Church of *Rome* not being in the *Fundamentals*, or in any Essential
 point in the Christian Religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it, but
 as a most pious work, to endeavour an attonement in the superstru-
 ctures. But hereof the writer seems to doubt: first whither such
 endeavours to agree and compose the differences be *lawful* or not, and
 secondly whither they be *possible*. As for the Lawfulness thereof, I
 could never see any Reason produced against it, not so much as any
 question made of it, till I found it here: Against the *Possibility* there-
 of it hath been objected, that such and so great is the pride of the
 Church of *Rome* that they will condescend to nothing; and therefore
 if any such composition be made, it must not be by their meeting us,
 but by our going to them: But as that Writer says, that many of the
 Archbishops *Equals adjudged the design* of histo be *impossible*; so may
 I say (without making any such odious comparisons) that many men
 of eminence for their parts and piety have thought otherwise of it.
 It was the Petulancy of the *Puritans* on the one side, and the Prag-
 maticalness of the *Jesuites* on the other, which made the breach wider
 then it was at first; and had those hot spirits on both sides been calm-
 ed a while, moderate men might possibly have agreed upon such equal
 terms, as would have laid a sure foundation for the peace of
 Christendom. Now that all those in the Church of *Rome* are not
 so stiffly wedded to their own opinions as that Writer makes
 them, appears first by the Testimony of the Archbishop of *Spalato*,
 declaring in the *High Commission* a little before his going hence;
 that *he acknowledged the Articles of the Church to be true, or profitable at*
the least; and none of them to be Heretical. It appears secondly by a
 Tractate of *Franciscus à Sancta Clara*, (as he calls himself) in which
 he putteth such a gloss upon the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*
 as rendreth them not inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Church of
Rome. And if *without prejudice to the truth*, the controversies might
 have been composed, it is most probable, that other Protestant
 Churches would have sued by their Agents to be included in the Peace:
 if not, the Church of *England* had lost nothing by it, as being hated
 by the *Calvinists*, and not loved by the *Lutherians*.

Admitting then that such a *Reconciliation* was endeavoured betwixt
 the Agents for both Churches, Let us next see what our great States-
 men have discoursed upon that particular, upon what terms the
 Agreement was to have been made, and how far they proceeded
 in it. And first the book entituled the *Popes Nuncio*, affirmed to have
 been written by a *Venetian* Ambassadour at his being in *England*, doth
 discourse it thus. “Asto a *Reconciliation* (saith he) between the
 “Churches of *England* and *Rome*, there were made some general Pro-
 “positions and overtures by the Archbishops Agents, they assuring
 “that his Grace was very much disposed thereunto; and that if it was
 “not accomplisht in his life time, it would prove a work of more
 “difficulty after his death; that in very truth for the last three years,
 “the

“ the Archbishop had introduced some *Innovations* approaching near
 “ the Rites and Forms of *Rome*; that the Bishop of *Chichester* a great
 “ Confident of his Grace, the Lord Treasurer and eight other Bishops
 “ of his Graces party, did most passionately desire a Reconciliation
 “ with the Church of *Rome*; that they did day by day reced from
 “ their Ancient Tenents to accommodate with the Church of *Rome*;
 “ that therefore the Pope on his part, ought to make some steps to
 “ meet them, and the Court of *Rome* Remit something of its Rigor in
 “ Doctrine, or otherwise no accord would be. The composition on
 “ both sides in so good a forwardness, before *Panzany* left the King-
 “ dom, that the Archbishop, and Bishop of *Chichester* had often said,
 “ that there were but two sorts of People likely to impede and hinder
 “ the Reconciliation to wit, the *Puritans* amongst the *Protestants*, and
 “ the *Jesuites* amongst the *Catholicks*.

L I B. IV.
 Anno Dom.
 1639.

Let us next see the Judgment and Relation of another Author in a
 gloss or Comment on the Former, intituled the *English Pope* Printed
 at *London* in the same year 1643. And he well tells us that after *Con*
 had undertook the managing of the affairs, matters began to grow to-
 ward some agreement. The King required, saith he, (a b) such a
 dispensation from the then Pope, as that his Catholick Subjects might
 resort to the Protestant Churches, and to take the oaths of *Supremacy*,
 and *Fidelity*; and that the Popes Jurisdiction here should be declared
 to be but of humane Right. “ And so far had the Pope consented that
 “ whatsoever did concern the King therein, should have been really
 “ performed, so far forth as other Catholick Princes usually enjoy,
 “ and expect as their due; and so far as the Bishops were to be Inde-
 “ pendent both from King and Pope: there was no fear of breach on
 “ the Popes part. So that upon the point the Pope was to content
 himself amongst us in *England* with a *Priority* instead of a *Superiority*
 over other Bishops, and with a *Primacy* instead of a *Supremacy* in
 these parts of Christendom: which I conceive no man of Learning,
 and Sobriety would have grudged to grant him. It was also conde-
 scended to in the name of the Pope that marriage might be permit-
 ted to Priests; that the Communion might be Administred *sub utra-*
que specie; and that the Liturgy might be officiated in the *English* tongue.
 And though the Author adds not long after, that it was to be suspect-
 ed, That so far as the inferior Clergy, and the people were concerned,
 the after performance was to be left to the Popes Discretion; yet this
 was but his own suspicion, without ground at all. And to obtain a
 Reconciliation upon these Advantages the Archbishop had all the
 Reason in the world to do as he did, in ordering the Lords Table
 to be placed where the Altar stood, and making the accustomed
 Reverence in all approaches towards it, and accesles to it; in beau-
 tifying and adorning Churches, and celebrating the Divine Service
 with all due Solemnities; in taking care that all offensive and exas-
 perating passages should be expunged out of such Books as were
 brought to the Press; and for reducing the extravagancy of some o-
 pinions to an eyener temper. His Majesty had the like Reason also
 for tolerating Lawful Recreations on the Sundays and Holy-days;

a Page 28.
 b Ib. p. 14.

Ibid.

PART II. The rigorous Restraint whereof made some Papists think (those most especially of the vulgar sort, whom it most concerned) that all honest Pastime were incompetent with our Religion. And if he approved *Auricular Confession*, and shewed himself willing to introduce it into the use of the Church, as both our Authors say he did; it is no more then what the Liturgy Commends to the Care of the *Penitent* (though we find not the word *Auricular* in it) or what the Canons have provided for in the point of security for such as shall be willing to confess themselves: But whereas we are told by one of our Authors, that *the King should say, he would use force to make it be received, were it not for fear of Sedition amongst the People*; yet is but in one of our Authors neither, who hath no other Author for it than a nameless Doctor. And in the way towards so happy an agreement (though they all stand accused for it by the *English Pope*, pag. 15.) *Sparrow* may be excused for placing it with *Auricular Confession*; and *Watts* for *Penance*; *Heylyn* for *Adoration* toward the Altar; and *Mountague* for such a qualified praying to Saints, as his books maintain against the *Papists*.

Popes Nunc.
p. 12.

If you would know how far they had proceeded towards this happy *Reconciliation*, the *Popes Nuncio* will assure us thus; *That the Universities, Bishops, and Divines of this Realm, did dayly embrace Catholick Opinions, though they profess'd not so much with Pen or Mouth for fear of the Puritans. For example, they hold, That the Church of Rome is a true Church; That the Pope is Superiour to all Bishops; That to him it appertains to call General Councils; That it is lawful to pray for the Soul of the Departed; That Altars ought to be erected of Stone: In sum, That they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of Rome.*

Direction to
N. N. pref.
sect. 20.

Another of their Authors tells us (as was elsewhere noted) *That those amongst us of greatest Worth, Learning, and Authority, began to love Temper and Moderation; That their Doctrines began to be altered in many things, for which their Progenitors forsook the Visible Church of Christ; as for example, The Pope not Antichrist, Prayers for the Dead, Limbus Patrum, Pictures; That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and to interpret Scriptures about Free-will, Predestination, Universal Grace; That all our Works are not Sins, Merit of Good Works, Inherent Justice, Faith alone doth justify, Charity to be preferred before knowledge, The Authority of Traditions, Commandments possible to be kept; That in Exposition of the Scripture, they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers; And that the once fearful Names of Priests and Altars, are used willingly in their Talk and Writings. In which Compliances, so far forth as they speak the truth (for in some Points, through the ignorance of the one and the malice the other, they are much mistaken) there is scarce any thing which may not very well consist with the established (though for a time discontinued) Doctrine of the Church of England; the Articles whereof, as the same *Jesuite* hath observed, seem patient, or ambitious rather, of some sense wherein they may seem Catholick: And such a sense is put upon them by him that calls himself *Franciscus a Sacra Clara*, as before was said. And if upon such Compliances as those before, on the*

part

part of the *English*, the Conditions offered by the *Pope* might have been confirmed, Who seeth not, that the greatest Benefit of the Reconciliation would have redounded to this Church, to the King and People? His Majesties Security provided for, by the *Oaths* of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, so far as it concerned his Temporal Power; The Bishops of *England* to be independent of the Popes of *Rome*; The Clergy to be permitted the use of Marriage; the People to receive the Communion in both *KINDS*, and all Divine Offices officiated in the *English* Tongue; No Innovation made in Doctrine: but only in the qualifying of some Expressions, and discharging some Out-landish Glosses as were put upon them. And seeing this, What man could be so void of Charity, so uncompassionate of the Miseries and Distractions of *Christendom*, as not to wish from the very bottom of his Soul, That the Reconciliation had proceeded upon so good Terms? as not to magnifie the men to succeeding Ages, who were the Instruments and Authors of so great a Blessing?

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1639.

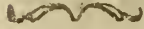
But then admitting, as we may, That no such Reconciliation was upon the Anvil; and that our two Discourfers have proceeded only upon Suppositions: yet *Canterbury* had good ground for what he did, were it no other then the settling of the Church of *England* upon the first Principles and Positions of her Reformation. But he had further aims than so. He had some thoughts (and I have reason to believe it) by Conferences first; and if that failed, by the ordinary course of Ecclesiastical Censures, (a) of gaining the *Papists* to the Church; and therefore it concerned him in point of Prudence, to smoothe the way, by removing all such Blocks and Obstacles which had been laid before them by the *Puritan* Faction. He knew, that from their Infancy they had been trained up in a Regular Order of Devotion; and that they loved that Religion best, which came accompanied with Decency and External Splendour: That they objected nothing more against us, than the Novelty of our Doctrine, the Heterodoxies maintained in Publick by some of our Preachers, the slovenly keeping of our Churches, the Irreverence of the People in them, the rude and careless flubbering over of our Common Prayers. And what Encouragements had they for resorting to the Congregation, when they should hear the *Pope* defamed, whom they beheld with Reverence as their Common Father; their Ceremonies to be counted *Antichristian*, their Mass *Idolatrous*, their whole Religion worse then that of the *Turks* and *Moors*; conformity to whom in Rites and Ceremonies, was held to be more tollerable by the *Puritan* Preachers, than to those of *Rome*. These Rubs were first to be removed, before they could have any thoughts of uniting to us. And for the removing of those Rubs, he fell upon the courses before-mentioned; which being *Renovations* only of some ancient Usages, were branded by the odious name of *Innovations*, by some of those who out of cunning and design had long disused them. Some zealous Protestants beheld his Actings with no small fear, as byassing too strongly toward *Rome*; that the *Puritans* exclaimed against him for a *Papist*, and the *Papists* cried him up for theirs, and gave themselves some flattering hopes of our coming

(a) *Can. 3^a*
1640.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1639.



towards them: But the most knowing and understanding men amongst them, found plainly, That nothing could tend more to their destruction, than the introducing of some Ceremonies which by late negligence and Practice had been discontinued. For I have heard from a Person of known Nobility, That at his being at *Rome* with a Father of the *English* Colledge, one of the *Novices* came in and told him with a great deal of joy, That the *English* were upon returning to the Church of *Rome*; That they began to set up *Altars*, to Officiate in their *Copes*, to Adorn their Churches, and to paint the Pictures of the Saints in the Church Windows: To which the old Father made Reply, with some indignation, That he talked like an ignorant Novice; That these Proceedings rather tended to the Ruine, than Advancement of the Catholick Cause; That by this means the Church of *England* coming nearer to the ancient Usages, the Catholicks there would sooner be drawn off from them, than any more of that Nation would fall off to *Rome*.

In reference to Doctrinal Points, Heterodoxies, and new Opinions, and such extravagant Expressions, both from Prefs and Pulpit, he took as much care as in the other. And to that end, he was not pleased that the *Pope* should be any longer stigmatized by the name of *Antichrist*; and gave a strict Charge unto his Chaplains, That all exasperating Passages (which edifie nothing) should be expunged out of such Books as by them were to be Licensed to the Prefs; and that no Doctrines of that Church should be writ against: but such as seemed to be inconsistent with the establish'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Upon which ground it was, that *Baker* Chaplain to the Bishop of *London* refused to License the Reprinting of a Book about the *Gunpowder-Treason*, saying to him that brought the Book, *That we were not so angry with the Papists now, as we were about twenty years since; and that there was no need of any such Books to exasperate them, there being now an endeavour to win them to us by fairness and mildness.* And on the same ground, *Bray* Chaplain to the Archbishop, refused the Licensing of another, called, *The Advice of a Son*, unless he might expunge some unpleasing Expressions, affirming, *That those Passages would offend the Papists, whom we were now in a fair way of winning, and therefore must not use any harsh Phrases against them.* The Chaplains not to be condemned for their honest care, and much less their Lords; though I find it very heavily charged as a Crime in all. In the *English Litany* set out by King *Henry viii.* and continued in both *Liturgies* of King *Edward vi.* there was this Clause against the *Pope*, viz. *From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord, &c.* Which being considered as a means to affright those of the *Romish* Party from coming diligently to our Churches, was prudently expunged by those who had the Revising of the *Liturgie*, in the first year of the *Queen*. In imitation of whose Piety and Christian Care, it was thought fit by the Archbishop to change some Phrases which were found in the Books of Prayer appointed for the *Fifth of November*. The first was this *Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian sect, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it, &c.* Which he changed only

Cant. Doom.
P. 184.

Ibid. p. 253.
Q. 526.

only unto this, *Root out the Babylonish or Antichristian sect,* (of them) *which say, &c.* The second was, *Cut off those Workers of Iniquity,* whose Religion is Rebellion, and whose Faith is Faction; which he changed no otherwise than thus, *Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c.* The Alterations were but small, but the clamour great which was raised about it. The Puritans complaining, *That the Prayers so altered, were intended to reflect on them,* seemed to be conscious to themselves of *turning Religion into Rebellion, and saying of Jerusalem (like the old Babylonish Sect) Down with it, down with it to the ground.* But he had better reason for it, than they had against it. For if the first Reformers were so careful of giving no offence to the *Romish Party,* as to expunge a Passage out of the Publick Liturgie, when the Queen was a *Protestant*; much greater reason had the Archbishop to correct those Passages in a formal Prayer not confirmed by Law, when the Queen was one of that Religion.

Nothing in this or any of the rest before, which tends to the bringing in of *Popery,* the prejudice of the true Protestant Religion, or the suppressing of the Gospel. Had his Designs tending to the Advancing of *Popery,* he neither would have took such pains to confute their Doctrines, nor they have entertained such secret practices to destroy his Person (of which more hereafter.) Had he directed his endeavours to suppress the *Protestants,* he would not have given so much countenance to *Durya Scot,* who entertained him with some hopes of working an Accord betwixt the *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Churches. In which Service, as he wasted a great deal of time to little purpose; so he received as much Encouragement from *Canterbury,* as he had reason to expect. Welcom at all times to his Table, and speaking honourably of him upon all occasions, till the times were changed; when either finding the impossibility of his Undertaking, or wanting a Supply of that Oyl which maintained his Lamp, he proved as true a *Scot* as the rest of the Nation; laying the blame of his miscarriage in it, on the want of Encouragement; and speaking disgracefully of the man which had given him most. Had he intended any prejudice to the Reformed Religion, Reformed according to the Doctrine of *Calvin,* and the *Genevian* Forms, both of Worship and Government, he would not have so cordially advanced the General Collection for the *Palatine* Churches, or provided so heartily for the *Rochellers* and their Religion; touching which last, we find this Clause in a Prayer of his for the Duke of *Buckingham,* when he went Commander of his Majesties Forces for the Isle of *Rhe,* viz. *Bless my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that Wisdom may attend all his Counsels, and Courage and Success all his Enterprises; That by his and their means thou wilt be pleased to bring Safety to this Kingdom, Strength and Comfort to Religion, Victory and Reputation to our Country.* Had he projected any such thing as the suppressing of the Gospel, he would not have shewed himself so industrious in preventing *Socinianism* from poisoning those of riper years, in turning afternoon Sermons into Catechising for the instruction of Children; in prohibiting all Assemblies of *Anabaptists,* *Familists,* and other *sectaries,* which oppose the Common Principles of the

L I B. IV.

Anno Dom.

1639.

Dyary, p. 14.

PART II.

A^lso Dom.

1639.



the Christian Faith. For that his silencing of the *Arminian* Controversies, should be a means to suppress the Gospel; or his favouring of those Opinions, designed for a back-door to bring in *Poper*y, no wise man can think. The Points in Controversie between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, in the Reformed Churches of *Calvin's* Plat-form, are agitated no less fiercely by the *Dominicans* on the one side, the *Jesuits* and *Franciscans* on the other side, in the Church of *Rome*; the *Calvinists* holding with the *Dominicans*, as the *Arminians* do with the *Jesuit* and *Franciscan Friars*. And therefore, why any such compliance with the *Dominicans* (the principal Sticklers and Promoters in the *Inquisition*) should not be looked on as a *Back-door* to bring in *Poper*y, as well as a Compliance in the same Points with the other two *Orders*, is beyond my reach. With which I shut up my Discourse touching the Counsels and Designs which were then on foot, and conclude this year.

1640.

The next begins with a Parliament and Convocation; the one Assembled on the thirteenth, the other on the fourteenth of *April*. In Calling Parliaments, the King directs his Writs or Letters severally to the Peers and Prelates, requiring them to attend in Parliament to be holden by the Advice of his Privy Council, at a certain Time and Place appointed, and there to give their Counsel in some great and weighty Affairs, touching himself, the safety of the Realm, and the defence of the Church of *England*: A Clause being added in all those to the several Bishops, to give notice to all *Deans* and *Archdeacons* to attend the Parliament in their own Persons, all Chapters by one Proxie, and the Diocesan Clergy by two; for yielding their Consent and Obedience to such Laws and Ordinances as by the Common Council of the Kingdom shall be then Enacted: Which Clause remains still in those Letters, though not still in practice. Writs are sent out also to the several Sheriffs, acquainting them with his Majesties purpose of consulting in a Parliamentary way with the Peers and Prelates, and other Great Men of the Realm (the Judges and Officers of State, &c.) and then requiring them to cause two Knights to be elected for every County, two Citizens for every City, or more Burgessees for every Burrough (according as the place is priviledged) in their several Shires. All of them to attend in Parliament at the time appointed; no otherwise Impowred than the *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and the rest of the Clergy by their formal Writs. But in the calling of a *Convocation*, the form is otherwise; for in this case the King directs his Writs to the two Archbishops, requiring them for the great and weighty Reasons above-mentioned, to cause a *Convocation* of the Clergy, to be forthwith called, leaving the nominating of the Time and Place to their discretion; though for the ease of the Bishops and Clergy, commanded to attend in Parliament, as before was said, the Archbishop used to nominate such Time and Place as might most sort with that Attendance. On the receiving of which Writ, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sends his *Mandate* to the Bishop of *London*, as *Dean* of the *Episcopal Colledge*, requiring him to Cite and Summon all the *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, and *Capitular Bodies*, with the whole Clergy

Clergy of the Province, according to the usual form, to appear before him at such place and time as he therein nominated; and that the Procurators for the Chapter and Clergy be furnished with sufficient powers by those that sent them, not only to treat upon such points as should be propounded for the peace of the Church, and defence of the Realm of *England*, and to give their Counsel in the same, but also to (a) consent both in their own names, and in the names of them that sent them unto all such things as by mature deliberation, and consent, should be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the Bishop of *London*, he sends out his Citations to the several Bishops of that Province, and they give intimation of it to the Clergy of their several Diocesses; according whereunto the Chapters and Parochial Clergy do elect their *Clerks*, binding themselves (b) under the forfeiture of all their goods, movable, and immovable, to stand to and perform whatsoever the said Clerks shall say or do in their behalf. Both Bodies, being thus assembled, are to continue their attendance in the publick Service during the pleasure of the King; the Acts of both to be invalid till confirmed by his Majesty; the one most commonly by himself, sitting upon his Royal Throne in open Parliament: the other always by Letters Patents under the Great Seal; neither of the two to be dissolved but by several Writs, That for the Parliament directed to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, (as the case may vary) That for the Convocation issued out to the Metropolitans of the several Provinces. In this, and this alone, they differ as to matter of Form, that the *Peers* and People assembled in Parliament may treat, debate, and conclude of any thing which is to be tendred to the King for his Royal Assent without any other power than the first Writ, by vertue whereof they are assembled: But the Bishops and Clergy are restrained in their Convocation by the Statute of the 25 *Henry viii.* from treating, debating, forming, and concluding of any Canons or Constitutions, or doing any Ecclesiastical Acts, tending to the determination of Controversies, or decreeing Ceremonies, till they are licensed thereunto by the Kings Commission. All which particulars I have thought fit to touch at in this present place, because we are to relate unto them in the course of our business.

At the opening of the Parliament the Sermon was Preached before his Majesty, the Peers and Prelates, by the Bishop of *Ely*. The Sermon being done, they passed in the accustomed State to the Parliament House: to which the Commons being called, his Majesty acquainted them with the indignities and affronts, even to the taking up of Arms against him, which he had suffered from some of his Subjects in *Scotland*, required their assistance to reduce them to their due obedience, advising them to go together for chusing their Speaker, and so to proceed unto their business. But all they did in order to his Commands, was the admitting of *Glanville*, a right learned Lawyer, whom his Majesty had commended to them, to be the Speaker for their House. Their Grievances must first be heard, and the safety of Religion provided for before the matter of supply was to be considered. This was enough to give an hint to the Archbishop, that an enquiry would be made

LIB. IV.
Anno Dom.
1640.

(a) Sed ad consentiendum eis, quae ibidem ex communi deliberatione, ad honorem Dei & Ecclesiae in praemissis contigerint concorditer ordinari.

(b) Sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum suorum tam immobilium quam immobilium, &c.

PART II. made into all his Actions, to the disturbance of the work which he
Anno Dom. had begun, and was in no small hope to perfect. For remedy where-
 1640. of he was resolved to make use of a friend in the House of Commons
 for offering this motion to the rest, *viz.* That a certain number of
 that House would join in Conference with as many of the Clergy as-
 sembled in Convocation, touching all doubts and differences which
 might happen to arise amongst them in matters which concerned the
 Church. And this he did upon this reason, that if the motion were
 accepted, the Committee for the Clergy in Convocation, might give
 satisfaction to that of the House of Commons in all such matters Do-
 ctrinal, or points of Ceremony which should come before them: But
 if the motion were rejected, he should then get the start in point of
 Reputation amongst knowing men; the refusing of so fair an offer,
 bearing witness for him that their Proceedings were directed rather
 by power and interest, than by truth and reason. But the short life of
 this Parliament made that Counsel useless. For the Commons do-
 ing nothing which the King desired, and the King desiring nothing
 more, than that they would speedily resolve one way or other, the
 Lords agreed upon a Vote for desiring a Conference with the Com-
 mons, the better to dispose them to this point, that his Majesties sup-
 ply should have precedency of the Subjects Grievances. This voted
 by the Commons for a breach of their Priviledges, and the *Peers* cen-
 sured for it, as having been transported beyond their bounds. To
 calm which heat his Majesty made offer for twelve Subsidies, to relin-
 quish all his right to the Naval aid, of late called *ship-money*, which
 had been antiently enjoyed by his Predecessors; But the Proposition,
 though it came but to three years purchase, would not down amongst
 them. At last they came unto a resolution of yielding somewhat to-
 ward his Majesties supply; but in the grant thereof, blasted his Maje-
 sties Expedition against the *scots*, whose Cause they resolved to make
 their own, and received thanks from them for that favour in their
 next Remonstrance. Which coming to his Majesties ears on *Mun-*
day the fourth of *May*, he called his Council together on the next
 Morning betimes, by whose unanimous consent he dissolved the
 Parliament.

On *Tuesday*, *April 14.* the Convocation assembled in the Chapter-
 house of the Church of *St. Paul*, from whence they waited on his Grace
 and the rest of the Bishops, to hear the Sermon in the Quire. The
 Sermon preacht by *Turner*, *Residentiary* of the Church. His Text was
 taken out of *Mat. 10. 16. Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst*
of Wolves, which he followed home unto the Purpose. In the close
 of the Sermon he had a passage in these words, or to this effect, that
 all the Bishops held not the Reins of Church Discipline with an
 even hand; but that some of them were too easie and remiss in the
 ordering thereof. Whereby though they sought to gain to them-
 selves the popular plause of meekness and mildness, they occasionally
 cast on other Bishops (more severe than themselves) the unjust
 imputation of Rigour and Tyranny; and therefore he advised them
 withal with equal strictness to urge an universal Conformity. The
 Sermon

Sermon ended, the Clergy fell to the electing of their *Prolocutor* (as L I B. IV. before commanded) pitching unanimously on Dr. *Richard Steward* Anno Dom. Clerk of his Majesties Closet, and Dean of *Chichester* to be presented 1640. the next day to the Archbishop and the rest of the Prelates in the Chapel of King *Henry vii.* at *Westminster*, to which the Synod was adjourned. The next day being come (after a Protestation made in writing by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries of that Church for not acknowledging the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the rest of the Bishops, to have any Jurisdiction in that place, and the admitting of the same for good and valid) they were permitted to proceed in their Convocation. The business of that day was the presenting of the Prolocutor by *sheldon*, Warden of All-Souls, his Admission by the Archbishop, and *stewards* unwilling readiness to discharge the Office; each of them delivering their conceptions in Elegant Latine Speeches, as the custom is, but the Archbishops longer than both the rest. Which Ceremonies being performed, his Grace produced a Commission under the Great Seal, by which they were enabled (according to the said Statute of King *Henry viii.*) to propose, treat, consult, and agree upon the Exposition or Alteration of any Canon then in force, and upon such new Canons, Orders, and Constitutions, as the said Bishops and Clergy (of which the Lord Archbishop to be always one) should think fit, necessary, and convenient for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof to be performed and kept by the said Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy in their several places; as also by the Dean of the Arches, and by all others having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Province of *Canterbury*, and by all other persons within this Realm, so far as being Members of this Church they may be concerned. Provided always that no such Canons, Orders and Constitutions, so to be considered on as aforesaid, be contrary or repugnant to the Liturgy established, or the Rubricks in it, or the 39 Artickles, or any Doctrinal Orders, and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, already established; as also that nothing should be done in execution of the same, till being exhibited to his Majesty in writing, to be allowed, approved, confirmed, and ratified; or otherwise disallowed, annihilated, and made void as he should think fit, requisite; and convenient: and then to be allowed, approved, and confirmed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, Also the said Commission to continue and remain in force during the present Session of Parliament, and to expire together with it.

For the procuring of this Commission, as the Archbishop had good reason, as well for countenancing and conforming his former Actings, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation so had his Majesty as good reasons for the granting of it, the grounds whereof contained in his Commission of *June 13.* for confirming all the Acts of this Convocation, are to this effect: "He had been given to understand, that many of his Subjects being misled against the Rites and Ceremonies then used in the Church of *England*, had taken offence at the same upon an unjust supposal, That they were not only

PART II. "contrary to Law; but also introductive unto *Popish Superstitions*; whereas it well appeared unto him upon mature deliberation, that the said *Rites and Ceremonies*, which were then so much quarrelled at, were not only approved of, and used by those godly and learned Divines to whom, at the time of the Reformation under King Edward vi. the compiling of the Book of Common-Prayer was committed. (divers of which suffered Martyrdom in Queen *Maries* days) but also again taken up by this whole Church under Queen *Elizabeth*. Which *Rites* so taken up, had been so duly and ordinarily practised for a great part of her Reign (within the memory of divers living) as that it could not then be imagined, that there would need any Rule or Law for the observation of the same, nor that they could be thought to favour of Popery. He found too plainly, that since those times, for want of an expresse Rule therein, and by the subtle practices of some men, the said *Rites and Ceremonies* began to fall into disuse; and in place thereof other Foreign and unfitting usages by little and little to creep in: But being he found withal that in the *Royal Chappels*, and in many other Churches most of them had been ever constantly used and observed, his Majesty could not but be very sensible of the inconvenience. And he had cause also to conceive, that the Authors and Fomenters of those Jealousies; though they coloured the same with a pretence of zeal, and did seem to strike only at some supposed iniquity in the said *Ceremonies*: yet aimed at his Royal Person, and would have his good Subjects think, that he himself was perverted, and did worship God in a superstitious way, and that he did intend to bring in some alteration in the Religion here established. From which how far he was, and how utterly he detested the very thought thereof, he had by his many Declarations, and upon sundry other occasions, given such assurance to the World, that no man of Wisdom and Discretion could ever be so beguiled as to give any serious entertainment to such brainsick Jealousies. And as for the weaker sort, who were prone to be misled by crafty seducers, he always assured himself, that as many of them as had loyal, or but charitable hearts, would from thenceforth utterly banish all such causeless fears and surmises upon those his Sacred Professions so often made, as a *Defender* of the Christian Faith, their King and Sovereign. He perceived in the next place, That the Ring-leaders of many well-minded people, did make the more advantage (for the nourishing of such distempers amongst them) because the aforesaid *Rites and Ceremonies*, or some of them, were now insisted upon but only in some Diocesses, and were not generally received in all places, nor constantly nor uniformly practised throughout all the Churches in the Kingdom; and thereupon have been liable to be quarrelled and opposed by them who use them not. In imitation therefore of the pious Examples of King *Edward* vi. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of Blessed Memories, he thought it most agreeable to his own Honor, and the good of his People, to Licence the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the *Clergie* in their several *Convocations*, to make such further Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, as should

P. 294.

Ibid. P. 296.

“ be found necessary for the advancing of Gods Glory, the edifying of
 “ the Holy Church, and the due reverence of his Blessed Mylteries and
 “ Sacraments. And this he did to this end and purpose, That as he had
 “ been ever careful and ready to cut off *Superstition* with the one hand,
 “ so he might also expel *Profaneness* and *Irreverence* with the other:
 “ By means whereof it might please Almighty God to bless him, and
 “ this *Church* committed to his *Government*, that it might at once re-
 “ turn to the true former splendour of *Uniformity*, *Devotion*, and *Holy*
 “ *Order*; the last whereof, for many years last past, had been much
 “ obscured by the dévices of some ill affected to it, where it had long
 “ stood from the very beginning of the Reformation, and through in-
 “ advertency of some in Authority in the Church under him.

LIB. IV.
 Anno Dom.
 1640.

p. 297.

Such were the Motives which induced his Majesty to grant this *Com-
 mission*, which was exceeding acceptable to the greatest and best affe-
 cted part of the whole *Assembly*, as being an evident demonstration of
 the trust and confidence which his *Majesty* had reposed in them. In a
 grateful acknowledgment whereof, for the support of his *Majesties* Royal
Estate, and the effectual furtherance of his most Royal and Extraordinary
Designs abroad, they gave him six Subsidies, after the rate of four shil-
 lings in the pound, to be paid in the six years then next following, by
 two equal parts or moyeties in every year; appointing a *Committee* to
 put the Grant into form, and make it ready for a *Confirmation* by *Act* of
Parliament. But the first thing in which they acted by this *Commission*, was
 the tendring of a *Canon* to them by the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, For sup-
 pressing the further growth of *Popery*, and reducing *Papists* to the *Church*;
 with *Order* to the *Prolocutor* and inferior *Clergy*, to enlarge and per-
 fect it as to them seemed most conducive to the end desired: But after-
 ward considering how much it might redound to his *estimation*, that the
 said *Canon* should proceed intirely from himself alone, here called the
 Paper into his own hands; and after some time of deliberation, return-
 ed it back unto the *Clergy* in the very same words in which it passed.

By which so framed and enlarged, it was Ordained, That all and
 every Person or Persons, of what Rank soever, having and exer-
 cising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as also all Persons entrusted with
 Cure of Souls, should use respectively all possible care and diligence,
 by open Conferencies with the Parties, and by Censures of the
 Church in inferiour and higher Courts, as also be by Complaints unto
 the Secular Power, to reduce all such to the Church of *England*, who
 were misled into *Popish* Superstition. Those publick Conferencies to
 be managed by the Bishop in person (if his Occasion will permit it)
 or by some one or more Learned Men of his especial appointment.
 The time and place of such Conferencies, with the Names of the Per-
 sons to be admitted to the same, to be of the Bishops nomination.
 Such *Papists* as refuse to appear, at any of the said Conferencies to
 be counted obstinate; and such Ministers as should refuse to act there-
 in, without a reasonable Cause approved by the Bishop, to be Suspen-
 ded for six Months: Provided, That the place appointed for the said
 Conferencies, be not distant above ten miles from their dwelling houses:
 That in such case Conferencies produce not the effect desired, all

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1640.



Ecclesiastical Persons shall then be careful to inform themselves of all Recusants, above the age of 12 years, in their several Parishes, as well concerning their not coming to the Church, as their resorting to other places to hear Mass; of all such as be active in seducing the Subjects from coming to Church, and dissuading them from taking the Oath of *Allegiance*; the Names of all such to be presented, that being cited, and found obstinate, they might be publickly Excommunicated, as well in the Cathedral as their Parish Churches. The like course to be also taken by the Diocesans, in places of exempt Jurisdiction, and the Offenders to be turned over to the *High-Commission*. That the Names of all such as are presented in any Inferiour Jurisdiction, be transmitted within six Months to the Diocesans, by them to be returned, together with the Names of such as have been presented in their own Visitations, to his Majesties Justices of Assize in their several Circuits. And the same course to be also taken in returning the Names of all such persons as have been either Married or Buried, or have had their Children Christned in any other form, than according to the Rules of the Church of *England*; to the intent they may be punished according to the Statutes in that behalf. That Information be given by all Churchwardens upon their Oaths, what persons are employed as Schoolmasters in *Recusants* Houses; to the end that if they have not or will not subscribe, they may be forbidden and discharged from teaching Children any longer: And the Names of all Persons which entertain such Schoolmasters, to be certified at the next Assizes. Such Schoolmasters to incur the publick Censure of the Church, as do not carefully instruct the Children committed to them, in the publick Catechism; and the Names of such Parents, as either thereupon shall take away their said Children, or otherwise send them to be educated beyond the Seas, to be presented upon Oath at the Visitations, and certified also to the said Justices, as before is said, that the said Parents may be punished according to the Law: The said Certificate to be presented to the Judges by the Bishops Registers, immediately on the Reading of the Commission, or at the end of the Charge, upon pain of Suspension for three Months from their several Offices: The said Judges and Justices being entreated and exhorted, not to fail of putting the said Laws in execution; and not to admit of any vexatious Suit or Suits, against any Churchwardens, or other sworn Officers, for doing their duty in this kind: That a *Significavit* be made in *Chancery* by all the several Bishops, of the Names of all such persons as have stood Excommunicated beyond the time limited by the Laws, desiring that the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo* may be issued against them *ex Officio*. And finally, That no person or persons subject to the said Writ, shall be Absolved by virtue of an Appeal into any Ecclesiastical Court, till they have first taken in their own persons the usual Oath *De parendo juri, & stando mandatis Ecclesie*; With a Petition to his Majesty, in the Name of the Synod, to give command both to his Officers in *Chancery*, and the Sheriffs of the several Counties, for sending out and executing the said Writs from time to time, without any Charge to the Diocesans (whose

Estates

Estates it would otherwise much exhaust) as often as it should be desired of them. Such is the substance of this *Canon*, in laying down whereof I have been the more punctual and exact, that the equal and judicious Reader may the better see what point it was, which the Archbishop aimed at, from the first beginning of his Power and Government, as before was noted. In the mean time, whilst this *Canon* was under a Review, another ready drawn was tendred to the Prolocutor by the Clerk of *Westminster*, for the better keeping of the day of his Majesties most happy *Inauguration*: By which it was decreed, according to the Example of the most pious Emperours of the Primitive Times, and our own most Godly Kings and Princes since the Reformation, and the Form of Prayer already made, and by his Majesties Authority Appointed to be used on the said days of *Inauguration*, That all manner of persons within the Church of England, should from thenceforth celebrate and keep the morning of the said day, in coming diligently and reverently unto their Parish Church or Chappel at the time of Prayer, and there continue all the while that the Prayers, Preaching, or other Service of the day endureth: That for the better observing of the said day, two of the said Books should be provided at the Charge of each severall Parish, by the Churchwardens of the same; with an Injunction to all Bishops, Archdeacons, and other Ordinaries, to inquire into the premises at their Visitations, and punish such as are delinquent, as in case of such as absent themselves on the other Holy days.

Another *Canon* was brought in against *Socinianism*, by the spreading of which damnable and cursed *Herese*, much mischief had already been done in the Church: For the suppressing whereof, it was ordained by the *Synod* (after some explication and correction of the words and phrases,) “That no *Stationer*, *Printer*, or other person, should print, buy, sell, or disperse any Book, broaching or maintaining the said Abominable Doctrine or Positions, upon pain of Excommunication *ipso facto*, and of being proceeded against by his Majesties Attorney-General, on a Certificate thereof to be returned by the severall Ordinaries to their Metropolitan, according to the late Decree of *Star-Chamber* against Sellers of prohibited Books; That no Preacher should presume to vent any such Doctrine in any Sermon, under pain of Excommunication for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second: That no Student in either of the Universities, nor any person in Holy Orders, excepting Graduates in Divinity, or such as have Episcopal or Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, or Doctors of Law in Holy Orders, shall be suffered to have or read any *Socinian* Book or Discourse, under pain (if the Offender live in the University) that he shall be punished according to the strictest Statutes provided there against the publishing, reading, and maintaining of false Doctrines; or if he lived in the City or Country abroad, of a Suspension for the first Offence, Excommunication for the second, and Deprivation for the third, unless he should absolutely and *in terminis* abjure the same: That if any Lay-person should be seduced unto that Opinion, and be convicted of it, he should

LIB. IV.

Anno Domini

1640.

PART II. " should be Excommunicated, and not Absolved but upon due Re-
Anno Dom. " pentance and Abjuration, and that before his *Metropolitan*, or his
 1604. " own Bishop at least : With several Clauses for seizing and burning
 all such Books as should be found in any other hands than those before
 limited and expressed. Which severe course being taken by the *Con-*
vocation, makes it a matter of no small wonder, That *Cheynell* the
 Usufructuary of the rich Parsonage of *Petworth*, should impute the Rise
 and Growth of *Socinianism*, in a Pamphlet not long after Printed, un-
 to many of those who had been principal Actors in suppressing of those
 wicked and detestable *Hereses*. Another *Canon* was presented to the
Prolocutor, by one of the Members of that Body, advanced the next
 year to a higher Dignity; for Restraint of *sectaries* : By which it was
 decreed, " That all those Proceedings and Penalties which are men-
 " tioned in the *Canon* against *Popish Recusants*, so far forth as may be
 " applicable, should be in full force and vigour against all *Anabaptists*,
 " *Brownists*, *Seperatists*, *Familists*, or other Sect or Sects, Person or
 " Persons whatsoever, who do or shall either obstinately refuse : or
 " ordinarily, not having a lawful impediment (that is, for the space of
 " a Month) neglect to repair to their parish Churches or Chappels
 " where they inhabit, for the hearing of Divine Service established,
 " and receiving of the Holy Communion according to Law ; That
 " the Clause in the former *Canon* against Books of *Socinianism*, should
 " also extend to the Makers, Importers, Printers, and Publishers or Dis-
 " persers of any Book, Writing, or Scandalous Pamphlet, devised a-
 " gainst the Discipline and Government of the Church of *England* ;
 " and unto the Maintainers and Abettors of any Opinion of Doctrine
 " against the same. And finally, That all despisers and depravers of
 " the Book of Common-Prayer, who resorted not according to Law
 " to their Church or Chappel, to joyn in the Publick Worship of God
 " in the Congregation, contenting themselves with the hearing of
 " Sermons only, should be carefully inquired after, and presented to
 " their severall and respective Ordinaries ; The same Proceedings and
 " Penalties mentioned in the aforesaid *Canons*, to be used against them,
 " unless with one whole Month after they are first Denounced, they
 " shall make acknowledgment and Reformation of their fault.

So far the Bishops and Clergy had proceeded in the Work recom-
 mended to them, when the Parliament was most unhappily Dissolved :
 And possibly the Convocation had expired the next day also, accord-
 ing to the usual custom, if one of the Clergy had not made the Arch-
 bishop acquainted with a Precedent in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, for
 the granting a Subsidy or Benevolence by *Convocation*, to be Taxed
 and Levied by *Synodical Acts* and *Constitutions*, without help of the
 Parliament; directing to the Records of *Convocation* where it was to
 be found. Whereupon the *Convocation* was Adjourned from *Wed-*
nesday, till the *Friday* following, and then till the next day after, and
 so till *Monday*, to the great amazement of many of the Members of it,
 who expected to have been Dissolved when the Parliament was, ac-
 cording to that clause in the Commission aforesaid, by which it was
 restrained to the Time of the Parliament only. Much pains was taken
 by

by some of the Company, who had been studied in the Records of *L. I. B. IV.*
Convocation, in shewing the difference betwixt the Writ for calling a *Annus Dom.*
 Parliament, and that for assembling a *Convocation*; their different, *1640.*
 Forms, and the independence of the one upon the other: but more
 especially betwixt the Writ by which they were made a *Convocation*,
 and that *Commission* by which they were enabled to the making of
Canons; That though the *Commission* was expired with the Parlia-
 ment, yet the Writ continued still in force; and by that Writ they
 were to remain a *Convocation*, until they were dissolved by another.
 With which Distinction, the greatest part of those who before had
 scrupled at their Sitting, did appear well satisfied; but better satisfied
 on the *Munday*, by a Paper which was sent unto them from the Court.
 For the King being made acquainted with these scrupulosities, pro-
 posed the question on *Sunday May 10.* to the greatest Lawyers then
 about him, who gave their Judgment in these words, *viz. The Convo-*
cation called by the Kings Writ, is to be continued till it be dissolved by
the Kings Writ, notwithstanding the Dissolution of the Parliament. Sub-
 scribed by *Finch* Lord Keeper, *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton*
 Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, *Bancks* Attorney-General, *Whit-*
field and *Heath* two of his Majesties Counsel Learned in the Laws of
 this Land. Encouraged with which assurance, and Animated by a
 New Commission to remain in Force during the Pleasure of the King,
 they setled to their work again on *Wednesday* the thirteenth of that
 Month, but not without some trouble of mind in regard of the Appa-
 rent Danger which seemed to threaten them. The Archbishops house
 at *Lambeth* had been assaulted on *Munday* by a Rabble of *Anabaptists*,
Brownists, and other Sectaries, to the number of five hundred and up-
 wards, who seeing they could not force that house resolved to turn
 their fury on the *Convocation*. Of which his Majesty being informed,
 he caused a guard to be set about them consisting of some Companies
 of the Trained Bands of the County of *Middlesex* under the Com-
 mand of *Endymion Porter*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber;
 an honest man, and of good affections to the Church and his Majesties
 Service. To such extremities were the poor Clergy brought during
 these confusions; in danger of the Kings displeasure if they Rose, of
 the Peoples fury if they Sate; in danger of being beaten up by tu-
 mults, when they were at their work, of being beaten down by the
 following Parliament, when their work was done. But they went
 forward howsoever to the end of their journey, and did the business
 as they went, dispatching more work in so short a time then could be
 easily imagined.

Three things there were which *Canterbury* was to take special care of
 in reference to the Publick peace of the Church and State; That is to
 say, the Reparation of the breaches made in the *Regal*, and *Episcopal*
 Power by the late batteries of the *Scots*, and their adherents, on the
 commending of the Uniformity to all parts of the Kingdom, which
 had been happily begun in so many places. In reference to the first,
 some propositions touching the institution, Power and Priviledges of
 Sovereign Princes, were recommended to the consideration of the
 Pro-

PART II. Prolocutor and the Rest of the Clergy, by them to be corrected if they saw occasion; and being so corrected to pass into a Canon: The
Anno Dom. 1640. Propositions six in number, and were these that follow.

I. *The most High, and sacred Order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly established by Express Texts, both of the Old and the New Testaments. A Supreme Power is given to this most Excellent Order by God himself in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings should Rule; and Command in their several Dominions, all Persons of what Rank or Estate whatsoever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, and that they should Restrain and Punish with the Temporal Sword all Stubborn and wicked doers.*

II. *The care of Gods Church is so committed to Kings in Scripture, that they are commanded when the Church keeps the Right way, and taxed when it Runs Amiss; and therefore her Government belongs in Chief unto Kings: For otherwise one man would be commended for anothers care, and taxed but for anothers negligence, which is not Gods way.*

III. *The Power to Call and Dissolve Councils both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian Kings within their own Realms, and Territories. And when in the first time of Christs Church, Prelates used this Power, 'twas therefore only because in those days they had no Christian Kings, And it was then so only used as in time of persecution, that is, with supposition (in case it were required) of submitting their very lives, unto the very Laws and Commands, even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their Civil Government, which Christ came to confirm but by no means to undermine.*

IV. *For any Person or Persons to set up, maintain or avow in any the said Realms, or Territories Respectively, under any pretext whatsoever any Independent Co-active Power, either Papal or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their Great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow the Most sacred Ordinances which God himself hath established: And so it is Treasonable against God as well as against the King.*

V. *For Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, Offensive or Defensive upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to Resist the Powers which are ordained by God. And though they do not invade but only Resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, They shall receive to themselves damnation.*

VI. *And although Tribute, and Custom, and Aid, and Subsidies, and all manner of necessary Support, and Supply, be respectively due to Kings from their Subjects by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations for the Publick Defence, care and Protection of them: yet nevertheless Subjects have not only possession of, but a true and Just Right, Title, and Propriety, to, and in, all their Goods, and Estates, and ought for to have: And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the Honourable and Comfortable support of both. For as it is the duty of Subjects to supply their King; so is it part of the Kingly office to support his Subjects, in the Propriety and Freedom of their Estates.*

These Propositions being Read and Considered of, were generally
 pass

past and approved without contradiction, but that a little stop was made touching the Necessity of Aid and Subsidy to Kings from their Subjects, which some thought fitter to leave at large according to the Laws of several Countries then to entitle it to the Law of God, Nature and Nations: but after a very light dispute that clause was allowed of with the Rest, and a Canon presently drawn up by a ready hand, according to the Vote of the House to make them Obligatory to the Clergy in the course of their Ministries. The preamble which was sent with the Propositions, required them to be read distinctly and audibly by every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher upon some one Sunday in every Quarter of the year at Morning Prayer. And it was added by the Canons that if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, should Voluntarily or carelessly neglect his duty in publishing the said Explications and Conclusions according to the Order above prescribed, he should be suspended by his Ordinary till his Reformation; That all Bishops, Priests and Ministers, should Teach, Preach, and Exhort their People to Obey, Honour, and Serve their King; and that they presume not to speak of his Majesties Power, any other way then in the Canon is expressed; with reference to Excommunication, and a Suspension of two years for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second, to be inflicted by his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical upon all Persons whatsoever which in any Sermon, Lecture, Determination or Disputation should maintain any point of Doctrine, contrary to the said Propositions, and Explications.

In reference to the preservation of the Episcopal power, an Oath was drawn up in the Upper, and sent down to the Lower House of Convocation, by them to be debated, approved, and ratified upon Approbation; Which Oath was required to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, before the second day of November then next following to be tendered in the presence of a publick Notary, to all Priests and Deacons by the Bishop in person, or his Chancellor or some grave Divines named and appointed by the Bishop under his Episcopal Seat. In the first words of the Oath as it came from the Lords, it was expressed in these words, that every man should Swear to the *Doctrine and Discipline established in the Church of England*. And this occasioned some dispute, concerning the extent of the word Discipline, whither it comprehended the *Episcopal Government*, and the publick Forms of Divine Worship; or was to be restrained only to the use of the Keys, as it was practiced in Ecclesiastical Courts. Some would have had the words run thus, *I. A. B. do swear that I approve the Doctrines, Discipline, or Government established, &c.* But against this it was objected, First, That the Government of the Church was sufficiently provided for by the following clause, in which there was an especial Enumeration of all Offices impowred in the Government of the Church; and it was incongruous to make that Discipline and Government to be the same, and that Government should be said to contain all things, or any thing which was necessary to salvation. And they that thus objected, would have

PART II. had it pass in these words, *viz.* I approve the Doctrine, Discipline, and
 Anno Dom. Forms of Worship established in the Church of England, as containing all
 1640. things necessary unto salvation. Which though it seemed, more plau-
 sible and intelligible then the other was; yet being put unto the vote,
 it was carried for Discipline or Government, under pretence of not
 clogging the Oath with things unnecessary and such as might be made
 capable of a variation. According to which Vote the Canon was
 drawn up with this title, *viz.* An Oath enjoyned for the preventing of all
 Innovations in Doctrine and Government; and the Oath it self enjoyned
 in this form following, that is to say, I. A. B. Do swear that I do Ap-
 prove the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church
 of England; as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I
 will not endeavour by my self or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring
 in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established. Nor will
 I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbi-
 shops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. As it stands now established,
 and as by Right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpa-
 tions and Superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do
 plainly and seriously acknowledge, and swear, according to the plain and
 Common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivo-
 cation; or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I
 do heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Christian, So help me
 God in Jesus Christ.

The Oath being past, the Canon was drawn up by the former hand
 according to such Instructions as were sent along with it. By which
 it was required that all Masters of Art, (the Sons of Noblemen only
 excepted) all Bachelors or Doctors in Divinity, Law or Physick, all
 that are licensed to practice Physick, all Registers Actuaries, and
 Proctors, all School-masters, all such as being Natives or Naturalized,
 do come to be incorporated into the Universities here, having taken
 any Degree in any Foreign University should be bound to take the
 said Oath; the same Oath to be Administred to all such of the persons
 abovenamed residing in any University, by the Governours of their
 severall Houses; and by the Bishop Respectively, to all which should
 from thenceforth be admitted to *holy Orders*, or receive any Instituti-
 on, Collation, or License for the serving of any cure: with severall
 Penalties to all Beneficed Parsons, and all such as were then in any
 Ecclesiastical dignity, for their refusal of the same; that is to say, a
 suspension *ab officio* for the first Refusal, *à beneficio & officio*, for the
 second, and Deprivation for the third, a Months deliberation being
 granted betwixt each Refusal.

These two great matters being thus concluded, A message is deli-
 vered by the Prolocutor from the house of Bishops, by which the
 Clergy were desired to consider of the best expedient for inducing an
 Uniformity in the Church about the situation of the Lords Table, the
 Receiving of the blessed Sacrament, and the due Reverence to be used
 in the house of God, and to prepare a Canon to that purpose if they
 found it necessary. On the Receiving of which message a grand
 Committee was selected out of the Ablest men of the House, to take
 that

that great and weighty business into consideration, and to Report LIB. IV. unto the House whatsoever they should do therein, that it might Anno Dom. pass or be rejected as the House thought fit. The Committee consisted of twenty seven, the Prolocutor being reckoned into the number, their meeting to be held the same afternoon in the Chappel of King Henry 7. Where being met, and sitting about the table provided for the use of the Bishops, the points were seriously debated, every man speaking his opinion in them when it came to his turn without interruption; beginning with the Prolocutor, and so proceeding from man to man till it concluded with the Clerk for the Church of *Westminster*; So placed of purpose that he might answer all such arguments; as had been brought against any of the points proposed, and were not answered to his hand. The Prolocutor having taken the sum of every mans Judgment, declared that the far Major part had appeared for placing the Lords Table where the Altar stood, the drawing near unto it to receive the Sacrament, and the making of due Reverences at the entering into the Church and going out of it; and thereupon put it to the question, whether they thought it convenient that a Canon should be prepared to that purpose or not? Which being carried in the affirmative, without any visible dissent, one of the Clerks for the Diocess of *Bristol* presented a Canon ready drawn for the same effect, but drawn in such a commanding, and imperious Style, that it was disliked by all the company but himself; and thereupon a Sub-committee was appointed to prepare the Canon, and make it ready with as much dispatch as they could conveniently. Which was no sooner agreed on, and the Committee continued for some following business; but the Archdeacon of *Huntington* who was one of the number, made his first appearance, so extremely discontented that he was not stayed for, and that the business was concluded before he came, and earnestly pressing the Prolocutor, that the debate might be Resumed, or at the least his Reasons might be heard against the Vote: which when the Prolocutor upon very good Reasons had refused to yield to, he fell upon him with such heats, and used him so exceeding courly; that on complaint made thereof and of some other intervening harshness, made by the Prolocutor in a full House of the Clergy, he was ordered by the far Major part to quit the House, though afterwards Restored again on the acknowledgment of his Error, when his heats were down. Which Rub removed, the Canon went very smoothly on without opposition, commended Generally for the Modesty and Temper of it; in which Respect I hold it worthy to be presented to the Reader in its full proportion, without any Abbreviation of it as of those before.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1640.

A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

BEcause it is generally to be wished, that Unity of Faith were accompanied with Uniformity of practice in the outward Worship and Service of God; chiefly for the avoiding the groundless suspicion of those who are weak, and the malicious Aspersions of the professed enemies of our Religion; the one, fearing Innovations; the other, flattering themselves with a vain hope of our back-sliding unto their Popish Superstition by reason of the situation of the Communion-Table, and the approaches thereunto, the Synod declareth as followeth: That the standing of the Communion-Table side-way under the East Window of every Chancel or Chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction; and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from the gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided, that all means should be used to root out of the Minds of the People both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, that the holy Table should stand in that place where the Altar stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality or just suspicion of Popish Superstition or Innovation. And therefore We judge it fit and convenient that all Churches and Chappels, do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law during the time of the Administration of the holy Communion. And We declare, that this situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: But it is and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.

Can. 7.

And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing at, and others sitting under the Communion-Table in the time of Divine Service; For the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, that the said Communion-Table in all Churches or Chappels be decently severed with Rails to preserve them from such or worse profanations.

And because the Administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the service-Book, established by Act of Parliament, Draw near, &c. that all communicants with an humble reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy Table, there to receive the divine mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the Minister, unless it should be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, By the

Bishop

Bishop himself in his Jurisdiction; and other Ordinaries respectively in theirs. LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1640.

And lastly, whereas the Church is the House of God, dedicated to his holy Worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of his divine Majesty; certain it is, that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in it self, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, & heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, Members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeysance both at their coming in and going out of the said Churches, Chancels, or Chappels, according to the most antient custom of the Primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the Reign of Q. Eliz. The receiving thereof of this antient and laudable Custom we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good People, not with any intention to exhibit any Religious Worship to the Communion-Table, the East, or Church, or anything therein contained, in so doing; or to perform the said Gesture in the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of the Corporal presence of the Body of Christ on the holy Table, or in the mystical Elements: but only for the advancement of Gods Majesty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwise. And in the practice or omission of this Rite we desire that the Rule of Charity, prescribed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, That they which use this Rite, despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.

No sooner was this Declaration passed, and sent up to the Lords, but on the same day, or the next, an Address was made to the Prolocutor by the Clerk for Westminster concerning the confusion which hapned in most parts of the Church for want of one uniform body of Articles to be used in Visitations; those of the Bishop many times thwarting the Archdeacons: one Bishops differing from anothers, the Successors from his Predecessors; and the same person not consistent to the same Articles which himself had published. By means whereof the people were much disturbed, the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity, unknown by reason of their uncertainty, and despised for the inconstancy of them that made them. Of all which he desired the Convocation to provide a remedy, by setting out one Uniform Book of Articles to be the standing Rule of all Visitations for the time to come. The motion pleased the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Clergy; who thereupon desired him (in pursuit of his own project) to undertake the compiling of the said Book of Articles, and to present it to the House with convenient speed. Which notwithstanding, there wanted not some secret practices to illude the motion, and frustrate the design, approved of by the general Vote. Some who observed the moderation of the Articles which had been drawn for the Metropolitanical Visitation, and finding them to leave a greater liberty about placing the Communion-Table, and the order of officiating the Divine Service, than the new Articles might allow of, address them-

PART II.

Ann. Dom.

1604.

Can. 9.

Can. 10.

themselves unto his Grace, desiring that those Articles might be commended to the Convocation, to be a standing Rule for all Visitations in the times succeeding; which Proposition was thought to relish well enough with him at the first proposal, though afterwards on further consideration he suffered the business to proceed in the former course. It was not long before another *Canon* was tendred to the Prolocutor for advancing a more general Conformity than that which was contained in the Declaration. And it was tendred by the same hand which had before presented that against *Sectaries*; in reference to whom it passed without opposition or alteration. “It was enjoyed by that

“Canon under pain of suspension, that all Preachers, as well benefited men as others, should positively and plainly Preach and instruct the People in their publick Sermons that the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in the Church of *England* were lawful and commendable; and that the People ought not only to conform themselves to those *Rites* and *Ceremonies*: but chearfully to submit themselves unto the Government of the Church, as it was then established under his Majesty. Another was brought in, but by whom I know not, “Concerning the *Conversation of the Clergie*, by which it was desired in compliance to the ancient Canons of the Church, and in particular to Canon 74, 75: of the year 1603. That all Clergymen in this Church, setting before their eyes the glory of God, the holiness of their Calling, and the edification of the People committed to them, should carefully avoid all excess and disorders, that by their Christian and Religious Conversation they might shine forth, as lights unto others; in all godliness and honesty; and that all those to whom the Government of the Church was committed should set themselves to countenance and encourage Godliness, Gravity, Sobriety, and all unblamable Conversation in the Ministers of it; and diligently labour by the due execution of the Canons aforesaid, and all other Ecclesiastical Provisions made for that end, to reform all offensive and scandalous persons which were in the Ministry. Which Canon was so well approved of, that it past without any stop or resistance.

All matters going thus calmly on, the Clergy began to take into consideration the great excesses, and abuses, which were complained of in many Offices of Ecclesiastical Courts. They found the Exorbitances of the Chancellors to be grown so great, that they contemned the lower Clergy, and thought themselves independent of the Bishops under whom they served. They found that many abuses had been committed in the Sentences of Excommunication and Absolution, (the slovenly executing whereof had been very offensive) as also in Commutation of Penance, and conniving at unlawful Marriages, out of which some Officers in those Courts raised no small advantage; Complaint was also made of some oppressions which had been laid upon the Subject, by concurrent Jurisdictions partly, and partly by vexatious Citations, in which nothing was more aimed at, than the Officers Fees which must be paid, though nothing could be proved against the Party when he came before them. The consideration and redress of all which grievances being referred to the Committee of twenty six, the

the said Committee was desired by the Prolocutor to hold their meetings in his house, situate under the North-side of the Abbey-Church, and therefore most convenient both for himself and them. The Grievances were great, and yet not greater than the Clamour which was raised about them, which made the Committee very intent upon the stilling of the noise; by providing better for themselves, their Brethren, and the rest of the Subjects: but not without all due respect to the Professors in that honourable Faculty of the *Civil Laws*. Lamb Dean of the Arches, and Heath Judge of the *Audience*, being both Members of the Convocation, were taken into that Committee; not only to assist their Consultations in point of Law: but to moderate the fervor of their Proceedings by the Fan of Reason. The whole Reformation brought within the compass of these seven Canons: 1. Concerning *Chancellors Patents*. 2. *Chancellors not alone to censure any of the Clergie in sundry cases*. 3. *Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a PRIEST*. 4. *Concerning Commutations, and the disposing of them*. 5. *Touching current Jurisdictions*. 6. *Concerning Licenses to marry*. 7. *Against vexatious Citations*.

In the first of the seven it was required, "That no Bishop should grant any Patent to any Chancellor, Commissary, or Official, for any longer time than the life of the Grantee only; That in all such Patents the Bishops should reserve to themselves and their Successors the power of giving institution to Benefices, of giving Licenses to teach School or Preach, as also of exercising their Jurisdiction, either alone, or with the Chancellor, at his own discretion, all the accustomed Fees to be reserved unto the Chancellor, &c. as in former times; That no Dean and Chapter should confirm any Patent to any Chancellor, &c. wherein the said conditions were not exprest, under pain of Suspension to be inflicted on them severally by their Metropolitan; And finally, That under the heaviest Censures no reward should be taken for any of the Offices and Places abovementioned. In the composition of which Canon, as the first branch was made to cut off Reversions, so was the last added to prevent corruptions; For he most commonly sells Justice that hath bought his Office. In the second it was ordered, That no Chancellor, Commissary, or Official, unless he be in Holy Orders, should proceed to Suspension, or any higher Censure against any of the Clergy in any criminal cause other than neglect of appearance upon legal Citing: but that all such cases should be heard by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of his Chancellor, or Commissary, or if the Bishops occasions will not permit, then by his Chancellor, or Commissary, and two grave dignified or beneficed Ministers of the Diocess to be assigned by the Bishop, under his Episcopal Seal, who shall hear and censure the said cause in that Consistory. By the third it was ordained, That no Excommunications or Absolutions should be good or valid in Law except they be pronounced either by the Bishop in person, or by some other in holy Orders having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister beneficed in the Diocess, being a Master of Arts at least, and appointed by the Bishop, the name of the

LIB. IV.

Anno Dom.

1640.

Can. 11.

Can. 12.

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PART II. " the said Priest or Minister being expressed in the Instrument under
Ann. Dom. " the Seal of the Court; And that no such Minister should pronounce
 1640. " any such Sentence but in open Consistory, or at least in some Church
 ~~~~~ " or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving and taking Absolution up-  
 " on his knees. By the fourth it was provided, That no Chancellor,  
 " &c. should have power to commute any Penance in whole or in part,  
*Can. 14.* " but either together with the Bishop in person, or with his privity in  
 " writing; That if he do it by himself, he should give up a full and just  
 " account of such Commutations once every year at *Michaelmas* to  
 " the Bishop, under pain of being suspended from his Jurisdiction for  
*Can. 15.* " the space of a year; the said Commutations to be disposed of by the  
 " Bishop and Chancellor in such charitable and pious uses as the Law  
 " requires; and that Commutation to be signified to the place from  
 " whence the complaint proceeded, in case the crime were publickly  
 " complained of, and approved notorious.

For preventing those vexations and inconveniencies which former-  
 ly had been occasioned by concurrent Jurisdications, It was decreed  
 by the fifth Canon, under the several penalties therein contained;  
 " That no Register or Clerk should give, nor Apparitor execute a Ci-  
 " tation upon any Executor to appear in any Court or Office till ten  
 " days after the Death of the Testator; And that nevertheless it  
 " might be lawful for any Executor to prove such Wills when they  
 " think good, within the said ten days before any Ecclesiastical Judge  
 " respectively, to whose Jurisdiction the same might or did appertain.

*Can. 16.*

By the sixth it was ordained for the better preventing of any fur-  
 " ther invasions to be made on the Prerogative of the See of *Canter-*  
 " *bury*, and of many other inconveniencies which did thence arise;  
 " no License of Marriage should be granted from any Ordinary, in  
 " whose Jurisdiction one of the parties hath not been Commorant for  
 " the space of a month, immediately before the same shall be desired,  
 " under pain of such Censure as the Archbishop should think fit to in-  
 " flict; And that the said Parties being commorant in the said Jurif-  
 " diction, as before is said, shall be made one of the Conditions of the  
 " Bond accustomedly given for securing that Office. And for pre-  
 " venting of vexatious Citations for the time to come, it was required  
 " by the last *Canon*, That no Citation should from thenceforth be  
 " issued out of any Ecclesiastical Court, except it be upon Present-  
 " ment, but such as should be sent forth under the Hand and Seal of  
 " the *Chancellor*, within thirty days after the fault committed; the  
 " Return thereof to be made on the first or second Court-day after  
 " the serving of the same: And that the Party so cited, not being con-  
 " vinced by two Witnesses, on his denial of the Fact by his corporal  
 " Oath, should be forthwith dismissed without any payment of Fees.  
 " Provided, That this Decree extend not to any grievous Crime; as  
 " Schism, Incontinence, Misbehaviour at the Church in the time of  
 " Divine Service, obstinate Inconformity, or the like. Finally, For  
 " preventing all unnecessary Tautologies and Repetitions of the same  
 " thing, it was declared once for all, " That whatsoever had been de-  
 " clared in the former Canons, concerning the Jurisdiction of the  
 " *Bishops*;



“ *Bishops, their Chancellors, or Commissaries,* should be in force (as far  
 “ as by Law it was appliable) concerning all *Deans, Deans and Chap-* LIB. IV.  
 “ *ters, Collegiate Churches, Archdeacons,* and all in Holy Orders, ha- Anno Dom.  
 “ ving exempt of peculiar Jurisdiction, and their several Officers re- 1640.  
 “ spectively. 

To the Proceedings of this Committee in digesting these *Canons*, the interposing of another business gave no stop at all, though it seemed to be of more weight then all the rest. His Majesty on the twentieth of *May* directed his Letters sealed with his Royal Signet, and attested by his Sign Manual, to the Bishops and Clergy assembled in *Convocation*, Requiring and thereby Authorising them to proceed in making *synodical Constitutions*, for Levying the six *Subsidies* formerly Granted. This the most easie Task of all. The Grant of the six *Subsidies* had been drawn before; and there was nothing now to be altered in it, but the changing of the name of *Subsidy* into that of *Benevolence*, according to the Advice of the Council-Learned; by whom it was resolved, That no Moneys could be raised in the name of a *Subsidy*, but by Act of Parliament. And for the *synodical Acts* or *Constitutions* for the Levying of it, they were made to their hands; So that there was nothing left for them to do, but to follow the Precedent which was laid before them out of the Record of *Convocation*, Anno 1585. and to transcribe the same (the names and Sums being only changed) without further trouble. So that it was dispatched by the *Committee*, Voted by the *Clergie*, and sent up to the *Bishops* before the end of the next day. Nor did the framing or compiling of the Book of *Articles*, give any stop at all to him, to whom the digesting of them was committed, from attending the Service of the *Committee* and the House upon all occasions; though for the better Authorising of them he had placed in the Margin before every *Article*, the *Canon, Rubrick, Law, Injunction*, or other Authentick Evidence upon which it was grounded. Which being finished in good time was by him openly read in the House, and by the House approved and passed without alteration: but that an Exegetical or Explanatory Clause, in the fourth *Article* of the fourth *Chapter*, touching the Reading of the Second or *Communion-Service* at the *Lords Table*, was desired by some to be omitted, which was done accordingly; Which *Articles* being too many and too long to be here inserted, the Reader may consult in the Printed Book, first published for the Visitation of the Bishop of *London*, and by him fitted in some points for the use of that Diocess. The said Clerk brought a *Canon* also with him, “For enjoying the said Book to be only used  
 “ in all *Parochial Visitations*, for the better settling of an Uniformity  
 “ in the outward Government and Administration of the Church,  
 “ and for the preventing of such just Grievances, which might be laid  
 “ upon Churchwardens and other sworn men, by any impertinent,  
 “ inconvenient, or illegal *Inquiries* in the *Articles* for *Ecclesiastical*  
 “ *Visitations*: The same to be deposited in the Records of the Arch-  
 “ bishop of *Canterbury*. To which a Clause was added in the House  
 “ of Bishops, giving a Latitude to themselves for adding some *Arti-*  
 “ *cles* peculiar to their several Jurisdictions, for the space of three years;

PART II. "The same to be allowed by their *Metropolitan*: And afterwards to content themselves with the said *Articles*, so enlarged and accommodated, for all times succeeding.

Anno Dom.

1640.

Some other things there were in Proposition and Design, that never ripened into Act or Execution. There had been a Design in deliberation, touching the drawing and digesting of an *English Pontifical*, to be approved by this *Convocation*, and tendred to his Majesties Confirmation. Which said *Pontifical* was to contain the form and manner of his Majesties late Coronation, to serve for a perpetual standing Rule on the like occasions; Another form to be observed by all Archbishops and Bishops, for Consecrating Churches, Church-yards, and Chapels; and a third for Reconciling such *Penitents* as either had done open *Penance*, or had Revolted from the Faith to the Law of *Muomet*. Which three, together with the form of *Confirmation*, and that of *Ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, which were then in force, were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the Troubles of the Time growing greater and greater, it was thought expedient to defer the Prosecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. Many had took exception against the tying up of Preachers to the Form of Prayer appointed to be used before their Sermons, *Can. 55*. For whose Relief therein, a short Prayer was drawn, containing all the Heads of that in the *Canon*: And being so drawn up, it was to have been tendred by the hands of one of the *Clergie*, who would have undertaken that it should be universally received by all those which dislike the other. But the Archbishop chose rather to adhere to the *Canon*, than to venture on any new Experiment; that *Canon* being founded on the *Injunctions* of *Queen Elizabeth* and *King Edward vi.* at the first Reformation. And so the Proposition fell without moving further. *Gryffith* a Clerk for one of the *Welsh* Diocesses, a moderate and sober man, proposed unto the House, That a new Edition might be made of the *Welsh* Church-Bible, the old one being corrupt in some places and defective in others, which he instanced in. The Motion well aproved by the *Clergie*, and by the House of Bishops committed to the care of the four *Welsh* Bishops; of whose proceeding in the Work, by reason of the following Troubles, there was little hope. Nor did the Archbishop speed much better in a Motion of his, which was, That his Majesty might be moved for the new Printing of the *Common-Prayer Book* in the *Latin* Tongue, to the end (though I cannot positively say that he expressed so much at that time) that it might be used in all *Colledges* and *Halls*, in Officiating the *Morning-Prayer*, at which none are bound to be present, but such as are presumed to understand the Language. For doing whereof, he conceived he had good ground in the first *Rubricks* after the *Preface* to the *Common-Prayer Book*; in which it is declared, *That though it be appointed in the aforesaid Preface, that all things should be Read and Sung in the English Tongue, to the end that the Congregation may be thereby Edified: yet it is not meant, but when men say Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may say the same in any Language that they themselves do understand.* And he had also the constant example of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon.*

in which the first *Morning-Prayers* were continually Officiated in the *Latin Tongue*, for the *Prebends, Students*, and others of the Foundation; and at the Cathedral-hours, in the *English* only, for Instruction and Devotion of the *Choir-men, Alms-men, Servants*, and all others which resort unto them.

It is a matter which deserves no small Admiracion, That these *Canons* (like the first building of the Temple, without the noise of Ax and Hammer) should pass the House with such a general calm and quiet, and be received with so many Storms and Tempests when they went abroad. The very sitting of the *Convocation* condemned for an illegal Act; as if it were a Crime to outlive the Parliament. And much sport made by ignorant and malicious men, touching the Metamorphosis of an old *Convocation*, into a new *Synod*, as they scoffed it; which hath sufficiently been answered in that before. The whole Body of the *Canons* Voted by the House of Commons in the following Parliament, *to be against the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and to tend to Faction and Sedition*; which shall be answered as sufficiently in that which follows. The seven last passionately opposed by *Martin*, and some other Ecclesiastical Judges, before they passed the *Royal Assent*, as tending to the visible discouragement, if not the plain overthrow of their Profession. To which it was answered by the Archbishop, and the Council too, That nothing but their Excrecences and Exorbitances, were by those *Canons* pared away; all their Preferments, with the Profits and Lawful Fees which belonged unto it, remaining as before they were. Yet the *Civilians* made not so much noise as some *Common Lawyers*, who looked upon the Granting of a Benevolence by *Convocation*, and the Levying of it by *Synodical Acts* and *Constitutions*, as being an Incroachment on the Priviledges and Rights of Parliament, without the Midwifery whereof, the *Clergie* could Enact no *Canons* to bind the Subjects, in such Pecuniary Payments as were laid upon them. Which were it so, and that the *Clergie* could not give away their own without leave from others, they must needs be the greatest Slaves the Sun ever shined on: Whereas in truth, the *Clergie* in *Convocation* have as much power to give away the mony of the *Clergie* by whom they are chosen to that Employment; as the Commons in Parliament have to command the mony of the Cities, Towns, and Counties for which they serve. For in the choosing of the Clerks for the *Convocation*, there is an Instrument drawn and sealed by the *Clergie*, in which they bind themselves to the *Archdeacon* or *Archdeacons* of their severall Diocesses, upon pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, to allow, stand to, and perform whatsoever their said Clerks or Proctors shall say, do, or condescend to on their behalf, Greater Authority than this, as the Commons have not; so why the *Clergie* in the *Convocation* should not make use of this Authority as they see occasion, I can find no reason. Nor is it a speculative Authority only, and not reducible unto Practice; an Authority which was then in force, but not in use, as is distinguished in some Cases. They had a Precedent for it in Queen *Elizabeths* time,

L I B. IV.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.

Hist. K. Ch.  
by H. L. p.  
208.

Se ratum,  
gratum &  
acceptum  
habere, quic-  
quid dicti  
Procuratores  
constituerint:  
fecerint, vel  
sui dixerint,

PART II. as before was noted : not then beheld as an Inroad on the Right  
*Anno Dom.* of Parliaments. But then was then, and now is now ; the change of  
 1640. Times (without any alteration of the Laws) diversifying the same  
 Action into good and bad.

But nothing raised so much noise and clamour, as the Oath required by the sixth *Canon* ; Exclaimed against both from the *Pulpit* and the *Press* ; Reproached in Printed Pamphlets, and Unprinted Scribbles ; and glad they were to find such an excellent Advantage, as the discovering of an *&c.* in the Body of it, did unhappily give them. This voiced abroad to be the greatest *Mystery of Iniquity* which these last Ages had produced, containing in it so much of the *Depths of Satan* ; that as no man could see the bottom of the Iniquity : so neither they that made the Oath, nor they that were to take it, understood the Mystery. But unto this it hath been answered, as unto the fact, That in all the *Canons* which were made before this being five in number) there was a particular enumeration of all the persons, vested with any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction ; that is to say, *Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Deans and Chapters*, and other persons having peculiar or exempt Jurisdiction ; which having been repeated distinctly or particularly in such of the *Canons* as were first made, was in the first drawing of their Oath, for avoiding of a Tautologie so often iterated, cut off with this *&c.* with an intention nevertheless to make the Enumeration perfect (and consequently to expunge this unlucky *&c.*) before it came to be Engrossed. But the King being weary of the Charge and Clamour, which the keeping of a Guard on the *Convocation* did expose him to, did hasten them to a Conclusion by so many Messages brought by *Vane* and others, that in the haste this unlucky *&c.* was forgotten, and so committed to the Press accordingly. It hath been secondly answered, as in point of Reason, That the *&c.* as it stands in that part of the Oath, is so restrained and limited by the following words, *viz. as it stands now established*, that there can be no danger of any *Mystery of Iniquity* in it : So that in the Construction of this Text, the *&c.* as it now remains, is a meer impertinency : For being left in, it signifieth nothing, in the regard of the *restriction* following ; and being left out, the sense is currant and compleat without it. Which all those witty Gentlemen who so often spoke, and others of less wit and quality, which so frequently writ against this Oath, could not chuse but see : but that they were not willing to see any thing which might make against them. The Paramount Objection being thus refell'd, the rest which have been made against it will be easily satisfied. It hath been charged by some. That the exacting of an Oath not to consent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* is an affront to the Fundamental Rules of Civil Politie. To which it hath been answered, That it is indeed an affront to Government, not to submit or yield Obedience unto Civil Sanctions when made, and legally established : But it is no affront not to give consent to any such Establishments, while they are in Treaty ; for then the liberty of assenting or dissenting, of Yea or Nay, would be taken away from every Member in the Houses of Parliament,

liament, and every man must give *consent* to every Bill which is offered to him. But besides this, there were but few of the *Convocation* whose consent was likely to be asked, when any change of Church-Government should be set on foot; so that their dissenting or assenting was not much material: but only so far as by their readiness of consenting to such Innovations in the Publick Government, they might encourage others to proceed against it. Here then is no affront to Government, much less to the Fundamentals of it; the Oath not binding any man not to yield Obedience, but not to give consent to such Alteration. As for the last Objection, That he who takes the Oath declares therein, *That he takes it willingly*, being constrained so to do under grievous Penalties. This as it comes last, is the least considerable; for if this were a Crime in the *Convocation*, it was such a Crime as the high Court of Parliament hath been guilty of, in drawing up the Oath of Allegiance in the third year of King *James*; in which the Party is to swear, That he makes *that Recognition* not only *heartily* and *truly*, but also *willingly*: and yet the taking of that Oath, is imposed on all the Subjects, under several Penalties, if any of them shall refuse it.

And yet these Quarrels at the Oath, the Unparliamentary Levying of the said Benevolence, and the pretended Illegality of their very Sitting after the Parliament expired, were but the out-sides of the business, but only colours and disguises to conceal the chief cause of their displeasure from the publick view. Somewhat there was which galled them more than all these together; that is to say, the *Propositions* for asserting the *Regal Power*, making it absolute and independent with reference both to *Pope* and *People*, to the great discontent and trouble of the Popular Party, since better known by the name of *Commonwealths-men*. Which since the *English* were not confident enough to speak out at first, we must take their meaning from the *Scots*, who in the Articles exhibited against our Archbishop by their Commissioners, have expressly charged them with this Crime, *viz. That he made Canons and Constitutions against them, their just and necessary defence; Ordaining under all highest Pain, That hereafter the Clergie should Preach four time in the year such Doctrine as was contrary not only to their Proceedings, but to the Doctrine and Proceedings of other Reformed Kirks, to the Judgment of all sound Divines and Politicks; as tending to the utter slavery and ruining of all Estates and Kingdoms, and to the dishonour of Kings and Monarch.* This the true cause of those high Displeasures, conceived by some prevailing Members of the House of Commons, and openly declared by their Words and Actions, branding those innocent *Canons* for a tendency to *Faction* and *Sedition*, which they most laboured to suppress; condemning all that Voted to them, in great sums of Money; and afterwards destroying them one by one, as they came in their way. Compared with this, neither the Benevolence, nor the Oath, nor any thing else before objected, was esteemed considerable; though all were joyned together to amuze the People, and make them fearful of some Plot, not only to subvert Religion, but their Civil Rights.

But the best is, that howsoever some few men for their private ends reproached

L. I. B. IV.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.

Cant. Doom.  
P. 56.

PART II. reproached these *Canons*, as before; his Sacred Majesty, the Lords of his most Honourable Privy-Council, the Reverend Judges, and the *Anno Dom.* Great Lawyers of the Council-Learned, conceived otherwise of them; *1640.*  
 in the hearing of all which they were publickly read by the Archbishops procurement, before they were tendred to the Clergy to be subscribed: and by all which they were approved, not without thanks to the Archbishop from the King himself, for his pains therein. And certainly it had been strange that they should pass the Approbation of the Judges and Learned Lawyers, had they contained any thing *against the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Property of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliaments*; or been approved by the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council, had any thing been contained in them derogatory to the Kings Prerogative, or tending to *Faction and sedition*. So far they were from being liable to Condemnation in those respects, that Justice *Crook* (whose Argument in the Case of Ship-money was Printed afterwards by Order from the House of Commons) is credibly affirmed to have lifted up his hands, and to have given hearty Thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to see so good Effects of a *Convocation*. On these Encouragements, and such a solemn Approbation, the Clergy were called up to the House of Bishops, to be present at the subscribing of them; which was accordingly performed *May 29.* by the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons in their Seniority, and promiscuously by the rest of the Clergy, till all the Members had Subscribed; every mans heart going together with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy Profession. Recusant there was none, but the Bishop of *Glocester*, suspected of some inclinations to the *Romish* Religion in the Times preceding; which inclinations he declared more manifestly by this Refusal; for which there could be no imaginable Reason to prevail upon him, but the severity of the *Canon* for suppressing the Growth of *Popery*. Some pains was taken with him in the way of perswasion, and some Commands laid on him by his Metropolitan, as President of the *Convocation*: But when neither of the two Endeavours could remove him from his former obstinacy, the Prolocutor and Clergy were required to return to their House again, and to consider of the Penalty which he had incurred; according to the Rules and Practice of the Catholick Church in National and Provincial Councils. Which being done, the Prolocutor had no sooner put the Question, but the Clergy unanimously condemned him to a Suspension *a Beneficio & Officio*; and found at their return, that the House of Bishops (who had had some speech thereof before) had pronounced the same Sentence against him also. A Sentence which might have produced more dangerous effects on this obstinate Prelate, if he had not prevented it in time by his submission: For the Sentence being reduced into Writing, subscribed by the Archbishops hand, and publickly pronounced in the *Convocation*, his Majesty took such just offence at so great a scandal, that he committed him to Prison, where he staid not long; for on the tenth of *July* he made acknowledgment of his fault before the Lords of the Council; and took the Oath enjoyned in the sixth *Canon*, for preserving the Doctrines

ctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, against all *Papists* L I B. IV. Doctrines which were thereunto repugnant. Upon the doing whereof, his Majesty was graciously pleased to restore him to his former Liberty; though this Submission appeared within few years after; to be made either with some mental Reservation, or Jesuitical Equivocation, which he came prepared with. For in the time of his last Sickness, he declared himself to be a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and caused it so to be expressed in his last Will and Testament, that the news thereof might spread the further, and his Apostacy stand upon Record to all future Ages. A Scandal so unseasonably given, as if the Devil himself had watched an opportunity to despise this Church.

But these things hapned not till after. The Sentence of Suspension was no sooner pronounced, but the Archbishop giving great thanks to the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy for their pains and diligence, in doing so much Work in so little time, produced his Majesties Writ for dissolving the said *Convocation*; which he accordingly executed, and dissolved the same. The Acts whereof being transmitted unto *York*, were by the *Convocation* for that Province perused, debated, and approved without any disputing; and so presented to his Majesty with their Names subscribed, according to the antient Custom. There remained now nothing more to do, for giving these *Canons* the Authority and Reputation of his Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws, but the signifying of his Royal Assent, and confirming them by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*. And this his Majesty, upon mature deliberation, was graciously pleased to do, commanding in the same, *That they should be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all his Subjects, both within the Provinces of Canterbury and York respectively: That for the better observation of them, all Ministers should audibly and distinctly read all the said Canons in the Church or Chappel in which they Minister, at the time of Divine Service; The Book of the said Canons to be provided before Michaelmas, at the charge of their Parishes: And finally, That all Archbishops and Bishops, and others having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall take special care that the said Canons and Ordinances be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall wittingly or wilfully break or neglect to observe the same, as they tendred the honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and their Duties and Service to his Majesty their King and Sovereign.* With which his Majesties Letters Patents, bearing date on *June 13.* confirmatory of the Acts of the said *Convocations*, I conclude the fourth and busiest part of this present History.

1872

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THE  
L I F E

O F

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

LIB. V.

Extending from the end of the Convocation, Anno 1640. till  
the day of his Death, Jan. 10<sup>th</sup> 1644.

**T**Hus have we brought this Renowned Prelate, and with him the Church unto the very Battlement and Pinnacle of External Glories. But such is the vicissitude of humane affairs, that being carried to the height they begin to fall; it being no otherwise with the fortunes of States or Men, then it is with Plants, which have their times of taking Root, their Growing, Flourishing Maturity, and then their Fading, and decay. And therefore it was very well observed by *Paterculus*, an old *Roman* Historian, that when either Emulation or natural Courage had given to any man an edge to ascend to the highest, after they had (a) attained that height, they were according to the course of Nature to descend again; and that it was no otherwise (b) with States and Nations then with Private men. It was just fourscore years from the beginning of the *Reformation* under Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Pacification made at *Berwick*, when the King so unfortunately dismiss his Forces, and thereby left himself and his party in a worse condition then before the raising of his Army. The Church till then might seem

Anno Domini  
1640.

(a) Naturaliter quod procedere non potest, recedit. Vell. Pat. Hist. Lib. 1.

(b) Gentium, urbium, ut vicrorum nunc foret fortuna, nunc senescit; aliquando interis. Ibid.

PART II. to be in the *Ascendant* in the point of *Culminating*; and was then  
*Anno Dom.* ready to decline, which our *Judicious Hooker (c)* had before presaged :  
 1640. Who had assigned her fourscore years for her growth and flourishing,  
 and nothing afterwards but sorrow and disconsolation. For taking  
 notice of the inclination of the times to *Sacrilege*, and *Spoil* and  
*(c) Ecclesiast.* *Rapine*; and finding nothing more frequent in the mouths of men,  
*Polit. Lib. 5.* then this, “ that they which endowed Churches with Lands poisoned  
*Seft. 79.* “ Religion, that Tithes and Oblations are now in the sight of God but  
 “ as the sacrificed blood of Goats; and that fulness of bread having  
 “ made the Children wanton, it was without any scruple to be taken  
 “ away from them, He made upon the whole matter, this ensuing  
 “ Judgment : By this means (saith he) or the like suggestions received  
 “ with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the  
 “ Christian World, they have brought to pass that as *David* doth say  
 “ of man, so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Reli-  
 “ gion and service of God, *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to*  
 “ *be threescore and ten years, or if strength do serve unto fourscore,* what  
 “ followeth is like to be small joy for them whosoever they be that be-  
 “ hold the same. An Observation which seems to favour more of  
 the Prophet, than it did of the Priest; and to have as much Divination,  
 as Divinity in it.

Thus also in reference to himself, he was now growing towards the  
 term of 70 years, which the *Psalmist* had assigned to the Life of man;  
 and there wanted not many sad Presages of his Fall and Death. He  
 was much given to take notice of his Dreams, and commit them to  
 writing, Amongst which I find this for one, that on *Friday* night the  
 24 of *Jan.* 1639. his father (who died 46 years before) came to him, and  
 that to his thinking he was as well, and as chearful, as ever he saw him;  
 that his Father asked him what he did there; that after some speech  
 he demanded of his Father how long he would stay there; and that  
 his Father made this Answer, that he would stay till he had him along  
 with him. A dream which made such Impression on him as to adde  
 this Note to it in his Breviate, that *though he was not moved with*  
*Dreams, yet he thought fit to remember this.* On *Friday* night just a  
 Month before, being the 27th of *December* and the night following the  
 day of *St. John* the Evangelist, there was raised such a violent Tem-  
 pest that many of the Boats which were drawn to Land at *Lambeth*,  
 were dashed one against the other, and were broke to pieces; and that  
 the shafts of two Chimneys were blown down upon the Roof of his  
 Chamber, and beat down both the Lead and Rafter upon his bed, in  
 which ruine he must needs have Perished, if the Roughness of the wa-  
 ter had not forced him to keep his Chamber at *Whitehall*. A mischance  
 somewhat of this nature befel the same night at *Croyden* (a retiring  
 place belonging to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) where one of the Pi-  
 nacles fell from the Steeple, beat down the Lead and Roof of the  
 Church above twenty foot square. But that which was more remarkable  
 than either of these, happened the same night at the Metropolitcal  
 Church in the City of *Canterbury*; where one of the Pinnacles upon the  
 top of the *Bell-frey* Tower, which carried a vane, with this Archbi-  
 shops

shops Arms upon it, was violently struck down, but born a good distance from the Steeple, to fall upon the Roof of the Cloyster under which the Arms of the Archiepiscopal See it self, were engraven in stone; which Arms being broken to pieces by the fall of the other, gave occasion unto one who loved him not, to collect this Inference, that the *Arms of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, breaking down the Arms of the See of Canterbury, not only portended his own fall, but the Ruine of the Metropolitcal dignity by the weight thereof.* Of these misfortunes, (which some men perhaps may call Prefages) he took not so much notice, as he did of an accident which happened on *St. Simon and Jude's* eve, not above a week before the beginning of the late long Parliament, which drew him to his final Ruine. On which day going into his upper study to send some Manuscripts to *Oxon*, he found his Picture at full Length, and taken as near unto the life as the Pensil was able to express it, to be fallen on the Floor, and lying flat upon its face, the string being broke by which it was hanged against the wall. At the sight whereof he took such a sudden apprehension, that he began to fear it as an *Omen* of that ruine which was coming toward him, and which every day began to be threatned to him, as the Parliament grew nearer and nearer to consult about it. Which accidents happening one in the neck of another, gave him some occasion to look back on a former misfortune, which chanced on the 19th of *September 1633.* being the very day of his Translation to the See of *Canterbury*; When the Ferry Boat transporting his Coach and Horses with many of his Servants in it, sunk to the bottom of the *Thames*. And though he lost neither Mannor Horse by the misadventure, yet much discourse was made upon it, and most beheld it, as a sign of no good Fortune, which should befall him in the course of his Future Actions.

But worse Prefages then all these, were the breaking out of divers Plots and Practices against him, by the Opposite Factions; not only the *Puritans* but the *Papists*, conspiring against him, and both Resolved to bring him to his Fatal end by some means or other. The *Papists* which had hope to effect great matters by the Power and Prevalency of the Queen, found the Archbishop so averse from their courses, and the King so resolute in the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion here by Law established, that they perceived it necessary to remove them both out of the way, before any thing could be effected answerable to their expectation. A confederacy was formed amongst them, consisting of some of the most subtle heads in the whole Jesuitical party, by whom it was concluded to foment the broils began in *Scotland*, and to heighten the combustions there, that the King being drawn into a War might give them the opportunity to effect their enterprise for sending him and the Archbishop to the other World. Which being by one of the party on compunction of Conscience, made known to *Andreas ab Habernsfield*, who had been Chaplain as some said to the Queen of *Bohemia*, they both together gave intimation of it, to *Sir William Boswel*, his Majesties Resident at the *Hague*; having first bound him by his Oath not to reveal the same to any man Living

PART II. but to the Archbishop himself, and by the Archbishop to the King. *Anno Dom.* This signified by *Boswel's* Letters of the 19th of *Septemb.* Together with a general draught of the design transmitted to *Canterbury* under the hand of *Habernsfield* himself, the first discoverer of the plot. On the Receipt of which dispatches the Archbishop giving directions to *Boswel* to proceed to a further discovery of it, sends the Intelligence with all speed imaginable, by his Letters of the 11th of the same Month to the King at *York*; beseeching nothing more then his secrecie in it, that he would not trust his Pockets with those dangerous Papers; and finally, that he would declare what his Pleasure was for the Prosecution of the business. And so far both the King and he had very good Reason to be sensible of the dangers which were threatned to them. But when the large discovery was brought unto him transmitted in *Boswel's* letter of the 15th of *October.* he found some names in it, which discredited the whole Relation as well in his Majesties Judgment as his own. For besides this naming of some profest *Papists*, as the Dutches of *Buckingham*, the Countesses of *Arundel* and *Newport*, *Mountague*, *Digby*, and *Winter*, of whose Fidelity the King was not willing to have any suspition, he named the Earl of *Arundel*, *Windebank*, Principal Secretary of State, and *porter* on of the Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, whom he charged to be the Kings utter enemies, and such as betrayed his secrets to the Popes *Nuncio* upon all occasions; all which his Majesty beheld as men of most approved Loyalty and affections to him; By reason whereof no further credit being given to the Advertisement, which they had from *Boswel*, the danger so much feared at first, became more slighted and neglected then consisted with his Majesties safety, and the condition of the times which were apt to mischief; For though the Party who first brake the Ice to this Intelligence, might be mistaken in the names of some of the Accomplices, which were interessed in the design, whose Relations unto those of the Church of *Rome* might give some ground for the mistake; yet the calamities which soon after fell upon them both, the deplorable death of the Archbishop first, and his Majesty afterwards, declare sufficiently, that there was some greater Reality in the Plot then the King was willing to believe. But it had been a *Maxime* with King *James*, his Father, *That Suspition was the sickness and disease of a Tyrant*; which laid him open to all the subtle Practicēs of malicious cunning. And it had been taken up by this King for an *Axiom* also, *That it was better to be deceived than to distrust*; which paved a plain and easie way to all those misfortunes which in the whole course of his Reign, especially for ten years last past, had been brought upon him.

And as for *Canterbury* himself he had so many dangers threatned from the *Puritan* Faction as made him bend his whole thoughts to prevent their Practicēs, who had already declared their Purpose towards his Destruction. For a brute being maliciously spread abroad, that the late Parliament had been dissolved by his Procurement, the Rabble became so inflamed, that a Paper was pasted up at the *Exchange*, on *Saturday* the ninth of *May*, advising and animating the Apprentices

rices to Sack his House at *Lambeth* on the *Munday* following. This LIB. IV. gave him a sufficient warning to expect a storm, and to prepare him- Anno Dom. self against it; which he did with so much care and courage, that I 640. though he was assaulted that night with a confused Raskal Rabble of five hundred persons, yet they were not able either to force the House, or do any visible harm unto it. The next day he procured some pieces of Canon, which he caused to be planted for defence of the great Gate which leads into the house, and strengthened all the lesser doors which opened towards the Garden, and other places; so that there was no danger to be feared from the like alarms, though prudently he withdrew to his Chamber at *Whitehall* till the Rage of the People was blown over. Some of the principal Actors in this Sedition being apprehended and committed to the Goal in *Southwark*, were forcibly delivered by others of their Accomplices, who brake open that and all other Prisons in that *Precinct*; for which one *Benstead*, who appeared in the head of that Riot, was on the 21 of *May* condemned for Treason, and was accordingly drawn, hanged, and quartered, for a terrour to others. Which seasonable Execution put an end to the Outrage, but not to the malice of the People; Libels against him being scattered in most parts of the City. For though about the end of *August* a Paper was dropt in the *Covent Garden*, encouraging the Souldiers and Apprentices to fall upon him in the Kings Absence (his Majesty being then newly gone against the *Scots*) yet there was no Tumult raised upon it; the People standing in more fear of the Hangman than to expose themselves again to the Knife and Halter. Howsoever thinking it as unsafe as it was imprudent to tempt the Rabble to bestow another visit on him at his house in *Lambeth*, he gave order that the *High Commission* should be kept in *St. Pauls*, and he did well and wisely in it. For the Commissioners sitting there, on *Octob. 22.* were violently assaulted by a mixt multitude of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Puritans*, of all sorts to the number of 2000. and upwards, crying out they would have no *Bishops*, nor no *High Commission*. In which Tumult, having frightened away the Judges, Advocates, and Officers of the Court, they brake down all the Seats and Benches which they found in the *Consistory*, putting the King to a new necessity of keeping a Guard upon that *Church*, as before at *Westminster*, not only at the next sitting of the said Commissioners, but at the first meeting of the *Convocation*, which soon after followed. And though one *Quintessin* had appeared in the head of this company, and animated all the rest to commit these insolencies; yet there was nothing done in order to his Punishment or Apprehension; the Party being grown so audacious in their disorders, partly upon the near approach of the Parliament, but principally by the coming in of the *Scots*, that they contemned the Law, and defied the Magistrates.

For the *Scots*, being put into a stock of Reputation by the Kings Recalling of his Forces the year before, had took up store of Arms and Ammunition (as before was said) upon days of Payment. Advertised of his *Majesties* Preparation to make war upon them, and confident of a strong party which they had in *England*, they entred the *Realm* in hostile manner.

PART II. manner, taking in all places of importance which they found in their way. And having put by his Majesties Forces near a place called *New-bourn*, they past over the *Tine*, and presently made themselves Masters of the strong Town of *New-Castle*, by which they put a bridle into the mouths of the *Londoners*, his Majesties Forces looking on, or not very far distant. The news of this Invasion being brought to the King, on *August 20.* he began a Posting Journey towards his Army in the *North*: But he neither found the same men, nor the same affections, as he had so unfortunately discharged the year before. Many of these Souldiers being so ill principled, or so ill perswaded, that in their marchings through the Country they brake into Churches, pulled up the Railes, threw down the Communion Tables, defac'd the Common-Prayer-Books, tore the Surplices, and committed many other Acts of outragious insolence. The chief Command he had entrusted to the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom he had before made Admiral of his Royal Navy for defence of the Kingdom, honoured him with the *Order of the Garter*, and made him one of the Lords of his *Privy Council*; so that no greater characters of Power and Favour could be imprinted on a Subject. The Office of Lieutenant General he had committed unto the Earl of *strafford* Lord *Lieutenant of Ireland*, of whose Fidelity and Courage he could make no question; And the Command of the Horse to *Edward Lord Conway*, whose Father had been raised by King *James* from a private condition to be one of his principal Secretaries, and a Peer of the Realm. Of which three great Commanders it was observed, that one had sufficient health, but had no will to the business; That another had a good will to it, but wanted health; and that a third had neither the one nor the other. And yet as crasse and infirm as the Earl of *strafford* found himself, he chearfully undertook the charge of the Army in the Generals absence, and signified by Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he durst venture upon the peril of his head to drive the *Scots* out of *England*: but that he did not hold it Counsellable, as the case then stood. If any other of the Lords had advised the King to try his Fortune in a Battel, he doubted not of sending them home in more haste than they came: but the *Scots* had rendred him unfit to make the motion, for fear it might be thought that he studied more his own Concernments, than he did the Kings.

Remonst. of  
the Scots, p. 7

For these Invadors, finding by whose Counsels his Majesty governed his Affairs, resolved to draw them into discredit, both with Prince and People. And to that end it was declared in a Remonstrance published before their taking Arms, “That their Propositions and Desires, so necessary and vital unto that Kingdom, could find no access unto the ears of the gracious King by reason of the powerful Diversion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, who (strengthened with the high and mighty Faction of *Papists* near his Majesty) did only side in all matters of Temporal and Spiritual affairs; making the necessity of their Service to his Majesty to appear in being the only fit Instruments (under the pretext of vindicating his Majesties Honour) to oppress both the just Liberties of his

“ his Free Subjects, and the true Reformed Religion in all his King- L I B. IV.  
 “ doms. Seconding this *Remonstrance* with another Pamphlet, called, *Amo Dom.*  
 The *Intention* of the Army; they signified therein to the good People 1640.  
 of *England*, that they had no design either to waste their Goods, or  
 spoil their Country: but only to become Petitioners to his Sacred Ma-  
 jesty to call a Parliament, and to bring the said Archbishop and Lord  
*Lieutenant* to their condign Punishments. In which those modest  
 men express, “ That as they desired the unworthy Authors of their  
 “ trouble, who had come out from themselves, to be tried at home, *Intent. of the*  
 “ according to their own Laws; so they would press no further Pro- *Army. p. 7.*  
 “ ceeds against *Canterbury*, and the *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, and the rest  
 “ of those pernicious Counsellors in *England*, whom they called the  
 “ Authors of all the miseries of both Kingdoms, than what their own  
 “ Parliament should discern to be their just deserving. And that  
 the *English* might see the better whom they chiefly aimed at, a book  
 was published by the name of *Laudensium Autocatacrisis*, or the *Can-*  
*terburians Self-conviction*; in which the Author of it did endeavour  
 to prove, out of the Books, Speeches, and Writings of the Archbi-  
 shop himself, as also of some Bishops, and other learned men, who  
 had exercised their Pens in the late disputes; That there was a strange  
 design in hand for bringing in *superstition*, *Popery*, and *Arminianism*, to  
 the subversion of the Gospel, and of suppressing the Religion here by  
 Law established.

But as these Reproaches moved not him, so neither did their *Re-*  
*monstrance*, or any other of their Scribbles distract his Majesties Re-  
 solutions, until he found himself assaulted by a Petition from some  
 Lords in the South, which threatned more danger at his back than he  
 had cause to fear from the Northern Tempest which blew directly in  
 his teeth; Complaint was made in this Petition of the many inconve-  
 niences which had been drawn upon this Kingdom by his Majesties  
 engagings against the *scots*; as also of the great encrease of *Popery*;  
 the pressing of the present payment of *ship-money*; the dissolving  
 of former Parliaments; Monopolies, Innovations, and some other  
 grievances, amongst which the *Canons* which were made in the late  
*Convocation* could not be omitted. For Remedy whereof, his Maje-  
 sty is desired to call a Parliament, to bring the Authors of the said  
 pretended grievances to a legal Trial, and to compose the present  
 War without Bloudshed; Subscribed by the Earls of *Essex*, *Hartford*,  
*Rutland*, *Bedford*, *Exeter*, *Warwick*, *Moulgrave*, and *Bullingbrooke*,  
 the Lords *Say*, *Mundevil*, *Brooke*, and *Howard*; presented to the King  
 at *York* on the third of *September*; and seconded by another from the  
*City of London* to the same effect. His Majesty, being thus between  
 two Millstones, could find no better way to extricate himself out of  
 these perplexities, than to call the great Council of his Peers, to  
 whom at their first meeting, on the 24 of the same Month, he signi-  
 fied his purpose to hold a Parliament in *London* on the third of *Novem-*  
*ber*; and by their Counsel entertained a Treaty with those of *Scotland*,  
 who building on the confidence which they had in some Lords of *Eng-*  
*land*, had petitioned for it. According unto which Advice a Com-  
 mission

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1640.



mission is directed to eight Earls, and as many Barons of the English Nation, (seven of which had subscribed the former Petition) enabling them to treat with the *scots* Commissioners, to hear their Grievances and Demands, and to report the same to his Majesty, and the Lords of his Council. These points being gained, which the *Puritan* Faction in both Kingdoms had chiefly aimed at, the *scots* were insolent enough in their Proposals, requiring freedom of Commerce, Reparation of their former Losses, and most especially the maintenance of their Army at the charge of the *English*; without which no Cessation would be harkned to. Satisfaction being given them in their last Demand, and good Assurances for the two first, they decline *York*, as being unsafe for their Commissioners, and procure *Rippon* to be named, for the place of the Treaty; where the Lord Lieutenant was of less influence then he was at *York*; and where being further from the King, they might shuffle the Cards, and play the Game to their best contentment. The rest of *October*, from the end of the first week of it, when they excepted against *York*, was drilled on, in requiring that some persons of quality, intrusted by the *scottish* Nation, might have more Offices than he had about his Majesty, and the Queen, and in the Court of the Prince. That a Declaration might be made for naturallizing and settling the Capacities and mutual Priviledges of the Subjects in both Kingdoms: but chiefly that there might be an Unity and Uniformity in Church-Government, as a special means for conserving of the Peace between the two Nations. And thus they entertained the time till the beginning of the Parliament, which removed the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the *scots* were sure of more Friends, and of warmer Quarters, than the Northern Counties could afford them.

In the mean time it may be asked what became all this while of the *Irish* Army, consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, which had been raised with so much zeal by the Earl of *strafford* at the beginning of the Spring; and by the Power whereof (kept ever since in constant pay and continual exercise) his Majesty might have reduced the *scots* to their due obedience, as was declared by the Earl at the Council Table on *May* 6. being the next day after the dissolving of the former Parliament. Which Army if it had been put over into *Cumberland* (to which from the Port of *Carick fergus* in *Ireland* is but a short and easie passage) they might have got upon the back of the *scots*, and caught the wretched People in a pretty Pitfall; so that having the *English* Army before them, and the *Irish* behind them, they could not but be ground to powder as between two Millstones. But this design, if it were ever thought of, was never put in execution; so as that Army was dissolved without doing any thing in order to his Majesties Service: the Commons in the following Parliament not thinking themselves or their affairs in any security as long as those Forces were maintained and held together. It may be askt in the next place, why the Parliament, called at such a time, and on such an occasion, (that is to say, the over-running of the Northern parts of the Kingdom by a *scottish* Army) should be held at *Westminster*; when *York* (where the  
King



King was then in Person) lay nearer to the danger and the Scene of Action, and to the place of Treaty betwixt the Nations. These Reasons were sufficient to have moved the King to hold this Parliament at *York*, and not at *Westminster*, had he known nothing of the disaffections and engagements of the neighbouring City; as he knew too much. And he had some good Presidents too, which might have added no small weight to the consideration: For when King *Edward* was busie in the Conquest of *Wales*, he called his Parliament to *Acton Burnel*, being in the *Marches* of that Country; and when he turned his Forces to the Conquest of *Scotland*, he called his Parliament to *Carlisle* (if my memory fail me not) being on the borders of that Kingdom. Had the King made choice of the like Place for this present Parliament (which he did afterward endeavour to alter when it was too late (he had undoubtedly prevented all those inconveniences (or rather mischiefs) which the Pride, Purse, Faction, and Tumultuousness of the *Londoners*, did afterwards inforce upon him. And finally, It might be asked, What might move his Majesty to transfer the Treaty from *Rippon* to *London*, where the Commissioners of the *Scots* were Complemented, Feasted, and presented by the wanton Citizens; Their Lodgings more frequented for Prayers and Sermons, than the houses of Foreign Embassadors had ever been for hearing *Mass* by any of the *English Papists*. By means whereof they had the greater opportunity to enflame that City, and make it capable of any impression which they thought fit to imprint upon it; express not long after by their going down in such huge multitudes after Alderman *Pennington*, to present a Petition to the Parliament, subscribed by some Thousands of hands against the Government of Bishops here by Law established; as afterwards in no less number to clamour at the Parliament doors for Justice on the Earl of *Strafford*, which were the points most aimed at by the *Scottish* Covenanters. To which no Answer can be given, but that all these things were so disposed of by the supreme and over-ruling power of the Heavenly Providence, contrary to all reason of State, and Civil Prudence.

But to proceed, the third of *November* drawing on, when the Parliament was to take beginning, A Letter was writ to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, advertising, that the Parliament of the twentieth year of King *Henry* viii. which began in the Fall of Cardinal *Wolfey*, continued in the Diminution of the Power and Priviledges of the Clergy, and ended in the dissolution of the *Abbeys* and Religious Houses, was begun on the third day of *November*; and therefore that for good-luck sake he would move the King to Respite the first sitting of it for a day or two longer; But the Archbishop not harkning to this Advertisement, the Parliament had its first sitting at the time appointed. Which Parliament as it began in the Fall and Ruine of the Archbishop himself, and was continued in the total Dissipation of the remaining *Rites* and Priviledges of the *English* Clergy; so did it not end till it had subverted the *Episcopal* Government, dissolved, as much as in them was, all *Capitular* Bodies, and left the *Cathedrals* of this Land (not presently ruined I confess, but) without means to keep them up

PART II. for the time to come. The day appointed being come, his Majesty declined the accustomed way of riding in a Magnificent Pomp from *Anno Dom.* *Whitehall* to the Church of *Westminster*, and making his entry there at *1640.* the great Western Gate: but rather chose to pass thither privately by water, attended by such of the Lords as could accommodate themselves with convenient Barges. Entering the Church at the Little door which openeth toward the East, he was received by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries under a Canopy of State, and so conducted to the place where he heard the Sermon; the performance of which work was commended by his Grace of *Canterbury* to the Bishop of *Oxon.* and by him learnedly discharged. The Sermon being done, his Majesty, attended by the Peers and Prelates, returned the same way to *Westminster Hall*, and from thence went to the Parliament House; where causing the Commons to be called before him, he acquainted both Houses with the Insolencies committed by the *Scots*, who not content to embroyle their own Country had invaded this; requiring their timely assistants to drive the Rebels out of the Kingdom, and casting himself upon the good affections of his *English Subjects*. The Commons were not more willing to hear that his Majesty was resolved to cast himself wholly on their good affections, than many zealous Patriots seemed to be troubled at it; knowing how ill it sorts with Kings when they have no way to subsist, or carry on their great Designs, but by casting themselves wholly on the love of the People. These on the other side were no better pleased with hearing his Majesty call the *Scots* by the name of *Rebels*, whom he had too long courted by the name of his *Scottish Subjects*, than the Prevailing Members in the House of Commons were offended at it; the name of *Rebels* rendring them incapable of those many Favours which were designed them by that House. And the displeasure went so high, that his Majesty finding into what condition he had cast himself, was fain to call both Houses before him within two days after, (a) there to Explain, or rather to Retract so harsh a Title, calling them afterwards by the name of his *Subjects* of *Scotland*, as he used to do; which gave the Commons such a sense of their Power, and of his Compliance, that they resolved to husband both to their best advantage, and not so easily to part with their Friends of *Scotland*, as his Majesty first hoped they would. The differences might have been agreed at *York* or *Rippon*, if the Commissioners of the *Scots* had been as forward as the *English*; but the *Scot* so delayed them (as his Majesty noted in that Speech) that it was not possible to end it there. The *Scots* had other work to do besides their own, and must be kept in pay at the charge of the *English*, till they had brought his Majesty into such a condition, that it was not safe for him to deny them any thing, which they had the confidence to require. Such a beginning had this long and unhappy Parliament, unhappy to the King, and to all that loved his Power or Person; most men who looked on his Affairs with the eye of Judgment, presaging that this thrifty omission of the Publick Pomp in the present Conjunctions, would prove as inauspicious to him as the like neglect had done at his Coronation; and that this Parliament which began without

solem-

(a) *Reliquia  
Caroline,  
p. 3.*

solemnity would prove a Parliament of sorrows unto him and his.

L I B. V.

With little better Fortune did the Convocation take beginning at *St. Pauls* Church on the morrow after, handselled at their first meeting by the sad news of the Decease of *Dr. Neile*, Archbishop of *Tork*, which had been brought unto the Town the day before. A man he was who had past through all Degrees and Orders in the Church of *England*, and thereby made acquainted with the conveniencies, or distresses; incident to all conditions. He had served the Church as Schoolmaster; Curate, Vicar, Parson, Master of the *savoy*, Dean of *Westminster*, Clerk of the Closet to both Kings successively, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Lichfield*, *Lincoln*, *Durham*, and *Wincheſter*, and finally, Archbishop of *Tork*, in which place he died. Many good Offices he had done to the Church and Church-men in his attendance at the Court, crossing the *scots* in most of their suits, their Ecclesiastical Preferments, which greedily and ambitiously they hunted after, and thereby drawing on himself the general hatred not only of the *scots*, but *scotizing English*. But of this Prelate we have spoke so much upon other occasions, that we may save the labour of any further addition, than that he died as full of years as he was of honours, an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true friend to all which relied upon him; more fortunate in the time of his death than the course of his life, in being prevented by that blessed opportunity from seeing those calamities which afterwards fell upon the King, the Church, and all that wish well to either of them; which must have been more grievous to him than a thousand deaths. But this bad news retarded not the Convocation from proceeding forwards, the Prelates and Clergy attending the Archbishop from the Chapter-house into the Chaire, where they heard the Sermon, Preached at the time by *Bargrave* then Dean of *Canterbury*; which done, the Clergy settled to the choice of a Prolocutor, electing the same man who had before discharged the Place with so much dexterity. Adjourned to *Westminster*, and Protestation made by the Sub-Dean and Prebends, according to the usual custom, the Prolocutor was presented to the Archbishop and Bishops in the Chappel of King *Henry vii.* at what time the Archbishop in an eloquent but sad Oration, bemoaned the infelicities which he saw hanging over the Church, advising every one there present to perform their Duties, and not to be wanting to themselves, or the cause of Religion, as far forth as they were concerned in their several places. Nothing more done of any moment in this Convocation, but that a motion was made by *Warmistre*, one of the Clerks for the Diocess of *Worceſter*, to this effect; *viz.* That they should endeavour (according to the *Levitical* Laws) to cover the Pit which they had opened, and to prevent their Adversaries intention by condemning such offensive Canons as were made in the last Convocation. He had before offered at many things in that Convocation, but such was his ill-luck, that the Vote was for the most part passed before he spake; nor had he better fortune in his motion now, than his offers then, the Members of that house not being willing to condemn themselves till they were accused. So that not

Anno Dom.

1640.



PART II. having any other way to obtain his purpose, he caused a long Speech, *Anno Dom* which he had made upon this occasion, to be put in Print; bitter  
 1640. enough against some Canons and Proceedings in the former Session:  
 but such as could not save him from a Sequestration, when the rest of the Clergy were brought under the same condition.

Whilst these things were acting on the Stage of *Westminster*, the Earl of *Strafford* was not Idle in acting his part at *York*, amongst the Souldiers, whose affections he had gained so far, that he was generally beheld with esteem and veneration. He had before sufficient proof, how strongly the *scots* aimed at his destruction, expressed in their Remonstrance, and the *Intentions* of their Army, (as they called the Pamphlet) but more especially by the refusal of the *scots* Commissioners to hold the Treaty at *York*; and the reasons given for their refusal; for in a Paper of theirs, presented on *October 8*. They had insisted on the danger apprehended by them in going to *York*, and casting themselves and others, who might be joyned with them, into the hands of an Army commanded by the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, against whom (as a chief Incendiary according to their demands, which was the subject of the Treaty it self) they resolved to proceed. They complained also in that Paper, That in the Parliament of *Ireland*, he had proceeded against them as *Traitor and Rebels*; That he honoured them in his common talk with no better Titles: That his Commission was to destroy them; And that by all means, and by all occasions, he had hindred all Propositions tending to a Pacification, for fear himself might be excluded from the benefit of it. He was not without a strong presumption, that the *scots* were animated unto those Demands, and encouraged to invade the Kingdom, by some of those which were of greatest Prevalency in both Houses of Parliament. And lying so near the *scots*, in the head of his Army, he had not only gained assurance (as he conceived) in many particulars to confirm it, but that there was a Confederacy made between the Heads of the *Covenanters* and some of the leading Members of both Houses, his most Capital Enemies, to subject the Government of the Church, and innovate in that of the Civil State; which Intelligence being digested into the Form of an Impeachment, he intended to present to the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them: and to that end prepared for his last Journey to *London*, from whence he never was to return alive. Calling together some of his especial Friends, and many of the chief Officers and Commanders which remained in the Army, he made them acquainted with his purpose of going to *Westminster* to attend the Parliament, leaving to them the Charge of his Majesties Forces, and the preserving of those parts from the spoyl of the Enemy. An Enterprize from which he was dissuaded by most of his Friends, alledging that he could not chuse but know, that the *scots*, and *scotizing English* had most infallibly resolved on his destruction; and that innocency was no Armour of Proof against the fiery Darts of malicious Power; That seeing such a storm hang over his head, rather keep himself in the *English* Army, (being under his Command, which he had gained upon exceedingly  
 by

by his noble carriage) or pass over into *Ireland*, where the Army LIB. IV. rested wholly at his Devotion; or transport himself to some Foreign *Anno Dom.* Kingdom, till fairer weather here (in reference to his own safety and 1640. the publick peace) should invite him home; That it was no betraying of his innocency to decline a Trial where Partiality held the Scales, and Self-ends backt with Power, and made blind with Prejudice, were like to over-ballance Justice; That if Sentence should be passed against him for default of appearance (which was the worst that could befall him) yet he would then keep his head on his shoulders until better times, and in the mean season might do his Majesty as good Service in the Courts of many Foreign Princes, as if he were sitting in *White-hall* at the Council-Table.

Turning a deaf ear to these considerations, he Resolved to prosecute his design, but was scarce entred into the House of Peers, when followed at the heels by *Pym* (whom it concerned as much as any) who fearing or knowing his intendments, impeacht him of high Treason, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, requiring in their names that he might be sequestred from the House, and Committed to Custody. And here again it was conceived that the Earl shewed not that *praesentiam animi*, that readines of Courage and Resolution, which formerly had conducted him through so many difficulties, in giving over his design; For though he lost the opportunity of striking the first blow, yet he had time enough to strike the second, which might have been a very great Advantage to his preservation. For had he offered his impeachment, and prosecuted it in the same paces and method as that was, which was brought against him, it is possible enough that the business on both sides might have been hushed up without hurt to either. And for so doing he wanted not a fair Example in the second Parliament of this King, when the Earl of *Bristol* being impeached of high Treason by the Kings Attorney at the instance and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham*, retorted presently a recrimination or impeachment against the Duke, and by that means took off the edge of that great Adversary from proceeding further. Nor gave it little cause of wonder unto many wise men, that a person of so great Spirit and knowledge, should give himself up so tamely on a general accusation only, without any particular Act of Treason charged upon him, or any proof offered to make good that charge; not only to the loss of his Liberty as a private Person: but to the forfeiture of his Priviledge as a Member of Parliament. But the impeachment being made, his Restraint desired, and nothing by him offered to the Contrary, he was committed the same day (*Novemb. 11.*) to the Custody of the Gentleman *Usher*, called the Black-rod, and not long after to the Tower; Sir *George Retcliff* one of his especial confidants, being presently sent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjeant at Arms, as concriminal with him. In this condition he remained, till the 16th of *December*, without any particular Charge against him; Which at the last was brought into the House of Peers by the *scots*, and presented in their Names by Lord *Paget* one of the Members of that House. In which they did inform against him, in  
reference

PART II. reference to matters which concerned Religion, that in promoting  
*Anno Dom.* the late pretended Innovations he had been as forward as *Canterbury*  
 1640. himself; and to that end had preferred his Chaplain *Bramhall* to the  
 See of *Derrie*, and *Chappel* to the Colledge of *Dublin*; that he had  
 threatened to burn the Articles of *Ireland*, agreed upon in Convoca-  
 tion *Anno 1615*. by the hand of the Hangman, and would not hearken  
 to the *Primate*, when he desired a Ratification of them by Act of  
 Parliament, for preventing and suppressing the said Innovations; that  
 he countenanced divers books against them and their Covenant,  
 which were Printed at *Dublin*, and caused all Persons above the age of  
 sixteen years, to abjure the said Covenant by a solemn Oath, or other-  
 wise to be Imprisoned or to flye that Kingdom; that at his last coming  
 into *England* he had openly said, that if ever he returned unto the  
 Honourable Sword he would not leave any of the *Scots* in that King-  
 dom, their Root or Branch; and that he did advise the great Council  
 of Peers assembled at *York*, to send them back again in their own  
 blood, and that he might whip them out of *England*.

In further pursuance of this Charge, it was prest against him in the  
 Articles Exhibited by the House of Commons on the 16th of *February*  
 (for so long it was, before he heard any more news from them) That  
 he maintained a correspondence with the *Papists* of *Ireland*, endea-  
 voured to raise hostility between *England* and *Scotland*, and had con-  
 sented to the betraying of *New-Castle* into the hands of the *Scots*; to  
 the end that the *English* being netled by so great a loss, might be more  
 Cordially engaged in the War against them; that he gave a Warrant  
 under his hand to some Bishops in the Church of *Ireland*, and their  
 Chancellors and other Officers, to arrest the Bodies of such of the  
 meaner sort, as after Citation, should refuse to appear before them,  
 or should refuse to undergo and perform all lawful decrees and sen-  
 tences, given or issued out against them, and the said persons to keep  
 in the next Common Gaol, till their Submission to the said Orders  
 and Decrees, and otherwise shew some Reason to the Contrary to  
 the Lords of the Counsel; that in the Month of *May* in the year 1639.  
 he caused a new Oath to be contrived, Enforced especially upon those  
 of the *Scottish* Nation in the Realm of *Ireland*, by which the party  
 was obliged to Renounce the Covenant, and to swear that he would  
 not *Protest* against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but sub-  
 mit himself in all obedience thereunto, and had put divers grievous  
 fines upon many of them on their Refusal of the same; that he required  
 the like Oath for the Observation of all Rites and Ceremonies then  
 established, or from thenceforth to be established, by the Kings Au-  
 thority, saying, that he would prosecute all Repugners of them to the  
 very Blood. The Rest of the Articles relating unto Civil matters I  
 omit of purpose, as neither being pertinent or proper to my Present  
 History; observing only in this place, that for the better carrying on  
 of their charge against him, they had gained two points; more ne-  
 cessary to be craved than fit to be granted; The first was (which they  
 carried in the House of Lords by a Major Vote) that no Bishop should  
 be of that Committee for the Preparatory Examinations in the pre-  
 sent

sent case, under colour that they were excluded from acting in it by L I B. V. some Antient Canons, as *in Causa sanguinis*, or the cause of blood; *Anno Dom.* concerning which a brief discourse entituled *De jure Paritatis Episcoporum*, was presented to his Grace of *Canterbury*, and some other Bishops for asserting all their Rights of *Peerage* (and this of being of that Committee amongst the rest) which either by Law or Ancient Custom did belong unto them. The second was that the Lords of the Council should be examined upon Oath, for any thing which was said or done by the Earl of *strafford* at the Council Table, Which being yielded by the King; though tending visibly to the Derogation of his Power, and the discouragement of all such as either were or should be of his Privy Council, the Archbishop was accordingly Examined on *December* 4th being the next day after the said Condescension. 1640.

Nor was it long before the like Oath was required and obtained by them against the Archbishop himself, being the next man whom the *Scots* and their Confederates in both houses, had an eye upon. He knew there was some danger coming toward him by the said combination, but thought not at the first it would reach so far, as to touch his Life. The most he looked for, as he told the Author of these Collections on the second or third day after the beginning of the Parliament, was to be sequestred from his Majesties Councils, and confin'd to his Diocess, to which he profess himself as willing as any of his Enemies were desirous of it. As it seems his Enemies at the first had no further thoughts. For it appeareth by a passage in his *Diary*, that on *Thursday* *December* 24. four Earls of Great Power in the Upper House declared unto a Parliament man, that they were resolved to Sequester him only from the Kings Council, and deprived him of the Archiepiscopal dignity, and no more then so; which though it were too much, and favoured of two little Justice to so be resolved before any particular charge was brought against him: yet I consider as an Argument of their first intentions, that they aimed not at his Life, but at his removal. In order whereunto it was thought expedient, that his Majesty should be moved to release the Bishop of *Lincoln* from his long Imprisonment, and to restore him to his place in the house of Peers; knowing full well how Active an Instrument they were sure to find him, by reason of some former grudges, not only against the Archbishop but the Earl of *strafford*. Which motion being made and granted he was conducted into the Abby Church by six of the Bishops, and there officiated (it being a day of Humiliation) as Dean of *Westminster*; more honoured at the first by the Lords and Commons, then ever any of his Order; his person looked upon as Sacred, his words deemed as Oracles. And he continued in this height, till having served their turn against the Archbishop, and the Lord Lieutenant, he began sensibly to decline, and grew at last to be generally the most hated man of all the *Hierarchy*. Orders are also made by the House of Commons for releasing such as were Imprisoned by the *Star-Chamber*, *Council-Table*, or *High-Commission*; and more particularly for the remanding of *Bastwick*, *Prynne*, and *Burton*, from the several Islands,

PART II. to which they were before confined. Upon which general Goal-  
*Anno Dom.* delivery, *Burton* and *Prynne* had so contrived it as to come together,  
 1640. met on their way as far as *Brainford* by some thousands of the *Puritan*  
 Faction out of *London*, and *Southwark*, and by them silently conducted  
 with Bays and *Rosemary* in their hands, to their several Houses to  
 the Intolerable affront of the Courts of Justice, and his Majesties Go-  
 vernment, his Majesty conniving at the insolency or not daring to  
 punish it. Not well reposed after the toil and trouble of so long a  
 journey, *Prynne*, joyns himself with *Bagshaw* before remembred, and  
 both together are admitted to a private conference with the Bishop  
 of *Lincoln* in the beginning of *December*, which boded no great good  
 to the Church or State, or any who had formerly appeared in defence  
 of either.

These preparations being made, the Project was carried on a main;  
 For on the 16th of that month the Canons made in the late Convoca-  
 tion, were condemned in the House of Commons, as being against  
 the *Kings Prerogative*, the *Fundamental Laws of the Realm*, the *Liberty*  
 and *Property of the Subject*, and containing divers other things tending to  
*Sedition*, and of dangerous Consequence. A Vote was also past for  
 making *Canterbury* the Principal Author of the said Canons; for a  
 Committee to be nominated to enquire into all his former Actions; and for  
 preparing a Bill against all those of the said Convocation by  
 whom these Canons were subscribed: but the sorrows of that day, did  
 not end there neither. For on the same, a charge was laid against  
 him in the house of Peers by the *scots* Commissioners (that being the  
 day in which they had accused the Earl of *strafford*) for doing ill  
 offices, and being an Incendiary between the Nations. And in pur-  
 suance of the plot, on *Friday* the 18th of the same Moneth, he was  
 Impeacht by *Hollis* in the name of all the Commons of *England*; of no  
 less then Treason; and thereupon, without any particular charge a-  
 gainst him, he was committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher,  
 leave only being granted him, to repair to his house at *Lambeth*, for  
 the Collecting of such Papers as were necessary for his Justification.  
 At *Maxwells* house (for so was the Usher of the Black-Rod called) he  
 remained ten weeks, before so much as any General charge against  
 him, was brought up to the Lords. During which time he gained so  
 much on the good opinion of the Gentewoman of the House, that  
 she reported him to some of her Gossips, to be one of the goodest men,  
 and most Pious Souls, but with all one of the silliest fellows to hold  
 talk with a Lady that ever she met with in all her life. On the 26 of *Feb.*  
 This charge was brought up to the Lords by *Kane* the younger, con-  
 sisting of fourteen General Articles, which Generals he craved time  
 to prove in particular; and thereupon a Vote was passed for trans-  
 mitting the Prisoner to the Tower, with leave however to remain at  
*Maxwell's* till the *Munday* following. Which day being come, he  
 was conveyed in *Maxwell's* Coach without any disturbance; till he  
 came to the end of *Cheapside*, from whence he was followed by a rail-  
 ing Rabble of rude and uncivil People, to the very Gates of the  
 Tower: Where having taken up his Lodging, and settled his small  
 Family



Family in Convenient Rooms, he diligently resorted to the publick L I B. V.  
 Chappel of that place at all times of Worship, being present at the Anno Dom.  
 Prayers and Sermons, and sometimes hearing himself uncivilly reviled, 1640.  
 and pointed at as it were, by some factious Preachers, sent thither of  
 purpose to disgrace and vex him. All which Indignities he endured  
 with such Christian meekness, as rendred him one of the great Examples  
 both of Patience and Piety in these latter Times.

The principal things contained in the Charge of the *scots* Commis-  
 sioners, were these that follow; *viz.* That he had press'd upon that  
 Kirk many Innovations in Religion, contained in the Liturgie and Book  
 of Canons, contrary to the Liberties and Laws thereof; That he had writ-  
 ten many Letters to Balleutine Bishop of Dumblane, and Dean of the  
 Kings Chappel in Scotland, in which he required him and the rest of the  
 Bishops to be present at the Divine Service in their Whites, and blamed  
 the said Bishop for his negligence and slowness in it, and taxing him for  
 Preaching Orthodox Doctrine against Arminianism; That he had caus'd  
 the said Bishop to be reprehended for commanding a Solemn Fast to be  
 kept in his Diocess on the Lords day, as if they had offended in it against  
 Christianity it self; That he gave order for the taking down of Stone  
 Walls and Galleries in the Churches of Edenborough, to no other end  
 but for the setting up of Altars, and Adoration toward the East; That  
 for their Supplicating against these Novations, they were encountred by him  
 with terrible Proclamations from his Majesty, declared Rebels in all the  
 Parish-Churches of England, and a War kindled against them by his Arts  
 and Practices; That after the Pacification made at Berwick, he frequent-  
 ly spake against it as dishonourable, and unfit to be kept; their Covenant  
 by him called ungodly, and divers Oaths imposed upon their Countrymen  
 to abjure the same; That he spared not in the presence of the King and  
 their Commissioners to rail against the General Assembly held at Glasco,  
 and put his Hand unto a Warrant for Imprisoning some of those Commis-  
 sioners, sent from the Parliament of Scotland for the Peace of both Nati-  
 ons; That when the late Parliament could not be moved to assist in the  
 War against them, he had caus'd the same to be dissolved, and continued  
 the Convocation to make Canons against them and their Doctrines, to be  
 published four times in every year; That he had caus'd six Subsidies to be  
 Levied on the Clergie for maintaining the War, and Prayer to be made in  
 all Parish-Churches, That shame might cover their faces, as Enemies  
 to God and the King: And finally, That he was so industrious in advan-  
 cing Popery in all the three Kingdoms, that the Pope himself could not  
 have been more Popish, had he been in his place. Such was the Charge  
 exhibited by the *scots* Commissioners; in which was nothing criminal  
 enough to deserve Imprisonment, much less to threaten him with  
 Death. And as for that brought up from the House of Commons,  
 it consisted of fourteen General Articles, as before was said, usher-  
 ed in with a short Preamble made by Pym, and shut up with a larg-  
 er Aggravation of the Offences comprehended in the several Arti-  
 cles; the substance of which Articles was to this effect: 1. That  
 he had Traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the  
 Realm, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and to

PART II. *perswade his Majesty, That he might Lawfully raise Money of the Subject, without their common Consent in Parliament. 2. That to this end he had caused divers Sermons to be Preached, and Books to be Printed, against the Authority of Parliaments, and for asserting an absolute and unlimited Power over the Persons and Goods of the Subjects, to be not only in the King, but also in himself and the rest of the Bishops; and had been a great Promoter of such by whom the said Books and Sermons had been made and published. 3. That by several Messages, Letters, Threatnings, &c. he had interrupted and perverted the Course of Justice in Westminster-Hall, whereby sundry of his Majesties Subjects had been stopp'd in their just Suits, and thereby made subject to his will. 4. That he had traitorously and corruptly sold Justice to such as had Causes depending before him, and taken unlawful Gifts and Bribes of his Majesties Subjects; and had advised and procured his Majesty to sell Places of Judicature and other Offices. 5. That he had caused a Book of Canons to be Composed and Published without lawful Authority, in which were many things contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws, &c. and had caused many of the same to surreptitiously passed, and afterwards by fear and compulsion to be subscribed by the Prelates and Clerks there assembled, notwithstanding they had never been Voted and Passed in the Convocation. 6. That he hath assumed to him a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters, over his Majesties Subjects in this Realm, and other places, to the disherison of the Crown, dishonour of his Majesty, and derogation of his Supreme Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. 7. That he had endeavoured to alter and subvert Gods true Religion, by Law established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry; and to that end had maintained many Popish Doctrines, enjoined many Popish and Superstitious Ceremonies, and cruelly vexed and persecuted such as refused to conform unto them. 8. That in order thereunto he had intruded into the Rights of many of his Majesties Officers and Subjects, in procuring to himself the Nomination of divers Persons to Ecclesiastical Benefices; and had taken upon him the commendation of Chaplains to the King, promoting and commending none but such as were Popishly affected; or otherwise unsound in Doctrine, or corrupt in Manners. 9. That to the same intent he had chosen such men to be his Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the Reformed Religion; and had committed unto them, or some of them, the Licensing of Books to be Printed, whereby many false and Superstitious Books had been Published, to the great scandal of Religion, and the seducing of many of his Majesties Subjects. 10. That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, confederating to that end with divers Popish Priests and Jesuites, holding Intelligence with the Pope, and permitting a Popish Hierarchy or Ecclesiastical Government to be established in this Kingdom. 11. That in his own Person, and by others under his Command, he had caused divers Godly and Orthodox Ministers of Gods Word to be Silenced, Suspend-ed, and otherwise grieved, without any lawful or just cause, hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, cherished Prophaneness and Ignorance amongst the People, and compelled many of his Majesties Subjects to forsake the Kingdom.*

Kingdom. 12. That he had endeavoured to cause discord between the Church of England, and other Reformed Churches; and to that end had suppressed and abrogated the Priviledges and Immunities which had been by his Majesty and his Royal Ancestors granted to the Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdom. 13. That he had endeavoured to stir up War between his Majesties Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and to that end had laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of Scotland divers Innovations both in Religion and Government: for their refusing whereof, he first advised his Majesty to subdue them by force of Arms, and afterwards to break the Pacification made between the Kingdoms; forcing the Clergie to contribute toward the Maintenance of the War. 14. And finally, That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traitorous courses, he had laboured to divert the ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments. This was the substance of the Charge, to which afterwards they added other which were more Particulars, when they found themselves ready for his Tryal, Anno 1644. and there we shall hear further of them. I note here only by the way, That one of those which had been added to make up the Tale, and create a greater hatred of him, as *selling Justice, taking Bribes, &c.* (for which never any Man of Place and Power was more clearly innocent) was found so far unfit for a Prosecution, that it was suppressed. An excellent Evidence of his Integrity and Uprightness, in such a long continued course of Power and Favour.

But Sorrows seldom come alone. The Danger first, and afterwards the questioning of so great a Prelate, left the Church open to the Assaults of a potent Faction, and the poor Clergy destitute of a constant Patron. The first Assault against the Church, was made at St. *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, on a day of Publick Humiliation, November 17. the same on which the Bishop of *Lincoln* was re-estimated with such Triumph in the *Abby-Church*: At what time the Minister Officiating the Second Service at the Communion-Table, according to the ancient Custom, was unexpectedly interrupted by the naming and singing of a Psalm, to the great amazement of all sober and well-minded men. And at the Meeting of some *Anabaptists* to the number of 80. at a House in *Southwark*, it was Preached, That the Statute 35 *Eliz.* for restraining the *Queens Majesties subjects* in their due Obedience, was no good Law, because made by Bishops; striking at once both at the *Liturgie* and Government of the Church by Law established. The Bishops left out of the Committee for Examinations, in the business of the Earl of *Strafford*; and in all other Committees, by the fraud and artifice of the Clerk of the Parliament, not named in such proportion to the Temporal Peers, as had been accustomed. The same Clerk at the Reading of such Bills as came into that House, turned his back toward them in disdain, that they might not distinctly hear what he read; as if their consenting or dissenting to the point in question, had been judged unnecessary. And to prepare the way the better for their Declination, *Pennington* attended, by some hundreds of the Raskle Rabble, presents a Petition to the

PART II. Commons, in the name of the City of *London*, subscribed by 15000  
*Anno Dom.* hands of several qualities, most of them indigent in Estate, and of  
 1640. known disaffections to the present Government. In which Petition  
 it was prayed, That the Government of Bishops might be abolished; That Rites and Ceremonies might be press'd no longer upon the consciences of the weak; and that many other things at which they found themselves grieved, might be also abrogated. After which followed many bitter Speeches made against them by the Lord *Faulkland*, *Bagshaw*, *White*, and others, in the House of Commons; by the Lords *Say* and *Brook* in the House of Peers; by *Brook* alone in a Printed Pamphlet, in which he reproacheth them as born of the Dregs of the People: the names of the Lords Spiritual being despitefully left out of all Bills which passed this Session, to shew how insignificant they were in an Act of Parliament. And all this seconded by many Petitions of like nature, in the name of many whole Counties and Populous Cities, and in their names presented to the Houses of Parliament; though the said Petitions, for the most part, were never either seen or heard of by the greatest and most considerable number of those in whose names they were subscribed. Which coming to his Majesties knowledge, he called both Houses unto *Whitehall*, *January 25*. "Where he informed  
 "them of the Distractions that were then occasioned through the con-  
 "nivence of the Parliament, there being some men who more malici-  
 "ously than ignorantly, would put no difference between Reforma-  
 "tion and Alteration of Government; from whence it came, that Di-  
 "vine Service was irreverently interrupted, and *Petitions* in an indirect  
 "way procured and presented; That he was willing to concur with  
 "them for reforming all Innovations both in Church and Common-  
 "wealth, and for reducing all things to the same condition in which  
 "they stood in the best and happiest times of *Queen Elizabeth*; That  
 "he could not but take notice of many Petitions given in the name  
 "of divers Counties, against the established Government of the  
 "Church; and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, That  
 "they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least their Voices to  
 "be taken away; That if upon serious debate, they could shew him  
 "that the Bishops had some Temporal Authority not so necessary for  
 "the Government of the Church, and upholding Episcopal Jurisdi-  
 "ction, he would not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down:  
 "And finally, If they had encroached too much upon the Tempora-  
 "lity, he was content that all Abuses of that kind should be redress'd;  
 "and that he would go with them so far, and no further. And to say  
 truth, it concerned the King to look about him, when his own Regal  
 Power, not that of the Bishops only, was so openly strook at; it  
 being Preached by the said *Anabaptists* but the Week before, *That  
 he could not make a good Law, because not PERFECTLY REGE-  
 NERATE, and was only to be obeyed in Civil Matters.* But all this  
 little edified with such of the Lords and Commons as had the carry-  
 ing on of the Plot against Episcopacy: they found the temper of  
 the King; and having got him on the Anvile, they resolved to ham-  
 mer him.

As an Expedient to the Work, it was found necessary to question and disgrace all those, who either had been active in advancing those Publick Orders, which were now branded by the name of Innovations or otherwise industrious in his Majesties Service; some to be sacrificed to the pleasure of particular Persons, others to satisfy the fury or discontentments of the People generally. Of the first sort were *Pocklington* and *Bray*, both Doctors in Divinity; the first of late made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, the second Chaplain of long time to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This last had Licenced two of *Pocklington's* Books, the one being a Sermon Preached at a Visitation before the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the other a Discourse of *Altars*, and the most proper situation of the Lords Table, in which were many Passages against that Bishop: To pacifie which offended Deity, *Pocklington* must be sacrificed on his own *Altar*, deprived of all his Preferments at the present, and made incapable of receiving others for the time to come: *Bray* being enjoyned to Preach a Recantation-Sermon in *St. Margarets* Church, and therein to retract one and thirty Arcles which the Bishop had collected out of those Books, *Heylyn* had been Petitioned against by *Prynne* at his first coming home, as a subservient Instrument (under the Archbishop himself) of all his Sufferings; and was kept four days in Examination: but finally dismiss'd without shame or Censure. *Cosens* (informed against by *Smart* (who had been deprived for his factious Inconformity, of some good Preferments in the Bishoprick and Church of *Durham*) was under a great Storm at first: but being one that would not shrink in the wetting, he stood stoutly to it, and in conclusion was dismissed without any other loss but of Time and Charges. The like happened also unto *Heywood* Vicar of *St. Giles's* in the Fields, *Squire* of *St. Leonard's* in *Shoreditch*, and *Finch* of *Christ-church*. The Articles against which four, and some others more, being for the most part of the same nature and effect, as namely, Railing in the Communion-Table, Adoration toward it, Calling up the Parishioners to the Rail to receive the Sacrament, Reading the Second Service at the Table so placed, Preaching in Surplices and Hoods, Administring the Sacrament in Copes, Beautifying and Adorning Churches with Painted Glasse, and others of the like condition; which either were to be held for Crimes in the Clergy generally, or else accounted none in them. And though the Informations were so slight and inconsiderable, that none of those who were impeach'd, could legally be made obnoxious to any Punishment; and that the credit of the Informers, not proved by Oath (which the Commons had no power to give) was the chief ground of their Proceedings: yet that these poor men might appear more monstrous in the eye of the World, the Articles against *Pocklington*, *Cosens*, *Heywood*, *Squire*, *Finch*, &c. were ordered to be put in Print; without care taken whether they were true or not. They knew full well, that when dirt was once thrown upon any man, (a) some of it must needs stick upon him, or about his Garments, how careful soever he might be to wipe it off.

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1640.

(a) *Audite  
calumniare,  
necesse est ut  
aliquid haereat.*

This course they also held with the Bishop of *Ely*, impeaching him of

PART II. of many pretended Misdemeanors in the See of *Norwich*, viz. That he  
*Anno Dom.* deprived or banished within the space of two years, fifty *godly, learned,*  
 1641. *painful, Ministers*; His placing the Communion-Table Altar-wise, and  
 causing a Rail to be set before it; The practicing of Superstition in  
 his own Person, his bowing toward it, Consecrating the Bread and  
 Wine at the West-side of the Table, with his back toward the Peo-  
 ple, and elevating the same above his head, that the People might  
 see it, (which last Points, as they made most noise, so they found least  
 proof) causing the Seats in all places to be so contrived, that the Peo-  
 ple must of necessity kneel toward the East, according to the pious  
 Custom of the Primitive Times; Turning all afternoons Sermons in-  
 to Catechisings by Question and Answer, according to the Kings  
*Instructions*; Appointing no Prayer to be used by Preachers before  
 their Sermons, but that prescribed by the Canon; and that the  
 Bells should give no other warning for Sermons, than they did  
 for Prayers, that the People might resort unto the Church at all  
 times alike, as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm they were  
 bound to do. In consideration whereof, it was resolved upon  
 the Question to be the Opinion of that House, That the said  
 Bishop was unfit, to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in the  
 Church or Commonwealth: and that a Message should be sent  
 to the Lords, desiring them to joyn with the Commons in Petition-  
 ing his Majesty to remove him both from his Person and Service.  
 By which this wise Prelate understood, that his nearness to the Kings  
 Person was his greatest Crime; and thereupon, in imitation of the  
 Castor (having first obtained his Majesties consent thereto) he dis-  
 continued that attendance which might occasion more danger to  
 him than it brought in profit. Which Prosecutions of the Clergy,  
 but this last especially, have brought me unto the year 1641. Which  
 brought more trouble to the Country Clergy than the last year had  
 done to those which lived in *London*. The *Committee* Authorised by  
 the House of Commons for Affairs of Religion, finding their work  
 begin to fail them, and that *Informtaions* came not up so fast as had  
 been expected, dispatched *Instructions* into all parts of the Kingdom  
 for an *enquiry* to be made into the *Lives* and *Actions* of the Clergy in  
 their several Parishes. And that the Inquisition might be made with  
 the greater diligence, not only *such as were in Authority*, but every  
*ingenious Person* was required to be very active in improving the present  
 opportunity, by giving true *Information* of all the Parishes in their se-  
 veral Counties. I know it was pretended by the said *Instructions*, that  
 enquiry should be made into *Pluralities* and *defect of maintenance*, as  
 well as into *scandalous* and *unpreaching Ministers*; yet the main busi-  
 ness was to bring the Clergy on the Stage, and find some matter of  
 complaint against them. Quite contrary in this to the Emperour  
*Trajan*, who in the midst of the Persecutions, which he had raised  
 against the Church, commanded by his Imperial *Edict*, (a) *That no*  
*strict Inquisition* should be made of those who did profess the Faith of  
*Christ*; but only that they should be punished, if accidentally or by the  
 voice of *Common Fame* they should be offered unto judgment. What  
 mis-

(a) *Christiano-*  
*rum gentem,*  
*exquirendam*  
*non esse; si vero*  
*incidunt aliqui,*  
*puni. i debere.*  
 Euseb. Hist.  
 Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

mischiefe hereupon ensued in animating the Parishioners against their Minister, seducing Servants to accuse and betray their Masters, alienating the affections of the Clergy from one another, and by that means subjecting them to that dissipation which soon after followed, shall be shewn hereafter, so far forth as it comes within the compass of this present History.

LIB. V.

Anno Dom.

1641.

But whilst these clouds were gathering together in the Country, as great a tempest seemed to be brewing in the City, which threatened no less danger to the Church it self than those proceedings to the Clergy. For in the beginning of this year we find some Divines of name and note, convened in the Dean of *Westminsters* Lodgings, to consult about matters of the Church; the occasion this: The Convocation was then sitting, but not impowred by his Majesties Commission to act in any thing of concernment. It was therefore ordered by the Peers *March 21.* That a Committee of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons should be nominated, in the name of the rest, for settling the affairs of the Church; by whom a Sub-Committee was the same day named to prepare such matters as were to be discoursed and concluded by them, the Bishop of *Lincoln* being in the Chair for both. Which *Sub-Committee* being made up of the Divines above-mentioned; consisted of three Bishops, nine Doctors in Divinity, and four of some inferiour Degree in the Universities; some of them being Prelatical, and some Presbyterian in point of Government, but all of them *Calvinians* in point of Doctrine. Beginning first with points of Doctrine, complaint was made that the whole body of *Arminianism*, and many particular points of *Popery* (for so they called all which agreed not with *Calvin's* since) had been of late maintained in Books and Sermons, and sometimes also in the Divinity Schools. And then descending to matter of Discipline, they discoursed of many Innovations, which they conceived to have been thrust upon the Church, most of them in disposing and adorning the Communion-Table, and the more reverent administration of the holy Sacraments; some of them positively required, or at least directed by the Laws of the Land, as reading the Communion Service at the Lords Table on Sundaies and Holidiaies, reading the Litany in the midst of the Church, the Ministers turning toward the East in the Creed and Prayers, and praying no otherwise before Sermons than in the words of the *Canon*; some of them never having been disused in many Parochial Churches, and retained in most Cathedrals since the Reformation, as standing at the Hymns, and the *Gloria Patri*; placing the Table Altarwise, and adoring toward it; some being left indifferent at the choice of the Minister, as the saying or singing of the *Te Deum* in Parochial Churches, officiating the Communion and the daily prayers in the Latine tongue, in several Colledges and Halls, by and amongst such as are not ignorant of that Language; And others not of so great moment, as to make any visible alteration in the face of the Church, or sensible disturbance in the minds of the People. Which therefore might have been as well forborn as practiced, till confirmed by Authority, or otherwise might have been borne without any such clamour;

PART II. mour, as either out of ignorance or malice had been raised against them.

Ann Dom.

1641.

They also took into consideration some Rubricks in the Book of Common Prayer, and other things, which they thought fit to be rectified in it. Amongst which they advised some things not to be utterly disliked, viz. That the Hymns, Sentences, Epistles and Gospels, should be reprinted according to the new Translation; That the Meeter in the Psalms should be corrected, and allowed of Publickly; and that no Anthems should be sung in Colledges or Cathedral Churches but such as were taken out of the Scripture, or the publick Liturgy; That fewer Lessons might be read out of the Books called Apocryphal, and the Lessons to be read distinctly, exclusive of the Liberty which is given to sing them as appears by the Rubrick; That the Rubrick should be cleared concerning the Ministers power for repelling scandalous and notorious sinners from the holy Communion; and that the general Confession before the Communion be ordered to be said by the Minister only, the People repeating it after him; That these words in the Form of Matrimony, viz. *With my body I thee Worship*, may be explained and made more intelligible; And that instead of binding the married Couple to receive the Communion on their Wedding day (which is seldom done) they may be obliged to receive it on the Sunday after, or the next Communion-day following; That none be licensed to marry, or have their Banes asked, who shall not first bring a Certificate from their Minister, that they are instructed in the Catechism; and that it be not required that the Infant be dipt in the water (as is enjoined by the Rubrick) in the case of extremity. Some Passages they observed impertinently, and not worth the altering, as the expunging of some Saints (which they falsely called *Legendaries*) out of the Kalendar; The constant adding of the Doxology at the end of the *Pater noster*; Reading of Morning and Evening Prayer daily by the Curate, if not otherwise letted; The leaving out of the *Benedicite*, and the changing of the Psalm used in the Churching of Women; That those words (*which only workest great marvels*) be left out of the Prayer for the Bishops and Clergy; That *Grievous sins* instead of *Deadly sins* be used in the Letany; That the *sanctifying* of the Flood *Jordan*, be changed into *sanctifying* the Element of Water, in the Form of Baptism; That those words, *In sure and certain hope of Resurrection*, which are used at Burials, may be changed to these, *Knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again*; And that the Commination should be read at the Desk, and not in the Pulpit: all which remaining as they did could give no offence, and might have easily been changed to give some content. And finally, some things there were of which they desired a Reformation, which seemed to have so much of the *Anti-Papist*, that they came close to the *Puritan*, viz. That the Vestments prescribed by the first Liturgy of King *Edward vi.* should not be required, and the rule in that case to be altered; That the Alms should be gathered rather after, than before the Communion; These words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, not to be Printed in great Letters; and that a Rubrick be inserted to declare,



clare, that kneeling at the Communion is required only in relation to the Prayer of the distribution, *Preserve thee body and soul, &c.* That weekly Communion every Sunday be changed to monthly in Colledges and Cathedral Churches; That the *Cross* in Baptism be either explained, or quite disused; and that in the Form of Confirmation these words importing, that Children baptized, are *undoubtedly saved*, be no longer used; That no times of Restraint may be laid on Marriage; and that the *Authoritative* Form of *Absolution* in the Visitation of the sick may be turned to a Pronouncing or declaring of it.

L I B. V.

Anno Dom.

1641.

I have the longer stood on the result of these Consultations, because of the different apprehensions which were had of the Consequents and Issue of them. Some hoped for a great Reformation to be prepared by them, and settled by the Grand Committee both in Doctrine and Discipline; and others as much feared (the affections of the men considered) that Doctrinal *Calvinism* being once settled, more alterations would be made in the Publick Liturgy than at first appeared; till it was brought more near the Form of the *Gallick* Churches, after the Platform of *Geneva*. Certain I am, that the imprisoned Archbishop had no fancy to it, fearing least the *Assembly* of Divines in *Jerusalem-Chamber* (so the place was called) might weaken the foundations of *Jerusalem* in the Church of *England*; That this Assembly on the matter might prove the National *Synod* of *England*, to the great dishonour of the Church; and that when their Conclusions were brought unto the great Committee, the business would be over-ruled by the Temporal Lords, as double in number to the *Bishops*. But whatsoever his fears were they were soon removed, that Meeting being scattered, about the middle of *May*, upon the bringing in of a Bill against Deans and Chapters; which so divided the *Convenors* both in their persons and affections, that they never after met together. Concerning which we are to know, that not only most of the *Lords of the Lower House*, and many *Lower-House Lords* in the Upper House; resolving to pull up Episcopacy by the very roots, thought it convenient to begin with lopping the Branches as laying no pretence to Divine Institution. The voting of which Bill exceedingly amazed all those of the Prelatical Clergy, as knowing at what Root it struck; though none seemed presently concerned in it but such as had some benefit or subsistence in those foundations. To still the great noise which was raised about it, the Commons seemed not unwilling that some of the Cathedral Clergy should advocate for the continuance of those Capitular Bodies, and others of the contrary Party to present their Reasons for their Dissolution: The time appointed being come, *Hacket*, Archdeacon of *Bedford*, and one of the Prebends of *St. Pauls*, pleaded both learnedly and stoutly in behalf of those Churches; and *Burges* of *Watford*, who not long before brought down his *Myrmidons* to cry for Justice against *Strafford*, to the Parliament doors, was all for down with them, down with them to the very ground. But though they differed in their Doctrine, yet they agreed well enough in their applications: *Burges* declaring it unlawful, as well as *Hacket*, that the

PART II. Revenues of those Churches should otherwise be employed than to pious uses. This seemed to put the business to a stand for the present time, but *Canterbury* knowing with what ease it might be resumed, advised the drawing of a Petition to both Houses of Parliament in the name of the University of *Oxon.* which had a great stock going in the Ship of the Church, not only for the preservation of the Episcopal Government, but of those Foundations, as being both the Encouragements and Rewards of Learning. In which Petition having spoken in few words of the Antiquity and Succession of Bishops from the Apostles themselves, they insist more at large upon such Suggestions as might best justify and endear the cause of Cathedral Churches; which being the most material of all those motives, which were laid before them to that purpose, we shall here subjoyn.

*And we become further suiters (saith that University) for the continuance of the Pious Foundations of Cathedral Churches with their Lands and Revenues: As Dedicate to the Service and Honour of God, soon after the Plantation of Christianity in the English Nation; As thought fit and usefully to be preserved for that end, when the Nurseries of Superstition were demolished, and so continued in the last and best times since the Blessed Reformation under King Edward the sixth, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, Princes Renowned through the World for their Piety and Wisdom; As approved and confirmed by all the Laws of this Land, Ancient and Modern: As the Principal and outward motive, and encouragements of all students, especially in Divinity, and the fittest Reward of some deep and Eminent Schollars: As Producing or Nourishing in all Ages, many Godly and Learned men who have most strongly asserted the truth of the Religion we Profess, against the many fierce oppositions of our Adversaries of Rome: As affording a Competent Portion in an Ingenious way to many younger Brothers of good Parentage, who devote themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel: As the only means of subsistence to a multitude of Officers, and other Ministers, who with their families depend upon them, and are wholly maintained by them: As the main Authors or upholders of divers Schools, Hospitals, High-ways, Bridges, and other Pious works: As special causes of much Profit and advantages to those Cities where they are situate; Not only by Relieving the Poor, and keeping convenient Hospitality: but by occasioning a frequent Resort of strangers from other parts to the great benefit of all Trades-men and Inhabitants, in those places: As the goodly Monuments of our Predecessors Piety, and present Honour of this Kingdom in the Eye of Foreign Nations: As the Chief support of many thousand families of the Layety who enjoy fair Estates under them in a free way: As yielding a constant and ample Revenue to the Crown: And as by which many of the Learned Professors in our Universities are maintained. The subversion or alienation whereof must (as we conceive) not only be attended with such consequences as will redound to the Scandal of many well affected to our Religion, but open the mouths of our Adversaries, and of Posterity against us, and as likely in time to draw after it harder conditions upon a considerable part of the Layety, and Universal cheapness and contempt upon the Clergie, a lamentable drooping and defection of Industry and know-*

knowledge in the Universities; which is easie to foresee but will be hard to Remedy.

LIB. V.

Anno Dom.

1641.

The like petition came from *Cambridge*, as much concerned in this common cause, as their sister of *Oxon*. But neither of them could prevail so far as to take off the edge of the Ax, which had been thus laid at the Root of the Tree, though it did blunt it at the present. For they which had the managing of the Design, finding that the Cathedral Churches were too strongly Cemented, to be demolished at an Instant, considered seasonably for themselves, that the furthest way about, did many times prove the nearest way to the journeys end; A Bill was therefore passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords by which it was to be Enacted (if their Vote had carried it); First, that the Bishops should have no Voices in Parliament; Secondly that they should not be Commissioners for the Peace, or Judges in any Temporal Courts; and that they should not sit in the *Star-Chamber* nor be Privy Counsellors. Which Bill being Voted part by part; The two last parts were passed, by a general consent, not above one or two dissenting: But the first branch was carried in the Negative by such an Unison consent in the Lords then present, that if the Bishops had not voted in defence of themselves, the Temporal Lords alone who appeared for them, had carried it by sixteen Voices. The point being still upon debate, those Lords which had shewed themselves against the Bishops, resolved to put it to the Fortune of another day, protesting that the Former manner of Voting the said Bill by *Branches* was both *Unparliamentary* and *Illegal*; and therefore that the *Bill* was either *wholly* to be passed, or ejected *wholly*: which being condescended to, the whole *Bill* was utterly cast out of the House by so many voices, that the Bishops might have spared their own till another time. And though according to the Rules of all former Parliaments that a Bill which had been once cast out of the House, should never be prest again the same Session; yet this Bill found a way to it within few moneths after, and almost twelve years before the end of this Session, as we shall see too soon in the course of this History. In the mean time, the *Anti-Prelatical* party in the house of Peers so bestirred themselves, that they prevailed upon the Rest to put a lower valuation on the Bishops then they had done formerly; insomuch, that at a Solemn Fast following not long after, the Temporal Lords took Precedence of the Bishops, contrary to the Custom of their Predecessors in all times foregoing: the Bishops not thinking it convenient to contend for place, at such time as their whole Order was in danger of *Falling*. Which being observed by the Lord *Spencer*; *Is this*, said he, *a day of Humiliation, wherein we shew so great a Pride, in taking place of those to whom it was allowed by all our Ancestors?* A day of *Humiliation* if it might be called; it was made such to the Bishops only, the Temporal Lords being never higher in their Exaltation.

But now we must look back on the Earl of *Strafford*, the prosecution of whose Impeachment had been long delaid upon some probable hope, that the displeasures of his greatest Adversaries might be miti-

PART II. gated by some Court-preferments. In Order whereunto it was agreed upon (if my intelligence or memory fail not;) that the Earl of *Anno Dom. Bedford* should be made Lord *Treasurer*, and *Pym* Chancellor of the *1641.* Exchequer, the Earl of *Essex* Governour of the Prince, and that *Hambden* should be made his Tutor, the Lord *Say* Master of the *Wards*, and *Hollis* Principal Secretary in the Place of *Windebank*; the *Deputiship* of *Ireland* was disposed of also, and some command appointed for the Earl of *Warwick* in the Royal Navy. Which Earls together with the Earl of *Hartford*, and the Lord *Kimbolton* (eldest Son to the Earl of *Manchester*) were taken at this time into his Majesties Council, that they might witness to the Rest of that Party, with what Sincerity and Piety his Majesties Affairs were Governed at the Council-Table. And in Relation to this purpose the Bishop of *London* delivered to the King the *Treasurers Staff*; the Earl of *New-Castle* relinquished the Governance of the Prince, and the Lord *Cottington* resigned his Offices both in the *Exchequer*, and the Court of *Wards*, there being no doubt but that Bishop *Duppa* in Order to so good a work, would relinquish the Tutorship of the Prince, when it should be required of him: So gallantly did these great persons deny themselves, to advance the service of their Master. But before all these things were fully settled and performed; the Kings mind was altered; (but by whom altered; hath been more conjectured then affirmed for certain) which so exasperated them who were concerned in this designation, that they persued the Earl of *Strafford* with the great eagerness. And somewhat to this purpose was hinted in the Kings Declaration of the 18<sup>th</sup> of *August*; in which he signified: *what overtures had been made by them; and with what importunity for Offices and Preferments, what great services should have been done for him, and what other undertaking even to have saved the Life of the Earl of Strafford.* By which discovery as he blemished the Reputes of some Principal Members in the eyes of many of the people; so he gave no small cause of wonder to many others, when they were told from his own Pen, at how cheap a *Rate* (a *Rate* which would have cost him nothing) he might have saved the Life of such an able and deserving Minister.

This design being thus unhappily dashed, the Earl was called unto his Tryal on the 22 day of *March* last past; which being continued many days with great expectation, his Adversaries (though the ablest men in the House of Commons) perceived that his Defences were so strong, and their proof so weak that they thought it not safe to leave the Judgment of the Cause to the House of Peers in way of Judicature. For finding that their proofs amounted not to a *Legal Evidence*; and that nothing but *Legal Evidence*, could prevail in a Court of Judicature, they Resolved to Steer their course by another wind, and to call the *Legislative* power to their assistance; according unto which both *Lords*, and *Commons* might proceed by the Light of their own Understanding without further Testimony. And so it was declared by *saint-Johns* then Solicitor General in a conference between the Committees of both Houses, *April. 29. 1641.* Where it is said, *That although*

although single Testimony might be sufficient to satisfy private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private satisfaction to each mans Conscience, is sufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all. Thus they resolved it in this Case; But knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be to the Lives, and Fortunes of themselves and the Rest of Subjects, a saving clause was added to the Bill of *Attainder*, that it should not be drawn into Example for the time to come. By which it was Provided, *That no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or Interpret any Act or thing to be Treason; nor hear or determine any Treason; nor in any other manner, then he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.*

His Majesty understanding how things were carried, Resolved to use his best endeavours to preserve the man, who had deserved so bravely of him. And therefore in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament on the first *May*, absolved him from all Treasons charged upon him; conjuring them by the merit of his former graces, and the hopes of greater, not to compel him to do any thing against his conscience, to which no worldly consideration whatsoever, should be able to tempt him. This put the Lords to such a stand, who were before inclinable enough to that unfortunate Gentleman, that multitudes of the Rabble were brought down out of *London* and *Southwark*, to cry for speedy Justice, and Execution; the names of such as had not voted to the Bill, being posted up in the Palace-yard, by the Title of *Straffordians*, and Enemies to the Commonwealth. Which course so terrified the Lords, that most of them withdrawing themselves from the House of Peers, the *Attainder* passed, and certain Bishops nominated to attend the King, for satisfying his Conscience, and perswading him to sign that Destructive Bill. Never was Poor Prince, brought to so sad an Exigent, betwixt his Conscience on the one side, and the Fears of such a Publick Rupture on the other, as seemed to threaten nothing but destruction to himself and his Family. But humane frailty, and the continual Solicitation of some about him, so prevailed at last, that on *Monday* morning the 9<sup>th</sup> of *May*, he put a most unwilling hand to that fatal Bill, Issuing a Commission unto certain Lords to pass the same into an Act, and with the same to speed another (which he had also signed with the same Penful of Ink) for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses. The Act thus past on *Monday* morning, the Earl was brought unto the Scaffold on the *Wednesday* following, desiring earnestly, but in vain, to Exchange some words with the Archbishop, before his Death; which gave occasion to a report, that a little before his Death he had charged his misfortunes, over-sights and misdemeanours upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as the Prime Author of the same; and had bitterly Crust the day of their first acquaintance: Which being so scandalous and dishonourable to this great Prelate, I shall lay down the whole truth in this particular, as it came from the Archbishops own mouth,

LIB. V.

Anno Dom.

1641.

PART II. mouth, in the presence of *Balfore a Scot*, and then Lieutenant of the Tower, who was required to attest to each period of it.

*Anno Dom.* 1641. The Lord *Strafford* the night before the Execution, sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and asked him whether it were possible he might speak with the Archbishop: The Lieutenant told him, he might not do it without Order from the Parliament. Whereupon the Earl replied, You shall hear what passeth between us; for it is not a time now either for him to plot Heresie, or me to plot Treason. The Lieutenant answered, That he was limited; and therefore desired his Lordship would Petition the Parliament for that Favour. No (said he) I have gotten my dispatch from them, and will trouble them no more; I am now Petitioning an Higher Court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor Error feared. But my Lord, said he, (turning to the Primate of *Ireland*, whose company he had procured of the Houses in that fatal Exigent) I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*. You shall desire the Archbishop to lend me his Prayers this night, and to give me his Blessing when I do go abroad to morrow; and to be in his Window, that by my last Farewel I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former Favours. The Primate having delivered the Message without delay, the Archbishop replied, That in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last Departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the Archbishops Lodging, and said to the Lieutenant, Though I do not see the Archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his Rooms. In the mean time the Archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the Window; Then the Earl bowing himself to the ground, My Lord (said he) *your Prayers and your Blessing*. The Archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground *in Animi deliquio*. The Earl bowing the second time, said, Farewel my Lord, God protect your Innocency. And because he feared, that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, That he hoped by Gods Assistance, and his own Innocency, that when he came to his own Execution (which he daily longed for) the World should perceive he had been more sensible of the Lord *Strafford's* Loss, than of his own: And good reason it should be so (said he) for the Gentleman was more serviceable to the Church (he would not mention the State) than either himself, or any of all the Church-men had ever been. A gallant Farewel to so eminent and beloved a Friend.

Thus march'd this Great Man to the Scaffold; more like a General in the Head of an Army, to breath out Victory; than like a Condemned Man, to undergo the Sentence of death. The Lieutenant of the Tower desired him to take Coach, for fear the People should rush in upon him and tear him in pieces. No (said he to the Lieutenant) I dare look Death in the face, and I hope the People too; Have you a care I do not escape, and I care not how I dye, whether by the hand

of the Executioner, or the madness and fury of the People; If that may give them better content, it is all one to me. In his last Speech upon the Scaffold, he declared, That in all his Employments, since he had the honour to serve his Majesty, he never had any thing in the purpose of his heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity both of King and People; That he was so far from being an Enemy to Parliaments (which had been charged amongst his Crimes) that he did always think the Parliaments of *England* to be the most happy Constitution that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and People happy; That he acquitted all the World for his death, heartily beseeching the God of Heaven to forgive all them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of his heart, he was not guilty of the Offences which he was to die for; That it was a great comfort to him, that his Majesty conceived him not meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment, as the utmost execution of this Sentence: And finally, (after many other Expressions) That he died a true Son of the *Church of England*, in which he had been born and bred; for the Peace and Prosperity whereof he most heartily prayed. Turning his eyes unto his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, he desired him to charge his Son to fear God, to continue an obedient Son to the *Church of England*, and not to meddle with Church-Livings, as that which would prove a Moth or Canker to him in his Estate. And having several times recommended his prepared Soul to the Mercies of God, he submitted his Neck with most Christian Magnanimity to the stroke of the Axe, which took his Head from him at one blow, before he had filled up the number of fifty years. "A man on whom his Majesty looked as  
 "one whose great Abilities might rather make a Prince afraid, than  
 "ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State: For those  
 "were prone to create in him great confidence of Undertakings, and  
 "this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving  
 "in so high a Sphere, and with so vigorous a Lustre, he must needs  
 "(as the Sun) raise many envious Exhalations, which condensed by a  
 "Popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a Cloud upon the highest Merit and Integrity. So far he stood commended by the Pen of his sorrowful Sovereign, who never could sufficiently bewail his own Infelicity, in giving way unto an Act of such high Injustice (as he calls it there) of which he gives this Testimony in his *Meditation* on the Death of this unfortunate Earl, "That he was so far from excusing  
 "or denying that Compliance on his part (for plenary consent it was  
 "not) to his destruction, whom in his own judgment he thought not  
 "by any clear Law, guilty of death; that he did never bear any touch  
 "of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of his Repentance, he had often with sorrow confessed both to God and Men, as  
 "an Act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man than  
 "of God, whose Name and Place on Earth no man is worthy to bear,  
 "who will avoid Inconveniences of State by Acts of so high Injustice,  
 "as no Publick Convenience can compensate.

LIB. V.  
 Anno Dom.  
 1641.



*Eicon. Basil.*  
 P. 5

## PART II.

A<sup>nno</sup> Dom.

1641.

The loss of this Gentlemans Life after such a manner, so terrified the rest of his Majesties Servants; that as some had deserted him in the first appearance of his Troubles: so there were few that durst stand to him, or put him upon resolute or courageous Counsels, when he most wanted such Assistance. In which respect, it was no hard matter for the Houses of Parliament to wire-draw him by degrees to such Condescensions, as finally left the Church without any Authority, and the Crown with little more Prerogative than a Titular and precarious Empire. He had before passed an Act for Triennial Parliaments, to be called in his default by Sheriffs and Constables; and signed a Bill for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses, at such time as he passed away this poor Gentlemans Life. He must now give up so much of his Power at once, as would disable him from subsisting by any other means than the Alms of his Parliament; or keeping down those factious and seditious Humours, for which the ordinary Courts of Justice, tied to Formalities of Law, could provide no remedy. In reference to the first, having kept him hungry and in appetite for seven Months and more, from their first meeting in *November*, they present him with a Bill for *Tonnage and Poundage*, to be paid only for the three Months following; and that too clogged in the Preamble with such a Condition, as to disclaim all such Right unto it, as had been formerly enjoyed by his Predecessors. They prepared also other Bills, for Repealing the Statute concerning *Knighthood*, made by King *Edward ii.* and then made rather for the ease of the Subject, than the advancing of the Crown; as also, For abolishing his Pretensions to the Raising of *ship-mony*, For retrenching the *Perambulations* of his Forests, for suppressing the Court of *Stanneries* in *Cornwal*, And the long-continued Jurisdiction of his Clerk of the Market. And in relation to the other, they prepared two Bills more; the one for putting down the Court of *Star-Chamber*, the other for destroying the *High-Commission*, without which bridles there had been no ruling of the *Puritan* Faction. But as in the Bill for putting down the *Star-Chamber*, there were some Clauses which extended to the overthrow of the Court of the *Marches*, and the Council established in the North, and for Regulating the Authority of the Council-Table; so in that for destroying the *High-Commission*, there was a Clause which took away the Coercive power of Bishops, Chancellors, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Judges. To these two last (the Royal Assent having been passed unto all the former without any difficulty) the King was pleased to demur, which bred such a heat amongst the Commons, that he was forced on *Munday* the fifth of *July*, (being but two days after his passing of the other) to make an excuse for this small delay; the business being of such importance as the Altering in a great measure those Fundamental Laws, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, which so many of his Predecessors had established. How great a blow was given by the first Act to the Royal Authority. I leave to be considered by our Civil Historians. What the Church suffered by the second will appear by these words, in which it was Enacted (under the several penalties therein contained) “That from the fifth day



“ day of *August* then next following no Archbishop, or Bishops, or any other Person or Persons, having or exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction under the Kings Majesty, within the Realm of *England* and the Dominion of *Wales*, should award, impose or inflict any Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amercement, Imprisonment, or any Corporal Punishment for any Contempt, Misdemeanour, Crime, Offence, Matter, or Thing whatsoever, belonging to Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Cognizance or Jurisdiction; or should *Ex Officio*, or at the instance or promotion of any person whatsoever, urge, enforce, tender, give, or minister unto any Churchwarden, Sideman, or person whatsoever, any Corporal Oath, whereby they shall be obliged to make any Presentment concerning others, or confess any thing against themselves, which might make them liable, or expose them to any Censure, Pain, Penalty of what sort soever. Which in effect was to take away the Power of Ecclesiastical Censures, belonging naturally and originally to the Episcopal Function, that is to say, Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations, (all which are both inflicted and denounced as Pains or Penalties) to the no small encouragement of Inconformity, Incontinency, and all other irregular Courses, both in Clergy and Laity, because it nourisht an opinion of impunity in the hearts of those who formerly had been awed respectively by those several Censures. For when the Subject fears neither Pain nor Penalty; the Superiour under whom he lives will find little obedience, and the Laws much less.

L I B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1641.

Bibl. Regia.  
p. 308.

But we have too long left our Archbishop in his cares and sorrows, and therefore must return to ease him of some part of his cares, though his sorrows continued as before. Hitherto he had given himself no improbable hopes of being called unto his Trial, and given such strong proof of his integrity and innocence from the Crimes objected, as might restore him to a capacity of doing those good offices to the University as that place of *Chancellor* did require. But finding by the late proceedings of the Houses of Parliament in the business of his dear Friend the Earl of *Strafford*, that his affairs were like to grow from bad to worse, he would no longer undergo the name of that Office which he was not able to perform. Resolved to put the University into such a condition as might enable them to proceed in the choice of a more fortunate Patron, he acquaints the King with his intent by the Bishop of *London*; and finding his Majesties Concurrence in opinion with him, he sends his Resignation in his Letter of *June 28*. Which being published, and excepted in the Convocation of the University on *July 1*. The Earl of *Pembroke* was now elected to succeed him, who had before been named in competition for the Office with him.

**M**Y Present Condition (saith the Letter) is not unknown to the whole World, yet by few pitied or deplored; The righteous God best knows the Justice of my sufferings, on whom both in life and death I will ever depend: the last of which shall be unto me most welcome, in that my life is now burdensome unto me, my mind attended with variety of sad and grievous thoughts, my soul continually vexed with Anxieties & troubles,

PART II. *groaning under the burden of a displeas'd Parliament, my name aspersed and grossly abused by the multiplicity of Libellous Pamphlets, and my self debarred from wonted access to the best of Princes, and it is Vox Populi that I am Popishly affected. How earnest I have been in my Disputations, Exhortations, and otherwise to quench such sparks, lest they should become Coals, I hope after my death you will all acknowledge; yet in the midst of all my afflictions there is nothing more hath so nearly touched me as the remembrance of your free and joyfull acceptance of me to be your Chancelour, and that I am now shut up from being able to do you that Service which you might justly expect from me. When I first received this honour I intended to have carried it with me to my Grave; neither were my hopes any less, since the Parliament (called by his Majesties Royal Command) committed me to this Reyal Prison. But sith (by reason of matters of greater consequence yet in hand) the Parliament is pleased to procrastinate my Tryal, I do hereby as thankfully resign my Office of being Chancellor, as ever I received that Dignity, entreating you to Elect some Honourable Person, who upon all occasions may be ready to serve you; and I beseech God send you such an one as may do all things for his glory, and the furtherance of your most famous University. This is the continual Prayer of*

Tower, June 28.  
1641.

Your dejected Friend and Chancelour,

Being the last time I shall write so,

Will. Cant.

This Resignation having eased him of some part of his cares, it was no small refreshment to him in the midst of his sorrows, that notwithstanding all the clamour about *Innovations*, the Parliament had made no Order to alter any thing which he had laboured to establish. The Commons might perhaps have some thoughts that way, but they either kept them to themselves, or found but little comfort in them when they suffered them to go abroad, or shew themselves in any motion to the House of Lords. The Peers were then so far from entertaining any such extravagant Fancies, that taking notice of the Irregular Zeal of some forward men, who had not patience enough to attend the leisure of Authority, they joyned together with the Prelates, in this Order of *January*. 16. for putting a stop to their Exorbitancies at the first breaking out. For by that Order it was signified to be the pleasure of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in the High Court of Parliament, “ That the Divine Service be performed as it  
“ is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this Realm: And that all  
“ such as shall disturb that wholsom Order, shall be severely punished  
“ according to the Law: And the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates in the  
“ severall Parishes shall forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremonies  
“ that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by  
“ the Laws of the Land. Which last Clause being couched in such general terms, related only to such Rites and Ceremonies, as other-  
wise

wife might have been introduced for the time to come, nor unto such as had been entertained and settled by any former Authority. Countenanced and secured by which Declaration, the Ordinaries went on cheerfully in the exercise of their Jurisdiction, suffering no alteration or disturbance to pass unquestioned, if any troublesome or unquiet person did begin to stir. But no sooner was the Coercive power of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Judges restrained, or rather utterly abolished, by the late Act of Parliament; and the Kings journey into *Scotland* left men and matters at more liberty than before they were: but presently the House of Commons took upon them such a Reformation (so it must be called) in which they neither found concurrence of the House of Peers, or could expect it from the King. But finding that they were strong enough to set up for themselves, without working Journey-work any longer unto either of them, they made the following Order of *September 8.* to be the first Experiment or Essay of their undertakings. For though in a Conference, had the same day with the Lords, they desired their consent therein, and that the Lords returned them no other Answer than by sending them the next day (being the day of the Recess) a Copy of the former Order of *January 16.* in which they desired then to concur; yet *Pym*, who governed the Committee during that Recess, dispatht his Mandate of the 29th of the same month over all the Kingdom, requiring all Ministers and Churchwardens to publish the said Order in their several Churches; to see it put in execution, and cause Certificates to be made thereof by the time appointed. Which Order being the Leading Card to the Game that followed, was *verbatim* thus: *viz.*

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1641.

**W**Hereas divers Innovations in or about the Worship of God have been lately practised in this Kingdom, by enjoyning some things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of Law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesties Subjects; For the suppression of such Innovations, and for preservation of the Publick Peace, It is this day Ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Churchwardens of every Parish Church or Chappel respectively doth forthwith remove the Communion Table from the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel into some other convenient place, and that they take away the Rails, and Level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations. That all Crucifixes, scandalous Pictures, of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, and all Images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished; and that all Tapers, Candlesticks, and Basons be removed from the Communion Table. That all Corporal Bowing at the Name of Jesus, or toward the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table be henceforth forborn. That the Orders aforesaid be observed in all the several Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Colledges, Churches, or Chappels in the two Universities, or any other part of this Kingdom, and in the Temple-Church, and the Chappels of other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the said Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellours, of the said Universities, and by the Heads and Governours of the several Colledges and Halls aforesaid, and by the Benchers and Readers in the said

PART II. *Inns of Court respectively. That the Lords day shall be duly observed Anno Dom. and sanctified: All Dancing, or other Sports either before or after Divine Service be forboren and restrained; and that the Preaching of Gods Word, be permitted in the Afternoon in the several Churches and Chappels of this Kingdom, and that Ministers and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. That the Vice-Chancellours of the Universities, Heads, and Governours of Colledges, all Parsons, Vicars, Churchwardens, do make Certificate of the performance of these Orders: and if the same shall not be observed in any places aforementioned, upon complaint thereof made to the two next Justices of the Peace, Major, and other Head-Officer of Cities and Towns Corporate, It is ordered, That the said Justices, Major, and other Head-Officer respectively shall examine the truth of all such complaints, and certifie by whose default the same are committed. All which Certificates are to be delivered in Parliament before the thirtieth of October next ensuing, Anno 1641.*

It may be justly wondred at, that all this while we have heard nothing of the *Scots*, the chief promoters of these mischiefs; but we may rest our selves assured that they were not idle, solliciting their affairs both openly and underhand, *instant in season, and out of season*, till they had brought about all ends which invited them hither. They had made sure work with the Lord Lieutenant, and feared not the Resurrection of the Lord Archbishop though *Doomed* at that time, only to a Civil death. They had gratified the Commons in procuring all the Acts of Parliament before remembred, and paring the Bishops nailsto the very quick, by the only terrour of their Arms; and were reciprocally gratified by them with a gift of three hundred thousand pounds of good English money, in the name of a *brotherly assistance*, for their pretended former losses, which could not rationally be computed to the tenth part of that Sum. And in relation to that Treaty they gained in a manner all those points which had been first insisted on in the meeting at *Rippon*, and many additional also, which were brought in afterwards by *Louden*. In their *Demand* concerning Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church-Government, the Answer favoured rather of delay than satisfaction; amounting to no more than this, “That his Majesty, with the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, did well approve of the affections of his Subjects of *Scotland*, “in their desires of having a Conformity of Church-Government between the two Nations; and that as the Parliament had already “taken into consideration the Reformation of the Church-Government, so they would proceed therein in due time as should best conduce to the glory of God, and peace of Church and of both “Kingdoms. Which Condescensions and Conclusions being ratified on *August 7.* by Act of Parliament in *England*, a Provision was also made for the security of all his Majesties Party in reference to the former troubles; excluding only the Scottish Prelates, and four more of that Nation, from the benefit of it. And that being done, his Majesty set forwards toward *Scotland* on *Tuesday* the tenth of the same month, giving order as he went for the Disbanding of both Armies, that they  
might

## Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

might be no farther charge or trouble to him. Welcomed he was with great joy to the City of *Edenborough*, in regard he came with full desires and resolutions of giving all satisfaction to that People which they could expect, though to the Diminution of his Royal Rights and just Prerogative. He was resolved to sweeten and Carefs them with all Acts of Grace, that so they might reciprocate with him in their Love and Loyalty, though therein he found himself deceived. For he not only ratified all the Transactions of the Treaty confirmed in *England* by Act of Parliament, in that Kingdom; but by like Act abolished the Episcopal Government, and yielded to an alienation of all Church-Lands, restored by his Father or himself for the maintenance of it. A matter of most woful consequence to the Church of *England*. For the House of Commons being advertised of these Transactions, prest him with their continual importunities after his Return, to subvert the Government of Bishops here in *England*, in the destruction whereof he had been pleased to gratifie his *Scottish* Subjects, which could not be reputed so considerable in his estimation, nor were so in the eye of the World as the English were. What followed hereupon we may hear too soon.

This good success of the *Scots* encouraged the *Irish Papists* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the same way the *Scots* had gone; that is to say, by seising his Majesties Towns, Forts and Castles, putting themselves into the body of an Army, banishing and imprisoning all such as opposed their Practices, and then Petitioning the King for a publick exercise of their Religion. And they had this great furtherance to promote their hopes; For when the King was prest by the Commons for the disbanding of the *Irish* Army, a suite was made unto him by the Embassadour of *Spain*, that he might have leave to list three or four thousand of them for his Masters Service in the Wars; to which motion his Majesty readily condescending gave order in it accordingly. But the Commons never thinking themselves safe, as long as any of that Army had a Sword in his hand, never left importuning the King (whom they had now brought to the condition of denying nothing which they asked) till they had made him eat his word, and revoke those Orders to his great dishonour; which so exasperated that Army consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, that it was no hard matter for those who had the managing of that Plot to make sure of them. And then considering that the *Scots* by raising of an Army had gained from the King an abolition of the *Episcopal* Order, the Rescinding of his own and his Fathers Acts about the reducing of that Church to some Uniformity with this, and setled their Kirk in such a way as best pleased their own humours, Why might not the *Irish Papists* hope, that by the help of such an Army, ready raised to their hands, or easily drawn together, though dispersed at present, they might obtain the like indulgences and grants for their Religion? The 23 of *October* was the day designed for the seizing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and many places of great Importance in that Kingdom: But failing in the main design, which had been discovered the night before by one *O Conally*, they brake out into open Arms, dealing no better

LIB. V.

Anno Dom.

1641.

PART II. better with the Protestants there, than the Covenanters had done with  
*Anno Dom.* the Royal Party in *Scotland*. Of this *Rebellion* (for it must be called  
 I 6 4 1. a *Rebellion* in the *Irish*, though not in the *Scots*) his Majesty gives pre-  
 sent notice to the Houses of Parliament, requiring their Counsel and  
 assistance for the extinguishing of that Flame, before it had wasted and  
 consumed that Kingdom. But neither the necessity of the Protestants  
 there, nor the Kings importunity here, could persuade them to Levy  
 one man toward the suppression of those Rebels, till the King had dis-  
 claimed his power of pressing Souldiers in an Act of Parliament, and  
 thereby laid himself open to such Acts of violence, as were then ham-  
 mering against him.

But to proceed, his Majesty having settled his affairs in *Scotland* to  
 the full contentment of the People by granting them the Acts of Grace  
 before remembred, and giving some addition of Honour to his greatest  
 enemies, (amongst whom *Lesly*, who commanded their two late Ar-  
 mies, most undeservedly was advanced to the Title of Earl of *Leven*)  
 prepared in the beginning of *Novemb.* for his journey to *London*;  
 where he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor, and Citizens with all  
 imaginable expressions of Love and Duty. But the Commons at the  
 other end of the Town entertained him with a sharp Declaration, En-  
 titled, *The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, which they pre-  
 sented to him at *Hampton-Court*, with a Petition thereunto annexed,  
 within few days after his return; In which it was desired amongst o-  
 ther things, that he would please to pass an Act for depriving the Bi-  
 shops of their place and Vote in Parliament: which Bill had formerly  
 been cast out of the House of Peers, as before was said, and was not  
 by the course of Parliaments to be offered again. To this Demand  
 and others which concerned Religion he returned this Answer, " That  
 " for preserving the peace and safety of this Kingdom from the designs  
 " of the Popish party, he had and would still concur with all the just  
 " desires of his people, in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriv-  
 " ing of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, he wisht them to  
 " consider that their right was grounded upon the Fundamental Law  
 " of the Kingdom, and constitution of Parliament; That he conceiv-  
 " ed the taking away of the *High Commission* had well moderated the  
 " *Inordinate* power of the Clergy, but if there continued any usur-  
 " pations or Excesses in their *jurisdictions*, he then neither had nor  
 " would protect them; That he would willingly concur in the remo-  
 " val of any illegal *Innovations*, which had crept into the Church;  
 " That if the Parliament should advise to call a National *Synod*, which  
 " might duely Examine such Ceremonies, as gave just cause of offence  
 " to any he would take it into consideration and apply himself to give  
 " due satisfaction therein; That he was very sorry to hear *Corruptions*  
 " in *Religion* to be Objected in such General terms, since he was per-  
 " swaded in his Conscience that no Church could be found upon earth,  
 " that professed the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine then  
 " the Church of *England* at that time; That by the grace of God he  
 " was resolved to maintain both the Government and Doctrine of it in  
 " their Glory and Purity, and not only against all invasions of *Popery*,  
 but

*Bibl. Reg.*  
*Sect. 4. c. 4.*

but from the Irreverence of those many *Schismaticks*, and *Separatists* LIB. IV. 1641. wherewith of late this Kingdom and the City of London did so much abound, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State, for the suppressing of whom he required their aid and timely assistance.

This Resolute, and Religious Answer did not so satisfy the Commons, but that they were Resolved to pursue the Enterprize till they had gained the Point they aimed at. Some endeavours had formerly been used by the Earl of *Essex* and the Baron of *Kimbolton* to persuade the Bishops, so far to gratify the importunate desires of the house of Commons, as voluntarily to Relinquish their Votes in Parliament; upon assurance that the Peers would be bound in Honour to preserve them in all the essential parts of their calling and Function. But the Bishops who had little or nothing left to keep them up in Reputation amongst the People, but their Rights of Peerage, could not be easily entreated to betray themselves, and become *Felones de se* (as the Lawyers Phrase it) as long as his Majesty would be pleased to maintain their Interest, and in theirs His own. Doubly Repulst, the Apprentices are drawn in huge multitudes to cry at the Parliament doors *No Bishops, No Bishops*; Petitions daily brought against them as the *Common Grievances*, imputing to them the decay of Trade, and the obstruction of all busineses in both Houses of Parliament; their Persons presented with Revilings, and sometimes with stones, so that they could neither come out of their Coaches if they came by Land, nor out of their Barges if they came by water, without manifest danger of their lives; the *Abby of Westminster* Violently Assaulted, and as Couragiously defended by the Scholars, Choiremen, Officers, and other Servants, concluding in the death of *Wiseman* a Knight of *Kent*, who having taken on himself the Conduct of the Tumult, was killed by one of the Defendants, with a Tile from the Battlements. Hereupon *Williams* the Late Bishop of *Lincoln* having been translated unto *York*, invites as many of the Bishops as were left in *London* to a Private Conference to be held amongst them in the Lodgings of the Dean of *Westminster*; where they subscribed to a *Protestation*, and Petition to be presented to his Majesty in the House of *Peers*, containing a Relation of the abuses offered them for some days last past, together with a Declaration of their sense and meaning, for the time to come. The Apprehension of their own dangers inclined them willingly to any such course, as visibly conduced to the preservation of their Rights as Bishops; and their lives as men; For both which the subscribing of this Petition and Protestation, and the entring of it in the Journal of the House of Lords, seems to have provided. It was about the middle of *Christmas*, when some of the Bishops were retired into the Country, others not returned from their *Recess*, and no fewer then five Sees, either vacant, or not filled Actually, at the present; so that no more of them met at this Assembly, then the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Durham*, *Lichfield*, *Gloucester*, *Norwich*, *Asaph*, *Wells*, *Heresford*, *Oxon*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*; all which subscribed this last preservative for their Place and Persons. And being it was  
the

PART II. the last *flask* of their dying *light*, I shall not think it improper to keep  
*Anno Dom.* it from *Expiring*, as long as I can, by serving as a *Prolonger* to it in  
 1641. this present *Hiltory*; Now the *Petition*, and *Protestation* was as  
 followeth.

*Huch. Exaet.*  
*Collect. p. 41.*

Whereas the *Petitioners* are called up by *Several* and *Respectiue*  
*Writs*, and under great *Penalties* to attend the *Parliament*, and  
 have a clear and *indubitable* right to vote in *Bills* and other matters what-  
 soever, *Debateable* in *Parliament* by the *Ancient Customs*, *Laws* and *Sta-*  
*tutes* of this *Reulm*, and ought to be *Protected* by your *Majesty* quietly to  
 attend and *prosecute* that *Great Service*. They *humbly Remonstrate* and  
*Protest* before *God*, *Your Majesty*, and the *Noble Lords* and *Peers* now *As-*  
*sembled* in *Parliament*; that as they had an *Indubitate* Right to sit and  
*Vote* in the *House of Lords*: so are they, if they may be *Protected* from  
*force* and *violence*, most *Willing* and *Ready* to *Perform* their *Duties* ac-  
 cordingly. And that they do *abominate* All *Actions* or *Opinions* tending  
 to *Popery* or the *maintenance* thereof, as also all *propension* and *Inclinati-*  
*on* to any *Malignant* Party or any other *Side* or *Party* whatsoever, to the  
 which their own *Reasons* and *Conscience* shall not move them to *adhere*.  
 But whereas they have been at *several* times *Violently Menaced*, *Affronted*,  
 and *Assaulted* by *multitudes* of *People* in their coming to *perform* their *Ser-*  
*vices* in that *Honourable* *House*, and lately *chased* away and put in *dan-*  
*ger* of their *lives*, and can find no *Redress* or *Protection* upon *sundry*  
*Complaints*, made to both *Houses* in these *particulars*; They *humble* *protest*  
 before your *Majesty* and the *Noble* *House of Peers*, That, *saving* unto them-  
 selves all their *Right*, and *Interests* of *Sitting* and *Voting* in that *House* at  
 other times, they dare not *Sit* or *Vote* in the *House of Peers*, until *Your Ma-*  
*jesty* shall further *secure* them from all *Affronts*, *Indignities*, and *Dangers*  
 in the *Premises*. Lastly, Whereas these *fears* are not built upon *Conceits*,  
 but upon such *Grounds* and *Objects* as may well *terrifie* *Men* of *Resolution*  
 and much *Constancy*, they do in all *Humility* and *Duty* *Protest* before  
*Your Majesty* and the *Peers* of the *Most Honourable* *House of Parliament*,  
 against all *Laws*, *Orders*, *Votes*, *Resolutions* and *Determinations*, as of  
 themselves *Null* and of *None Effect*, which in their *Absence*, since the *27th*  
 of this *Instant Moneth* of *December*, 1641. have already *passed*; As  
 likewise, that all such as shall hereafter *Pass* in the *Most Honourable* *House*,  
 during the time of this their *Forced* and *Violent* *Absence* from the said  
*Most Honourable* *House*: not denying but if their *absenting* of themselves  
 were *Wilful* and *Voluntary*, that *Most Honourable* *House* might *Proceed* in  
 all their *Premises*, their *Absence* or this *Protestation* *Notwithstanding*.  
 And *humbly beseeching* *Your Most Excellent Majesty* to *Command* the  
*Clerk* of the *House of Peers*, to *Enter* this their *Petition* and *Protestation*  
 among his *Records*.

They will ever pray *God* to *blesse*, &c.

This *Petition* being presented to his *Majesty*, was by him delivered  
 to the *Lord Keeper Littleton*, to be *Communicated* the next day, be-  
 ing the *30th* of *Decemb.* to the *House of Peers*: But the *Lord Keeper*  
 contrary to his *Majesties* directions, did first impart it to some of the  
 Preaching



Preaching party in both Houses of Parliament; and after, as the plot was laid, to the *Peers* in general. Upon the Reading whereof a conference was desired with the House of Commons, to whom the Lord Keeper whom they had under the Lash, was pleased to signifie, that this Petition, and Protestation of the twelve Bishops, contained matters of high and dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the Fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament. Whereupon the said twelve Bishops were Impeached by the Commons of high Treason. The Usher called Black-Rod, Commanded to find them out, and to bring them to the Bar in the House of *Peers*, which by reason of their scattered and divided Lodgings, could not be effected till eight of the clock at night, at what time being brought together their offence was signified unto them, and an Order presently made for their commitment to the Tower, whether they were all carried the next day, Except the Bishops of *Durham* and *Litchfield* who found the favour (the one by reason of his Eminent Learning, and both of them in regard of their Age and Infirmities) to stand committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher. Our Archbishop had now more Neighbours then he desired, but not more company than before, it being prudently Ordered amongst themselves, that none of them should bestow any visits on him, for fear of giving some advantage to their common enemy; as if they had been hatching some conspiracy against the Publick: But they refrained not on either side from sending Messages of Love and consolation unto one another; those mutual civilities being almost every day performed betwixt the two Archbishops also, though very much differing both in their Counsels and Affections in the times foregoing. The Archbishop of *York* was now so much declined in favour, that he stood in as bad termes with the Common People, as the other did. His Picture cut in Brass, attired in his Episcopal Robes, with his square Cap upon his head, and Bandileers about his Neck, shouldring a Musket upon one of his shoulders in one hand, and a Rest in the other, either presaging that which followed, or else relating unto that which had passed in defence of the Abbey; Together with which a book was Printed, in which he was Resembled to the *Decoy-Duck*, (alluding to the *Decoies* in *Lincolnshire* where he had been Bishop) restored to Liberty on design, that he might bring more Company with him at his coming back, and a device Ingraven for the Front of the Book, which represented the conceit; and that not unhappily. Certain I am that our Archbishop in the midst of those sorrows seemed much pleased with the Fancy, whither out of his great Love to wit, or some other self-satisfaction which he found therein, is beyond my knowledge.

These Bishops being thus secured, and no body left in a manner to sollicite the Common Cause but the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Bill against their Votes passed currantly in the House of *Peers* on *February 6.* the Citizens who before had feasted the King with such signs of Affection, now celebrating the Concurrence of the House against his Interest, with Bells and Bonfires. Nor was it long before the King gave over the

PART II. Cause, for which he had so long contended; For either terrified with  
*Anno Dom.* the Apprehension of his own Dangers, or wrought on by the impor-  
 1641. tunity of some about him, he signed the Bill at *Canterbury* on *Februa-*  
*Bibl. Regia:* ry 14. to which place he had accompanied the Queen in her way to-  
 ward *Holland*: And by that Bill it was desired to be Enacted, "That  
 "no Archbishop, Bishop, or any other Person in Holy Orders, from  
 "February 15. then next following, should have any Seat or Place,  
 "Suffrage or Voice, use or execute any Power or Authority in the  
 "Parliaments of this Realm; nor should be of the Privi-Council of  
 "his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or Justices of the Peace of  
 "Oyer and Terminer, or Gaol-delivery; or execute any Temporal  
 "Authority, by vertue of any Commission: but should be wholly  
 "disabled, or be incapable to have, receive, use or execute any of  
 "the said Offices, Places, Powers, Authorities, and things aforesaid.  
 The passing of which Act, what specious Pretences soever were  
 given out for it, redounded little to his Majesties Benefit, and far  
 less to his Comfort. For by cutting off so many of his Friends at  
 a blow, he lost his Power in the House of Peers, and not long af-  
 ter was deprived of his Negative Voice, when the great Business  
 of the *Militia* came to be disputed. And though he pleased him-  
 self sometimes with this persuasion of their contentedness in suffering a  
 present diminution of their Rights and Honours, for his sake and the Com-  
 monwealths; yet was it no small trouble to his Conscience at other  
 times; that he had added this to the former injury, in consenting to  
 the taking away of the Coercive Power of their Jurisdiction, for this  
 we find to be one of those three things which lay heaviest on him, in  
 the time of his Solitude and Sufferings, as appears by this passage in  
 one of his Prayers, viz. *Was it through ignorance that I suffered innoc-*  
*ent Blood to be spilt by a false pretended Justice? Or that I permitted a*  
*wrong way of Worship to be set up in Scotland? Or injured the Bishops in*  
*England?* By which we see, that the Injury done unto the Bishops of  
*England*, is put into the same scale with his permitting a *wrong way of*  
*Worship* to be set up in *Scotland*, and the shedding of the *innocent Blood*  
 of the Earl of *Strafford*. And if this Act proved so displeasing to the  
 King, it must needs be grievous to the Bishops themselves; to none  
 more then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had set so great a part of  
 his affections on the preserving of this Church in her Power and Glo-  
 ry. Whose sense hereof is thus express'd, by one who for the time  
 was his greatest Adversary, (a) *That it struck proud Canterbury to*  
*the heart, and undermined all his Prelatical Designs to advance the Bi-*  
*shops Pomp and Power;* whether with greater bitterness or truth, is hard  
 to say.

*Eicon Basil.*  
c. 17.

(a) *Breviate,*  
P. 35<sup>e</sup>

Their great hope was (though it was such a hope as that of *Abraham*,  
 which the Scripture calls a *hope against hope*) that having pared the  
 Jurisdiction of the Bishops, and impaired their Power, they would  
 have suffered them to enjoy their Function with Peace and quiet, as  
 the only remaining Ornament and Honour of the Church of *Eng-*  
*land*. Conform therein unto the gallantry of the Ancient *Romans*,  
 who when they had brought the *Carthaginians* unto that condition,

as to compel them to deliver up their Ships, Arms, and Elephants, and to make neither War nor Peace without their permission, (a) esteemed it an especial honour to their Commonwealth, to preserve the City which was no longer to be feared, though formerly it had contended for the Superiority. But the Bishops Crimes were still unpunished: And as the old *Roman* Citizen cried out upon his fine Country-house and pleasant Gardens, when he found his name posted up amongst the *Proscriptis*, in the time of *Sylla*; so might these Holy men complain of those fair Houses and goodly Manors which belonged to their Episcopal Sees, as the only means of the Subversion of their Sacred Calling. This had been formerly resolved on, but was not to be done at once, as before was noted; nor to be followed now, but on some such colour as was pretended for depriving them of their Jurisdiction and Place in Parliament. It was pretended for suppressing the Court of *High-Commission*, and the coercive Power of Jurisdiction, That the Prelates had abused them both, *to the insufferable wrong and oppression of his Majesties Subjects*; And for the taking away of their Votes in Parliament, with all other Civil Power in Church-men, That it was found to be an occasion of great mischief both to Church and State, *the Office of the Ministry being of such great importance as to take up the whole Min.* And now to make way for the Abolition of the Calling it self, it was given out amongst the People to have been made of no use to the Church, by the Bishops themselves; against whom these Objections were put in every mans mouth, That they had laid aside the use of *Confirming* Children, though required by Law, whereby they had deprived themselves of that dependence, which People of all sorts formerly had fastned on them; That they had altogether neglected the duty of Preaching, under the colour of attending their several Governments; That in their several Governments they stood only as Cyphers, transmitting their whole Jurisdiction to their Chancellors and under-Officers; That none of them used to sit in their *Consistories*, for hearing Grievances, and Administring Justice to the Subject, whether Clergy or Laity, leaving them for a prey to Registers, Proctors, and Apparitors, who most unconscionably extorted from them what they pleased; That few or none of them held their Visitations in person, whereby the face of the Bishop was unknown to the greatest part of the Clergy, and the greatest part of the Clergy was unknown to him, to the discouragement of the Godly and painful Ministers, and the encouragement of vicious and irregular Parsons; That few of them lived in their Episcopal Cities, and some there were who had never seen them, whereby the Poor (which commonly abound most in populous places) wanted that Relief, and those of the better sort that Hospitality, which they had reason to expect! the Divine Service in the mean time performed irreverently and perfunctorily in the Cathedrals of those Cities, for want of the Bishops Residence and Superintension; That they had transferred the solemn giving of *Orders* from the said Cathedrals, to the Chappels of their private Houses, or some obscure Churches in the Country, not having nor requiring the

L I B. V.  
Anno Dom.

1641.

(a) *Nihil speciosius Carthagine quæ non timeretur.*  
L Flor Hist. 1.2;Act of Parl.  
16. Car.

PART II. Assistance of their Deans and Chapters, as they ought to do; That  
*Anno Dom.* they engrossed a sole or solitary Power to themselves alone, in the  
 1641. Sentence of Deprivation and Degradation, without the Presences and  
 Consents of their said Deans and Chapters, or any Members of the  
 same, contrary to the *Canons* in that behalf; by which last Acts they  
 had rendred those Capitular Bodies as useles to the Church as they  
 were themselves: And finally, That seeing they did nothing which  
 belonged unto the place of a Bishop, but the receiving of their Rents,  
 living in ease and worldly pomp, and domineering over the rest of  
 their Brethren, it was expedient to remove the Function out of the  
 Church, and turn their Lands and Houses unto better uses. This I  
 remember to have been the substance of those Objections made by  
 some of the Gentry, and put into the mouths of the Common People;  
 in which if any thing were true (as I hope there was not) such Bi-  
 shops as offended in the Premises, or in any of them, have the less  
 reason to complain of their own misfortunes, and the more cause to be  
 complained of, for giving such Advantages to the Enemies of their  
 Power and Function. Nor was the alienating of their Lands and  
 Houses the Total Sum of the Design, though a great part of it. As  
 long as the *Episcopal* Jurisdiction stood, much *Grist* was carried from  
 the *Mills* in *Westminster-Hall*, Toll whereof was taken by the Bishops  
 Officers; Therefore those Courts to be suppressed (which could not  
 be more easily done, than in abolishing the Bishops whose Courts they  
 were) that so the managing of all Causes, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*,  
 might be brought into the hands of those who thought they could not  
 thrive sufficiently by their own Common Law, as long as any other  
 Law was Common, besides their own. By means whereof, all Of-  
 fices and Preferments in the Admiral, Archiepiscopal, and Diocesan  
 Courts, being taken from the Civil Lawyers, nothing can follow there-  
 upon but the discouragement and discontinuance of those Noble  
 Studies, which formerly were found so advantagious to the State and  
 Nation.

It is not to be thought that such a general Concussion should befall  
 the Church, so many Practices entertained against it, and so many en-  
 deavours used for the Ruine of it; and that no man should lend a help-  
 ing hand to support the Fabrick, or to uphold the Sacred Ark when  
 he saw it tottering. Some well-affected in both Houses, appeared  
 stoutly for it; amongst which, none more cordially than the Lord  
*George Digby*, in a Speech made upon occasion of the City-Petition, and  
*Sir Lucius Cary* Viscount *Faulkland*, both Members of the House of  
 Commons: Which last, though he expressed much bitterness against  
 the Bishops, in one of his Speeches made in the first heats and agitation  
 of business; yet afterwards in another of them he shewed himself an  
 especial Advocate in behalf of the Episcopal Order. In which Speech  
 of his it is affirmed, "That the ground of this Government by Epis-  
 " copacy is so ancient, and so general, so uncontradicted in the first and  
 " best times that our most laborious Antiquaries can find no Nation, no  
 " City, no Church, no Houses under any other, that our first Ecclesia-  
 " stical Authors tell us of; That the Apostles not only allowed but  
 " founded

“founded Bishops, so that the Tradition for some Books of Scripture, which we receive as Canonical, is both less ancient, less general, and less uncontradicted than that is. So he when he was come again to his former temper, and not yet entred nor initiated into Court preferments. Nor was the point only canvassed within those walls, but managed in a more publick way by the Pens of some, than there it had been tossed on the Tongues of others. The Bishop of *Exon.* leads the way, presenting *An humble Remonstrance* to the High Court of Parliament in behalf of *Liturgie* and *Episcopacy*, which presently was encountred with an answer to it, wherein the *Original of Liturgie and Episcopacy* is pretended to be *discussed*, &c. This answer framed by a Juncto of five Presbyterian Ministers in or about the City of *London*, the first Letters of whose names being laid together made up the word *smectymnius*, which appears only for the Author. The Bishop hereupon replies in a *Vindication* (by which name he called it) which *Vindication* had an Answer or Rejoynder to it, by the same *smectymnius*. During which Interfeats of Arms, and exchange of Pens, a Discourse was published by Sir *Thomas Ashton* Knight and Baronet. In the first part whereof he gives us *A survey of the Inconveniencies of the Presbyterian Discipline, and the inconsistencies thereof, with the constitution of this State.* And in the second, *The Original Institution, Succession, and Jurisdiction of the ancient and venerable order of Bishops.* This last part seconded within the compass of this year by the *History of Episcopacy*, first published as the work of *Theophilus Churchman*, and not till many years after, owned by the Authors name. The next year bringing forth a book of Dr. *Taylor*, called *Episcopacy asserted*, and the *Aerionastix* of *John Theyer*, &c. All of them backt, and the two last encouraged by many Petitions to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, not only from the two Universities, whom it most concerned; but from several Counties of the Kingdom, of which more hereafter.

I shall conclude this year with a remembrance of some change of Officers in the Court, but of more in the Church. *Windebanke*, Secretary of State, being questioned for releasing divers Priests and Jesuits, contrary to the established Laws, conveyed himself over into *France*; and *Finch* Lord Keeper, on some distrust which he had of his safety, for acting too zealously in the Forreist business, and the case of *Shipmoney*, withdrew at the same time into *Holland*. *Pembroke*, Lord Chamberlain of the household, was discharged of his Office by the King upon just displeasures, before his late going into *Scotland*; The Earl of *Newcastle* for the Reasons before remembered, had relinquished his charge of the Princes Person, and *Cottington* his Offices in the *Exchequer* and the Court of *Wards*; *Neile* Archbishop of *York* died some few days before the beginning of the Parliament, *Mountague* of *Chichester*, *Bancroft* of *Oxon.* *Davenant* of *Salisbury*, *Potter* of *Carlisle*, and *Thornborough* of *Worcester* within few months after. Nature abhorreth nothing more than *Vacuity*, and it proved to be very agreeable to the Rules of *Polity*, not to suffer their preferments to lye longer in a state of *Vacancy*. To fill these Places, the Earl of *Hertford* (about that time advanced to the Title of *Marquis*) was made and sworn Governour.

L I B. V.

Anno Dom.

1641.

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1641.



of the Prince; *Effex*, Lord Chamberlain of the Household; *Say*, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries; *Littleton*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, preferred to the honour of Lord Keeper; *Faulkland* made Secretary of Estate, and *Culpepper* Chancellour of the Exchequer: Which two last being Members of the House of Commons, and well acquainted with such designs as were then in Project, and men of good parts withal, were thought worth the gaining, and fastned to the Court by these great Preferments. Next for the *Vacancies* in the Church they were supplied by preferring *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, to the See of *York*; and *Winiff*, Dean of *St. Pauls*, to the See of *Lincoln*; *Duppa* of *Chichester*, to *Salisbury*, and *King*, then Dean of *Rocheſter*, to succeed at *Chicheſter*; *Hall*, Bishop of *Exon*. translated to *Norwich*; and *Brownrigg*, Master of *Cutharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, preferred to ~~Exon~~ *skinner* of *Bristol* removed to *Oxon*. and *Westfield*, Archdeacon of *St. Albans*, advanced to *Bristol*; the Bishoprick of *Carlisle* was given in *Commendam* to the Primate of *Ireland*, during the troubles in that Kingdom; and *Worceſter*, by the power of *Hamilton*, conferred on *Prideaux*, who formerly had been his Tutor; all of them of good parts and merit, and under some especial Character of esteem and favour in the eyes of the People, though some of them declined afterwards from their former height. Nor were there more Changes after these, till the suppressing of Episcopacy by the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date *October 9. Anno 1646.* but that *Fremen* Dean of *Gloceſter*, and President of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxon*. was consecrated Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* on the death of *Wright*, in the beginning of the year 1644. and *Howel*, one of the Prebends of *Windsor*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Bristol* on the death of *Westfield*, before the end of the same year.

1642.

The passing of this Act forementioned, put the imprisoned Bishops in some hope of a speedy deliverance, though it proved not so quick as they expected. For though on *Munday February 14.* an Order came that they might put in bail if they would, that they should have their hearing on the *Friday* following, and that some of them went out of the *Tower* the morrow after, as appears by *Breviate*, fol. 25. yet the Commons took it so indignly, that either that Order was revoked, or the Bishops had some private Advertisement to return and continue where they were. The Bishops being deprived of their right of Peerage, must be supposed to stand on the same ground with the rest of the People; and consequently to be accountable for their Actions to the House of Commons, whose Priviledges, if the Peers invade, they must look to hear of it, as well as the poor Bishops had done before. And on these terms the business stood till *May 5.* being just eighteen weeks from their first Imprisonment; at which time, without making suite to the House of Commons, the Peers releast them upon Bail, and dismiss them to their several dwellings. There they continued all of them at their own disposing, till the War forced them to provide themselves of safer quarters, except the Bishop of *Ely* only, who, within few months after he was discharged from the *Tower*,

was

was seised on by a party of Souldiers at his house of *Doumham*, and brought back again to the *Tower*, where he continued till the end of the year 1659. without any Charge or Accusation produced against him.

L I B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1642.

But as for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he first took possession of that fatal lodging before any of the rest came to him; so he continued there after their dismissal, without hope of finding his passage out of it by any other door than the door of death; which as he did not look for before it came, so when it came he did not fear it. He had then been fifteen months a Prisoner since his first Commitment to that place, as far from being brought unto his Tryal as he was at the first; and is to lye there as much longer before he should hear any thing of them which might tend that way: only they had some pulls at him from one time to another, to keep him in remembrance of his present condition, and to prepare him by degrees to his last dissolution. For on *Octo.* 23. in the year foregoing, the House of Peers sequestred his Jurisdiction from him, conferring it on *Brent*, and others of his under-officers; and ordered that he should bestow none of the Benefices within his gift without acquainting them with the name and quality of the party whom he intended to prefer, leaving to them the Approbation, if they saw cause for it. And on *October* 15. this present year, for so long he remained without further disturbance, it was resolved upon the Question, That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Archbishops, and Bishops, should be sequestred for the use and service of the Commonwealth. In which though he was no more concerned, yet he was as much concerned as any other of the Episcopal Order; so much the more, as being sure to find less favour, whensoever that Vote should be put in execution by them that made it. For on the ninth of *November* following, his house at *Lambeth* was forcibly possessed by a Party of Souldiers to keep it for the publick Service, and 78 pounds of his Rents as forcibly taken from some of his Officers, by an Order under the hands of some of the Lords upon pretence of imploying it to the maintenance of his Majesties Children. But upon his Petition, shortly after he had an Order for securing of his Goods and Books, though he secured them rather from the power of the Souldiers than from the hands of any other on whom the Houses should bestow them, when they saw time for it. Upon the neck of that came another Order to bar him from having Conference with any of the other Prisoners; or speaking with any other, but in the presence of the Warder who was appointed to attend him; and from having the Liberty of the *Tower*; or from sending any of his Servants into the City but on occasion of providing Victuals, and other necessaries. Not long after, the Souldiers brake open the doors of his Chappel in *Lambeth* house, and began to make foul work with the Organs there: but before any great hurt was done, their Captain came, and put a period to their fury. On *December* 21. his Saddle-horse was seised on by Order from some Members in the House of Commons; and on 23. *Leighton* the Schismatick, who had before been sentenced in the *star-Chamber* for his libellous and seditious Pamphlets, came with

PART II. an Order from that house to dispossess the Souldiers of their quarters there, and turn his house into a Prison. His Wood and Coals *Anno Dom.* seised on, without any permission to make any use of them for himself. On *March 14.* he had word brought him of a plot for sending him and Bishop *Wren*, his fellow Prisoner to perpetual Exile in *New-England*; and that *Wells*, a Factious Preacher, which came lately thence, had laid wagers of it: but when the matter came in agitation in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so horrible and foul a practice, that it was generally rejected. In the beginning of *May 1643.* the Windows in his Chappel were defaced, and the steps torn up; his Goods and Books seised on by *Leighton*, and some others. And on the sixteenth of the same month he was served with an Order of both Houses, debarring him from bestowing any of his Benefices, which either were or should be vacant for the time to come. And on the last day of the same an Order issued from some Members of that close Committee, directed unto *Prynne* and others, to seise on all his Letters and Papers, to be perused by such as should be Authorized to that end and purpose.

So far they had proceeded in pulling him from himself piece-meal, before they were ready for his Tryal, or seemed to have any thoughts which might look that way. They had then a greater game to play, and on this occasion. His Majesty at his late being in *Scotland* expostulated with some of the chief amongst them touching their late coming into *England* in an hostile manner, and found that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament had invited them to it; and having furnished himself with some proofs for it, he commanded his Attorney General to impeach some of them of High Treason; that is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the House of Peers, *Hollis*, *Pym*, *Hastlerig*, *Stroud*, and *Hambden*, of the House of Commons. But sending a Serjeant at Arms to Arrest their persons, there came a countermand from the House of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deferred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themselves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being *January 4.* his Majesty being no otherwise attended than with his ordinary Servants, and some few Gentlemen, armed no otherwise than with Swords and Courage, went to the House of Commons to demand the five Members, that he might proceed against them in a way of Justice; but his intention was discovered, and the birds flown before his coming. And this was voted by the House of Commons for such an unexpiable breach of Privilege, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his desisting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction; nothing must satisfy their Jealousies, and secure their Fears, but the putting the Tower of *London* in their hands, together with the Command of the Royal Navy, as also of the Forts, Castles, and the Train-bands of the Kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majesty would fling after all the rest, they would continue his most loyal and obedient subjects. On this the King demurs a while, but having



having shipt the Queen for *Holland*, and got the Prince into his own LIB. V. power, he becomes more resolute, and stoutly stands on the denial. *Anno Dom.* But finding the Members too strong for him, and *London*, by reason 1642. of the continual tumults, to be a dangerous Neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*; that being in a place of safety he might the better find a way to compose those differences which now began to embroil the Kingdom. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, provided for the late intended War against the *Scots*, and laid up there when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town he was denied entrance by *Hotham*, who by the appointment of the House of Commons had took charge of that place. The Gentry of *Yorkshire*, who had Petitioned the King to secure that Magazine, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done also by the *Yeomanry*, and those of the inferiour sort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by a Committee of four Gentlemen, all Members of the House of Commons, and all of them Natives of that County, sent thither purposely (in a new and unprecedented way) to lie as Spies upon his Counsels, and as Controulers to his Actions. Some Messages there were betwixt him and the Houses of Parliament concerning the atoning of these differences, whilst he was at *York*; but the *nineteen Propositions* sent thither to him, did declare sufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unless he had made himself a Cypher, a thing of no signification in the affairs of State.

It was desired in the eighth of these *Propositions*, That his Majesty would be pleased to consent to such a Reformation as should be made, of the Church Government and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament should Advise, wherein they intended to have Consultation with Divines, *Husb. Ex-* as was Expressed in their Declaration; And that his Majesty would con- *act. Collect.* tribute his best assistance to them for the raising of a sufficient main- *p. 309.* tenance, for Preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom; And that his Majesty would be pleased to give his Consent to Laws for taking away of Innovations, and Superstitions, and of Pluralities, and against Scandalous Ministers. For satisfaction whereunto he first repeats unto them so much of a former Answer returned to their Petition, which accompanied the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, as hath already been laid down in the year foregoing; and after calls to their Remembrance a material clause in his Message of the 14th of February, at such time as he yielded his consent to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament. In which it was declared, That his Majesty had Observed great and different troubles to arise in the hearts of his people concerning the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and *Id. Ib. p. 327.* therefore that he was willing to refer the whole consideration to the Wisdom of his Parliament, which he desired them to enter into speedily, that the present Distractions about the same might be composed; that he desired not to be pressed to any single Act on his part, till the whole was so digested and settled by both Houses, that his Majesty might cleerly see what was

PART II. *fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.* " Of which  
*Anno Dom.* " he addeth, that he the more hoped for a good success to the gene-  
 1642. " ral satisfaction of his People, because they seemed in their *Propo-*  
 " *sition* to desire but a *Reformation*, and not (as had been daily Preach-  
 " ed for *Necessary*, in those many Conventicles, which for the nineteen  
 " Months last past had so swarmed in this Kingdom) a *Destruction* of  
 " the present Discipline and Liturgy; that he should most cheerfully  
 " give his best assistance for raising a sufficient maintenance for  
 " Preaching Ministers, in such course as should be most for the en-  
 " couragement of Piety and Learning; that to the Bills they men-  
 " tioned, and the *Consultation* which they intimated, as he knew no-  
 " thing of the particular *matters* of the one (though he liked the  
 " Titles of themselves) so neither did he of the *manner* of the  
 " other, but by an *Informer*, (to whom he gave little credit, and  
 " wisht no man did more) Common Fame, he could say nothing till  
 " he saw them. With which general well studied answer he dismissed  
 that Article.

These *Propositions*, and the entertaining of so many *Petitions* by the Houses of Parliament visibly tending to the Abolition of Episcopal Government, made it appear most necessary in the Eyes of those who wisht well to it, to hasten the publishing of such *Petitions*, as had been presented to the King in behalf thereof, and by his Majesty had been Ordered to be published accordingly; For what could otherwise be expected, but that many such *Petitions* should be presented to his Majesty, and both Houses from several Counties in the Kingdom, for the preserving of that Government, under which this Church had flourished with Peace and Happiness, since the Reformation. Amongst which none did plead the cause with greater fervency, then that which was tendred in the name of the Gentry and Clergy of the Diocess of *Canterbury*; partly out of the esteem they had to their *Metropolitan*, and partly out of the affection, which they carried to the cause it self. In which *Petition* it was shewed, *That notwithstanding this Kingdom, hath by the singular Providence of Almighty God for many years last past happily flourished above all other Nations in the Christian World, under the Religion and Government by Law Established; yet hath it been of late most miserably distracted through the sinister Practices of some private persons ill affected to them both; By whose means the present Government is disgraced and traduced, the Houses of God are profaned and in part defaced, the Ministers of Christ are contemned and despised, the Ornaments and many Utensils of the Church are abused, the Liturgie and Book of Common Prayer, depraved and neglected, That absolute model of Prayer, the Lords Prayer vilified, the Sacraments of the Gospel in some places unduly administered, in other places omitted, Solemn days of Fasting observed, and appointed by private Persons, Marriages Illegally Solemnized, Burials uncharitably performed, And the very Fundamentals of Religion subverted by the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the Abrogation of the Moral Law. For which purpose many offensive Sermons are daily Preached, and many Impious Pamphlets Printed; And in contemning of Authority many do*  
 what

what seemeth good in their own Eyes only, as if there were no King nor LIB. V.  
 Government in this our Israel; whereby God is highly provoked, his Anno Dom.  
 Sacred Majesty dishonoured, the Peace of the Kingdom endangered, the 1642.  
 Consciences of the People disquieted, the Ministry of Gods word disheart-  
 ned, and the Enemies of the Church imboldned in their enterprife. " For  
 " redress whereof, May it please this great and Honourable Council,  
 " speedily to Command a due observation of the Religion and Go-  
 " vernment by Law Established; in such manner as may seem best to  
 " the Piety and Wisdom of his Royal Majesty and this Honourable  
 " Court. Your Petitioners as they shall confidently expect a blessing  
 " from Heaven upon this Church, and Kingdom; so shall they have  
 " this further cause to implore the Divine Assistance upon this Ho-  
 " nourable Assembly.

To this Petition there subscribed no fewer then 24 Knights and  
 Baronets, Esquires and Gentlemen of note above 300. Divines 108.  
 Freeholders and Subsidy men 800. A greater number in the total then  
 might have been expected from so small a Diocess, consisting but of  
 257. Parishes, distempered by the mixture of so many Churches of  
*French* and *Dutch*, and wholly under the command of the Houses of  
 Parliament. Many Petitions of like nature came from other Coun-  
 ties, where the People were at any Liberty to speak their own sense,  
 and had not their hands tied from Acting in their own concernments;  
 All which with some of those, which had led the way unto the Rest,  
 were published by Order from his Majesty, bearing date *May 20. 1642.*  
 under the title of *a Collection of the Petitions of divers Countries, &c.*  
 Which Petitions being so drawn together, and besides many which  
 were presented after this Collection, amounted to nineteen in all,  
 that is to say, two from the County of *Chester*, two from *Cornwall*,  
 one from the University of *Oxon.* and another from the University of  
*Cambridge*; One from the Heads of Colledges and Halls, this from  
 the Diocess of *Canterbury*; another from the Diocess of *Exeter*, one  
 from the six Counties of *North-wales*, and one apiece from the Coun-  
 ties of *Notingham, Huntington, Somerset, Rutland, Stafford, Lancaster,*  
*Kent, Oxford, and Hereford.* Nor came these Petitions thus collected,  
 either from Persons few in Number or inconsiderable in quality (like  
 those of the Porters, Watermen, and other poor people which cla-  
 mored with so much noise at the doors of the Parliament) but from  
 many thousands of the best and most eminent Subjects of the Realm  
 of *England.* The total Number of Subscribers in seven of the said  
 Counties only, besides the Diocess of *Canterbury*, and the Burrough of  
*Southwark* (the rest not being computed in the said Collection)  
 amounting to 482. Lords and Knights, 1748. Esquires and Gentle-  
 men of Note, 631. Doctors and Ministers, 44559. Freeholders;  
 which shows how generally well affected the People were, both to  
 the Government, and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, if they  
 had not been perverted, and over-awed by the Armies and Ordinan-  
 ces of the House of Parliament, which Commanded the greatest part  
 of the Kingdom. And though perhaps the Subscribers on the other  
 side might appear more numerous, considering how Active and United

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1642.

A Draught of a  
Speech by the  
Lord Viscount  
Faulkland, p. 4

that party was; yet was it very well observed in referēce to the said Subscriptions, by a Noble Member of that House, "That the numberless number of those of a different sense, appeared not publickly, nor cried so loud as being persons more quiet, secure in the goodnes of their Laws, the wisdom of their Law-makers; and that it was not a thing usual to Petition for what men have, but for what they have not. But notwithstanding the importunity of the Petitioners on the one side, and the Moderation of the Kings Answer on the other, the prevailing party in both Houses had *Resolved* long since upon the *Question*, which afterwards they declared by their publick Votes. For on the 11th of *September* the Vote passed in the House of Commons for abolishing *Bishops, Deans, and Chapters*, celebrated by the infatuated Citizens (as all other publick mischiefs were) with Bells and Bonfires; the Lords not coming in till the end of *January*, when it past there also.

The War in the mean time begins to open; The Parliament had their Guards already, and the affront which *Hotham* had put upon his Majesty at *Hull* prompted the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* to tender themselves for a Guard to his Person. This presently Voted by both Houses to be a leavying of War against the Parliament, for whose defence not only the *Trained Bands* of *London* must be in readines, and the *Good people of the Country* required to put themselves into a posture of Arms; but Regiments of Horse and Foot are Listed, a General appointed, great Sums of Money raised, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his *Evil Counsellors*. The noise of these preparations hastens the King from *York* to *Notingham* where he sets up his *standard* inviting all his good *subjects* to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the Laws and Religion of their Country. He encreased his forces as he marched, which could not come unto the Reputation of being an Army, till he came into *shropshire*, where great Bodies of the Loyal, and Stout hearted *Welch* resorted to him. Strengthened with this, and furnished sufficiently with field Pieces, Arms, and Ammunition, which the Queen had sent to him out of *Holland*, he resolves upon his March to *London*; but on *Sunday* the 23th of *Octob.* was encountred on the way at a place called *Edghill* by the Parliaments Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then 5000 men slain upon the place; The *Prologue* for a greater slaughter, if the Dark night had not put an end to that dispute. Each part pretended the Victory, but it went cleerly on the Kings side, who though he lost his General; yet he kept the Field, and possessed himself of the Dead bodies, and not so only: but he made his way open unto *London*, and in his way forced *Banbury Castle* in the very sight, as it were, of the Earl of *Effex*, who with his flying Army made all the hast he could toward the City (that he might be there before the King) to serve the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be of an absolute Victory. In the Battel of *Thro*, between the Confederates of *Italy*, and *Charles* the 8th of *France*, it happened so, that the Confederates kept the Field, possess themselves of the Camp, Baggage and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking

breaking through, had left behind them. And yet the Honour of LIB. V. the day was generally given unto the *French*; For though they lost the *Anno Dom.* Field, their Camp Artillery and Baggage: yet they obtained what 1642. they fought for, which was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates* did intend to deprive them off. Which Resolution in that *Case* may be a Ruling *Case* to this; the King having not only kept the Field, possess himself of the dead bodies, Pillaged the Carriages of the Enemy: but forcibly opened his way toward *London*, which the Enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred Triumphantly into *Oxon.* with no fewer then one hundred and twenty Colours taken in the fight.

Having assured himself of *Oxon.* for his *Winter Quarters*, he Resolved on his Advance toward *London*: but made so many Halts in the way, that *Essex* was got thither before him, who had disposed of his Forces at *Kingston*, *Branford*, *Acton*, and some other places thereabouts, not only to stop his March, but to fall upon him in the *Rere* as occasion served. Yet he goes forward notwithstanding as far as *Branford*, out of which he beats two of their best Regiments, takes 500. Prisoners, sinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forward on the morrow after, being *Sunday November 13.* But understanding that the Earl of *Essex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingston*, and joining with the *London Auxiliaries*, lay in the way before him, at a place called *Turnhom-Green* neer *Chiswick*, it was thought safer to retreat toward *Oxon.* while the way was open, than to venture his Army to the fortune of a second Battel, which if it were lost, it would be utterly impossible for him to raise another. At *Oxon.* he receives *Propositions* of Peace from the Houses of Parliament: but such as rather did besem a conquering than a losing side: Amongst which I find this for one.

*That his Majesty would be pleased to give his Royal Assent, for taking Proposition 4. away Superstitious Innovations; and to the Bill for the utter abolishing and taking away all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral and Choristers, old Vicars or new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their under-Officers out of the Church of England; To the Bill against Scandalous Ministers; To the Bill against Pluralities, and to the Bill for Consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines; That his Majesty would be pleased to pass such other Bills for settling of Church-Government, as upon Consultation with the Assembly of the said Divines shall be Resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them to be presented to his Majesty.*

Which *Proposition*, with the rest, being presented to him on *Candlemas-day*, he referred to the following Treaty to be held at *Oxon.* in which he found the Commissioners of the Houses so streighted in Time,

PART II. Time, and so tied up to their Instructions, that nothing could be yielded by them, which might conduce to the composing of the present Distempers.

Anno Dom.  
1643.

But it was indifferent to them what Success they found, either in the *Propositions* or the *Treaty*, who had already entred on the Rents and Profits of all the *Episcopal Sees* and *Capitular Bodies*, which were within the Power of their Armies; and Sequestred the Benefices of all such as stood in their way, under the common notion of scandalous Ministers: who if they had offended against the Laws of the Realm, by the same Laws were to have been proceeded against; that so being legally deprived, the vacant Churches might be left to be filled by the *Patrons* with more deserving *Incumbents*. But such a course was inconsistent with the present Design: Most of the Silenced *Lecturers* and Factious Ministers, which within ten years then last past had left the Kingdom, either for Inconformity, or Debt, or their own intemperance of Spirit, had of late flock'd into it again, like so many Birds of Rapine to seek after the *Prey*. And upon these, and such as these, the Sequestred Benefices were bestowed, to be held no otherwise by them, than as *Usufructuaries* or *Tenants at Will*, that so they might continue in a servile obsequiousness to the Power and Pleasure of their great Landlords. With which his Majesty being made acquainted, he presently signified his dislike and resentment of it, by his Royal Proclamation bearing date at *Oxon. May 15. 1643.* In which he first complains,

Bibl. Regia.  
p. 1. p. 325.

“ That divers of the Clergy, eminent for their Piety and Learning,  
 “ were forced from their Cures and Habitations, or otherwise silen-  
 “ ced and discharged from exercising their Ministry, for no other rea-  
 “ son but because (contrary to the Laws of the Land, and their own  
 “ Consciences) they would not pray against him and his Assistants,  
 “ or refused to publish any illegal Commands and Orders for foment-  
 “ ing the unnatural War raised against him: but conformed themselves  
 “ according to the Book of Common Prayers, and Preach'd Gods  
 “ Word according to the purity thereof, without any mixture of  
 “ Sedition. Next, That the said Clergy being so forcibly driven out  
 “ or discharged of their Cures, many Factious and Schismatical Per-  
 “ sons were intruded into them, to sow Sedition, and seduce his good  
 “ Subjects from their Obedience, contrary to the Word of God and  
 “ the Laws of the Land: Part of the Profits of the said Benefices al-  
 “ lotted to the said Intruders; the rest converted to the Maintenance  
 “ of the War against him. And thereupon he streightly command-  
 “ eth all his good Subjects to desist from such illegal courses against  
 “ any of the Clergy aforesaid; to pay their Tythes to the severall and  
 “ respective Incumbents, or their Assigns, without guile or fraud, not-  
 “ withstanding any Sequestration, pretended Orders or Ordinances  
 “ whatsoever, from one or both Houses of Parliament; and this to do  
 “ under pain of being proceeded against according to Law, as they  
 “ should be apprehended and brought to the hands of Justice; their  
 “ Lands and Goods in the mean time to be sequestred, and taken into  
 “ safe custody for their disobedience: Requiring all Churchwardens  
 “ and Sides-men, to be assistant in gathering and receiving their Tythes,  
 “ Rents,

Rents and Profits; and to resist all such Persons as much as in them  
 "lay, which were intruded into any of the Benefices or Cures afore-  
 "said. But this served rather to declare his Majesties Piety, than to  
 stop the course of those Proceedings: For justifying whereof, the Clergy  
 must be branded with Offences of divers conditions; some of them  
 of such a scandalous and heynous nature, as were not to be expiated  
 with the loss of Livings, but of Lives, if any Legal Evidence had been  
 found to prove them. And that nothing might be wanting to their infe-  
 licity, an infamous Pamphlet is dispersed, Licensed by *White* Chairman  
 for the Committee for Religion, under the Title of, *The first Century of*  
*Scandalous and Malignant Priests, &c.* Which though his Majesty abo-  
 minated upon very good reason, when it first came unto his knowledge;  
 yet would he not give way that a Recrimination should be made of the  
 adverse Party, by such as undertook to do it on far juster grounds.

In like manner they proceeded to the execution of another part of  
 their design, mentioned and presented in the said Proposition, touching  
 a *Consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines.* For  
 not intending to expect his Majesties pleasure, their Commissioners  
 were no sooner returned from the Treaty at *Oxon.* but they caused such  
 an Assembly to be called by their own Authority, as should be sure to  
 do the Work recommended to them. The *Convocation* was in force,  
 but not fit to be trusted; nor durst they venture to commit the choice  
 of men to the Beneficed Clergy, according to the course of *National*  
 and *Provincial Synods*: That Power they kept themselves, commit-  
 ting the Nomination unto such as served for the several Counties, that  
 so each County might be furnished with such Persons to perform the  
 Service, as could have no Authority to bind them by their Constituti-  
 ons, or any other Publick Acts, made and agreed upon in that *Assembly.*  
 An *Assembly* of a very strange mixture, consisting of a certain number  
 of the *Lords* and *Commons*, with a greater proportion of *Divines*, some  
 of which were *Prelatical*, some *Independent*, and the greater part of  
 them *Presbyterians*, out of which spawned another Fry by the name  
 of *Eraslians.* And that they might not be bound to this Journey-  
 work without daily Wages, they had each of them their *4s. per diem*  
 well and truly paid, and were besides invested in several Lectures in  
 and about the City of *London*, and the best Benefices (some of them  
 three or four for failing) which could be found in all the Kingdom.  
 His Majesty looks on this as a new Provocation, a strange and un-  
 parallell'd Incroachment on his Royal Prerogative, to which alone  
 the calling of such *Assemblies* did belong by the Laws of the Realm.  
 He sees withal the dangerous ends for which it was called, of what  
 Ingredients for the most part the whole *Assembly* was composed,  
 what influence the prevailing party in both Houses was to have  
 upon it, and the sad consequents which in all probability were to  
 be expected from it to the Church and State. And thereupon by  
 his Proclamation of *June 22.* (being just ten days after the date of  
 the Ordinance by which the *Assembly* was indicted) "He inhibits all  
 "and every Person named in that pretended Ordinance (under sever-  
 "ral pains) from assembling together for the end and purpose therein  
 "set

PART II. "set down; declaring the *Assembly* to be illegal; and that the Acts  
*Anno Dom.* "thereof ought not to be received by any of his good Subjects, as  
 1643. "binding them, or of any Authority with them. Which Prohibition  
 notwithstanding, most of the Members authorised by that Ordinance  
 assembled in the Abby of *Westminster*, on the first of *July*, in contempt  
 of his Majesty and the Laws: But what they did, or whether they  
 did any thing or not, more than their taking of the *Covenant*, and  
 issuing a new Form of Worship by the name of a *Directory*, comes  
 not within the compass of my Observation.

Such were his Majesties pious Cares for preserving the Peace of the Church, the Purity of Religion, and the possessions of his Clergy; in the midst whereof he kept his eye on the course of that War, which hitherto he had prosecuted with such good success, with hopes of better fortune for the time to come. For having triumphantly brought the Queen into *Oxford* in the beginning of the *Spring*, with some Supplies of Men, and a considerable Stock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, which she bought in *Holland*, he finds himself in a condition to take the Field, and in this *Summer* becomes Master of the *North* and *West*, some few places only being excepted. The Earl of *Newcastle* with his Northern Army, had cleared all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the Enemies Forces. And with his own Army, under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bokemia*) he reduced the Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, the Port-Town of *Weymouth*, and all the Towns of any importance in the *Western* Parts, except *Poole*, *Lime*, and *Plymouth*: So that he was in a manner the absolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Sommerfet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*. And though the Towns of *Plymouth*, *Lime*, and *Poole*, still held out against him; yet were they so bridled by his neighbouring Garrisons, that they were not able to create him any great disturbance. The noise of which successes was so loud at *London*, that most of the leading men in both Houses of Parliament, prepared for quitting of the Kingdom, and had undoubtedly so done, if the King had followed his good Fortunes, and advanced toward *London*: But unhappily diverting upon *Glocester*, he lay so long there without doing any thing to the purpose, that the Earl of *Effex* came time enough to raise the Siege, and relieve the Town, though he made not haste enough to recover *London* without blows. For besides some Skirmishes on the *by*, which fell out to his loss, the King with the whole Body of his Army overtook him at *Newbury*, where after a sharp Fight (with the loss of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viscount *Faulkland* on his Majesties side) he had the worst of the day, and had much ado to save his Cannon, and march off orderly from the place; followed so hotly the next morning, that his own *Horse* which were in the *Rere*, were fain to make their way over a great part of his *Foot*, to preserve themselves. But being returned to *Oxford* (with Success and Honour) he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend there on *January* 22. then next following, and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances  
 Prince



Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holderness* and Duke of *Cum-berland*, and creates *James* his Second Son (born October 13. Anno 1633.) Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might Sit and Vote amongst them. But being come, they neither would take upon themselves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majesties Designs: but stood so much upon their terms, and made so many unhandfom Motions to him upon all occasions, that he had more reason to call them *A Mongrel Parliament*, in one of his Letters to the Queen, than they were willing to allow of.

L I B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1643.

Scarce were they settled in their severall and respective Houses, when they were entertained with a hot Alarm, made by the coming in of the *Scots* with a puissant Army; the greatest and best accommodated with all sorts of Arms and Ammunition, that ever was mustered by that Nation, since it had a being. His Majesties wonderful Successes in the *North* and *West*, strook such a terrour in the prevailing Party of both Houses, that they were forced to cast themselves upon the *Scots* for Support and Succour; dispatching *Armine*, and some other of their active Members, to negotiate a new Confederacy with them. The *Scots* had thrived so well by the former Service, as made them not unwilling to come under the pay of such bountifull Masters; and by the Plunder of so many of the *Northern* Counties, had made themselves Masters of a greater stock of Arms and Horses, than that Kingdom formerly could pretend to in its greatest Glories. But knowing well in what necessity their dear Brethren in *England* stood of their assistance, they were resolved to make Hay while the sun shined, and husband that necessity to their best advantage. The *English* must first enter into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that; They must be flattered with the hopes of dividing the Bishops Lands amongst them, that they might plant themselves in some of the fairest Houses and best Lands of this Kingdom; So great a stroke is to be given them in the Government of all Affairs, that the Houses could act nothing in order to the present War, no not so much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without the consent of their Commissioners; Some of their Ministers (*Gillespie, Henderson, &c.*) with as many of their *Ruling Elders*, to sit in the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, that nothing might be acted which concerned Religion, but by their Advice; One hundred thousand pounds for advance-mony, to put them into heart and provide them Necessaries, before they would budge toward the *Tweed*. And yet all these Temptations were not of such prevalency with the Principal Covenanters, as an Assurance which was given them, of calling *Canterbury*, their supposed old Enemy, to a present Tryal: Who having been imprisoned upon their complaint, almost three years since, seems to have been preserved all this while for no other purpose, than for a bait to hook them in for some new Employments. The Walls of some Confederacies, like that of *Catiline*, are never thought to be sufficiently well built but when they are cemented with blood.

All matters thus resolved on, the Covenant agreed on betwixt them,

PART II.

Anno Dom.

1643.

and the *scots* was solemnly taken by both Houses in St. *Margarets* Church, and generally imposed upon all such as were obnoxious to their power, and lived under the command of their Forts and Garrisons: the taking whereof conduced as visibly to the destruction of this most reverend and renowned Prelate, as to the present subversion of the Government, and Liturgy here by Law established. In the first branch it was to be covenanted and agreed between the Nations (that is to say, between the *Puritan* or *Presbyterian* Factions in either Kingdom) "That all endeavours should be used for the preservation "of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, both in Do- "ctrine, Worship, Liturgy, and Government; and for bringing the "three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction, and Uniformity in Re- "ligion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, *Dir-* " " *Eory* for Worship and Catechising. And in the second, That in like "manner they endeavour without any respect of Persons, the extir- "pation of *Popery*, Prelacy, that is, Church-Government, by Arch- "bishops and Bishops, their Chancellors or Commissaries, Deans, "Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Of- "ficers depending on the Hierarchy, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, "Profaneness, and whatsoever should be found contrary to sound "Doctrine, and the power of Godliness. But all this might have been pursued to the end of the Chace without danger to the life of any, whether they endeavoured it or not, whether their lives might be an hindrance, or their deaths give a spur to put on the work. And therefore in the fourth place it was also Covenanted, "That they should "with all diligence and faithfulness discover all such as have been, "or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring "the Reformation or Religion, dividing the King from his People, "or one of the Kingdoms from one another, or making any Faction or "Parties amongst the People contrary to this League and Covenant, "that they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condign "punishment as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, "or the supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively or others "having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. Which Article seems to have been made to no other purpose but to bring the Archbishop to the Block, as the like clause was thrust into the *Protestation* of the third of *May*, Anno 1641. to make sure work with the Earl of *strafford*, whom they had then designed to the said sad end. And this may be the rather thought because the Covenant was contrived, and framed in *Scotland*, where none but his sworn Enemies could be supposed to have had any hand in it; and being by them so contrived was swallowed without much chewing by the Houses of Parliament, who were not then in a condition to deny them any thing.

But by whomsoever it was framed, his Majesty saw well enough that it aimed at the subversion of the present Government, and the diminution of his Power, if not the destruction of his Person; the preservation and safety whereof was to be endeavoured no further than in *de-* *fence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.* Which how

great

great or little it might be; or what was meant by true Religion and the publick Liberties, was left holy unto their construction, who would be sure not to interpret any thing to his best advantage. His Majesty therefore looking on it as a dangerous Combination against himself, the established Religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom, for the bringing in of Foreign Forces to subvert them all, interdicted all his Subjects from imposing, or taking the same, as they would answer the contrary at their utmost Perils. Which Proclamation, bearing date on the ninth of *October*, came out too late to hinder the taking and enjoying of this *Covenant*, where the restraint thereof might have been most necessary. For the Commons were so quick at their work, that on *Munday, September 25.* it had been solemnly taken by all the Members of that House, and the Assembly of Divines at *St. Margarets in Westminster*; in the same Church, within two days after, it was administered with no less solemnity to divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Colonels, Officers, Souldiers, and other residing in and about the City of *London*, a Sermon being preached by *Coleman* (though otherwise a principal *Erastian* in point of Government) to justify the Piety and Legality of it; and finally, enjoyned to be taken on the Sunday following in all Churches and Chappels of *London*, within the *Lines of Communication*, by all and every the Inhabitants within the same, as afterwards by all the Kingdom in convenient time. Prosecuted in all places, with such cursed rigour, that all such who refused to subscribe the same, and to lift up their hands to God in testimony that they called him to witness to it, were turned both out of house and home, as they use to say, not suffered to compound for their Goods or Lands till they had submitted thereunto. A terrible and woful time, in which men were not suffered to enjoy their Estates without betraying themselves to the Kings displeasure, and making shipwrack of a good conscience in the sight of God. Upon which ground, considering it consisted of six Principal branches, it was compared by some to the six knotted whip, or the Statute of the six Articles in the time of King *Henry viii.* this *Covenant* drawing in the *scots*, and thereby giving an occasion of shedding infinitely much more bloud than those Articles did. Certain I am, that if all such as died in the War upon that account may not go for *Martyrs*; all such as irrecoverably lost their Estates and Livings for refusal of it, may be called Confessors. Others with no unhappy curiosity observing the number of the words which make up this *Covenant*, abstracted from the Preface and Conclusion of it, found them amounting in the total to 666. neither more nor less, which being the number of the Beast in the Revelation, pursued with such an open persecution, and prosecuted to the loss of so many lives, the undoing of so many Families, and the subverting of the Government both of Church and State, may very justly intitle it to so much of *Antichrist*, as others have endeavoured to confer on the Popes of *Rome*. For if the Pope shewed any thing of the Spirit of *Antichrist* by bringing *Cranmer*, the first Protestant Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Stake at *Oxon.* this *Covenant*, and the Makers of it, did express no less, in bringing the Last Protestant Archbishop to the Block in *London.*

L. I. B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1643.  
Pri. C. Reg.  
p. 1. p. 332.

PART II.

Annus Dom.

1643.

For no sooner was this Covenant taken, but to let the *Scots* see that they were in earnest, a further impeachment consisting of ten Articles was prepared against him, which being digested into Form and Order, were to this effect, *viz.* “1. That to introduce an Arbitrary Government, and to destroy Parliaments, he had caused the Parliament, held in the third and fourth year of his Majesty, to be dissolved, and used many reproachful speeches against the same. 2. That out of an endeavour to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land he had laboured to advance the power of the Council-Table, the Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative against the said Fundamental Laws, and had used several Speeches to the same effect. 3. That to advance the Ecclesiastical Power above the Laws of the Land, he had by undue means to the Judges, procured a stop of his Majesties Writs of Prohibition, whereby Justice had been delayed and hindered, and the Judges diverted from doing their duties. 4. That a judgment being given against one *Burly* for wilful non-residency, he caused execution on it to be staid, saying, That he would never suffer a Judgment to pass against any Clergy-man by a *nihil dicit*. 5. That he had caused Sir *John Corbet* of *Shropshire* to be committed to Prison by an Order of the Council Table, for calling for the *Petition of Right*, and causing it to be read at the Sessions of the Peace for the County upon just and necessary occasion, and had used some other acts of Injustice toward him. 6. That he had suppress the Corporation of Feoffees for buying in Impropriations, under pretence, of being dangerous to the Church, and State. 7. That contrary to the known Laws of the Land he had advanced Popery, and Superstition within this Realm; and to that end had wittingly and willingly harboured divers Popish Priests, as *sancta Clara*, and *St. Giles*. 8. That he had said, about four years since, there must be a blow given to the Church, such as hath not been yet given, before it could be brought to Conformity. 9. That after the dissolution of the Parliament 1640. he caused a *Synod* or *Convocation* to be held, and divers Canons to be made therein, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, &c. and particularly the Canon which enjoyns the Oath, which he caused many Ministers of the Church to take upon pain of Suspension, &c. 10. That a Vote having been passed at the Council Table a little before the last Parliament, for supplying his Majesty in Extraordinary ways, if the said Parliament should prove peevish, he wickedly advised his Majesty to dissolve the same, telling him not long after that now he was absolved from all Rules of Government, and left free, to use Extraordinary ways for his supply. Such was the substance of the Charge, which some intended Chiefly for an Introduction to bring on the Tryal, or to revive the noise and clamour amongst Ignorant People which rather judge of such particulars by tale then weight: for otherwise there is nothing in these last ten, which was not easily reducible to the first fourteen, no not so much as his suppressing the Feoffees for Impropriations, which seemed most odious in the eyes of any knowing men.

These

These Articles being thus digested, were sent up to the Lords the 23 of *October* presented by the hands of *Wilde*, a Serjeant at Law, and one of the Members of the House of Commons, by whom he was designed to manage the Evidence, when the cause was Ready for a hearing; on the Receipt whereof it was Ordered that he should appear on that day Seven-night, and to bring in his answer in writing to the particular Articles of the several Charges: which Order being served upon him within few hours after, found him not very well provided for a present conformity. He had obtained leave at his first Commitment to repair to his Study at *Lambeth House*, and to take thence such Papers and Memorials as might conduce to his defence; but all these had been forcibly seized on, and in a manner raviſht from him by *Prynne* and others, which made his case not much unlike to that of the *Israelites* in the House of Bondage, deprived first of their former allowance of Straw and Stubble, and yet enjoined to make up their whole tale of *Bricks*, as at other times. His Rents, and Goods were Sequestred for the use of others; so that he had not a sufficiency for a poor Subsistence, but by the Charity of his Friends; much less a superabundance, out of which to Fee his Counsel and reward his Solicitors. And what were seven days to the drawing up of an Answer unto twenty four Articles, most of them having young ones in their bellies also, as like to make as Loud a cry as the Dams themselves. No way to Extricate himself out of these perplexities but by petitioning the Lords, and to them he flies, humbly beseeching, that *Chute* and *Hearn* two able Lawers might be assigned him for his Counsel that he might be allowed money out of his own Estate to reward them and others for their pains in his business; his Books and Papers restored to him, for the instruction of his Counsel, and his own Defence; some of his own Servants to attend him for following all such necessary occasions, as the cause required; and that a Solicitor, and further time might be allowed, as well for drawing up his answer as providing witnesses, To which this Answer was returned. Upon reading of the Petition of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury this 24<sup>th</sup> day of *October* It is Ordered, &c. that time is given him until Munday the 6<sup>th</sup> of *November* next for putting in his answer in writing into this house unto the particular Articles brought up from the House of Commons, in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treason, &c. That Master *Hearn*, and Master *Chute*, are hereby assigned to be of Council for the drawing up of his Answer, who are to be permitted to have free access in and out to him. That this house doth hereby recommend to the Committee of Sequestrations, that the said Lord Archbishop shall have such means afforded him out of his Estate, as will enable him to pay his Counsel, and defray his other Charges. That when his Lordship shall set down particularly what Papers and Writings are Necessary for his Defence that should be restored unto him, their Lordships will take it into consideration. That upon his Lordships nominating who shall be his Solicitor, the Lords will return their Answer. And for the witnesses when a day shall be appointed for his Lordships tryal, this house will give such directions therein as shall be just.

This

## PART II.

Anno Dom.

1643.

This doubtful Answer gave him small assurance of an equal hearing. His desired Counsel was allowed him, *Hales* superadded to the rest, and three of his Servants nominated to attend the business: But he was left uncertain of providing for their satisfaction. His Solicitor must be first approved by them before he could settle to his cause, and whether they would approve of such an one as he thought fit to trust with his life and fame, was to him unknown; and if he point particularly to such of his Papers and Remembrances, as he conceived most necessary to his preservation, it was only promised to be taken into consideration, which kept him in as great suspense as all the rest. In this distress he was advised by his Counsel to move their Lordships, that a Discrimination might be made betwixt the Articles; to the end that such of them as were held to contain *High Treason* might be distinguished from such matters, as were to be charged for misdemeanors: but no clear answer coming from their Lordships in that behalf he was Commanded to make his personal appearance before them on the 13th of *November*, where by the advise of his Counsel he pleaded not guilty to the whole charge, without answering more particularly to any Article or clause contained in it. And on that day month it was Ordered by the House of Commons, that the Committee Formerly appointed to prepare the Evidence for his Tryal, should put the business into a quick and speedy course, with Power to send for Parties, Witnesses, Papers, Records, &c. And to make all things ready for the sight of the House: the care thereof Committed specially to *Wilde* who had before brought up the additional Articles. Brought to the Bar again on *Tuesday* the 16th of *January*, their Lordships were informed by *Maynard*, in the name of the House Commons, that his former Answer being made only to the *Additional* Articles, and not to the *Original* also, they could not in defect thereof proceed (as otherwise they would have done) to draw up the Issue; and thereupon he was required peremptorily to prepare his Answer to those also against Munday following, though deemed so *General* by his Counsel, as not to be sufficiently capable of a *Particular* Reply. Which day being come he claimed the benefit of the Act of *Pacification*, for his discharge from all matters comprehended in the 13 Article relating to the troubles of *Scotland*; and to the rest pleaded *not Guilty* as before. Which put the cause to such a stand, that there was no further speech of it in the House of Commons till the 22 of *February*, when the Committee was required to prepare their evidence and the distribution of the parts thereof, with all possible speed. And thus the business was drilled on, hastned, or slackned, as the *Scots* advanced in their expedition; and as the expedition prospered in success and fortune, so was it prosecuted and advanced to its fatal Period. For understanding that the *Scots* were entred *England* and had marcht victoriously almost as far as the Banks of the River *Tine*, they prest the Lords to name a day for the beginning of his Tryal, who thereupon fixed it upon *Tuesday* the twelfth of *March* next ensuing.

The day being come, and the Archbishop brought unto the Bar in the House of Peers, the Articles of the Impeachment were first read by

by the Clerk of the House, together with the several answers of *Not Guilty* before remembred; upon the hearing whereof he most humbly prayed, that the Commons might be Ordered to sever the Articles which were pretended to be Treason, from those which contained misdemeanors only, that so he might know which of them were Treason and which not. To which it was reply'd by *Maynard*, that the Commons would not give way to that Proposition, in regard that all the Articles together, not any of them by it self, made up the Treason wherewith he was charged, that is to say, his several endeavours to subvert and destroy Religion, the Fundamental Laws of the Land and Government of the Realm, and to bring in *Popery*, and an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government against Law. So that we have a *Cumulative* and Constructive Treason, (such as had formerly been charged on the Earl of *strafford*) A Treason in the conclusion, which could not be gathered from the Premises; A Treason in the *Summa Totalis*, when nothing but misdemeanors at the most, could be found in the *Items*. Which being thus Resolved upon, a long Studied Speech was made by *Wilde*, in which there wanted neither words nor animosity, to make him culpable of the crimes wherewith he was charged, if his words could have done it. One passage there was in it, which was Subject to some mis-construction, and so interpreted by those, which otherwise had no good affection to the Prisoners Person; for having set forth his offences in their foulest Colours, he seems to make a wonder of it that any thing could be expected of the People, but that they should have been Ready to have stoned him, as they did him that did but *Act the part of Bellerophon in Rome*. Which Passage was interpreted for an intimation to the Raskal multitude to save the Houses the dishonor of putting him to death in a form of Law, by Stoning him to death or Tearing him in pieces, or laying violent hands upon him in some other way, as he past between his Barge and the House of Peers. *Wilde* having done, he humbly craved Liberty to wipe of the dirt, which so injuriously had been cast upon him, that he might not depart thence so foul a Person as he had been rendred to their Lordships: Which leave obtained (as it could not reasonably be denied a far meaner Person) without any trouble in his Countenance, or perturbation of his Mind, he spake as followeth;

My Lords,

**M***R* being in this Place in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that which I long since read in Seneca, Tormentum est, etiam si absolutus quis fuerit, causam dixisse (6. de Benef. c. 28.) 'Tis not a Grief only, no, 'tis no less than Torment, for an ingenious man to plead capitally or criminally, though it should so fall out that he be absolved. The great Truth of this I find at present in my self; and so much the more, because I am a Christian; and not that only, but in Holy Orders; and not so only, but by Gods Grace and goodness preferred to the greatest place this Church affords; and yet brought causam dicere, to plead for my self at this Great Bar. And whatsoever the World think of me (and they have been taught

PART II. taught to think much more ill of me, than, I humbly thank Christ for it, Anno Dom. I was ever acquainted with) yet my Lords, this I find, Tormentum est, 'tis I 643. no less than a Torment to me to appear in this Place; nay, my Lords, give me leave to speak plain truth, No Sentence that can justly pass upon me (and other I will never fear from your Lordships) can go so near me, as causam dicere, to plead for my self upon this occasion in this place. But as for the Sentence, be it what it shall, I thank God for it, I am for it at St. Paul's word (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die; For I thank God I have so lived, that I am neither afraid to die, nor ashamed to live. But seeing the Malignity which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried my Life in my hands these divers years past. I may not in this Case, and at this Bar, appeal unto Cæsar; yet to your Lordships Justice and Integrity, I both may and do: not doubting, but that God of his Goodness will preserve my Innocency. And as Job in the midst of his afflictions said to his mistaken Friends, so shall I to my Accusers, God forbid I should justifie you; till I dye I will not remove my Integrity from me, I will hold it fast and not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me, as long as I live, Job 27. 5, 6. My Lords, the Charge against me is brought up in Ten Articles; but the main Heads are two, An Endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land, and the Religion Established: six Articles (the five first and the last) concern the Laws, and the other four Religion.

For the Laws first, I think I may safely say, I have been, to my understanding, as strict an Observer of them, so far as they concern me, as any man hath; and since I came into the Place, I have followed them, and have been as much guided by them, as any man that sat where I had the honour to sit: And of this I am sorry I have lost the Testimony of the Lord Keeper Coventry, and other Persons of Honour since dead. And the Counsellours which attended the Council-Board can witness, some of them here present, That in all References to the Board, or Debates arising at it, I was for that part of the Cause where I found Law to be; and if the Counsel desired to have the Cause left to the Law, well might I move in some Cases Charity or Conscience to them: but I left them to the Law, if thither they would go. And how such a carriage as this, through the whole course of my Life in private and publick, can stand with an intention to overthrow the Laws, I cannot see. Nay, more, I have ever been of opinion, That Laws bind the Conscience, And have accordingly made conscience in observing of them: and this Doctrine I have constantly Preached, as occasion hath been offered me; and how is it possible I should seek to overthrow those Laws, which I held my self bound in conscience to keep and observe?

As for Religion, I was born and bred up under the Church of England, as it stands established by Law. I have by Gods Blessing grown up in it to the years which are now upon me, and the Place of Preferment which I now bear. I have ever since I understood ought of my Profession, kept one constant Tenor in this my Profession, without variation, or shifting from one Opinion to another for any worldly ends. And if my conscience would have suffered me to do so, I could easily have slid through all the difficulties



culties which have been prest upon me in this kind: Out of all Diseases, I L I B. V. ever held a Palsie in Religion most dangerous; well knowing, and ever Anno Dom. remembering, That that Disease often ends in a Dead Palsie. Ever since I 1643. came in place, I have laboured nothing more, than that the External Publick Worship of God, so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be preserved; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be. For I evidently saw, That the publick neglect of Gods Service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many Places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward Worship of God, which while we live in the body needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmost of my knowledge, according both to Law and Canon, and with the consent and liking of the People: Nor did any Command issue out from me, against the one, nor without the other. Further, my Lords, give me leave I beseech you, to acquaint you with this also, That I have as little acquaintance with Recusants, as I believe any man of my place in England, hath, or ever had since the Reformation: And for my Kindred, no one of them was ever a Recusant, but Sir William Webb, Grandchild to my Uncle Sir William Webb, sometimes Lord Mayor of London; and since which some of his Children I reduced back again to the Church of England. On this, I humbly desire one thing more may be thought on, That I am fallen into a great deal of Obloquy in matter of Religion, and that so far (as appears by the Articles against me) that I have endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery. Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what Party of men have raised these Scandals upon me, not for what end, nor perhaps by whom set on: but howsoever, I would fain have a good Reason given me, if my Conscience stood that way, and that with my Conscience I could subscribe to the Church of Rome, what should have kept me here before my Imprisonment, to endure the Libelling, and the slunder, and the base Usage that hath been put upon me; and these to end in this Question for my Life? I say, I would know a good Reason for this.

First, My Lords, Is it because of any Pledges I have in this World, to sway me against my Conscience? No sure; for I had neither Wife nor Children to cry out upon me to stay with them: And if I had, I hope the calling of my Conscience should be heard above them. Is it because I was loth to lose the Honour and Profit of the Place I was risen too? Surely no; For I desire your Lordships and all the World should know, I do much scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my Conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I should have gone over to them, I should not have wanted both Honour and Profit: and suppose not so great as this I have here; yet sure would my Conscience have served my self of either, less with my Conscience, would have prevailed with me more, then greater against my Conscience. Is it because I lived here at Ease, and was loth to venture the loss of that? Not so neither; For what-soever the World may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very painful Life; and such as I would have been content to change, had I well known how: And would my Conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more ease, and either have avoided the barbarous Libelling, and other bitter grievous Scorns which have been put

PART II. upon me; or at least, been out of the hearing of them. Not to trouble your  
 Anno Dom. Lordships too long, I am so innocent in the Business of Religion, so free  
 1643. from all Practice, or so much as thought of Practice, for any Alteration  
 unto Popery, or any blemishing of the true Protestant Religion established  
 in England, as I was when my Mother first bore me into the World. And  
 let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do here re-challenge whatsoever is be-  
 tween Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in point of my Reli-  
 gion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And had I not hated it,  
 perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety, than now I am: but it  
 can no way become a Christian Bishop to halt with God.

Lastly, If I had a purpose to blast the true Religion established in the  
 Church of England, and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong way to  
 to it. For, my Lords, I have staid more going to Rome, and reduced more  
 that were already gone, than I believe any Bishop or Divine, in this King-  
 dom hath done; and some of them men of great Abilities, and some persons  
 of great place. And is this the way to introduce Popery? My Lords, If I  
 have blemished the true Protestant Religion, how could I have brought these  
 men to it? And if I had promised to introduce Popery, I would never  
 have reduced these men from it. And that it may appear unto your Lord-  
 ships how many, and of what condition the persons are, which by Gods  
 blessing upon my labours, I have settled in the true Protestant Religion esta-  
 blished in England, I shall briefly name some of them, though I cannot do  
 it in order of time as I converted them; First, Henry Berkinstead of  
 Trinity Colledge in Oxon. seduced by a Jesuite, and brought to London.  
 Two Daughters of Sir Richard Lechfield in Surrey, sent towards a Nun-  
 nery. Two Scholars of St. Johns Colledge in Cambridge, Toppin and  
 Ashton, who had got the French Embassadors Pass; and after this I al-  
 lowed means to Toppin, and then procured him a Fellowship in St. Johns:  
 And he is at this present as hopeful a young man as any of his time, and a  
 Divine. Sir William Webb my Kinsman, and two of his Daughters;  
 and his Son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred  
 him at my own charge: and he is a very good Protestant. A Gentleman  
 brought to me by Mr. Chesford, his Majesties Servant, but I cannot recall  
 his name. The Lord Mayor of London, brought to me also by Mr. Ches-  
 ford. The Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham, almost quite  
 gone between the Lady his Mother and Sister. The Lady Marquiss Ham-  
 milton was settled by my direction, and she dyed very Religiously, and a Pro-  
 testant. Mr. Digby who was a Priest. Mr. James a Gentleman brought to  
 me by a Minister of Buckinghamshire, as I remember. Dr. Heart the Ci-  
 vilian, my Neighbours Son at Fulham. Mr. Christopher Seaborne, a  
 Gentleman of an ancient Family in Herefordshire. The Right Honour-  
 able the Countess of Buckingham. Sir William Spencer of Paruton. Mr.  
 Chillingworth. The Sons and Heirs of Mr. Winchcomb, and Mr. Wol-  
 lescot, whom I sent with their Friends liking to Wadham Colledge  
 Oxon. and received a Certificate Anno 1638. of their continuing in Con-  
 formity to the Church of England. Nor did ever any one of these named  
 relapse again; but only the Countess of Buckingham and Sir William  
 Spencer; It being only in Gods power, not mine, to preserve them from  
 relapse. And now let any Clergy-man in England come forth, and give a  
 better account of his zeal to the Church. This

This being said, and all Parties commanded to withdraw, their Lordships, after some short time of consideration, appointed the next Morning at nine of the Clock for the beginning of the Prosecution to be made against him. In order whereunto the twenty four Articles (for so many there were in both impeachments) were reduced under these four general Heads, *viz.* 1. His traitorous Endeavours and Practices to alter and subvert Gods true Religion by Law established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry; the particulars whereof are specified in the 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 *Original*, and 6, 7, 8, 9 *Additional* Articles. 2. His traitorous usurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power in the Church of *England* in all Ecclesiastical affairs, to the prejudice and derogation of his Majesties Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties; comprised in the sixth *Original* Article. 3. His traitorous Attempts and Endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws, Government and Liberties of the Realm and Subjects of *England*, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Temporal Government; against Law and the Subjects Liberty; expressed in the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13 *Original*; and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10 *Additional* Articles. And 4. His traitorous Endeavours to subvert the Rights of Parliament, and ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against them, contained in the 14 *Original*; and the 1, 9, 10 *Additional* Articles. The managing of the Evidence committed to *Maynard, Wilde, and Nicholas*, all Members of the House of Commons; by whom the business was drawn out to so great a length, that it took up no less than seventeen daies; not altogether, but with so many pauses and intermissions (as the *scots* prospered and came forwards) that the pleadings were not fully finished till the end of *July*. I hope it will not be expected that I should lay down the proceedings on both sides, the Proofs and Testimonies which were brought against him, or the defences which were made by him in full Answer to them; that being a work, which of it self would make a greater Volume than our present History. All I shall say, amounts to no more but this, That there wanted neither wit nor will in the Prosecutors to make him appear as guilty in the eye of the Lords, as his Accusers could desire. And as for him, it is related by the Pen of his greatest Adversary, That *he made as Full, as Gallant, as Pithy a Defence, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and that with so much Art, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity, and Confidence*, that he shewed not the least acknowledgment of Guilt in any of the particulars which were charged upon him. And though the Relator, putting the worst gloss upon the Text, be pleased to say, that these Abilities did argue *him rather Obstinate, than Innocent; Impudent, than Penitent; a far better Orator, Sophister, than Protestant or Christian; a truer Son of the Church of Rome than of the Church of England*: yet in the midst of these Reproaches he gives him the Commendations of Wit and Eloquence, of being a good Orator, and a subtle Disputant; which with the rest of the Abilities ascribed unto him, considering the suddenness of his Preparations, the frailty of his

L I B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1643.

Cant. Doom.  
P. 462.

PART II. Memory, the burthen of seventy years, with other natural infirmities then lying heavy on him, may not unjustly be imputed to Divine assistance. What sense the Commons had of his justification, and what satisfaction was found in it by the House of Peers, we shall see hereafter.

And here we leave him for a time, to see how far the *Scots* proceeded, and what they did in order to the service of those that so dearly hired them, which might be equal to the merit of so great a Sacrifice. Of whom we are to know, that passing by the Town of *Berwick*, they entred *England* in the middle of *January* with a puissant Army, consisting of eighteen thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons, accommodated with all things necessary for the Expedition; not hindred in their March till they came almost to the River *Tine*, where they were stopped by the interposition of the Northern Army, under the Conduct and Command of the Marquiss of *Newcastle*, but so that they remained unfought with, unless it were in petit Skirmishes and *Pickeerings*, without engaging the whole Power on either side. *Langdale*, a Gentleman of approved Valour and Fidelity, was commonly reported to have been earnest with the *Marquiss* to give them Battel, or at the least to suffer him with a Party of Horse to assault them in such places where they lay most open to Advantage; not doubting but to give a good account of his undertakings. In all which motions and desires he is said to have been crossed by General *King*, an old experienced Souldier, but a *Scot* by Nation, whom his Majesty had recommended to the *Marquiss* of *Newcastle*, as a fit man to be consulted with in all his Enterprises, and he withal took such a fancy to the man, that he was guided wholly by him in all his Actions. Which *King* if he had been imployed in any of the *Southern* or *Western* Armies, he might have done his Majesty as good service as any whosoever: But being in this Army, to serve against the *Scots*, his own dear Countrymen, he is said to have discouraged and dissuaded all attempts which were offered to be made against them; giving them thereby the opportunity of gaining ground upon the *English*, till the *Marquisses* retreat toward *Tork*. For in the opening of the Spring News came unto the Marquess of the taking of *Selby* by the Forces Garrisoned in *Hull*; by which necessitated to put himself, and the greatest part of his Army, into the City of *Tork*, on the safety whereof the whole Fortune of the *North* depended. Followed at the heels by *Lesly*, who, notwithstanding the undeserved Honours conferred upon him by the King, and his own vehement protestations of a future Loyalty, commanded this third Army also as he did the two first, and leaving *Newcastle* at his back, struck like a Souldier at the head, not troubling himself in taking in such places as imported nothing in reference to the main concernment. Resolving on the siege of the Capital City, they were seconded by the Army of the Earl of *Manchester*, drawn out of the Associated Counties, and the remaining *Torkshire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*: By which, beleagured on all sides, that great City was reduced to some distress for want of Victuals, and other necessary Ammunition to make good the place. The

The News whereof being brought to *Oxon.* Prince *Rupert* is dispatched with as much of the Kings Army as could well be spared, with a Commission to raise more out of the Counties of *Chester, Stafford, Darby, Leiceſter,* and *Lancaſter*; ſo that he came before *Tork*, with an Army of twelve thouſand men, relieved the Town with ſome Proviſions for the preſent, and might have gone away unfought with, but that ſuch counſel was too cold for ſo hot a ſtomack. Reſolved upon the onſet, he encountred with the Enemy at a place called *Marſton More*, where the Left Wing of his Horſe gave ſuch a fierce Charge on the Right Wing of the Enemy, conſiſting of *Fairfax* his Horſe in the Van, and the *Scots* Horſe in the Rear, that they fell foul on a part of their Foot which was behind them, and trod moſt of them under their Horſes feet: But *Ruperts* Horſe following the Execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the Enemy had the opportunity to Rally again, and got the better of the day, taking ſome Priſoners of good note; and making themſelves Maſters of his Cannon. So that not being able to do any thing in order to the regaining of the Field he marched off unfortunately; the greateſt part of his Army mouldring away, he retired to *Briſtol*. After this blow the Affairs of the *North* growing more deſperate every day than other, *Tork* yielded upon Compoſition on *July 16.* (being a juſt fortnight after the fight) the *Marquiſs* of *Newcaſtle* and ſome principal Gentlemen paſſing over the Seas, ſo that the ſtrong Town of *Newcaſtle* was taken by the *Scots* on the nineteenth of *October* following.

While theſe things were Acting in the *North*, *Effex* and *Waller* with their Armies drew near to *Oxford*, hoping to take it unprovided, in the abſence of ſo great a part of his Majeſties Forces. On whoſe approach his Majeſty leaving the greateſt part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly toward *Wales*. Upon the news whereof it was thought fit by the two *Generals* to divide their Armies: it being agreed upon that *Waller* ſhould purſue the King, and that the Earl of *Effex* ſhould march towards the *West* for the regaining of thoſe Countries. And now the *Mystery of iniquity* appeared in its proper colours; for whereas it was formerly given out by the Houſes of Parliament, that they had undertaken the War for no other reaſon, but to remove the King from his evil Counſellors, thoſe Evil Counſellors were left at *Oxon.* and the Kings Perſon only hunted. But the King underſtanding of this Diſiſion, thought himſelf able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him the go-by, returned towards *Oxon.* drew thence the remainder of his Army, and gave him a ſharp meeting at a place called *Cropready Bridge*, where he obtained a ſignal Victory on the twenty eighth of *June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxon.* This done, he marched after the Earl of *Effex*, who had made himſelf Maſter of ſome places in the *West* of good importance. During this March it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow Lane, which they were to paſs, and gave his Majeſty a ſtop, at a time of an intolerable ſhower of Rain which fell upon him. Some of his Courtiers, and others who were about him, offered to hew him

out

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1644.

PART II. out a way through the hedges with their Swords, that he might get  
*Anno Dom.* shelter in some of the Villages adjoining; but he Resolved not to for-  
 1644. sake his Cannon upon any occasion. At which, when some about him  
 seemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he shewed in  
 that Extremity, his Majesty lifting up his Hat, made Answer, *That*  
*as God had given him afflictions to exercise his patience, so he had given*  
*him patience to bear his afflictions.* The carriage being mended he  
 went forward again, and trode so close upon the heels of *Essex*, that  
 at last he drave him into *Cornwall*, and there reduced him to that point,  
 that put himself into a *Cock-boat*, with *Stapleton* and some others of  
 his principal Friends, and left his whole Army to his Majesties mercy.  
 His Horse taking the Advantage of a dark night made a shift to es-  
 cape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this Capitulation with  
 his Majesty, that they should depart without their Arms, which with  
 their Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of great Considera-  
 tion, were left wholly to his disposing.

Immediately after this success, his Majesty dispatched a message  
 from *Tavestock* to the two Houses of Parliament, in which he laid be-  
 fore them the miserable Condition of the Kingdom, remembering them  
 of those many Messages which he had formerly sent unto them for an  
 accommodation of the present differences; and now desiring them to  
 bethink themselves of some expedient by which this Issue of blood  
 might be dried up, the distraction of the Kingdom settled, and the  
 whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happiness. To which  
 message as to many others before, they either gave no Answer, or  
 such an one as rather served to widen then close the breach, fallly  
 conceiving, that all his Majesties offers of Grace and Favour, pro-  
 ceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the  
 weakness and irresolution of his Counsels. But if instead of this  
 Message from *Tavestock* his Majesty had gone on his own errand, and  
 marched directly toward *London*, it was conceived in all probability  
 that he might have made an end of the War, secured the life of the  
 Archbishop his most trusty Servant, and put an end to those calami-  
 ties which the continuance and conclusion of the War, brought with  
 it. The Army of *Essex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester*  
 not returned from the *Northern* Service, He could not chuse but have  
 observed in the course of that Action, with what a Military Pru-  
 dence, *Lesly* had followed at the heels of the *Marquis* of *Newcastle*,  
 not stopping or diverting upon the by, till he had brought his Army be-  
 fore *York*; the gaining whereof, as being the chief City of those parts,  
 brought in all the Rest. And certainly it hath been counted no dishonour  
 in the greatest Souldiers to be instructed by their enemies in the feats  
 of War. But the King sitting down before *Plymouth* (as before *Glo-*  
*cester* the last year) and staying there to perfect an Association of the  
*Western* Counties, he spent so much time that *Essex* was again in the head  
 of his Army; and being seconded by *Manchester*, and *Waller*, made a  
 stand at *Newbury*, where after a very sharp dispute, the Enemy gained  
 some of his Majesties Cannon, which struck such a terrour into many of  
 those about him, that they had advised him to withdraw his Person out  
 of

of the danger of the Fight, as he did accordingly. But this he did so secretly and with so slender a Retinue, that he was not mist, His Army holding on the fight with a greater courage, because they thought the safety of his Majesties Person did depend upon it; whose departure if it had been known, would questionless have created such a general dejection in the hearts of his Souldiers, as would have rendred them to a cheap discomfiture. But the Lost Cannon being regained, and the fight continued with those of his Majesties party with greater advantage then before, each Army drew off by degrees, so that neither of them could find any great cause to boast of the Victory.

This Summers Action being ended, in which the *scots* had done very good service to the Houses of Parliament, it was thought necessary to proceed in the Tryal of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which had taken up so much time already, that it seemed ready for a sentence. But there appeared more difficulty in it, then at first was lookt for. For being admitted to a *Recapitulation* of his whole defence before the Lords, in the beginning of *september*, it gave such a general satisfaction to all that heard it, that the mustering up of all the evidence against him would not take it off. To prove the first branch of the charge against him, they had ript up the whole course of his Life, from his first coming to *Oxford*, till his Commitment to the Tower; but could find no sufficient Proof of any design to bring in *Poperie*, or suppress the true Protestant Religion here by Law Established. For want whereof, they insisted upon such Reproaches as were laid upon him when he lived in the University, the beautifying of his Chappel Windows with Pictures and Images, the Solemn Consecration of Churches and Chappels, the Placing of the Communion Table Altar-wise, and making Adoration in his Accesses to, or Approaches toward it; Administring the Sacrament, with some more Solemnities, then in Ordinary Parochial Churches, though constantly observed in his Majesties Chappels; the care and diligence of his Chaplains in expunging some offensive passages out of such Books, as were to be licenced for the Press, and their permitting of some passages to remain in others which were supposed to favor *Poperie* and *Arminianism*, because they crost the sense of *Calvin*; the preferring of many able men to his Majesties Service, and to advancements in the Church, who must be Stigmatized for *Papists*, or *Arminians*, because they had not sworn themselves into *Calvins* Faction; his countenancing two or three *Popish Priests*, (for no more are named) of whom good use was to be made in Order to the Peace and Happiness of the Church of *England*, as had before been done by *Bancroft*, and others of his Predecessors, since the Reformation. Such were the proofs of his designs to bring in *Poperie*; and yet his plots and purposes for suppressing the true Protestant Religion, had less proofs then this. Of which sort were, His severe proceedings in the *High Commission* against some Factious Ministers; and Seditious Lecturers; the sentencing of *Sherfield*, for defacing a Parish Church in *Salisbury*, under colour of a Vestry-order, in contempt of the Diocesane Bishop who then Lived in that City; the pressing of his Majesties two *Declarations*;

the

LIB. V.

Anno Dom.

1644.

PART II. the one for *Lawful sports*, the other for Silencing *unnecessary*, though  
*Anno Dom.* not unlawful, *Disputations*; His zeal in overthrowing the Corporation  
 1644. of *Feoffees*, which had no Legal Foundation to stand upon, and seemed  
 destructive to the Peace of the Church and State in the eyes of all that  
 pierc'd into it; and finally the Piety of his endeavours, for uniting  
 the *French*, and *Dutch* Congregations to the Church of *England*, in  
 which he did nothing without Warrant, or against the Law.

*Cant. Doom.* Such were the Crimes or Treasons rather, which paint him out with  
 P. 565. such an ugly countenance in the Book called *Canterburies Doom*, as if  
 he were the *Greatest Traytor*, and the most *Execrable Person*, that ever  
 had been bred in *England*. And he is promised to be Painted out  
 in such Lively Colours in the following Branches of his Charge, as  
 should for ever render him as *Treasonable*, and as *Arch a Malefactor* as  
 he was in the others, and in both alike; that promise never being  
 performed in the space of a Dozen years and more since it first was  
 made; in all which time, we hear no news of that performance for  
 which the Ground could be but Little, and the evidence less. To the  
 other branches of his Charge, consisting in Words or Actions he  
 answered first, That the Dissolving of the said Parliaments was no Act  
 of his, the business being publickly debated at the Council Table and  
 carried by the Unanimous consent of all then Present; that the hard  
 measure which he was complained of to have shewn to *Corbet of Shropshire*  
 (he being but a Private Subject) could not be called an Act of  
 Treason; That the words charged upon him at the Council Table and  
 elsewhere, might well have been spared; That no ill effect did follow  
 on them; and that they were innocently though suddenly spoken,  
 which he hoped might proceed from a man of such a hasty, and in-  
 circumspect humour as himself (made so as well by nature, as by the  
 multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him) without invol-  
 ving him in the crime or guilt of Treason; That for his words unto  
 the King, touching his being absolved from the Rules of Government,  
 they contained only matter of opinion, and in opinion delivered at  
 the Council Table, where all had Liberty to speak their own sense as he  
 did at that time; which if it were Erroneous and contrary to the sense  
 of others, he hoped that no man should justly be condemned of Treason,  
 for shewing himself no wiser then God had made him. And there-  
 upon he desired the Lords from his misfortune to provide for their own  
 safety, and seriously to consider what a way was chalked out to ruine  
 them, both in their Lives and their Estates, if for every Opinion  
 given in Council, or Words suddenly or hastily spoken, they (who  
 are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) should be Ar-  
 raigned or Sentenced as Traytors. To which he added in the close,  
 That there was no likelihood that he had committed Real Acts of  
 Treason; when his adverse Party was content to trifle away so  
 much time about Words: Neither was there any Treason in them,  
 though they had been fully verified; and therefore in that (as in all  
 other Articles) he reserved a Power for his Counsel to dispute in  
 matter of Law. Which when it came to the Dispute (not called on  
 by the Commonstill *October 11.*) the Question or Point in Issue was,  
 Whether



Whether any Treason, was contained in all or any of the Articles which were charged against him? And therein *Hearn* so plaid his part, as the mouth of the rest, that after the expectation of more months, and the expence of almost as many days as had been spent in the Arraignment of the Earl of *strafford*, his Enemies in the House of Commons were forced to fall again on a Bill of *Attainder*, as they had been before, after so much noise and ostentation of Wit and Eloquence, in the case of that Gentleman.

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1644.

For being too far engaged to go back with Honour; and yet not having confidence enough to venture him to the Judgment of the House of Peers, as in the way of Legal Tryal, they seemed to be at such a stand, as the *Thames* is said to be at, under *London-Bridge*, betwixt Ebb and Flood. In which perplexity, some who were fit for any mischief, employed themselves to go from door to door, and from man to man, to get hands against him; and so Petition those to hasten to his Condemnation, who must forsooth be forced to their own desires (whereof, and of the *Magistrates standing still and suffering them to proceed without any Check*, he gave them a *Memento* in his dying Speech) Which Preparations being made, they followed it with such double diligence, that by the beginning of *November* most men were great with expectation of a final Sentence; Conceived by some, That the whole Evidence being transmitted with the Prisoner to the *Justices of his Majesties Bench*, he should have been put over to a *Middlesex-Jury*: but they were only some poor Ignorants which conceived so of it. The Leading Members of the House thought of no such matter; and to say truth, it did concern them highly not to go that way. For though there was no question to be made at all, but that they could have Impanelled a *Jury* to have found the *Bill*: yet by a Clause in the *Attainder* of the Earl of *strafford*, they had bound the Judges not to declare those Facts for Treason in the time to come, for which they had Condemned and Executed that Heroick Peer. And therefore they resolved on the same course now, which they had found before so prosperous and successful to them, to proceed now as then, by Bill of *Attainder*, and condemn him by Ordinance; in which being Parties, Witnesses, and Judges too, they were assured to speed as they would themselves. And though for fashion sake he was brought unto the Commons Bar on the eleventh of that Month, not without magnifying the Favour of giving him leave to shew some Reason, why the Bill should not pass against him: yet was this but a matter of Formality only, the Ordinance passing in that House within two days after.

But yet the Business was not done; for the Lords stuck at it: some of which having not extinguished all the Sparks of *Humanity*, began to find themselves compassionate of his Condition; not knowing how soon it should or might be made their own, if once disfavoured by the Grandees of that *Potent Faction*. For the Ordinance having been transmitted to the House of Peers, and the House of Peers deliberating somewhat long upon it, it was Voted on *December 4*. That all Books, Writings, and Evidences which concerned the Tryal, should be

PART II. brought before the Lords in Parliament; to the end that they might seriously and distinctly consider of all Particulars amongst themselves, as they came before them. But meaning to make sure work of it, they had in the mean time (after no small Evaporations of Heat and Passion) prepared an Ordinance, which they sent up unto the Lords, importing the displacing of them from all those Places of Power and Command which they had in the Army. Which being found to weak to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier Project, which was to bring the Lords to sit in the Commons House, where they were sure they should be inconsiderable both for Power and Number. And to effect the same with more speed and certainty, they had recourse to their old Arts, drawing down *Watkins* with his general Muster of Subscriptions, and putting a Petition into his hands, to be tendred by him to the Houses, that is, themselves; wherein it was required, amongst other things, That they should *vigorously proceed unto the punishment of all Delinquents*; and that for the more quick dispatch of Publick Busineses of State, the Lords would please to *Vote and sit* together with the *Commons*. On such uncertain terms, such a ticklish *Tenure*, did they then hold their Place and Power in Parliament, who so officiously complied with the House of Commons, in depriving the Bishops of their Vote, and the Churches Birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. And yet not thinking this Device sufficient to fright their Lordships to a present compliance, *stroud* was sent up with a Message from the House of Commons, to let them know, That the *Londoners* should shortly bring a Petition, with 20000 Hands, to obtain that Ordinance. By which stale and common Stratagem, they wrought so far on some weak Spirits, the rest withdrawing themselves (as formerly in the case of the Earl of *Strafford*) that in a thin and slender House, not above six or seven in number, it was pass'd at last. The day before they pass'd the Ordinance for establishing their new *Directory*; which, in effect, was nothing but a total abolition of the Common-Prayer-Book: and thereby shewed unto the World, how little hopes they had of settling their new Form of Worship, if the foundation of it were not laid in the blood of this famous Prelate, who had so stoutly stood up for it against all Novellism and Faction, in the whole course of his Life. It was certified by some Letters to *Oxon*. and so reported in the *Mercurius Aulicus* of the following week, That the Lord *Bruce* (but better known by the name of the Earl of *Elgin*) was one of the number of those few Lords which had Voted to the Sentence of his Condemnation: The others which concurred in that fatal Sentence, being the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Bullingbrook*; together with the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*. But whatsoever may be said of the other six, I have been advertised lately from a very good hand, That the said Lord *Bruce* hath frequently disclaimed that Action, and solemnly professed his detestation of the whole Proceedings, as most abhorrent from his nature, and contrary to his known affections, as well unto his Majesties Service, as the Peace and Preservation of the Church of *England*.

This

This Ordinance was no sooner passed, but it revived many of those Discourses, which had before been made on the like occasion in the Business of the Earl of *strafford*. For hereupon it was observed, That as the predominant Party in the *United Provinces*, to bring about their ends in the death of *Barneveldt*, subverted all those *Fundamental Laws* of the *Belgick Liberty*, for maintenance whereof they took up Arms against *Philip ii.* So the Contrivers of this Mischief, had violated all the *Fundamental Laws* of the *English Government*, for maintenance whereof they had pretended to take up Arms against the King. It was (said they) a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Government*, and the first Article in the *Magna Charta*, That the Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable. Yet to make way the unto the Condemnation of this Innocent Man, the Bishops must be Voted out of their Place in Parliament, which most of them have held far longer in their *Predecessors*, than any of our Noble Families in their *Progenitors*; and if the Lords refuse to give way unto it (as at first they did) the People must come down to the House in multitudes, and cry *No Bishops, No Bishops*, at the Parliament doors; till by the terrour of their Tumults, they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Liberty*, That no Free-man shall be taken or imprisoned, without cause shewn; or be detained, without being brought unto his Answer in due form of Law. Yet here we see a Freeman imprisoned ten whole weeks together, before any Charge was brought against him; and kept in Prison three whole years more, before his General Accufation was by them reduced unto Particulars; and for a year almost detained close Prisoner, without being brought unto his Answer, as the Law requires. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Government*, That no man be disseized of his Freehold or Liberties, but by the known Laws of the Land. Yet here we see a man disseized of his Rents and Lands, spoiled of his Goods, deprived of his Jurisdiction, develt of his Right of Patronage; and all this done, when he was so far from being convicted by the Laws of the Land, that no particular Charge was so much as thought of. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *English Liberty*, That no man shall be condemned or put to death, but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land; that is, in the ordinary way of Legal Tryal: And sure an Ordinance of both Houses, without the *Royal Assent*, is no part of the Law of England; nor held an ordinary way of Tryal for the *English Subject*, or ever reckoned to be such in former times. And finally, It is a *Fundamental Law* in the *English Government*, That if any other cause (than those recited in the Statute of King *Edward iii.*) which is supposed to be Treason, do happen before any of his Majesties Justices, the Justices shall tarry without giving Judgment, till the Cause be shewn and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or not. Yet here we have a new-found Treason, never known before, nor declared such by any of his Majesties Justices, nor ever brought to be considered of by the King and his Parliament; but only Voted to be such, by some of those Members which sat at *Westminster*, who were resolved to have it so for their private Ends. The

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1644.Mag. Ch.  
c. 1.Mag. Ch. c.  
29. 28. Ed.  
3. and the  
Petition of  
Right.

Ib. &amp; Idem.

25. Edw. 3.

PART II. first Example of this kind, the first that ever suffered death by the shot of an *Ordinance*, as himself very well observed in his dying Speech upon the Scaffold (though purposely omitted in *Hind's Printed Copy*) to which now he hasteneth.

Anno Dom.

1644.

For the passing of the Ordinance being signified to him by the then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, he neither entertained the news with a *Stoical Apathy*, nor wailed his fate with weak and womanish Lamentations (to which Extremes most men are carried in this case) but heard it with so even and so smooth a Temper, as shewed he neither was ashamed to live nor afraid to die. The time between the Sentence and Execution, he spent in Prayers and Applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to assist him in the Work of his Preparation: though little Preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcom, because long expected. For so well was he studied in the Art of Dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his Imprisonment) that by continual Fastings, Watchings, Prayers, and such like Acts of Christian Humiliation, his Flesh was rarified into Spirit, and the whole man so fitted for Eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but Triumphant) Chariot, to convey him thither. He that had so long been a *Confessor*, could not but think it a Release of Miseries to be made a *Martyr*. It is Recorded of *Alexander the Great*, That the night before his last and greatest Battel with *Darius the Persian*, he fell into so sound a sleep, that his Princess hardly could awake him when the morning came. And it was likewise certified of this Great *Prelate*, That on the Evening before his *Passeover*, the night before the dismal Combate betwixt him and *Death*, after he had refreshed his Spirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himself unto his Rest, and slept very soundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were appointed to attend his Rising. A most assured sign of a Soul prepared.

Plutarch in Alexandro.

The fatal morning being come, he first applyed himself to his private Prayers, and so continued till *Pennington*, and others of their Publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold; which he ascended with so brave a Courage, such a chearful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than be made a *sacrifice*; and came not there to *Die*, but to be *Translated*. And though some rude and uncivil People reviled him as he pass'd along, with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in Peace; yet it never discomposed his Thoughts, nor disturb'd his Patience: For he had profited so well in the School of *Christ*, that when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatned not; but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously. And as he did not fear the Frowns, so neither did he covet the Applause of the *Vulgar Herd*; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto the People, than to affect the ostentation either of Memory or Wit in that dreadful *Agony*: whether with greater Magnanimity than Prudence, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech, besides what did concern himself and his own *Purgation*, his great care was to cleer

clear his Majesty, and the Church of *England*, from any inclination to *Poperie*; with a perswasion of the which, the Authors of the then present Miseries had abused the People, and made them take up Arms against their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the last: By means whereof, as it is said of *samson* in the Book of *Judges*, *That the men which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life.* So may it be affirmed of this famous Prelate, That he gave a greater blow unto the Enemies of the Church and the King at the hour of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before. But this you will more clearly see by the Speech it self, which followeth here according to the best and most perfect Copy, delivered by his own hands unto one of his Chaplains, and in his name presented to the King by the Lord *John Bellasis* at the Court in *Oxon.*

LIB. V.

Anno Dom.

1644.

The Speech of the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, spoken at his Death, upon the Scaffold on the *Tower Hill*, Jan. 10. 1644.

Good People,

**T**his is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb. 12. 2.* Let us run with Patience the Race which is set before us, looking unto *JESUS* the Author and Finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God.

I have ben long in my Race, and how I have looked to *JESUS* the Author and finisher of my faith, he best knows. I am now to come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Cross a death of shame: but the shame must be despised, or no coming to the right hand of God. *JESUS* despised the shame for me, and God forbid but that I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an Argument I hope that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise, for that was the way through which he led his people: But before they came to it, he instituted a Passover for them, a Lamb it was, but it must be eaten with soure herbs, I shall obey, and labour to digest the soure herbs, as well as the Lamb. *Exod. 12. 8.* And I shall remember it is the Lords Passover; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them: but look up only to him, who instituted that, and governs these; for men can have no more power over me, than what is given them from above. *John 19. 13.* I am not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for I have the weaknes and infirmities of flesh and blood plentifully in me; And I have prayed with my Saviour, *Ut transiret Calix iste, that this Cup of Red wine might pass from me: but if not, Gods will (not mine) be done, and I shall most willing drink of this Cup as deep as he pleases,*  
and

PART II. and enter in this Sea; yea, and pass through it in the way that he shall  
 Anno Dom. le. id. m.

I 643.



Dan. 3.

Luke 6. 39.

But I would have it remembred (Good People) That when Gods Ser-  
 vants were in this boysterous Sea, and Aaron amongst them, the Egyp-  
 tians which persecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that  
 Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of  
 them. I know my God, whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from  
 the Sea of bloud, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnace:  
 and (I humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now as theirs  
 was then, They would not worship the Image the King had set up,  
 nor will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up; nor will I  
 forsake the Temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of  
 Jeroboams Calves in Dan and Bethel. And as for this People, they  
 are at this day miserably misled (God of his mercy open their eyes that  
 they may see the right way) for at this day the blind lead the blind, and  
 if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch. For my self, I  
 am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many  
 ways, by thought, word, and deed; I cannot doubt but that God hath mer-  
 cy in store for me (a poor Penitent) as well as for other sinners. I have  
 now, and upon this sad occasion, ransaked every corner of my heart, and  
 yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one sin  
 which deserves death by any known Law of this Kingdom: and yet here-  
 by I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proof (by  
 valuable witnesses) I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned.  
 And (I thank God) though the weight of my Sentence lie heavy upon me,  
 I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the  
 first Archbishop, but the first man that ever died by an Ordinance in Par-  
 liament; yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this  
 means. For Elphegus was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes;  
 and Simon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tyler and his Fellows; Before  
 these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and  
 St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting  
 Sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me patience;  
 for I hope my cause in heaven, will look of another dye than the colour that  
 is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the  
 way of these great men in their several Generations, but also that my charge  
 (as foul as it is made) looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul (Acts  
 25. 3.) for he was accused for the Law, and the Temple, i. e. Religion;  
 and like that of St. Steven (Acts 6. 14.) for breaking the Ordinances  
 which Moses gave, i. e. Law, and Religion; the holy place and the Tem-  
 ple (v. 13.) but you will then say, Do I then compare my self with the Inte-  
 grity of St. Paul and St. Steven? No, far be that from me; I only raise a  
 comfort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid  
 at in their time, as I am now. And it is memorable that St. Paul who  
 helped on this accusation against St. Steven, did after fall under the very  
 same himself. Yea, but here is a great clamour, that I would have brought  
 in Popery; I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the meantime  
 you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself: If we let him  
 alone, all men will believe in him, ET VENIENT ROMANI,  
 and

and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place and Nation. Here was a causeless cry against Christ, that the Romans would come; and see how just the Judgment was, they Crucified Christ for fear least the Romans should come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray God this clamour of Venient Romani (of which I have given no cause) help not to bring them in; For the Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are now amongst us. In the mean time by Honour and Dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a Deceiver and yet true, am I passing through this world (2 Cor. 6.8.) some Particulars also I think it not amiss to speak of.

And first, This I shall be bold to speak of the King our Gracious Sovereign. He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery, but on my conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law Established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The second Particular is concerning this great and Populous City (which God bless) Here hath been of late a Fashion taken up to gather Hands, and and then go to the great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for Justice; as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come (which are unknown to many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an Innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities also; and this hath been lately practiced against my self, the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without any check. God forgive the Setters of this (with all my heart I beg it) but many well-meaning People are caught by it. In St. Stevens case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the People against him; and Herod went the same way when he had killed St. James: yet he would not venture on St. Peter, till he found how the other pleased the People. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to himself) when God (above other sins) makes Inquisition for blood; and when that Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, That God remembers, (that is not all) He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor, that is, whose blood is shed by oppression, ver. 9. Take heed of this, It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, but then especially, when he is making Inquisition for blood. And (with my prayers to avert it) I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecie that is expressed, Jer. 26. 15.

The third Particular is the poor Church of England. It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them: But alas! now it is in a storm it self, and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse than the storm from without) it is become like an Oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft Prophaneness and Irreligion is entring in,

L I B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1644.

Acts 6. 12.

Isay 1. 10.

Pfal. 9. 12.

PART II. *in, while; as Prosper speaks (in his second book De vitæ contemptu, Anno Dom. cap. 4.) Men that introduce profaneness, are cloaked over with the name, Religionis Imaginariæ, of Imaginary Religion; for we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion: and that Church, which all the Jesuites Machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her own.*

*The last Particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my self. I was born and baptized in the Bosome of the Church of England, established by Law; in that Profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come to dye. This is no time to dissemble God, least of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in England, and in that I come now to dye. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.*

*Now at last I am accused of High Treason in Parliament, a Crime which my soul ever abhorred. This Treason was charged to consist of two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land; and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by Law. Besides my Answers to the several Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses. It was said, Prisoners Protestations at the Bar, must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the Bar, but my Protestation of this hour and instant of my death, in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble; being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore here in the presence of God and his holy Angels take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of Law or Religion; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my innocency in this, and from all Treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments; No, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them too well, to be so. But I did mislike the misgovernments of some Parliaments, many ways, and I had good Reason for it; For Corruptio optimi est Pessima, there is no Corruption in the World so bad, as that which is of the best thing within it self; For the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the Highest Court, over which no other hath Jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to joyn in Prayer with me. Which said, with a distinct and audible voice prayed as followeth:*

*O Eter-*



LIB. V.

**O** Eternal God; and Merciful Father, look down upon me in Anno Dom. 1644.  
 mercy, in the Riches and Fulness of all thy mercies look down upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ; not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ; not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christ: that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant full Patience, Proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to dye for thine Honour, the Kings Happiness, and this Churches preservation. And my Zeal to this (far from Arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (humane Frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer, I say in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and those especially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this present Judgment upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own Eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen. And that there may be a stop of this Issue of blood in this more miserable Kingdom (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my self) O Lord I beseech thee give grace of Repentance to all blood-thirsty people, but if they will not Repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours upon them; which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his Posterity after him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and Patrimony, and the settlement of this Distracted, and distressed People, under their Ancient Laws and in their Native Liberty. And when thou hast done all this in meer mercy to them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulness and with Religious Dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days, Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy Bosom. Amen.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

The Speech and Prayers being ended he gave the Paper which he Read into the hands of Sterne his Chaplain, permitted to attend him in his last extremity; whom he desired to Communicate it to his other Chaplains that they might see in what manner he left this world; and so prayed God to shew his blessings and mercies on them. And taking notice that one Hind had imployed himself in writing the words of his Speech as it came from his mouth, he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect Copy. This done he next applyed himself to the fatal Block, as to the Haven of his Rest: But finding the way full of people who had placed themselves upon the

PART II. Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he desired he might *have room to die*, beseeching them to let him have *an end of his miseries which he had endured very long*. All which he did with so Serene and calm a mind, as if he rather had been taking Order for a Noble Mans Funeral, then making way for his own. Being come near the Block, he put off his Doublet, and used some words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, none can be more willing to send me*. And seeing through the Chink of the Boards that some people were got under the Scaffold about the very place where the block was seated, he called to the Officer for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying, it was no part of his desires *that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people*. Never did man put off mortality with a better courage; nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Christian Charity. And thus far he was on his way toward Paradise, with such a Primitive Magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of the Ancient Martyrs: when he was somewhat interrupted by one of those who had placed himself on the Scaffold, not otherwise worthy to be named, but as a Fire-brand brought from Ireland to inflame this Kingdom. Who finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his Spunge and Vinegar, and Stepping to him near the Block he would needs propound unto him some Impertinent questions; not so much out of a desire to learn any thing of him: but with the same purpose as was found in the Scribes and Pharisees, in propounding questions to our Saviour; that is to say, either to intrap him in his Answers, or otherwise to expose him to some disadvantage with the standersby. Two of the questions he made Answer to with all Christian meekness. The first question was, What was the Comfortablest saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth, to which he meekly made answer. *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*: being asked again what was the fittest Speech a man could use to expresse his Confidence and Assurance, he answered with the same Spirit of meekness, That such Assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expresse it rightly. But this not satisfying this busie man (who aimed at something else (as is probable) then such satisfaction) unless he gave some Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon such Assurance might be truly founded. He used some words to this effect, That it was the Word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us. But then finding that there was like to be no end of the troublesome Gentleman, he turned away from him, applying himself directly to the Executioner, as the gentler and discreeter person. Putting some money into his hand he said unto him without the least distemper or change of countenance; *Here honest friend, God forgive thee and I do, and do thy Office upon me with mercy*, and having given him a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth, viz.

Sir John  
Clotworthy

Lord I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass thorough the shadow

of death, before I can come to see thee; But it is but Umbra Mortis, a meer shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but thou by thy Merits and Passion, hast broke thorough the jaws of death, the Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will.

L. B. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1644.

Then laying his head upon the Block and Praying silently to himself he said aloud, *Lord receive my Soul*, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterously did his Office, and took off his head at a blow, his Soul ascending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams* bosom, and leaving his body on the Scaffold, to the care of men.

This blow thus given, his life-less body remained a spectacle so unpleasing unto most of them who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead; their own Consciences perhaps, bearing witness to them, God knows whose did, that they had sinned in being guilty of such *Innocent blood*. Of those whom only Curiosity and desire of Novelty, brought thither to behold that unusual sight, many had not the Patience to attend the Illie, but went away as soon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Resolutions toward the King and the Church, whose Honour and Religious Purposes, they saw so clearly vindicated in his dying, but never dying words. And for the Rest (the most considerable, though perhaps the smallest part of that Great Assembly) as they came thither with no other intention, then to assist him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his last Speeches in their hearts and memories: so when they had performed those Offices of Christian duty, they comforted themselves with this, that as his life was Honourable, so his death was glorious: the pains whereof were short and momentary to himself, the Benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were resolved to live and dye in the Communion of the Church of *England*. And if the Bodies of us men be capable of any happiness in the *Grave*, he had as great a share therein, as he could desire; his Body being accompanied to the Earth with great multitudes of People, whom love, or curiosity, or remorse of Conscience had drawn together purposely to perform that Office, and decently interred in the Church of *Albhallows Burking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, In which it may be noted as a thing remarkable, That being whilst he lived the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book* here by Law established he had the Honour being dead, to be buried by the form therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and almost reprobated in most Churches of *London*. Nor need Posterity take care to provide his Monument: he built one for himself whilst he was alive: It being well observed by *Deering* (one of his most malicious Enemies, and he that threw the first stone at him in the beginning of this Parliament)

PART II. that St. Paul's Church will be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book (against the Jesuite) his lasting Epitaph.

Anno Dom.

1644.

Thus fell *Laud* and St. Pauls fell with him; The yearly Contribution toward whose Repair, Anno 1641. when he was plunged into his Troubles, fell from the sum of 15000 *l.* and upward, to somewhat less than 1500. and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No less than 17138 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* ob. *q.* which remained in the Chamber of London toward the carrying on of the Work, is seized on by an Order of both Houses of Parliament, for the beginning of their War against the King; that so they might not only encounter him with his own Arms and Ammunition, which he had bought with his own Money: but with that Money too, which he alone had raised by his own Care and Piety. Most of the Materials intended for finishing the Work, were turned into Money; and the rest bestowed on the Parish of St. Gregories, for the Rebuilding of that Church: And all the Scaffolding of the Tower or Steeple, allotted to the payment of *Jephson's* Regiment, who challenged an Arrear of 1746 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.* for their Service in that cruel and unnatural War. The Pavement of the Church digged up, and sold to the wealthier Citizens, for beautifying their Country-Houses; The Floor converted into Saw-pits in many places, for cutting out such Timber as was turned into Money; The Lead torn off in some places also; the Timber and Arches of the Roof being thereby exposed to Wind and Weather; Part of the Stone-work which supported the Tower or Steeple, fallen down, and threatning the like Ruine, unto all the rest; The gallant *Portico* at the West-end thereof, obscured first by a new House looking towards *Ludgate*; and afterward turned into an Exchange for Haberdashers of small Wares, Hofiers, and such Petit Chapmen: And finally, the whole Body of it converted to a Stable or Horse-Garrison, for the better awing of that City, whose Pride and Faction raised the Fire, and whose Purse added Fuel to it, for the enflaming of the Kingdom.

Thus *Laud* fell, and the Church fell with him; The *Liturgie* whereof was Voted down about the time in which the Ordinance was pass'd for his Condemnation; The *Presbyterian Directory* authorised for the Press, by Ordinance of *March* 13. next following; *Episcopacy* Root and Branch, which had before been precondemned, suppressed by Ordinance in like manner on *October* 9. 1646. The Lands of all Cathedrals sold, to the exposing of those stately and magnificent Fabricks to an inevitable Ruine; The Bishops dispossessed of their Lands and Rents, without the Charity of a small Annual Pension toward their Support; The Regular and Conformable Clergy sequestred, ejected, and turned out of all, to the utter undoing of themselves, their Wives and Children; A wide gap opened for letting in of all Sects and Heresies, many of which had been exploded and condemned in the Primitive times, others so new (and every day begetting newer) that few of them have served out their Apprenticeship, and yet Trade as freely as if they had served out all their Time; The Sacred Ministry in the meantime, or that part of it at the least which consists in Preaching, usurped by Handicrafts-men, Boys, and Women,

to the dishonour of God, the infamy and disgrace of the *English* Nation, and the reproach of our Religion, so much renowned (as long as he remained in Power) both for external Glory and internal Purity. And yet it cannot be denied, but that he fell very opportunely in regard of himself, before he saw those horrible Confusions which have since brake into the Church, the dissipation of the Clergy, the most calamitous death of his Gracious Sovereign, and the Extermination threatned to the Royal Family: any of which would have been far more grievous to him, than a thousand deaths. The opportunity of a quiet and untroubled death, was reckoned for a great felicity in the Noble (a) *Agricola*, who could not but in the course of a long life, have felt the hundredth part of those Grievs and Sorrows, which would have pierced the Soul of this Pious Prelate, had not God gathered him to his Fathers in so good an hour.

LIB. V.  
Anno Dom.  
1644.

But fallen he is; and being fallen, there is no question to be made, but most men would spend their Judgments of his Life and Actions. (b) One tells us of him, That the roughness of his uncourtly Nature, sent most men discontented from him; though afterwards, of his own accord, he would find means to sweeten many of them again, when they least looked for it. (c) Another, That he had so little command of his passions, that he could not repress them at the *Star-Chamber*, or the *High-Commission*; which made his Censure always follow the severer side. Some thought, That out of a dislike of that Popularity, which was too much affected by his Predecessor, he was carried on so far to the t'other extreme, as to fail in many necessary Civilities to the Nobility and Gentry, by which he might have obliged them; and indeed himself. Others, that by this reserved, and implausible humour, he so far lost the love of his own Diocess (the Gentry whereof he neither entertained at *Canterbury*, nor feasted at *Lambeth*, as all his Predecessors had done before him) that one of them who served in Parliament for the County of *Kent*, threw the first dirt at him. Some said that he trusted too much to his own single judgement, in the Contriving and carrying on of his designs; seldom advising with any of the other Bishops, till he had digested the whole business, and then referring nothing to them but the Execution, which made it less Cordially followed by the greater part, then it had been otherwise. And others, that he presumed too much on the Love and Goodness of the King, whose Love and Goodness not being seconded by Power, proved afterwards so insufficient to save him harmless, and keep his head on his shoulders, that it served rather to expose him to the publick hatred. In which Respect it was conceived that the Lord Protector *Sommerfet* followed his work more like a States-man (though of himself he was accounted no deep Polititian) not venturing on the Alteration of Religion which he had projected, till he had put himself into the head of an Army, under Pretence of making War against the *Scots*; nothing but the unseasonable disbanding whereof could have plunged him into those Calamities, which ensued upon it. It was discoursed by some that he was too suddain and precipitate, in the pursuit of his undertakings, the fruits whereof he desired

(a) *Tu felix Agricola, non vitæ tamen charitate sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Tacit. in vita Agric.*

(b) *Dering's Collection of Speeches.*

(c) *Ch. Hist. B. 11. p. 219.*

PART II. to taste before they were ripe; and did not think the work well done, except he might enjoy as well the comfort of it in his Life, as the Honour of it after his death: quite contrary therein to the Grandees of the *Puritan* faction, who, after the first heats were over in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, carried their work for thirty years together, like *Moles* under the Ground, not casting up any earth before them, till they had made so strong a party in the House of Commons as was able to hold the King to their own Conditions. And therefore it was thought by others, that his business was not so well timed as it should have been; the three first Parliaments of this King being dissolved in such discontentments, as could not easily be forgotten; the *Scots* as much exasperated by the Commission of *surrendries*, which they express plainly by their disaffections to his Person and Government, at his first Parliament in that Kingdom; and the *English* shortly after, startled by the *Writs for Shipmony*, which seemed to threaten a destruction to that *Legal Property*, which every man challenged in his own.

Some who seemed wiser than the Rest complained, that his Embracements were too large and general; and that he had more Irons in the fire at once, than could be well hammer'd in one forge. Not suffering any one of his Counsels to hold on a *Probationship*, before it was retarded and pulled back by another. By means whereof the whole piece being laid open at once, the Figures of it appeared more terrible and unhandfomly wrought than otherwise they would have done, in case they had been shown by little and little. By these it was discoursed, that within the space of one year after his coming to the Chair of *Canterbury*, he had engaged himself, in six several Counsels and designs, all of them of so high a nature, that each of them might have been enough to take up that short remainder of time which he had to live. It was confessed, that the connivence and Remissness of his Predecessor had left him work enough to do; but then it was averred withal, and proved by Ordinary observation, that an unskilful Carpenter might pull down more in one day than the ablest Architect in the World could build up in twenty; and therefore that the Ruines of twenty years, were not to be repaired in one. And for the Proof of this they were pleas'd to note, that within six weeks after his coming to that Chair, his Majesty had laid the Foundation of the *Scottish* Liturgy, by issuing out his Instructions of the 8th. of *October* for Officiating the *Divine Service* in his Chappel at *Edenborough*, according to the Form and Ceremony of his Royal Chappel at *White Hall*; that he had seconded it within ten days after by reviving his Fathers Declaration about Lawful Sports, with some additions of his own; and thirded it in the very beginning of *November* by an Order of the Council Table in the case of *St. Gregories*, for transposing the Communion-Table to the Place of the *Altar*; and that within the first six Months of the year next following, he sent out two *Injunctions* for reducing the Congregations of the *French* and *Dutch* to the Liturgy and Church of *England*; Countenanced the Petition of the *London* Ministers, for encrease of maintainance, in the just payment of their Tithes; and procur'd the Repealing of the *Irish* Articles; and

and those of *England* to be *approved* and *received* in the place thereof. L J B. V.  
 And what said they could be more unadvisedly, and unpolitickly Anno Dom.  
 done, then to draw upon himself at once the high displeasure of three I 6 4 4.  
 Kingdoms in the several Concernments of each Nation; as also all the  
*Genevian* Churches abroad in their Proper Interesses; Fomented by  
 the Pride and Purse of the City of *London*, and prosecuted by the Ma-  
 lice and Activity of the *Puritan* faction, in them all united in the Com-  
 mon quarrel of the Lords day Sabbath? They added that King *Edward*  
 the first, began not with the Conquest of *Wales*, before he had well  
 settled his affairs in *England*, and that he undertook not the following  
 War against the *scots* (whom afterwards he brought under his obedi-  
 ence) till some years after he had finished the Conquest of *Wales*; that  
 as all Superfetations are dangerous to the Product of the birth of Na-  
 ture; and nothing more Repugnant to a Regular Diet than to fill the  
 Stomach with fresh viands, before it is Emptied of the Former; so no-  
 thing can be more destructive to the Body Politick, than to try two  
 many Experiments at once upon it, which cannot possibly work well  
 together to the publick health; and therefore, that he should have  
 practised upon one Kingdom after another as best became so able a Phy-  
 sician, and so exact a Master in the Art of a Christian Warfare; that  
 one of them might have followed the good Example of the other, and  
 not all joyn together (like so many ill humours) to the common di-  
 sturbance of the work.

Such were the Censures and Discourses, which were passed upon  
 him betwixt his Imprisonment and his Death, and for some years after.  
 In which how much or little there is of truth, is left unto the judgment  
 of those, who are more thoroughly acquainted with his disposition  
 and affections, his secret Counsels, and the Reasons which directed him  
 in the conduct of them, than I can honestly pretend to. All I can say,  
 is that, which may be said by any other, which had no more access to  
 him than my self: Of Stature he was low, but of a strong Composi-  
 tion; so short a Trunk never contained so much excellent Treasure,  
 which therefore was to be the stronger, by reason of the wealth which  
 was lodged within it. His Countenance chearful and well-bloudied,  
 more fleshy, (as I have often heard him say) than any other part of  
 his body; which chearfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the  
 very Block, notwithstanding the Afflictions of four years Imprison-  
 ment, and the infelicity of the times. For at his first Commitment he  
 besought God (as is observed in the *Breviate*) to give him full patience,  
 proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatsoever he should send;  
 and he was heard in what he prayed for: for notwithstanding that he  
 had fed long on the bread of carefulness, and drank the water of affliction;  
 yet as the Scripture telleth us of the four *Hebrew Children*, His Coun-  
 tenance appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, than any of those who eat  
 their portion of the Kings Meat, and drank of his Wine; A gallant Spi-  
 rit being for the most part like the Sun, which shews the greater at his  
 setting. But to proceed in that weak Character, which my Pen is  
 able to afford him, of Apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a  
 very sociable Wit, and a pleasant Humour; and one that knew as  
 well

PART II. well how to put off the Gravity of his Place, and Person, when he  
*Anno Dom.* saw occasion, as any man living whatsoever; Accessible enough at all  
 1644. times but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of  
 business, which some, who did understand him, ascribed unto the natural ruggedness of his Disposition; Zealous he was in the Religion here established, as hath been made apparent in the course of this History; Constant not only to the Publick Prayers in his Chappel, but to his private Devotions in his Closet; A special Benefactor to the Town of *Reading*, where he had his Birth, and to the University of *Oxon.* where he had his Breeding; so much the more to this last, as he preferred his *Well-being* before his *Being*. Happy in this, that he accomplished those good works in the time of his Life, which otherwise must have shrunk to nothing in the hands of Executors. To speak of the Integrity of so great a Person, would be an injury to his Vertues: One Argument whereof may be, if there were no other, That in so long a time of Power and Greatness, wherein he had the principal managing of Affairs both in Church and State, he made himself the Master of so small a Fortune, that it was totally exhausted in his Benefactions unto *Oxon.* and *Reading*, before remembered. The rest I shall refer to the *Breviate* of his Life and Action, though published of purpose to defame him, and render him more odious to the Common People: In which it will appear, to an equal and impartial Reader, That he was a man of such eminent Vertues, such an exemplary Piety towards God, such an unwearied Fidelity to his Gracious Sovereign, of such a publick Soul towards Church and State, so fixt a Constancy in Friendship; and one so little byassed by his private Interesses, that *Plutarch*, if he were alive, would be much troubled to find a sufficient Parallel wherewith to match him in all the Lineaments of perfect Vertue.

Thus lived this most Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate; and thus he died; when he had lived seventy one years, thirteen Weeks, and four days, if at the least he may be properly said to die: the great Example of whose Vertue shall continue alway, not only in the Minds of Men, but in the Annals of succeeding Ages with Renown and Fame. His Death the more remarkable in falling on *St. Williams* day, as if it did design him to an equal place in the *English* Calendar, with that which *William*, Archbishop of *Bourgeois*, had obtained in the *French*, Who being as great a Zealot in his time against the spreading and increase of the *Albigenses*, (as *Laud* was thought to be against those of the Puritan Faction, and the Scottish Covenanters) hath ever since been honoured as a Saint in the *Gallican* Church; the tenth of *January* being destined for the solemnities of his Commemoration, on which day our *Laud* ascended from the Scaffold to a Throne of Glory.

The End of the Second Part.





AN  
 ELEGY  
 ON THE  
 DEATH  
 OF

The most Reverend FATHER in GOD

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, &c.

*January 10. 1644.*

Horat. Carm. Lib. 4. Od. 8.

*Dignum Laude Virum musa vetat mori.*

AND yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try  
 A Line or two by way of Elegy ;  
 And wail so sad a Loss, if to express  
 The greatness of it, would not make it less.

If to Lament thee might not vex thee more  
 Than all the Scorns thou hast endur'd before,  
 And make thee think we envied thee thy start,  
 Or doubted that thou wert not where thou art.  
 Yet, with thy leave, I needs must drop a Verse,  
 Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy Herse ;

But

Tee

And

And at this distance from thy Grave, which lacks  
The Pumps of Sorrow, hang my Heart with Blacks.

Religious Prelate, What a Calm hast thou,  
I'th' midst of those turbulent Storms, which now  
Shipwreck this Island! At how cheap a Rate  
Hast thou procur'd this Change of thy Estate!  
The Mitre, for a Crown; A few poor days,  
For endless Blifs; Vile Earth, for Heavenly Joys!  
Such Glories hast thou found, such Alteration  
In this thy Highest, as thy last *Translation*.  
How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they  
Advanc'd thee thus and chalk'd thee out the Way?  
A Way so welcome to thee! No *Divine*  
But knows the Red-Sea leads to *Palestine*:  
And since *Christ Jesus* Sanctified the Cross,  
Death's the best Purchase, Life the greatest Loss.

Nor be thou griev'd, Blest Soul, that Men do still  
Pursue thee with black Slanders, and do kill  
Thy shadow now, and trample on thy Ghost,  
(As *Hectors* Carcass, by the *Grecian* Host)  
Or that thou want'st *Inscriptions*, and a Stone,  
T'ingrave thy Name, and write thy Titles on.  
Thou art above those Trifles, and shalt stand  
As much above Mens malice. Though the hand  
Of base Detraction hath defil'd thy Name,  
And spotless Virtues; yet impartial Fame  
Shall do thee all just Honours, and set forth  
To all succeeding Times thy matchless Worth.  
No *Annals* shall be writ, but what Relate  
Thy happy Influence both on Church and State;  
Thy Zeal to Publick Order, Thy Great Parts  
For all Affairs of Weight, Thy Love to Arts;  
And, to our shame, and his great Glory, tell,  
For whose dear Sake, by whose vile Hands he fell.  
(A Death so full of Merits, of such Price,  
To God and Man so sweet a Sacrifice,  
As by good *Church-Law* may his Name prefer  
To a fixt Rubrick in the Kalender.

And let this silence the *Pure Sects* Complaint,  
 If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a *Saint*.)

Or should Men envy thee this Right, thy Praise  
 An Obsequie unto it self can raise.

Thy brave Attempt on *Pauls*, in time to come,  
 Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe :

Thy Book shall be thy *Statua*, where we find  
 The Image of thy Nobler Part, thy Mind :

Thy Name shall be thy Epitaph, and he  
 Which hears and reads of that, shall publish thee

Above the reach of Titles, and shall say  
 None could express thy Worths a braver way.

And thus, though murder'd, thou shalt never die,  
 But live Renown'd to all Posterity.

Rest thou then happy in the Sweets of Bliss,  
 Th' *Elyzian*, the Christians Paradise,

Exempt from Wordly Cares, secure from Fears ;

And let us have thy Prayers, as thou our Tears.

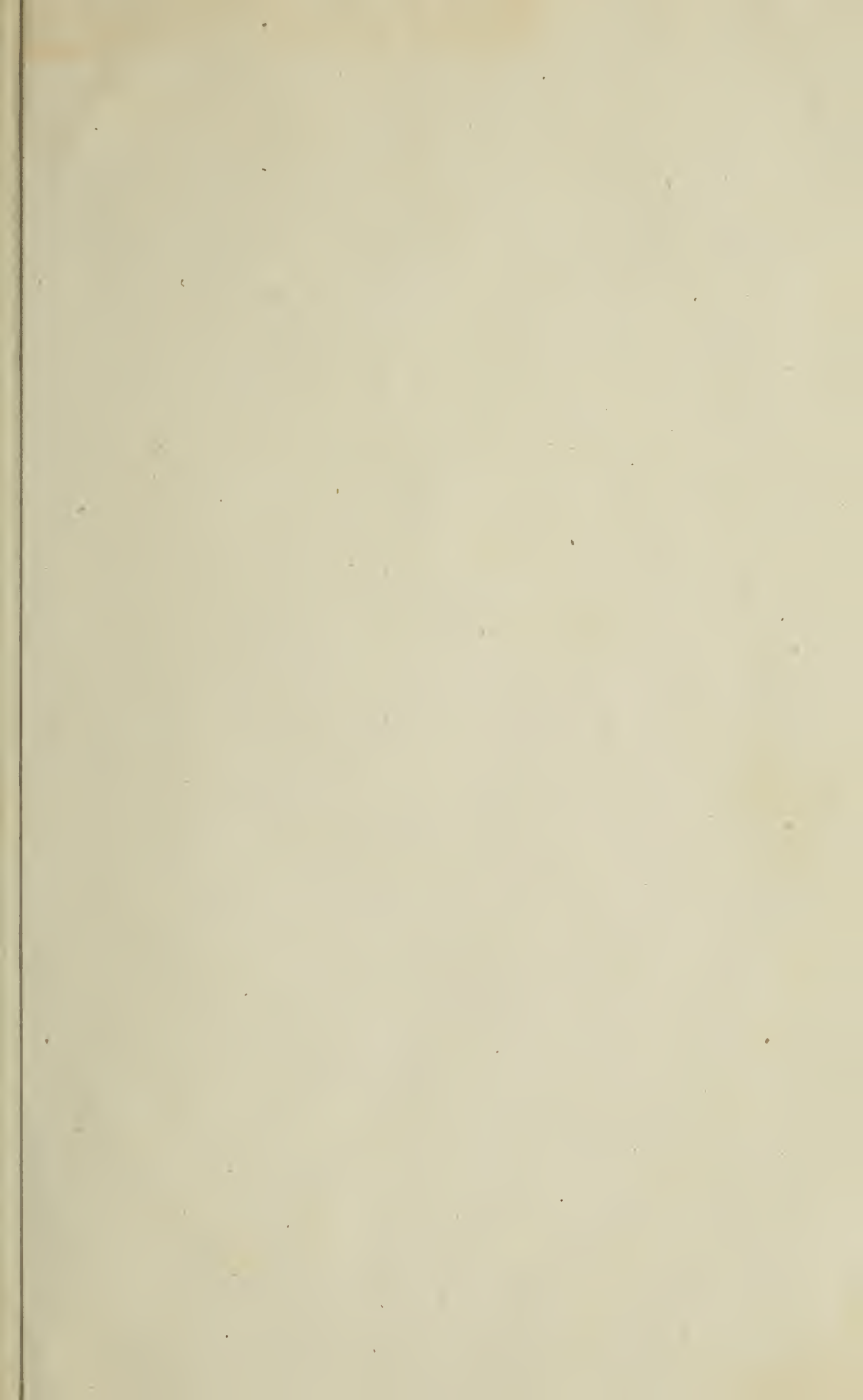
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**FINIS.**

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The first of these is the fact that the  
 world is not a uniform whole, but a  
 collection of diverse parts, each with  
 its own peculiar characteristics and  
 its own special history. This diversity  
 is the result of the different conditions  
 under which the various parts of the  
 world have developed, and it is this  
 diversity which makes the world so  
 interesting and so full of life.

THE END





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