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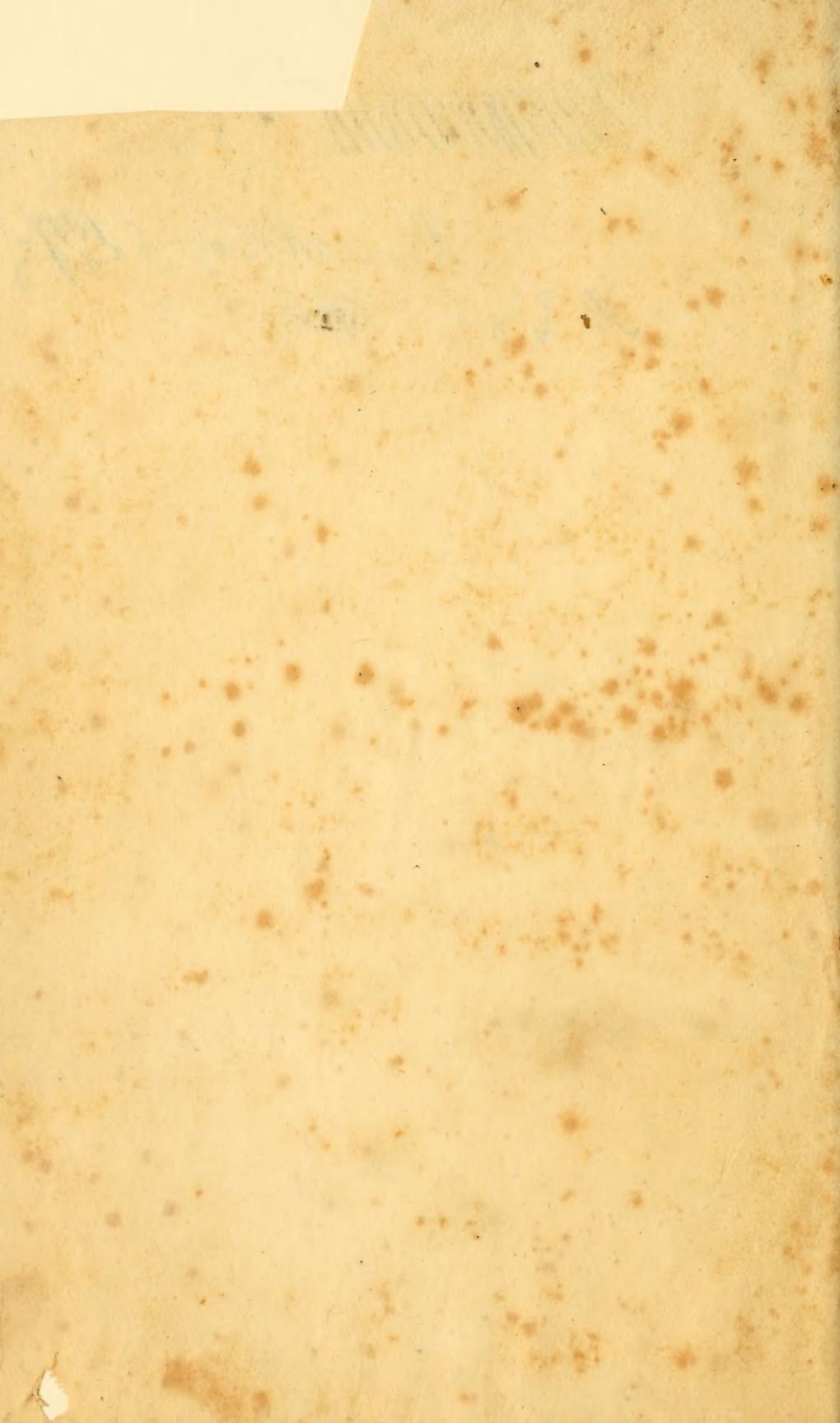
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS
OR
Protestant Non-Conformists,
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
Death of Queen ELIZABETH:
WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts
for a further Reformation in the Church;
their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters
of their principal Divines.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

The SECOND EDITION.

Now all these Things happened unto them for Examples;
and they are written for our Admonition — 1 Cor. x. ii.

L O N D O N:

Printed for RICHARD HETT, at the Bible and
Crown in the Poultry. M.DCC.XXXII.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE Design of the following Work is to preserve the Memory of those great and good Men among the Reformers who lost their Preferments in the Church, for attempting a further Reformation of its Discipline and Ceremonies ; and to account for the Rise and Progress of that Separation from the National Establishment which subsists to this Day.

To set this in a proper Light it was necessary to look back upon the sad State of Religion before the Reformation, and to consider the Motives that induced King HENRY VIII. to break with the Pope, and to declare the Church of England an independent Body, of which himself, under Christ, was the supreme Head upon Earth. This was a bold Attempt, at a Time when all the Powers of the Earth were against him ; and could not have succeeded without an over-ruling Direction of Divine Providence : But as for any real Amendment of the Doctrines, or Superstitions of Popery, any further than was necessary to secure his own Supremacy, and those vast Revenues of the Church which he had grasped into his Hands, whatever his Majesty might design, he had not the Honour to accomplish.

The Reformation made a quick Progress in the short Reign of King EDWARD VI. who had been educated under Protestant Tutors, and was himself a prodigious Genius for his Age ; he settled the Doctrines of the

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Church, and intended a Reformation of its Government, and Laws ; but his noble Designs were obstructed by some temporizing Bishops, who having complied with the Impositions of King Henry VIII. were willing to bring others under the same Yoke ; and to keep up an Alliance with the Church of Rome, lest they should lose the uninterrupted Succession of their Characters from the Apostles. The Controversy that gave Rise to the SEPARATION began in this Reign, on occasion of Bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the Popish Habits : This may seem an unreasonable Scruple in the Opinion of some People, but was certainly an Affair of great Consequence to the Reformation, when the Habits were the known Badges of Popery ; and when the Administrations of the Priests were thought to receive their Validity from the consecrated Vestments, as I am afraid many both of the Clergy and common People are too inclinable to apprehend at this Day. Had the Reformers fixed upon other decent Garments, as Badges of the Episcopal or Priestly Office, which had no Relation to the Superstitions of Popery, this Controversy had been prevented. But the same Regard to the old Religion was had in revising the Liturgy, and translating it into the English Language ; the Reformers, instead of framing a new one in the Language of Holy Scripture, had recourse to the Offices of the Church of Rome, leaving out such Prayers and Passages as were offensive, and adding certain Responses to engage the Attention of the common People, who till this Time had no concern in the publick Devotions of the Church, as being uttered in an unknown Tongue : This was thought a very considerable Advance, and as much as the Times would bear, but was not designed for the last Standard of the English Reformation ; however, the immature Death of young King Edward put an end to all further Progress.

Upon the Accession of Queen MARY, Popery revived by the Supremacy's being lodged in a single Hand ; and within the Compass of little more than a Year, became a second Time the established Religion of the Church of England :

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land: The Statutes of King Edward were repealed, and the penal Laws against Hereticks were put in execution against the Reformers; many of whom, after a long Imprisonment, and cruel Trials of Mockings and Scourgings, made a noble Confession of their Faith before many Witnesses, and sealed it with their Blood. Great Numbers fled into Banishment, and were entertained by the reformed States of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, with great Humanity; the Magistrates enfranchising them, and appointing Churches for their publick Worship. But here began the fatal Division; some of the Exiles were for keeping to the Liturgy of King Edward, as the Religion of their Country, while others considering that those Laws were repealed apprehended themselves at full Liberty, and having no Prospect of returning home, they resolved to shake off the Remains of Antichrist, and to copy after the purer Forms of those Churches among whom they lived. Accordingly the Congregation at Frankfort, by the Desire of the Magistrates, began upon the Geneva Model, with an additional Prayer for the afflicted State of the Church of England at that Time; but when Dr. Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, came with a new Detachment from England, he interrupted the publick Service by answering aloud after the Minister, which occasion'd such a Disturbance and Division as could never be healed. Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham, with one half of the Congregation, being obliged to remove to Geneva, Dr. Cox and his Friends kept Possession of the Church at Frankfort, till there arose such Quarrels and Contentions among themselves as made them a Reproach to the Strangers among whom they lived. Thus the Separation began.

When the Exiles, upon the Accession of Queen ELIZABETH, returned to England, each Party were for advancing the Reformation according to their own Standard. The Queen, with those that had weathered the Storm at home, were only for restoring King Edward's Liturgy, but the Majority of the Exiles were for the Worship and Discipline of the foreign Churches, and refused to comply with the old Establishment, declaiming loudly against the Popish

Habits and Ceremonies. The new Bishops, most of whom had been their Companions abroad, endeavoured to soften them for the present, declaring they would use all their Interests at Court to make them easy in a little Time : The Queen also connived at their Non-Conformity, till her Government was settled, but then declared roundly, that she had fixed her Standard, and would have all her Subjects conform to it ; upon which the Bishops stiffened in their Behaviour, explained away their Promises, and became too severe against their Dissenting Brethren.

In the Year 1564. their Lordships began to shew their Authority, by urging the Clergy of their several Dioceses to subscribe the Liturgy, Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church ; when those that refused were first called PURITANS, a Name of Reproach derived from the Cathari, or Puritani of the third Century after Christ, but proper enough to express their Desires of a more pure Form of Worship and Discipline in the Church. When the Doctrines of Arminius took Place in the latter end of the Reign of King James I. those that adhered to Calvin's Explication of the five disputed Points were called DO-
 Cl. History, Estrinal Puritans ; and at length (says Mr. Fuller) the
 B. IX. Name was improved to stigmatize all those who endeavoured
 p. 97. B. X. ed in their Devotions to accompany the Minister with a
 p. 100. pure Heart, and who were remarkably Holy in their Con-
 versations. A PURITAN therefore was a Man of
 severe Morals, a Calvinist in Doctrine, and a Non-
 Conformist to the Ceremonies and Discipline of the
 Church, though he did not totally separate from it.

The Queen having conceived a strong Aversion to these People, pointed all her Artillery against them ; for besides the ordinary Courts of the Bishops, her Majesty erected a new Tribunal, called the Court of HIGH COMMISSION, which suspended and deprived Men of their Livings, not by the Verdict of twelve Men upon Oath, but by the sovereign Determination of three Commissioners of her Majesty's own Nomination, founded not upon the Statute Laws of the Realm, but upon the bottomless Deep of the Canon Law ; and instead of producing Witnesses in open

open Court to prove the Charge, they assumed a Power of administering an Oath **E x O F F I C I O**, whereby the Prisoner was obliged to answer all Questions the Court should put to him, though never so prejudicial to his own Defence : If he refused to swear, he was imprison'd for Contempt ; and if he took the Oath, he was convicted upon his own Confession.

The Reader will meet with many Examples of the high Proceedings of this Court, in the Course of this History ; of their sending their Pursuevants to bring Ministers out of the Country, and keeping them in Town at excessive Charges ; of their Interrogatories upon Oath, which were almost equal to the Spanish Inquisition ; of their Examinations and long Imprisonments of Ministers without Bail, or bringing them to a Trial ; and all this not for Insufficiency, or Immorality, or neglect of their Cures, but for not wearing a white Surplice, for not baptizing with the Sign of the Cross, or not subscribing to certain Articles that had no Foundation in Law. A fourth Part of all the Preachers in England were under Suspension from one or other of these Courts, at a Time when not one beneficed Clergyman in six was capable of composing a Sermon. The Edge of all those Laws that were made against Popish Recusants, who were continually plotting against the Queen, was turned against Protestant Non-Conformists ; nay, in many Cases they had not the Benefit of the Law ; for as Lord Clarendon rightly observes, Queen Vol. I. 8^{vo}. Elizabeth carried her Prerogative as high as in the^{P. 72.} worst Times of King Charles I. "They who look back up- " on the Council Books of those Times (says his Lordship) " and upon the Acts of the Star Chamber then, shall " find as high Instances of Power and Sovereignty upon " the Liberty and Property of the Subject, as can be since " given. But the Art, Order and Gravity of those Pro- " ceedings (where short, severe, constant Rules, were " set, and smartly pursued, and the Party felt only the " Weight of the Judgment, not the Passion of his Judges) " made them less taken Notice of, and so less grievous to " the Publick, though as intolerable to the Person."

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These Severities, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Church drove them further from it ; for Men don't care to be beat from their Principles by the Artillery of Canons, Injunctions, and penal Laws ; nor can they be in love with a Church that uses such Methods of Conversion. A great deal of ill Blood was bred in the Nation by these Proceedings ; the Bishops lost their Esteem with the People, and the Number of Puritans was not really lessened though they lay concealed, till in the next Age they got the Power into their Hands and shook off the Yoke.

The Reputation of the Church of England has been very much advanced of late Years, by the Suspension of the penal Laws, and the legal Indulgence granted to Protestant Dissenters. Long Experience has taught us, that Uniformity in Doctrine and Worship, enforced by penal Laws, is not the Way to the Church's Peace ; that there may be a Separation from a true Church without Schism ; and Schism within a Church without Separation ; that the Indulgence granted by Law to Protestant Non-Conformists, which has now subsisted above forty Years, has not been prejudicial to Church or State, but rather advantageous to both ; for the Revenues of the established Church have not been lessen'd ; a Number of Poor have been maintained by the Dissenters, which must otherwise have come to the Parish ; the Separation has kept up an Emulation among the Clergy ; quicken'd them to their pastoral Duty, and been a Check upon their moral Behaviour ; and I will venture to say, whenever the separate Assemblies of Protestant Non-Conformists shall cease, and all Men be obliged to worship at their Parish Churches, that Ignorance and Laziness will prevail among the Clergy ; and that the Laity in many Parts of the Country will degenerate into Superstition, Prophaneness, and downright Atheism. With Regard to the S T A T E ; it ought to be remember'd, that the Protestant Dissenters have always stood by the Laws and Constitution of their Country ; that they joined heartily in the glorious Revolution of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and suffer-

suffered for their steady Adherence to the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of his PRESENT MAJESTY, when great Numbers that called themselves Churchmen were looking another way; for this, the Schism Bill and other Hardships were put upon them, and not for their religious Differences with the Church; for if they would have joined the Administration at that Time, 'tis well known they might have made much better Terms for themselves; but as long as there is a Protestant Dissenter in England there will be a Friend of Liberty, and of our present happy Constitution. Instead therefore of crushing them, or comprehending them within the Church, it must be the Interest of all true Lovers of their Country, even upon political Views, to ease their Complaints, and to support and countenance their Christian Liberty.

For though the Church of England is as free from persecuting Principles as any Establishment in Europe, yet still there are some Grievances remaining, which wise and good Men of all Parties wish might be reviewed; not to mention the Subscriptions which affect the Clergy; there is the Act of the 25th of King Charles II. for preventing Dangers arising from Popish Recusants, commonly called the TEST ACT, "which obliges, under very severe Penalties, all Persons, [of the Laity] bearing any Office, or Place of Trust or Profit (besides taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and subscribing a Declaration against Transubstantiation;) to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Usage of the Church of England, in some Parish Church on a Lord's Day immediately after Divine Service and Sermon, and to deliver a Certificate of having so received it, under the Hands of the respective Ministers and Church-Wardens, proved by two credible Witnesses upon Oath, to be recorded in Court." It appears by the Title of this Act, and by the Disposition of the Parliament at that Time, that it was not design'd against Protestant Non-Conformists; but the Dissenters in the House generously came into it to save the Nation from Popery; for when the Court, in order to throw out the Bill,

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Bill, put them upon moving for a Clause to except their Friends, Mr. Love, who had already declared against the Dispensing Power, stood up, and desired that the Nation might first be secured against Popery, by passing the Bill without any Amendment, and that then, if the House pleased, some regard might be had to Protestant Dissenters;

in which (says Mr. Eachard) he was seconded by most of his Party. The Bill was voted accordingly, and another brought in for the Ease of his Majesty's Protestant Dissenting Subjects, which passed the Commons, but before it could get through the Lords, the King came to the House and prorogued the Parliament. Thus the Protestant Non-Conformists, out of their abundant Zeal for the Protestant Religion, shackled themselves, and were left upon a level with Popish Recusants.

It was necessary to secure the Nation against Popery at that Time, when the presumptive Heir of the Crown was of that Religion; but whether it ought not to have been done by a Civil rather than by a Religious Test, I leave with the Reader. The obliging all Persons in Places of Civil Trust to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, seems to be a Hardship upon those Gentlemen, whose manner of Life loudly declares their Unfitness for so sacred a Solemnity, and who would not run the Hazard of eating and drinking unworthily, but that they satisfy themselves with throwing off the Guilt upon the Imposers. Great Britain must not expect an Army of Saints; nor is the Time yet come, when all her Officers shall be Peace, and her Exactors Righteousness. It is no less a Hardship upon a great Body of his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, who are qualified to serve their King and Country, in all Offices of Civil Trust, and would perform their Duty with all Carefulness, did they not scruple to receive the Sacrament after the Usage of the Church of England, or to prostitute a sacred and religious Institution, as a Qualification for a Civil Employment. I can see no Inconvenience either to Church or State, if HIS MAJESTY, as the common Father of his People, should have the Service of all his Subjects who are willing to swear Allegiance

to his Royal Person and Government ; to renounce all foreign Jurisdiction, and to give all reasonable Security not to disturb the Church of England, or any of their fellow Subjects, in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religious or Civil Rights and Properties. Besides, the removing this Grievance would do Honour to the Church of England it self, by obviating the Charge of Imposition, and by relieving the Clergy from a Part of their Work, which has given some of them very great Uneasiness : But I am chiefly concerned for the Honour of Religion and publick Virtue, which is wounded hereby in the House of its Friends. If therefore (as some conceive) the Sacramental Test be a national Blemish, I humbly conceive, with all due Submission, the removal of it would be a publick Blessing.

The Protestant Non-Conformists observe with Pleasure the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church owning the Cause of Religious Liberty, " That private Judgment ought to be formed upon Examination, and that Religion is a free and unforced Thing." And we sincerely join with the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the Preface to his excellent Vindication of the Miracles of our blessed Saviour, " in congratulating our Country on Vol. II. the Enjoyment of their Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberties p. 15. within their just and reasonable Bounds, as the most valuable Blessings ;" though we are not fully satisfied with the Reasonableness of those Bounds his Lordship has fixed. God forbid ! that any among us should be Patrons of open Prophaneness, Irreligion, Scurrility, or ill Manners to the established Religion of the Nation ; much less that we should countenance any who blasphemously revile the Founder of it, or who deride whatsoever is sacred. No, we have a fervent Zeal for the Honour of our Lord and Master, and are desirous to contend earnestly for the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints with all Sorts of spiritual Weapons ; but we do not yet see a Necessity of stopping the Mouths of the Adversaries of our holy Religion with Fines and Imprisonments, even though to their own Infamy and Shame they treat it with Indecency : Let Scandal and ill Manners be punished as it deserves, but let not Men

Men be terrified from speaking out their Doubts, or proposing their Objections against the Gospel Revelation, which we are sure will bear a thorough Examination; and though the late ungenerous Attacks upon the Miracles of our blessed Saviour, may have had an ill Influence upon the giddy and unthinking Youth of the Age, they have given Occasion to the publishing such a Number of incomparable Defences of Christianity, as have confirmed the Faith of many, and must satisfy the Minds of all reasonable Enquirers after Truth.

Nor do we think it right to fix the Boundaries of Religious Liberty upon the Degree of People's differing from the national Establishment, because Enthusiasts or Jews have an equal Right with Christians to worship God in their own Way; to defend their own peculiar Doctrines, and to enjoy the publick Protection, as long as they keep the Peace, and maintain no Principles manifestly inconsistent with the Safety of the Government they live under.

Ibid. p. 9. But his Lordship apprehends he has a Chain of demonstrable Propositions to maintain his Boundaries, he observes,

" 1. That the true Ends of Government require the Establishment of some Religion." By which, if no more be meant than that Civil Government can't subsist without Religion, no reasonable Man will dispute it. " 2. That open Impiety, or a publick Opposition made to, and an avowed Contempt of the established Religion, which is a considerable part of the Constitution, do greatly promote the Disturbance of the publick Peace, and naturally tend to the Subversion of the whole Constitution." 'Tis here supposed that one particular Religion must be incorporated into the Constitution, which is not necessary to the Ends of Government; for Religion and Civil Government are distinct Things, and stand upon a separate Basis. Religion in general is the Support of Civil Government, and 'tis the Office of the Civil Magistrate to protect all his dutiful and loyal Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion; but to incorporate one particular Religion into the Constitution, so *Ibid. p. 10.* as to make it part of the Common Law, and to conclude from

from thence, that the Constitution having a Right to preserve it self, may make Laws for the Punishment of those that publickly oppose any one Branch of it, is to put an effectual Stop to the Progress of the Reformation throughout the whole Christian World; for by this reasoning our first Reformers must be condemned; and if a Subject of France, or the Ecclesiastical State should at this Time write against the usurped Power of the Pope; or expose the Absurdities of Transubstantiation, Adoration of the Host, Worshipping of Images, &c. it would be laudable for the legislative Powers of those Countries to send the WRITER to the Gallies or shut him up in a Dungeon, as a Disturber of the publick Peace, because Popery is supported by Law, and is a very considerable Part of their Constitution.

But to support the Government's Right to enact penal Laws against those that oppose the establish'd Religion, his Lordship is pleas'd to refer us to the Edicts of the first Christian Emperors out of the Codex Theodosianus, composed in the 5th Century, which acquaints us with the Sentiments of that and the preceding Age; but says nothing of the Doctrine of Scripture, or of the Practice of the Church for 300 Years before the Empire became Christian. His Lordship then subjoins sundry Passages out of a Sermon of Archbbishop Tillotson, whom he justly ranks among the greatest of the Moderns. But it ought to be remember'd, that this Sermon was preached at Court in the Year 1680. when the Nation was in imminent Danger from the Popish Plot. His Lorship should also have acquainted his Readers with the Archbbishop's cautious Introduction, which is this;

" I cannot think (till I be better informed, which I
 " am always ready to be) that any pretence of Consci-
 " ence warrants any Man that cannot work Miracles, to
 " draw Men off from the established Religion of a Nation, 321.
 " nor openly to make Proselytes to his own Religion, in
 " contempt of the Magistrate and the Law, though he is
 " never so sure he is in the right." This Proposition,
 though pointed at the popish Missionaries in England at
 that Time, is not only inconsistent with the Protestant Re-
 formation

Abp. Tillot.
Works,
Vol. I. Fol.
p. 320,

formation (as I observ'd before) but must effectually prevent the propagating of Christianity among the idolatrous Nations of the Eastern and Western Indians without a new Power of working Miracles, which we have no ground to expect; and I may venture to assure his Lordship and the World, that the good Archbisshop lived to see his Mistake; and could name the learned Person to whom he frankly confessed it after some Hours Conversation upon the Subject: But human Authorities are of little weight in Points of Reason and Speculation.

It was from this mistaken Principle that the Government press'd so hard upon those Puritans whose History is now before the Reader; in which he will observe how the transferring the Supremacy from the Pope to the King, united the Church and State into one Body under one Head, insomuch that writing against the Church was construed by the Judges in Westminster Hall, a seditious libelling the Queen's Government, and was punished with exorbitant Fines, Imprisonment and Death. He will observe further, the Rise and Progress of the penal Laws; the Extent of the regal Supremacy in those Times; the deplorable Ignorance of the Clergy; with the opposite Principles of our Church Reformers, and of the Puritans, which I have set in a true Light, and have pursued the Controversy as an Historian in its several Branches, to the End of the long Reign of Queen ELIZABETH; to all which I have added some short Remarks of my own, which the Reader will receive according to their Evidence. And because the Principles of the Scots Reformers were much the same with those of the English Puritans, and the imposing a Liturgy and Bishops upon them gave Rise to the Confusions of the next Age, I have inserted a short Account of their Religious Establishment; and have enlivened the whole with the Lives and Characters of the principal Puritans of those Times.

A History of this kind was long expected from the late Reverend and learned Dr. John Evans, who had for some Years been collecting Materials for this purpose, and had he lived to perfect his Design, would have done it to

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much greater Advantage ; but I have seen none of his Papers, and am informed, that there is but a very small Matter capable of being put in Order for the Press. Upon his Decease I found it necessary to undertake this Province, to bring the History forward to those Times when the Puritans had the Power in their own Hands ; in examining into which I have spent my leisure Hours for some Years ; but the publishing those Collections will depend under God, upon the Continuance of my Health, and the Acceptance this meets with in the World.

I am not so vain as to expect to escape the Censures of Criticks, nor the Reproaches of angry Men, who while they do nothing themselves, take pleasure in exposing the Labours of others in Pamphlets and News Papers ; but as I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my Mistakes in a friendly Manner, the others may be secure of enjoying the Satisfaction of their satyrical Remarks without any Disturbance from me.

I have endeavoured to acquaint my self thoroughly with the Times of which I write ; and as I have no Expectations from any Party of Christians, I am under no Temptation to disguise their Conduct. I have cited my Authorities in the Margin, and flatter my self that I have had the Opportunity of bringing many Things to light relating to the Sufferings of the Puritans, and the State of the Reformation in those Times, which have hitherto been unknown to the World, chiefly by the Assistance of a large Manuscript Collection of Papers faithfully transcribed from their Originals in the University of Cambridge, by a Person of Character employed for that Purpose, and generously communicated to me by my ingenious and learned Friend Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor ; for which I take this Opportunity of returning him my own, and the Thanks of the publick. Among the Ecclesiastical Historians of these Times, Mr. Fuller, Bishop Burnet, and Mr. Strype are the chief ; the last of whom has searched into the Records of the English Reformation more than any Man of the Age ; Dr. Heylin and Collyer are of more suspected Authority, not so much for their Party Principles, as because the former

never

never gives us his Vouchers, and yet the latter follows him blindly in all Things.

Upon the whole, I have endeavoured to keep in view the Honesty and Gravity of an Historian, and have said nothing with a Design to exasperate or widen the Differences among Christians; for as I am a sincere Admirer of the Doctrines of the New Testament, I would have an equal Regard to its most excellent Precepts, of which these are some of the Capital, that We love one another; that We forgive Offences; that We bear one anothers Infirmities, and even bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us. If this Spirit and Temper were more prevalent, the Lives of Christians would throw a bright Lustre upon the Truth and Excellency of their Divine Faith, and convince the Atheists and Infidels of the Age, more than all their Arguments can do without it.

I would earnestly recommend this Temper to the Protestant Non-Conformists of the present Age, together with an holy Emulation of each other in undissembled Piety and Sanctity of Life, that while they are reading the heavy and grievous Sufferings of their Ancestors from Ecclesiastical Commissions, Spiritual Courts, and penal Laws, for Conscience sake, they may be excited to an humble Adoration of Divine Providence which has delivered them so far from the Yoke of Oppression; to a Detestation of all persecuting Principles; and to a loyal and dutiful Behaviour to the best of Kings, under whose mild and just Government they are secure of their Civil and Religious Liberties. And may Protestants of all Persuasions improve in the Knowledge and Love of the Truth, and in Sentiments of Christian Charity and Forbearance towards each other, that being at Peace among themselves, they may with greater Success bend their united Forces against the common Enemies of Christianity!

Daniel Neal.

London,
Feb. 1st. 1731-2.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS.

C H A P. I.

The Reign of HENRY VIII.

IN *King William* the Conqueror having State of got Possession of the Crown of *England*, Religion before the Reformation. by the Assistance of the See of *Rome*; and King *John* having afterwards sold it, in his Wars with the Barons, the Rights and Privileges of the *English Clergy* were delivered up into the Hands of the Pope, who taxed them at his Pleasure, and in process of Time drained the Kingdom of immense Treasures; for besides all his other Dues, arising from *Annates*, *First Fruits*, *Peter Pence*, &c. he extorted large Sums of Money from the Clergy for their Preferments in the Church. He advanced Foreigners to the richest

B Bishop-

Bishopricks, who never resided in their Dioceses, nor so much as set foot upon *English* Ground, but sent for all their Profits to a foreign Country ; nay, so covetous was his *Holiness*, that before Livings became void, he sold them provisionally among his *Italians*, insomuch, that neither the King nor the Clergy, had any Thing to dispose of, but every Thing

Burnet's Hist. Ref. Vol. I. p. 107. was bargain'd for before-hand at *Rome*. This awaken'd the Resentments of the Legislature, who in the 25th Year of King *Edward III.* pass'd an Act, called *Statute of Provisor's*, whereby it is enacted, " That the King, and other Lords, shall present unto An. 1350. " Benefices of their own, or their Ancestor's Foundation, and not the Bishop of *Rome*. That all forestalling of Benefices to Foreigners shall cease ; and that the free Elections, Presentments, and Collations of Benefices, shall stand in Right of the Crown, or of any of his Majesty's Subjects, as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any Provisions from *Rome*.

But still the Power of the Court of *Rome* ran very high, for they brought all the Trials of Titles to Advowsons, into their own Courts beyond Sea, and though by the 7th of *Richard II.* the Power of Nomination to Benefices, without the King's Licence, was taken from them, they still claim'd the Benefit of Confirmations, of Translations of Bishops, and of Excommunications ; the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* might still by virtue of Bulls from *Rome*, assemble the Clergy of their several Provinces, at what Time and Place they thought fit, without leave obtained from the Crown ; and all the Canons and Constitutions concluded upon in those Synods were binding, without any farther Ratification from the King ; so that the Power of the Church was independent of the Civil Government. This being represented to

Statute of the Parliament of the 16th of Richard II. they passed *Premunire* the Statute commonly called PRÆMUNIRE, An. 1393. by which it was enacted, " That if any of the Clergy cap. 5. did

“ did purchase Translations to Benefices, Processes,
 “ Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or any
 “ other Instruments from the Court of *Rome*, against
 “ the King or his Crown ; or whoever brought them
 “ into *England*, or did receive or execute them,
 “ they were declared to be out of the King’s Pro-
 “ tection, and should forfeit their Goods and Chattels
 “ to the King, and their Persons be imprison’d.” *Fuller’s Ch. History, Li. p. 190.*
 From this Time the Archbishops called no more Convocations by their sole Authority, but by Licence from the King ; their Synods being formed by a Writ or Precept from the Crown, directed to the Archbishops, to assemble their Clergy, in order to consult upon such Affairs as his Majesty should lay before them. But still their Canons were binding, tho’ confirm’d by no Authority but their own, till the Act of Supremacy took place.

About this Time flourished the famous *John Wickliffe*, the Morning-Star of the Reformation. He was born at *Wickliffe*, near *Rickmond* in *Yorkshire*, about the Year 1324. and was educated in *Queen’s College, Oxford*, where he was Divinity Professor, and afterwards Parson of *Lutterworth*, in *Leicestershire*. He flourish’d in the latter End of the Reign of King *Edward III.* and the beginning of *Richard II.* about one Hundred and thirty Years before the Reformation of *Luther*. The University gave this Testimonial of him after his Death, “ That from his Youth to the Time of his Death, his Conversation was so Praiseworthy, that there was never any Spot, or Suspicion noised of him ; that in his reading and preaching he behaved like a stout and valiant Champion of the Faith ; and that he had written in Logick, Philosophy, Divinity, Morality, and the speculative Arts, without an Equal.” While he was Divinity Professor at *Oxford* he publish’d certain Conclusions, against *Transubstantiation*, and against the Infallibility of the Pope ; that the Church of *Rome* was not the Head of all other Churches ; nor had St. Peter the Power of *Vindication*. *Fox’s Martyrol. Pierce’s Vindicat. the p. 3, 4.*

the Keys, any more than the rest of the Apostles: that the New Testament, or Gospel, is a perfect Rule of Life and Manners, and ought to be read by the People. He maintained further, most of those Points by which the PURITANS were afterwards distinguished; as, that in the Sacrament of Orders there ought to be but two Degrees, *Presbyters*, or *Bishops* and *Deacons*; that all Human Traditions are superfluous and sinful; that we must practise, and teach only, the Laws of Christ; that mystical and significant Ceremonies in religious Worship are unlawful; and, that to restrain Men to a prescribed Form of Prayer, is contrary to the Liberty granted them by God. These, with some other of *Wickliffe's* Doctrines, against the temporal Grandeur of the Prelates, and their usurped Authority, were sent to *Rome*, and condemned by Pope *Gregory XI.* in a Consistory of Twenty three Cardinals, in the Year 1378. but the Pope dying soon after put a stop to the Process. *Urban*, his Successor, writ to young King *Richard II.* and to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and University of *Oxford*, to put a stop to the Progress of *Wycliffism*; accordingly, *Wickliffe* was cited before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Brethren the Prelates, several Times, but was always dismissed, either by the Interest of the Citizens of *London*, or the powerful Interposition of some great Lords at Court, or some other uncommon Providence, which terrified the Bishops from passing a peremptory Sentence against him for a considerable Time; but at length his new Doctrines (as they were called) were condemned in a Convocation of Bishops, Doctors and Batchelors, held at *London* by the Commandment of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* 1382. and he was deprived of his Professorship, his Books and Writings were ordered to be burn'd, and himself to be imprison'd, but he kept out of the Way, and in the Time of his Retirement writ a Confession of his Faith to the Pope, in which he declares himself willing to maintain his Opinions at *Rome*,

if God had not otherwise visited him with Sickness, and other Infirmities : But it was well for this good Man that there were two *Anti-Popes* at this Time at War with each other, one at *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*. In *England* also there was a Minority, and after some Time a Controversy arose between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, about the Right of Succession to the Crown, which was favourable to *Wickliffe*, insomuch that he ventur'd out of his Retirement, and returned to his Parish at *Lutterworth*, where he quietly departed this Life in the Year 1384. This *Wickliffe* was a wonderful Man for the Times in which he lived, which were overspread with the thickest Darkness of Antichristian Idolatry ; he was the first that translated the New Testament into *English* ; but the Art of Printing not being then found out, it hardly escaped the Inquisition of the Prelates, at least it was very scarce when *Tyndal* translated it a second Time 1527. He preached and published the very same Doctrines for Substance that afterwards obtained at the Reformation ; he writ near two Hundred Volumes, all which were called in, condemned, and order'd to be burn'd together with his Bones by the Council of *Constance*, in the Year 1425. forty one Years after his Death ; but his Doctrine remained, and the Number of his Disciples who were distinguished by the Name of *Lollards* encreased after his Decease, which gave Occasion to the making sundry other severe Laws against Hereticks.

The Clergy made their Advantage of the Contentions between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* ; both Parties courting their Assistance, which they did not fail to make use of for the Support of the Catholick Faith, (as they call'd it) and the Advancement of their spiritual Tyranny over the Consciences of Men. In the Primitive Times there were no capital Proceedings against Hereticks, the Weapons of the Church being only spiritual ; but when it was found that Ecclesiastical Censures were not sufficient to keep

*Rise of Pe-
nal Laws
against
Hereticks.*

Men in a blind Subjection to the Pope, a Decree was obtained in the fourth Council of *Lateran*, A.D. 1215.
 "That all Hereticks should be delivered over to the civil Magistrate to be burn'd." Here was the Spring of that Antichristian Tyranny and Oppression of the Consciences of Men, which has since been attended with a Sea of Christian Blood: The Papists learn'd it from the Heathen Emperors; and the most zealous Protestants of all Nations have taken it up from them. Conscience can't be convinc'd by Fines and Imprisonments, or by Fire and Faggot; all Attempts of this Kind serve only to make Men Hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the Name of *Persecution*. There was no Occasion for putting these sanguinary Laws in execution among us till the latter end of the fourteenth Century; but when the *Lollards*, or Followers of *Wickliffe* threaten'd the Papal Power, the Clergy brought this *Italian* Drug from *Rome*, and planted it in the Church of *England*.

Statute
Rich. 2.
cap. 5.
1382.

In the 5th Year of *Richard II.* it was enacted,
 "That all that preached without Licence against
 "the Catholick Faith, or against the Laws of the
 "Land, should be arrested, and kept in Prison, till
 "they justified themselves according to the Law and
 "Reason of Holy Church. Their Commitment was
 "to be by Writ from the Chancellor, who was to
 "issue forth Commissions to the Sheriffs, and other
 "the King's Ministers, after the Bishops had return-
 "ed the Names of the Delinquents into the Court of
 "Chancery."

Statute
Henry 4.
cap. 15.
1400.

When *Richard II.* was deposed, and the Crown usurped by *Henry IV.* in order to gain the good Will of the Clergy, it was further enacted, in the second Year of his Reign, "That if any Persons were suspected of Heresy, the Ordinary might detain them in Prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their Errors; provided always, That the Proceedings against them were publickly and judicially ended within three Months. If they were

" were convicted, the Diocesan, or his Commissary, might imprison and fine them at Discretion.
" Those that refused to abjure their Errors, or after
" Abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to
" the secular Power, and the Mayors, Sheriffs, or
" Bailiffs, were to be present, (if required) when
" the Bishop, or his Commissary passed Sentence,
" and after Sentence they were to receive them, and
" in some high Place *burn them to Death* before the
" People." By this Law the King's Subjects were
put from under his Protection, and left to the Mercy
of the Bishops in their Spiritual Courts, and might,
upon Suspicion of Heresy, be imprison'd and put to
Death, without Presentment, or Trial by a Jury, as
is the Practice in all other criminal Cases.

In the beginning of the Reign of *Henry V.* who was *statute*
a martial Prince, a new Law passed against the *Lollards*, or *Wickliffites*, " That they should forfeit all ^{Henry 5.} *cap. 7.* ^{1414:}
" the Lands they had in Fee simple, and all their
" Goods and Chattels to the King. All State
" Officers, at their Entrance into Office, were
" sworn to use their best Endeavours to discover
" them; and to assist the Ordinaries in prosecuting
" and convicting them." I find no mention in any
of these Acts, of a Writ or Warrant from the King,
de Hæretico comburendo; the Sheriff might proceed to
the burning of Hereticks without it; but it seems the
King's learned Council advised him to issue out a
Writ of this kind to the Sheriff, by which his Majesty
took them, in some sort, under his Protection again;
but it was not as yet necessary by Law, nor are there
any of them to be found in the Rolls, before the
Reign of King *Henry VIII.*

By virtue of these Statutes the Clergy, according
to the Genius of the Popish Religion, exercised numberless Cruelties upon the People.. If any Man denied
them any degree of Respect, or any of those Profits they pretended was their due, he was immediately suspected of Heresy, imprisoned, and it may

~~King~~ be put to Death ; of which some Hundreds of Examples are upon Record.

~~King~~ ^{when King Henry VIII. second Son of King Henry VII. came to the Crown ; he was born in the Year Character.} Thus stood the Laws with respect to Religion, 1491. and bred a Scholar : He understood the Purity of the Latin Tongue, and was well acquainted with School Divinity. No sort of Flattery pleas'd him better than to have his Wisdom and Learning commended. In the beginning of his Reign he was a most obedient Son of the Papacy, and employed his Talents in writing against *Luther* in defence of the seven Sacraments of the Church. This Book was magnified by the Clergy as the most learned Performance of the Age ; and upon presenting it to the Pope, his Holiness conferr'd upon the King of England and his Successors, the glorious Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH : It was voted in full Consistory, and sign'd by Twenty seven Cardinals, in the Year 1521.

~~Cardinal~~ ^{Legantine Power.} At the same Time Cardinal *Woolsey*, the King's Favourite, exercised a Sovereign Power over the whole Clergy and People of England in spiritual Matters ; he was made Legate in the Year 1519. and accepted of a Bull from the Pope, contrary to the Statute of *Præmunire*, empowering him to superintend and correct what he thought amiss in both the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* ; and to appoint all Officers in the Spiritual Courts. The King also granted him a full Power of disposing of all Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Gift of the Crown ; with a visitatorial Power over Monasteries, Colleges, and all his Clergy, exempt or not exempt. By virtue of these vast Powers a new Court of Justice was erected, called the Legate's Court, the Jurisdiction whereof extended to all Actions relating to Conscience, and numberless Rapes and Extortions were committed by it under colour of reforming Mens Manners ; all which his

Burne's Hist. Ref. p. 8.

Maje-

Majesty connived at out of Zeal to the Church. King

But at length the King being weary of his Queen Hen. VIII.
Katharine, after he had lived with her almost twenty 1527.
 Years, or being troubled in Conscience because he King
 had married his Brother's Wife, and the Legitimacy moves for
 of his Daughter had been called in question by some fo- a Divorce
 reign Princes, he first separated from her Bed, and then from his Queen.
 moved the Pope for a Divorce ; but the Court of Rome
 having held his Majesty in suspence for two or three
 Years for fear of offending the Emperor the Queen's
 Nephew, the impatient King by the Advice of Dr. Cran-
 mer appealed to the principal Universities of Europe, 1530.
 and desired their Opinions upon these two Questions.

1. " Whether it was agreeable to the Law of God
 " for a Man to marry his Brother's Wife ?
2. " Whether the Pope could dispense with the
 " Law of God ?

All the Universities, and most of the learned Men
 of Europe both *Lutherans* and *Papists*, except those at
Rome, declared for the Negative of the two Questions.
 The King laid their Determinations before the Parlia-
 ment and Convocation who agreed with the foreign
 Universities. In the Convocation of *English* Clergy,
 253 were for the Divorce, and but 19 against it.
 Sundry learned Books were writ for and against the
 Lawfulness of the Marriage ; one Party being encou-
 raged by the King, and the other by the Pope and
 Emperor. The Pope cited the King to *Rome*, but
 his Majesty ordered the Earl of *Wiltshire* to protest
 against the Citation as contrary to the Prerogative
 of his Crown ; and sent a Letter sign'd by the Car-
 dinal, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 4 Bishops, 2
 Dukes, 2 Marquises, 13 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 23 Ba-
 rons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, exhorting his
 Holiness to confirm the Judgment of the learned Men,
 and of the Universities of Europe by annulling his
 Marriage, or else he should be obliged to take other
 Measures. But the Pope in his Answer, after ha-
 ving acknowledged his Majesty's Favours, told him
 that

King that the Queen's Appeal and Avocation of the Cause
Hen. VIII. to *Rome* must be granted. The King seeing himself
abused, and that the Affair of his Marriage which
had been already determined by the most learned Men
in Europe, and had been argued before the Legates
Campegio and *Woolsey* must commence again, be-
gan to suspect *Woolsey's* Sincerity; upon which
his Majesty sent for the Seals from him, and soon
after commanded his Attorney General to put in an
Information against him in the *King's Bench*, because
that notwithstanding the Statute of *Richard II.*
against procuring Bulls from *Rome* under the Pains of
a *Præmunire*, he had received Bulls for his Legantine
Power, which for many Years he had executed. The
Cardinal pleaded Ignorance of the Statute, and sub-
mitted to the King's Mercy; upon which he was
declared to be out of the King's Protection, to have
forfeited his Goods and Chattels, and that his Person
might be seized. The haughty Cardinal not know-
ing how to bear his Disgrace, soon after fell sick and
died, declaring That if he had served God as well as he
had done his Prince, he would not have given him over
in his gray Hairs.

*King
breaks
with the
Pope.*

But the King not satisfied with his Resentments
against the Cardinal, resolved to be revenged on the
Pope himself, and accordingly September 19th, a
Week before the Cardinal's Death, he published a
Proclamation forbidding all Persons to purchase any
Thing from *Rome* under the severest Penalties; and
resolved to annex the Ecclesiastical Supremacy to his
own Crown for the future. It was easy to foresee
that the Clergy would startle at the King's assuming
to himself the Pope's Supremacy, but his Majesty
had them at his Mercy, for they having acknow-
ledged Cardinal *Woolsey's* Legantine Power, and sub-
mitted to his Jurisdiction, his Majesty caused an In-
dictment to be preferred against them in *Westminster-*
hall, and obtained Judgment upon the Statute of
Præmunire, whereby the whole Body of the Clergy
were

were declared to be out of the King's Protection, King
and to have forfeited all their Goods and Chattels. Hen. VIII.

In this Condition they were glad to submit upon 1531.
the best Terms they could get, but the King would
not pardon them but upon these two Conditions,
(1.) That the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*
should pay into the *Exchequer* 118840*l.* a vast Sum
of Money in those Times. (2.) That they should
yield his Majesty the Title of *sole and supreme Head of*
the Church of England, next and immediately under
Christ. The former they readily complied with, and
promised for the future never to assemble in Convoca-
tion but by the King's Writ; nor to make or execute
any Canons or Constitutions without his Majesty's Li-
cence: But to acknowledge a *Layman* to be supreme
Head of an Ecclesiastical Body, was such an Absur-
dity, in their Opinion, and so inconsistent with their
Allegiance to the Pope, that they could not yield to
it without an additional Clause, *As far as is agreeable*
to the Laws of Christ. The King accepted it with the
Clause for the present, but a Year or two after ob-
tained the Confirmation of it in Parliament and Con-
vocation without the Clause.

The Substance of the Act of Supremacy is as follows, Act of Su-
 " Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is, premacy,
 " and ought to be supreme Head of the Church of 25 Hen. 8.
 " *England*, and is so recogniz'd by the Clergy of this cap. 1.
 " Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless, for
 " Confirmation and Corroboration thereof, and for
 " increase of Virtue in Christ's Religion, within this
 " Realm of *England*, &c. Be it enacted by the Au-
 " thority of this present Parliament, that the King,
 " our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors,
 " Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted,
 " and reputed the *only supreme Head on Earth of the*
 " *Church of England*; and shall have and enjoy, an-
 " nexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this
 " Realm, as well the Title and Stile thereof, as all
 " Honours, Dignities, Immunities, Profits and
 " Com-

King Hen. VIII. " Commodities, to the said Dignity of supreme Head
1533. " of the said Church belonging and appertaining ; and
 " that our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm, shall have full Power
 " and Authority to visit, repress, redress, reform,
 " order, correct, restrain, and amend all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Contempts, and enormities whatsoever they be, which by any manner
 " of spiritual Authority or Jurisdiction, ought or
 " may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered,
 " redressed, corrected, restrain'd, or amended, most
 " to the Pleasure of Almighty God, and encrease of
 " Virtue in Christ's Religion, and for the Conservation of Peace, Unity and Tranquility of this
 " Realm, any Usage, Custom, foreign Law, foreign Authority, Prescription, or any Thing or
 " Things to the contrary notwithstanding."

Here was the Rise of the Reformation. The whole Power of reforming *Heresies* and *Errors* in Doctrine and Worship was transferred from the Pope to the King, without any Regard to the Rights of Synods or Councils of the Clergy ; and without a Reserve of Liberty to such Consciences as could not comply with the publick Standard. This was undoubtedly a Change for the better, but is far from being consonant to Scripture or Reason.

Against Appeals.
24 Hen. 8. cap. 12. The Parliament had already forbid all Appeals to the Court of Rome, in Causes Testamentary, Matrimonial, and in all Disputes concerning Divorces, Tithes, Oblations, &c. under penalty of a *Præmunire* ; and were now voting away *Annates* and *First Fruits* ; and providing, " That in case the Pope denied his *Bulls* for electing or consecrating Bishops, it should be done without them by the Archbishop of the Province ; that an Archbishop might be consecrated by any two Bishops whom the King should appoint ; and being so consecrated should enjoy all the Rights of his See, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding. All which Acts passed both Houses without

out any considerable Opposition. Thus, while the ^{King} Pope stood trifling about a conteited Marriage, the ^{Hen. VIII.} King and Parliament took away all his Profits, Re-^{1533.} venues, and Authority, in the Church of *England*.

His Majesty having now waited six Years for a De- ^{King's Di-} termination of his Marriage from the Court of *Rome*, ^{worce.} and being now *himself* Head of the Church of *England*, commanded Dr. *Cranmer* lately consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* to call a Court of Canonists and Divines and proceed to Judgment. Accordingly his Grace summoned Queen *Katharine* to appear at *Dunstable* near the Place where she resided, in Person or by Proxy on the 20th of *May*, 1533. but her Majesty refused to appear adherrering to her Appeal to the Court of *Rome*; upon which the Archbishop by advice of the Court, declared her *Contumax*, and on the 23d of the same Month pronounced the King's Marriage with her null and void, as being contrary to the Laws of God. Soon after which his Majesty married *Anne Bullen*, and procured an Act of Parliament, for settling the Crown upon the Heirs of her Body, which all his Subjects were obliged to swear to.

There was a remarkable Appearance of Divine Providence in this Affair; for the French King had prevailed with the King of *England*, to refer his Cause once more to the Court of *Rome*, upon Assurances given, that the Pope should decide it in his Majesty's Favour within a limited Time; the Pope consented, and fixed a Time for the Return of the King's Answer, but the Courier not arriving upon the very Day, the *Imperialists* who dreaded an Alliance between the Pope and King of *England*, perswaded his Holiness to give Sentence against him, and accord- ^{Hist. Ref.} _{Vol. III. p. 89.} ingly March 23d, the Marriage was declared good, and the King was required to take his Wife again, otherwise the Censures of the Church were to be denounced against him. Two Days after this the Courier arrived from *England* with the King's Submission under

King Hen. VIII. under his Hand in due Form, but it was then too late, it being hardly decent for the *Infallible Chair* to revoke its Decrees in so short a Time. Such was the Crisis of the Reformation !

Pope's Authority over the Ch. of England taken away. The Pope having decided against the King, his Majesty determin'd to take away all his Profits and Authority over the Church of *England* at once ; accordingly a Bill was brought into the Parliament then sitting, and passed without any Protestation, by which it is enacted, " That all Payments made to the Apostolick Chamber, and all *Provisions, Bulls, or Dispensations*, should from thenceforth cease ; and that all Dispensations or Licences, for Things not contrary to the Law of God should be granted within the Kingdom, under the Seals of the two Archbishops in their several Provinces. The Pope was to have no further concern in the Nomination or Confirmation of Bishops, which were appointed to be chosen by *Conge de Elire* from the Crown, as at present. *Peter Pence*, and all *Procurations* from *Rome* were abolished. Moreover, all Religious Houses, exempt or not exempt, were to be subject to the Archbishops Visitation, except some Monasteries and Abbeys which were to be subject to the King." Most of the Bishops voted against this Bill, but all but one set their Hands to it after it was pass'd, according to the Custom of those Times. Thus the Church of *England* became Independent of the Pope, and all foreign Jurisdiction.

Laws against Hereticks repealed. Complaints being daily made of the severe Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts against Hereticks, the Parliament took this Matter into Consideration, and repealed the Act of the 2d of *Henry IV.* above-mentioned, but left the Statutes of *Richard II.* and *Henry V.* in full force, with this Qualification, that Hereticks should be proceeded against upon Presentments by two Witnesses at least ; that they should be brought to answer in open Court, and if they were found

25 H. 8. cap. 14.

found guilty and would not abjure, or were relapsed, they should be adjudged to Death, the King's ^{King} ^{Hen. VIII.} *Writ de Hæretico comburendo* being first obtain'd. By ^{1534.} this Act the Ecclesiastical Courts were limited; Hereticks being now to be tried according to the Forms of Law, as in other Cases.

Towards the latter End of this Session the Clergy, ^{Clergy's} assembled in Convocation, sent up their *Submission to the King* to be passed in Parliament, which was done accordingly: The Contents were, "That the Clergy acknowledged all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King's Writ; and promis'd, in *verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute any new Canons or Constitutions without the Royal Assent; and, since many Canons had been receiv'd that were found prejudicial to the King's Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and heavy to the Subjects, that therefore there should be a Committee of 32 Persons, 16 of the two Houses of Parliament, and as many of the Clergy, to be named by the King, who should have full Power to revise the old Canons, and to abrogate, confirm, or alter them as they found expedient, the King's Assent being obtain'd." This *Submission* was confirm'd by Parliament; and ^{A⁷ for re-vising the Canons.} by the same Act all Appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any Parties found themselves aggrieved in the Archbishop's Courts, an Appeal might be made to the King in the Court of Chancery, and the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the great Seal for a hearing before Delegates, whose Determination should be final. All exempted Abbots were also to appeal to the King; and the Act concluded with a Proviso, *That till such Correction of the Canons was made, all those which were then received should remain in force, except such as were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, or were to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative.* Upon the Proviso of this Act all the Proceedings of the Commons, and other

King Hen. VIII. other Spiritual Courts are founded; for the Canons not being corrected to this Day, the old ones are in force with the Exceptions abovementioned; and this Proviso is probably the Reason why the Canons were not corrected in the following Reigns, for now it lies in the Breast of the Judges to declare what Canons are contrary to the Laws, or Rights of the Crown, which is more for the King's Prerogative, than to make a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws which should be fixed and immovable.

Before the Parliament broke up they gave the *An-nates* or *first Fruits* of Benefices, and the yearly Revenue of the *Tenth Part* of all Livings which had been taken from the Pope last Year, to the King. This displeased the Clergy who were in hopes of being freed from that Burthen; but they were mistaken, for by the 32d of *Henry VIII. cap. 45.* a Court of Record is ordered to be erected, called the Court of the *First Fruits and Tenthbs.* for the Levying and Government of the said First Fruits for ever.

Oath of Succession and Supremacy. The Session being ended, Commissioners were sent over the Kingdom, to administer the Oath of Succession to all his Majesty's Subjects, according to a late

Act of Parliament, by which it appears that besides renewing their Allegiance to the King, and acknowledging him to be Head of the Church, they declared upon Oath the Lawfulness of his Marriage with Queen Anne, and that they would be true to the Issue begotten in it. That the Bishop of Rome had no more Power than any other Bishop in his own Diocese; that they would submit to all the King's Laws, notwithstanding the Pope's Censures; that in their Prayers they would pray first for the King as supreme Head of the Church of England; then for the Queen [Anne,] then for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Ranks of the Clergy. Only Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellor refused to take the Oath, for which they afterwards lost their Lives.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. I.
p. 155.

The Separation of the Church of *England* from *Rome* contributed something towards the Reformation of its Doctrines, though the Body of the inferior Clergy were as stiff for their old Opinions as ever, being countenanced and supported by the Duke of Norfolk, by the Lord Chancellor *More*, by *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Fisher* of *Rochester*; but some of the Nobility and Bishops were for a further Reformation: Among these were the new Queen, Lord *Cromwell* afterwards Earl of *Essex*, Dr. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Latimer* of *Worcester*. As these were more or less in favour with the King, the Reformation of Religion went forwards or backwards throughout the whole Course of his Reign.

The Progress of the Reformation in *Germany*, by Books printed. the preaching of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and others, with the Number of Books that were published in those Parts, some of which were translated into English, revived Learning, and raised People's Curiosities to look into the State of Religion here at home. One of the first Books that was published, was the Translation of the New Testament by *Tyndal*, printed at *Antwerp*, 1527. The next was the Supplication of the Beggars, by *Simon Frith* of *Grays Inn*, 1529. It was on of the levell'd against the Begging Friars, and complains that the common Poor were ready to starve, because the Alms of the People were intercepted by great Companies of lusty idle Friars who were able to work, and were a Burden to the Commonwealth. *More* and *Fisher* answer'd the Book, endeavouring to move the Peoples Passions, by representing the Supplications of the Souls in Purgatory which were relieved by the Masses of these Friars. But the Strength of their Arguments lay in the Sword of the Magistrate, which was now in their Hands; for while these Gentlemen were in Power the Clergy made sad Havock among those People who were seeking after Christian Knowledge: Some were cited into the Bishops Courts for teaching C. their

King
Hen. VIII.
1535.

their Children the Lord's Prayer in *English*; some for reading forbidden Books; some for speaking against the Vices of the Clergy; some for not coming to Confession and the Sacrament; and some for not observing the Church Fasts; most of whom through fear of Death did Penance and were dismissed; but several of the Clergy refusing to abjure, or after Abjuration falling into a Relapse, suffered Death. Among these were the Reverend Mr. Hitton, Curate of Maidstone, burnt in Smithfield 1530. the Reverend Mr. Bilney, burnt at Norwich 1531. Mr. Byfield a Monk of St. Edmundsbury, Mr. Bainham of the Temple, besides two Men and a Woman at York. In the Year 1533. Mr. John Frith, an excellent Scholar of the University of Cambridge, was burnt in Smithfield, with one Hewet a poor Apprentice, for denying the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but upon the Rupture between the King and Pope, and the Repeal of the Act of King Henry IV. against Heretics, the Wings of the Clergy were clip'd, and a stop put to their Cruelties for a Time.

Monasteries visited. None were more averse to the Reformation than the Monks and Friars: These spoke openly against the King's Proceedings, exciting the People to Rebellion, and endeavouring to embroil his Affairs with foreign Princes; the King therefore resolved to humble them, and for this Purpose appointed a general Visitation of the Monasteries, the Management of which was committed to the Lord Cromwel, with the Title of *Visitor General*, who appointed other Commissioners under him, and gave them Injunctions and Articles of Enquiry. Upon this several Abbots and Priors to prevent a Scrutiny into their Conduct, voluntarily surrendered their Houses into the King's Hands; others upon Examination appear'd guilty of the greatest Frauds and Impositions on the Simplicity of the People: Many of their pretended Relicks were exposed and destroyed, as the *Virgin Mary's Milk shewed in eight Places*; the Coals that roasted St. Lawrence;

rence ; an Angel with one Wing that brought over the Head of the Spear that pierced our Saviour's side ; the Rood of Grace, which was so contrived, that the Eyes and Lips might move upon Occasion ; with many others. The Images of a great many pretended Saints were taken down and burnt, and all the rich Offerings made at their Shrines were seized for the Crown, which brought an immense Treasure into the Exchequer.

King

Hen. VIII.

1536.

Upon the Report of the Visitors the Parliament consented to the suppressing of the lesser Monasteries under 200*l.* a Year value, and gave them to the King to the Number of 376. Their Rents amounted to about 32000*l.* per Ann. their Plate, Jewels and Furniture to about 100000*l.* The Churches and Cloisters were for the most part pulled down, and the Lead and Bells, and other Materials sold. A new Court, called the ^{Monasteries suppressed.} Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue was erected, to receive the Rents, and to dispose of the Lands, and bring the Profits into the Exchequer. Every religious Person that was turned out of his Cell had 45*s.* given him in Money, of which Number there were about 10000 ; and every Governor had a Pension. But to ease the Government of this Charge, the Monks and Friars were put into Benefices as fast as they became vacant ; by which means it came to pass that the Body of the inferiour Clergy were disguised Papists, and Enemies of the Reformation.

The lesser Religious Houses being dissolved, the rest followed in a few Years : For in the Years 1537 and 1539 the greater Abbies and Monasteries were broken up, or surrender'd to the Crown, to prevent an Inquiry into their Lives and Manners. This raised a great Clamour among the People, the Monks and Friars going up and down the Country like Beggars, clamouring at the Injustice of the Suppression. The King to quiet them gave back 15 Abbies and 16 Nunneries for perpetual Alms ; but several of the Abbots being convicted of Plots and Conspiracies

King against his Government, his Majesty resumed his
 Hen. VIII. Grants after two Years ; and obtained an Act of Par-
 1536. liament whereby he was empowered to erect sundry
 new Cathedral Churches and Bishopricks, and to endow them out of the Profits of the Religious Houses.
 The King intended (says Bishop Burnet) to convert
 18000*l.* a Year into a Revenue for 18 Bishopricks
Hist. Ref. and Cathedrals ; but of them he only erected six (*viz.*)
V.I.p 30c. the Bishopricks of *Westminster, Chester, Peterborough,*
Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol. This was the chief of
 what his Majesty did for Religion ; which was but a
 small Return of the immense Sums that fell into his
 Hands : For the clear Rents of all the suppressed Hou-
 Their Re- ses were cast up at one Hundred thirty one Thousand, six
 verues. Hundred and seven Pounds, six Shillings and four Pence,
~~per~~ Annum, as they were then rated ; but were at
 least ten Times as much in value. Most of the Abbey
 Lands were given away among the Courtiers, or sold
 at easy Rates to the Gentry, to engage them by Inter-
 est against the Resumption of them to the Church.
 In the Year 1545. the Parliament gave the King the
 Chauntries, Colleges, Free Chapels, Hospitals,
 Fraternities and Guilds, with their Manors and E-
 states. Seventy Manors and Parks were alienated
 from the Archbishoprick of York, and twelve from
 Canterbury, and confirmed to the Crown. How ea-
 sily might this King, with his immense Revenues,
 have put an end to the Being of Parliaments !

Bible trans- The Translation of the New Testament by *Tyndal,*
slated into already mentioned, had a wonderful Spread among the
English. People ; tho' the Bishops condemned it, and proceeded
 with the utmost Severity against those that read it.
 They complained of it to the King ; upon which his
 Majesty called it in by Proclamation in the Month of
 June 1530. and promised that a more correct Transla-
 tion should be published : But it was impossible to
 stop the Curiosity of the People so long ; for though
 the Bishops bought up, and burnt all they could meet
 with, the *Testament* was reprinted abroad and sent over
 to

to Merchants at London, who dispersed the Copies privately among their Acquaintance and Friends. King Hen. VIII. 1536.

At length it was moved in Convocation, that the whole Bible should be translated into *Englyssh*, and set up in Churches; but most of the old Clergy were against it. They said this would lay the Foundation of innumerable Heresies, as it had done in *Germany*; and that the People were not proper Judges of the Sense of Scripture: To which it was replied, that the Scriptures were writ at first in the vulgar Tongue; that our Saviour commanded his Hearers to search the *Scriptures*; and that it was necessary People should do so now, that they might be satisfied that the Alterations the King had made in Religion were not contrary to the Word of God. These Arguments prevailed with the Majority to consent that a Petition should be presented to the King, that his Majesty would please to give Order about it.

But the old Bishops were too much disinclined to move in it. The Reformers therefore were forced to have Recourse to Mr. Tyndal's Bible, which had been printed at *Hamburgh* 1532. and reprinted three or four Years after by *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*. The Translators were *Tyndal*, assisted by *Miles Coverdale*, and Mr. *John Rogers* the Protomartyr: The Apocrypha was done by *Rogers*, and some marginal Notes were inserted to the whole which gave Offence, and occasioned that Bible to be prohibited. But Archbishop *Cranmer* having now reviewed and corrected it, left out the Prologue and Notes, and added a Preface of his own; and because *Tyndal* was now put to Death for an Heretick, his Name was laid aside, and it was called *Thomas Matthews's* Bible, and by some *Cranmer's* Bible; though it was no more than *Tyndal's* Translation corrected. This Bible was allowed by L. of Cran. Authority, and eagerly read by all sorts of People. p. 59, 82.

The Fall of Queen Anne Bullen Mother of Queen Elizabeth, was a great Prejudice to the Reformation. Q. Anne She was a virtuous and pious Lady, but airy and in- Balien. discreet

King discreet in her Behaviour: The popish Party hated
Hen. VIII. her for her Religion, and having awaken'd the King's
1536. Jealousy, put him upon a nice Observance of her Car-
 riage, by which she quickly fell under his Majesty's
 Displeasure, who ordered her to be sent to the Tower
 May 1. On the 15th of the same Month she was tried
 by her Peers for *Incontinence, for a Precontract of Mar-
 riage, and for conspiring the King's Death*; and though
 there was little or no Evidence, the Lords found her
 guilty for fear of offending the King; and four Days
 after she was beheaded within the Tower, protesting
28 Hen. 8. her Innocence to the last. Soon after her Execution
cap. 7. the King called a Parliament, to set aside the Suc-
 ceſſion of the Lady *Elizabeth* her Daughter, which was
 done, and the King was empowered to nominate his
 Successor by his last Will and Testament; so that
 both his Majesty's Daughters were now declared ille-
 gitimate: But the King having Power to settle the
 Succession as he pleased, in case of failure of male
 Heirs, they were still in hopes, and quietly submit-
 ted to their Father's Pleasure.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 109. Complaint being sent to Court of the Diversity of
 Doctrines delivered in Pulpits, the King sent a circu-
 lar Letter to all the Bishops, July 12th. forbidding all
 preaching till *Michaelmas*; by which Time certain
 Articles of Religion most Catholick should be set forth.
 The King himself fram'd the Articles and sent them
 into Convocation, where they were agreed to by
 both Houses. An Abstract of them will shew the
 State of the Reformation at this Time.

- Articles of
 Religion
 devised by
 the King.*
1. " All Preachers were to instruct the People to
 " believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds (*viz.*)
 " the Apostles, the *Nicene* and *Athanasian*, and to
 " interpret all Things according to them.
 2. " That Baptism was a Sacrament instituted by
 " Christ; that it was necessary to Salvation; that
 " Infants were to be baptized for the Pardon of Ori-
 " ginal Sin; and, that the Opinions of the Anabap-
 " tists and *Pelagians* were detestable Heresies.
 3. " That

3. " That *Penance*, that is, *Contrition*, *Confession*, ^{King} *sion*, and *Amendment of Life*, with *Works of Hen. VIII.*
 " *Charity*, was necessary to *Salvation*; to which ^{1536.}
 " must be added *Faith in the Mercy of God*, that
 " he will justify and pardon us, not for the *Worthiness of any Merit or Work* done by us, but for the ^{Hist. Ref.} *p. 214.*

" only *Merits of the Blood and Passion of Jesus Christ*; nevertheless, that *Confession to a Priest*
 " was necessary if it might be had; and that the
 " *Absolution of a Priest* was the same as if it were
 " spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's
 " Words. That *Auricular Confession* was of *Use*
 " for the *Comfort of Mens Consciences*. And though
 " we are justified only by the *Satisfaction of Christ*,
 " yet the People were to be instructed in the *Necessity of good Works*.

4. " That in the *Sacrament of the Altar*, under the
 " *Form of Bread and Wine*, there was truly and
 " substantially, the same *Body of Christ* that was
 " born of the Virgin.

5. " That *Justification* signified the *Remission of Sins*, and a perfect *Renovation of Nature in Christ*.

6. " Concerning *Images* — That the *Use of them*
 " was warranted in *Scripture*; that they served to
 " stir up *Devotion*; and that it was meet they
 " should stand in *Churches*: But the People were to
 " be taught, that in *kneeling or worshipping before them* they were not to do it to the *Image* but to
 " *God*.

7. " Concerning *honouring of Saints*, they were to be
 " instructed not to expect those *Favours* from them
 " which are to be obtained only from *God*, but they
 " were to honour them, to praise *God* for them,
 " and to imitate their *Virtues*.

8. " — For *praying to Saints* — That it was good
 " to pray to them to pray for us and with us.

9. " Of *Ceremonies*. The People were to be taught
 " that they were good and lawful, having *mystical Significations* in them; such were the *Vestments* in

King Hen. VIII. " the Worship of God, sprinkling holy Water to put us in mind of our Baptism and the Blood of Christ ;
 1536. " giving holy Bread in sign of our Union to Christ ;
 " bearing Candles on Candlemas Day in remembrance
 " of Christ the spiritual Light ; giving Ashes on Ash-
 wednesday to put us in mind of Penance and our
 " Mortality ; bearing Palms on Palm-Sunday to shew
 " our desire to receive Christ into our Hearts as he
 " enter'd into Jerusalem ; creeping to the Cross on
 " Good-Friday, and kissing it in Memory of his Death ;
 " with the setting up of the Sepulchre on that Day,
 " the ballowing the Font, and other Exorcisms and
 " Benedictions.

Lastly, " As to Purgatory, they were to declare
 " it good and charitable to pray for Souls departed ;
 " but since the Place they were in, and the Pains
 " they suffered were uncertain by Scripture, they
 " ought to remit them to God's Mercy. Therefore
 " all Abuses of this Doctrine were to be put away,
 " and the People disengaged from believing that the
 " Pope's Pardons or Masses said in certain Places,
 " or before certain Images, could deliver Souls out
 " of Purgatory.

These Articles were sign'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 17 Bishops, 40 Abbots and Priors, and 50 Archdeacons and Proctors of the lower House of Convocation : They were published by the King's Authority, with a Preface in his Name requiring all his Subjects to accept them, which would encourage him to take farther Pains for the Honour of God and the Welfare of his People. One sees here the Dawn of the Reformation ; the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds are made the Standards of Faith without the Tradition of the Church or Decrees of the Pope ; the Doctrine of Justification by Faith is well stated ; four of the seven Sacraments are passed over, and Purgatory is left doubtful. But Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, the worshipping of Images and Saints still remained.

The Court of *Rome* were not idle Spectators of these King Proceedings; they threaten'd the King, and spirited up the Clergy to Rebellion; and when all Hopes of Accommodation were at an end, the Pope pronounced Sentence of Excommunication against the whole Kingdom, depriving his Majesty of his Crown and Dignity, forbidding his Subjects to obey him, and all foreign Princes to correspond with him; all his Leagues with them were dissolved, and his own Clergy were commanded to depart the Kingdom, and his Nobility to rise in Arms against him. The King laying hold of this Opportunity called a Parliament, and obtained an Act, requiring all his Subjects under the Pains of Treason, to swear that the King was supreme Head of the Church of England; and to strike Terror into the Popish Party, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthusian Order, and three Monks of the Charter-House, were executed as Traitors, for refusing the Oath, and for saying, That the King was not supreme Head under Christ of the Church of England; but the two greatest Sacrifices were John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor of England, who were both beheaded last Year within a Fortnight of each other. This quieted the People for a time; but soon after there was an Insurrection in Lincolnshire of 20000 Men, headed by a Churchman and directed by a Monk; but upon a Proclamation of Pardon they dispersed themselves: The same Year there was another more formidable in the North, but after some Time the Rebels were defeated by the Duke of Norfolk, and the Heads of them executed, among whom were divers Abbots and Priests. These Commotions incensed the King against the Religious Houses, as Nurseries of Sedition, and made him resolve to suppress them all.

In the mean Time his Majesty went on boldly against the Church of *Rome*, and published certain Injunctions by his own Authority, to regulate the Beha-

1536.
Pope ex-
communicates the
King.

Hist. Ref.

Vol. I.

p. 225.

King Hen. VIII. Behaviour of the Clergy. This was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King ; for in all that went before he had the Concurrence of the Convocation. The Injunctions were to this Purpose,

King's Injunctions.

1. " That the Clergy should twice every Quarter publish to the People, that the Bishop of *Rome's* usurped Power had no Foundation in Scripture, but that the King's Supremacy was according to the Laws of God.

2, 3. " They were to publish the late Articles of Faith set forth by the King ; and likewise the King's Proclamation for the Abrogation of certain Holidays in Harvest Time.

4. " They were to dissuade the People from making Pilgrimages to Saints, and to exhort them to stay at home and mind their Families, and keep God's Commandments.

5. " They were to exhort them to teach their Children the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and ten Commandments in *English*.

6. " They were to take care that the Sacraments were reverently administered in their Parishes.

7. " That the Clergy do not frequent Taverns and Ale-houses, nor sit long at Games, but give themselves to the Study of the Scriptures and a good Life.

8. " Every beneficed Person of 20*l.* a Year, that did not reside, was to pay the 40th Part of his Benefice to the Poor.

9. " Every Incumbent of 100*l.* a Year to maintain one Scholar at the University ; and so many hundreds a Year so many Scholars.

10. " The fifth Part of the Profits of Livings to be given to the Repair of the Vicarage House if it be in decay.

Thus the very same Opinions, for which the Followers of *Wickliffe* and *Luther* had been burnt a few Years before, were enjoined by the King's Authority.

This

This Year a very remarkable Book was printed ^{King} by Batchelor, the King's Printer, *cum Privilegio*, cal- Hen. VIII. led the INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN. It ^{1537.} was called the Bishops Book, because it was composed ^{Abstract of} by sundry Bishops, as Cranmer Archbishop of ^{the Insti-} Canterbury, Stokesley of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, ^{tution of a} Christian Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of ^{Man.} Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and some other Divines. 'Tis divided into several Chapters, and contains an Explanation of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory. " The Book maintains the local Descent of Christ into Hell, and that all Articles of Faith are to be interpreted according to Scripture and the four first general Councils. It defends the seven Sacraments, and under the Sacrament of the Altar affirms that the Body of Christ that suffered on the Cross is substantially present under the Form of Bread and Wine. It maintains but two Orders of the Clergy, and avers that no one Bishop has Authority over another according to the Word of God. The Invocation of Saints is restrained to Intercession, for as much as they have it not in their own Power to bestow any Blessings upon us. It maintains, that no Church should be consecrated to any Being but God. It gives Liberty to work on ^{Mem. of Abp. Cran.} Saints Days, especially in Harvest Time. It maintains the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. In the Article of Justification it says, We are justified only by the Merits and Satisfaction of Christ, and that no good Works on our Part can procure the Divine Favour, or prevail for our Justification." This Book was recommended and subscribed by the two Archbishops, nineteen Bishops, and by the lower House of Convocation, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, and others, who put their Brethren to Death for these Doctrines in the Reign of Queen Mary; but

King Hen. VIII. But the Reason of their present Compliance might be, because all their Hopes from the Succession of the Princess Mary were now defeated, Queen Jane being brought to Bed of a Son October 12th this Year, who was baptized EDWARD, and succeeded his Father.

Bible set up in Churches.

1538.

The Translation of the Bible already mentioned, was this Year printed and published. Cromwel procured the King's Warrant for all his Majesty's Subjects to read it without controul; and by his Injunctions commanded one to be set up publickly in all the Churches in England, that the People might read it. His Majesty farther enjoin'd the Clergy, to preach the Necessity of Faith and Repentance, and against trusting in Pilgrimages and other Mens Works; to order such Images as *had been abus'd to Superstition* to be taken down; and to tell the People, that praying to them was no less than Idolatry: But still Transubstantiation, the seven Sacraments, the Communion in one kind only, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, praying for the Dead, the Celibacy of the Clergy, iþprinkling of Holy Water, Invocation of Saints, some Images in Churches, with most of the superstitious Rites and Ceremonies of the popish Church were retained.

Hindrances of a farther Reformation. Here his Majesty made a Stand; for after this the Reformation fluctuated, and upon the whole went rather backwards than forwards; which was owing to several Causes, as, (1.) To the unhappy Death of the Queen in Childbed, who had Possession of the King's Heart, and was a Promoter of the Reformation. (2.) To the King's Disagreement with the Protestant Princes of Germany, who would not put him at the Head of their League, because he would not abandon the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and permit the Communion in both kinds. (3.) To the King's Displeasure against the Archbishop, and the other Bishops of the new Learning, because he could not prevail with them to give consent in Parliament, that the King should appropriate all the suppressed Monasteries to

L. of Cran.
P. 72.

to his own Use. (4.) To his Majesty's unhappy Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, a Protestant; which was promoted by the Reformers, and proved the Ruin of the Lord Cromwel, who was at that Time the Bulwark of the Reformation. (5.) To the Artifice and abject Submission of Gardiner, Bonner, and other popish Bishops, who by flattering the King's imperious Temper, and complying with his Dictates, prejudiced him against the Reformed. And, (Lastly) To his Majesty's growing InfirmitieS, which made him so peevish and positive, that it was dangerous to advise to any Thing that was not known to be agreeable to his Sovereign Will and Pleasure.

The King began to discover his Zeal against the *Persecution of the Protestants.* *Hist. Ref. Vol III. p. 137.* *Sacramentaries* (as those were called who denied the corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist) by prohibiting the importing of all foreign Books, or printing any Portions of Scripture till they had been examined by himself and Council, or by the Bishop of the Diocese; by punishing all that denied the old Rites, and by forbidding all to argue against the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament on pain of Death. For breaking this last Order he condemned to the Flames this very Year that faithful Witness to the Truth, John Lambert, who had been Minister of the English Congregation at Antwerp, and afterwards taught School in London; but hearing Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real Presence, he offered him a Paper of Reasons against it: Taylor carried the Paper to Cranmer who was then a Lutheran, and endeavoured to make him retract; but Lambert unhappily appealed to the King, who after a kind of mock Trial in Westminster-hall, in presence of the Bishops, Nobility, and Judges, passed Sentence of Death upon him, condemning him to be burnt as an incorrigible Heretick. Cranmer was appointed to dispute against him, and Cromwel to read the Sentence. He was soon after executed in Smithfield in a most barbarous manner; his last Words in the Flames were, *None but Christ, None but Christ!* *Lambert burn'd. The*

King
Hen. VIII.
1538.

King Hen. VIII. The Parliament that met next Spring disserved the Standard in which it continued to the King's Death, by the Act commonly known by the Name of the *bloody Statute of Six Articles*, or the *Statute of six Articles*; it was intituled *an Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion*. The six Articles were these.

31 H. 8. cap. 14.

1. " That in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Consecration, there remains no Substance of Bread and Wine, but under these Forms the natural Body and Blood of Christ is present.
2. " That Communion in both Kinds is not necessary to Salvation to all Persons by the Law of God, but that both the Flesh and Blood of Christ are together in each of the Kinds.
3. " That Priests may not marry by the Law of God.
4. " That Vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God.
5. " That private Masses ought to be continued, which as it is agreeable to God's Law, so Men receive great Benefit by them.
6. " That Auricular Confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

It was further enacted, that if any did speak, preach or write against the *first Article*, they should be judged Hereticks, and be burnt without any Abjuration, and forfeit their real and personal Estate to the King. Those who preached or obstinately disputed against the *other Articles* were to suffer Death as Felons without Benefit of Clergy; and those who either in Word or Writing declared against them were to be Prisoners during the King's Pleasure, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels for the first Offence, and for the second to suffer Death. All Ecclesiastical Incumbents were to read this Act in their Churches once a Quarter.

Sad Effects of it. As soon as the six Articles took Place, *Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury*, and *Latimer of Worcester*, resigned their

their Bishopricks, and being presented for speaking against the Act they were imprisoned; *Latimer* continued a Prisoner to the King's Death, but *Shaxton* being threaten'd with the Fire turn'd Apostate, and prov'd a cruel Persecutor of the Protestants in Queen Mary's Reign. Commissions were issued out to the Archbishops, Bishops and their Commissaries, to hold a Sessions quarterly, or oftner, and to proceed upon Presentments by a Jury according to Law; which they did most severely, insomuch that in a very little Time 500 Persons were put in Prison and involved in the Guilt of the Statute; but *Cranmer* and *Cromwel* obtained their Pardon, which mortified the popish Clergy to such a Degree that they proceeded no farther till *Cromwel* fell.

Another very remarkable Act of Parliament passed this Session, was concerning Obedience to the King's Proclamations. It enacts that the King with Advice of his Council, may set forth Proclamations with Pains and Penalties, which shall be obeyed as fully as an Act of Parliament, provided they be not contrary to the Laws and Customs in being, and do not extend so far as that the Subject should suffer in Estate, Liberty or Person. An Act of Attainder was also passed against sixteen Persons, some for denying the Supremacy, and others without any particular Crime mentioned; none of them were brought to a Trial, nor is there any mention in the Records of any Witnesses examined. There never had been an Example of such arbitrary Proceedings before in England; yet this Precedent was followed by several others in the Course of this Reign. By another Statute it was enacted, that the Counsellors of the King's Successor, if he were under Age, might set forth Proclamations in his Name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the King himself. I mention this, because upon this Act was founded the Validity of all the Changes of Religion in the Minority of Edward VI.

King Hen. VIII.
1539.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 151.

King Hen. VIII. Next Year happen'd the Fall of Lord *Cromwel*, one of the great Pillars of the Reformation. He had been lately constituted the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and made a Speech in Parliament April 12th, under that Character. On the 14th of April the King created him Earl of *Essex*, and Knight of the Garter; but within two Months he was arrested at the Council Table for High Treason, and sent to the Tower, and on the 28th of July was beheaded by virtue of a Bill of Attainder without being brought to a Trial, or once allowed to speak for himself. He was accused of executing certain Orders and Directions, for which he had very probably the King's Warrant, and therefore was not admitted to make answer. But the true Cause of his Fall was the Share he had in the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne of Cleves*, whom his Majesty took an Aversion to as soon as he saw her, and was therefore determined to shew his Resentments against the Promoters of it; but his Majesty soon after lamented the Loss of his honest and faithful Servant when it was too late.

Mixed Execution of Protestants and Papists. Two Days after the Death of *Cromwel* there was a very odd Execution of Protestants and Papists at the same Time and Place. The Protestants were Dr. *Barnes*, Mr. *Gerrard*, and Mr. *Jerome*, all Clergymen and Lutherans; they were sent to the Tower for offensive Sermons preached at the Spittle in the Easter Week, and were attainted of Heresy by the Parliament without being brought to a Hearing. Four Papists (*viz.*) *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplin*, *Edmund Brindholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, were by the same Act attainted for denying the King's Supremacy and adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*. The Protestants were burnt, and the Papists hanged: The former cleared themselves of Heresy by rehearsing the Articles of their Faith at the Stake, and died with great Devotion and Piety; and the latter, though grieved to be drawn in the same Hurdle with them they accounted Hereticks, declared their hearty Forgiveness of all their Enemies.

About

About this Time was published a very remarkable ^{King} Treatise, called *A necessary Erudition for a Christian Man.* It was drawn up by a Committee of Bishops ^{Hen. VIII.} and Divines, and was afterwards read and approved ^{1543.} by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the lower ^{Abstract o} House of Parliament. A great part of it was corrected ^{the Erudi-} by the King's own Hand, and the whole was published ^{tion of a} by his Order, with a Preface in the Name of ^{Christian} King ^{Man.} *Henry VIII.* dedicated to all his faithful Subjects. It was called the *King's Book*, and was designed for a ^{Hist. Ref.} Standard of Christian Belief. The Reader therefore ^{Vol. III.} will judge by the following Abstract, of the Sentiments ^{P. 153.} of our first Reformers in sundry Points of Doctrine and Discipline.

“ It begins with a Description of Faith, of which ^{Of Faith;}
 “ (says the Book) there are two Acceptations, (1.)
 “ It is sometimes taken for a Belief or Perswasion
 “ wrought by God in Mens Hearts, whereby they assent
 “ and take for true all the Words and Sayings of God re-
 “ vealed in Scripture. This Faith, if it proceeds no
 “ further, is but a *dead Faith*. (2.) Faith is sometimes
 “ considered in Conjunction with Hope and Charity,
 “ and so it signifies a sure Confidence and Hope to ob-
 “ tain whatsoever God has promised for Christ's sake,
 “ and is accompanied with a hearty Love to God, and
 “ Obedience to his Commands. This is a lively and
 “ effectual Faith, and is the perfect Faith of a Chris-
 “ tian. 'Tis by this Faith that we are justified, as
 “ it is joined with Hope and Charity, and includes an
 “ Obedience to the whole Doctrine and Religion of
 “ Christ. But whether there be any special particu-
 “ lar Knowledge, whereby Men may be certain and
 “ assured that they are among the *Prædestinate*,
 “ which shall to the End persevere in their Calling,
 “ we cannot find either in the Scriptures or Doctors;
 “ the Promises of God being conditional, so that
 “ tho' his Promise stands, we may fail of the Blessing
 “ for want of fulfilling our Obligation.

King
Hen. VIII.
1543.

After the Chapter of Faith follows an excellent Paraphrase on the 12 Articles of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria*, or the Salutation of the Angel to the Blessed Virgin, and the ten Commandments ; and here the second Commandment is shorten'd, the Words *for I the Lord thy God, &c.* being left out, and only those that go before set down. Images are said to be profitable to stir up the Mind to Emulation, though we may not give them godly Honour ; nevertheless censing and kneeling before them is allowed. Invocation of Saints as Intercessors is declared lawful ; and the fourth Commandment only ceremonial and obliging the Jews.

Of Free-
Will.

Then follows an Article of Free-Will, which is described, " *A certain Power of the Will joined with Reason, whereby a reasonable Creature without constraint in Things of Reason, discerneth and willetteth Good and Evil ; but it willetteth not that that is acceptable to God unless it be holpen with Grace, but that which is ill it willetteth of it self.* Our Wills were perfect in the State of Innocence, but are much impaired by the Fall of Adam ; the high Powers of Reason and Freedom of Will being wounded and corrupted, and all Men thereby brought into such Blindness and Infirmity that they can't avoid Sin except they are made free by *special Grace*, that is, by the supernatural working of the Holy Ghost. The Light of Reason is unable to conceive the Things that appertain to eternal Life, though there remains a sufficient Freedom of Will in Things pertaining to the present Life. *Without me (says the Scripture) you can do nothing* ; therefore when Men feel, that notwithstanding their Diligence they are not able to do that which they desire, they ought with a stedfast Faith and Devotion to ask of him, who gave the beginning, that he would vouchsafe to perform it. But Preachers are to take care so to moderate themselves, that they neither so preach the Grace of God as to take away Free-Will, and

“ make God the Author of Sin ; nor so extol Free- ^{King}
 “ Will as to injure the Grace of God. ^{Hen. VIII.}

In the Article of Justification it asserts, “ That all ^{1542.}
 “ the Posterity of *Adam* are born in Original Sin, ^{of justifi-}
 “ and are hereby guilty of everlasting Death and ^{cation.}

“ Damnation, but that God sent his own Son, being
 “ naturally God, to take our Nature and redeem us ;
 “ which he could not have done but by Virtue of the
 “ Union of his two Natures. It then speaks of a
 “ twofold Justification : The first is upon our belie-
 “ ving, and is obtained by Repentance, and a lively
 “ Faith in the Passion and Merits of our blessed Sa-
 “ viour, and joining therewith a full Purpose to
 “ amend our Lives for the future. The second or
 “ final Justification at Death, or the last Judgment,
 “ implies further, the Exercise of all Christian Gra-
 “ ces, and a following the Motions of the Spirit of
 “ God in doing good Works, which will be consider-
 “ ed and recompensed in the Day of Judgment.
 “ When the Scripture speaks of Justification by
 “ Faith, without mentioning any other Grace, it
 “ must not be understood of a naked Faith, but of a
 “ lively, operative Faith, as before described, and
 “ refers to our *first Justification* ; thus we are justified
 “ by Free-Grace : And whatever Share good Works
 “ may have in our *final Justification*, they cannot de-
 “ rogat from the Grace of God, because all our
 “ good Works come of the free Mercy and Grace
 “ of God, and are done by his Assistance ; so that
 “ all boasting is excluded.

This leads to the Article of good Works, “ Which ^{of good.}
 “ are said to be absolutely necessary to Salvation ; ^{Works.}
 “ but they are not outward corporal Works, but
 “ inward spiritual Works ; as the Love and Fear
 “ of God, Patience, Humility, &c. Nor are they
 “ superstitious Works of Mens Invention ; nor
 “ only moral Works done by the Power of Reason,
 “ and the natural Will of Man, without Faith in
 “ Christ ; which though they are good in Kind, do

King Hen. VIII. " not merit everlasting Life ; but such outward and inward good Works as are done by Faith in Christ,
1543. " out of Love to God, and in Obedience to his Commands ; and which cannot be performed by Man's Power without Divine Assistance. Now these are of two Sorts, (1.) Such as are done by Persons already justified ; and these, tho' imperfect, are accepted for Christ's sake, and are Meritorious towards the attaining everlasting Life. (2.) Other Works are of an inferior Sort, as Fasting, Alms-deeds, and other Fruits of Penance, which are of no avail without Faith. But after all, Justification and Remission of Sins is the free Gift of the Grace of God ; and it does not derogate from that Grace to ascribe the Dignity to good Works abovementioned, because all our good Works come of the Grace of God.

Of praying for the Dead. The Chapter of Prayer for Souls departed, leaves the Matter in Suspence ; " 'Tis good and charitable to do it ; but because 'tis not known what Condition departed Souls are in, we ought only to commend them to the Mercy of God.

In the Chapter of the Sacraments ; " All the seven Sacraments are maintained ; and in particular, the corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Of Bishops and Priests. In the Sacrament of Orders the Book maintains no real Distinction between Bishops and Priests ; it says, that St. Paul consecrated and ordered Bishops by Imposition of Hands ; but that there is no certain Rule prescribed in Scripture for the Nomination, Election, or Presentation of them ; this is left to the positive Laws of every Country. That the Office of the said Ministers is to preach the Word, to minister the Sacraments, to bind and loose, to excommunicate those that will not be reformed, and to pray for the Universal Church ; but that they may not execute their Office without Licence from the Civil Magistrate. The Sacraments do not receive Efficacy or Strength from the Ministrat-

" tion

“^{King} tion of the Priest or Bishop, but from God ; the
“ said Ministers being only Officers, to administer ^{Hcn. VIII.}
“ with their Hands those corporal Things by which
“ God gives Grace, agreeable to St. Ambrose, who
“ writes thus, *The Priest lays his Hands upon us, but*
“ *it is God that gives Grace ; the Priest lays on us his*
“ *beseeching Hands, but God blesseth us with his mighty*
“ *Hand.*

Concerning the Order of Deacons, the Book says,
" Their Office in the Primitive Church was partly
" to minister Meat and Drink, and other Necessaries
" to the Poor ; and partly, to minister to the Bishops
" and Priests. Then follows this remarkable Pas-
" sage, *Of these two Orders only, that is to say, Priests*
" *and Deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and*
" *how they were conferr'd of the Apostles by Prayer and*
" *Imposition of Hands ; but the Primitive Church after-*
" *wards appointed inferior Degrees, as Sub-deacons,*
" *Acolytes, Exorcists, &c. but least peradventure it*
" *might be thought by some, that such Authorities, Pow-*
" *ers, and Jurisdictions, as Patriarchs, Primates, Arch-*
" *bishops and Metropolitans now have, or heretofore at*
" *any Time have had justly and lawfully over other Bi-*
" *shops, were given them by God in holy Scripture, we*
" *think it expedient and necessary, that all Men should*
" *be advertised and taught, that all such lawful Power*
" *and Authority of any one Bishop over another, were*
" *and be given them by the Consent, Ordinances, and*
" *positive Laws of Men only, and not by any Ordinance*
" *of God in holy Scripture ; and all such Power and Au-*
" *thority which any Bishop has used over another, which*
" *has not been given him by such Consent and Ordinance*
" *of Men, is in very deed no lawful Power but plain*
" *Usurpation and Tyranny.*

These were the Sentiments of our first Reformers; *Remarks.*
and this was then the establish'd Doctrine of the Church
of England: For by the Statute of the 32d of Henry VIII.
cap. 26. it is enacted, "That all Decrees and Ordinan-
ces which shall be made and ordained by the Arch-

King Hen. VIII. “ bishops, Bishops and Doctors, and shall be published with the King’s Advice and Confirmation, by his Letters Patents, in and upon the Matters of Christian Faith, and lawful Rites and Ceremonies, shall be in every Point thereof believed, obeyed and performed, to all Intents and Purposes, upon the Pains therein compriz’d; provided nothing be ordained contrary to the Laws of the Realm.” How near the Book abovementioned comes to the Qualifications of this Statute, is obvious to the Reader. It is no less evident, that by the same A&t the King was in a manner invested with the Infallibility of the Pope, and had the Consciences and Faith of his People at his absolute Disposal.

By this Abstract of the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, it appears further, that our Reformers built pretty much upon the Plan of St. Austin, with relation to the Doctrines of Justification and Grace. The Sacraments and Ceremonies are so contrived, as to be consistent with the six *Articles* established by Parliament. But with regard to Discipline, *Crammer* and his Brethren were for being directed wholly by the Civil Magistrate; which has since been distinguished by the Name of *Eraſtianism*. Accordingly they took out Commissions to hold their Bishopricks during the King’s Pleasure, and to exercise their Jurisdiction by his Authority only.

1514. But notwithstanding this Reformation of Doctrine, the old popish Forms of Worship were continued till this Year, when a faint Attempt was made to reform them. A Form of Proceſſion was publish’d in English by the King’s Authority, entitled, *An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majesty and his Clergy, to be read to the People; also a Litany, with Suffrages to be said or sung in time of the Proceſſions.* In the Litany they invoke the blessed Virgin, the Angels, Archangels, and all holy Orders of blessed Spirits; all holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and all the blessed Company of Hea-

Heaven to pray for them. The rest of the Litany is in a manner the very same now in use, only a few more Collects were placed at the End, with some Psalms, and a Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer. The Preface is an Exhortation to the Duty of Prayer, and says, that it is convenient, and very acceptable to God, to use private Prayer in our Mother Tongue, that by understanding what we ask, we may more earnestly and fervently desire the same. The Hand of Cranmer was no doubt in this Performance, but it was little regarded, though a Mandate was sent to Bonner Bishop of London to publish it.

King Hen. VIII.
1544.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 164.

But Cranmer's Power was now very much weaken'd; he strove against the Stream, and could accomplish nothing further, except a small Mitigation of the rigorous Prosecution of the six Articles: For by the 35th of Henry VIII. cap. 5. it is enacted,

" That Persons shall not be convicted upon this Statute, but by the Oaths of 12 Men; that the Prosecution shall be within a Year; and that if any one preaches against the six Articles he shall be informed against within 40 Days." This render'd the Prosecution more difficult; and yet after all several were burnt at this time, for denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as Mrs. Anne Askew, Mr. Belenian, Adams, Lascels, and others. The Books of Tyndal, Fritb, Joy, Barnes, and other Protestants, were ordered to be burnt; and the Importation of all foreign Books relating to Religion was forbid, without special Licence from the King.

Upon the whole, the Reformation went very much backward, the three or four last Years of the King's Life; as appears by the Statute of 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1. which leads the People back into the darkest Parts of Popery: It says, " That Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the Decision of Controversies; and therefore all Books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndal's false Translation, or comprising

State of the Reformation at the King's Death.

King " any Matter of Christian Religion, Articles of
 Hen. VIII. " Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine
 1545. " set forth by the King [in the six Articles] 1540,
 " or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolished.
 " No Person shall sing or rhyme contrary to the said
 " Doctrine. No Person shall retain any English
 " Books or Writings against the holy and blessed
 " Sacrament of the Altar ; or other Books abolish-
 ed by the King's Proclamation. There shall be
 " no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or new
 " Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in
 " English in any Church. No Women, or Artificers,
 " Apprentices, Journey-Men, Serving-Men, Husband-
 " men or Labourers, shall read the New-Testament in
 " English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained
 " contrary to the King's Instructions. If any spiri-
 tual Person shall be convict of preaching, or main-
 taining any Thing contrary to the King's Instruc-
 tions already made, or hereafter to be made, he
 " shall for the first Offence recant, for the second
 " bear a Fagot, and for the third be burnt."

Here is Popery and spiritual Slavery in its full Extent. Indeed the Pope is discharged of his Jurisdiction and Authority ; but a like Authority is vested in the King. His Majesty's Instructions are as binding as the Pope's Canons, and upon as severe Penalties. He is absolute Lord of the Consciences of his Subjects. No Bishop or spiritual Person may preach any Doctrine but what he approves ; nor do any Act of Government in the Church but by his special Commission. This seems to have been given his Majesty by the Act of Supremacy, and is further confirmed by one of the last Statutes of his Reign, which de-

37 H. 8. clares, that " Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons,
 cap. 17. " and other Ecclesiastical Persons, have no manner
 " of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, but by, under, and
 " from his Royal Majesty ; and that his Majesty is
 " the only Supreme Head of the Church of England
 " and Ireland ; to whom, by Holy Scripture, all Au-
 " thority

" thority and Power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of Causes Ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of Heresies, Errors, Vices, and Sins whatsoever; and to all such Persons as his Majesty shall appoint thereunto."

*King**Hen. VIII.*
1546.

This was carrying the Regal Power to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of Privilege for Convocations, Councils, or Colleges of Bishops: The King may ask their Advice, or call them in to his Aid and Assistance, but his Majesty has not only a negative Voice upon their Proceedings, but may himself by his Letters Patents, publish Injunctions in Matters of Religion, for correcting all Errors in Doctrine and Worship. His Proclamations have the Force of a Law, and all his Subjects are obliged to believe, obey and profess according to them, under the highest Penalties.

Thus Matters stood when this great and absolute Monarch died of an Ulcer in his Leg, being so corpulent, that he was forced to be let up and down Stairs with an Engine. The Humour in his Leg made him so peevish, that scarce any Body durst speak to him of the Affairs of his Kingdom or of another Life. He signed his Will Dec. 30, 1546. and died Jan. 28. following, in the 38th Year of his Reign, and the 56th of his Age. He ought to be ranked (says Bishop Burnet) among the ill Princes, but not among the worst.



C H A P. II.

The Reign of King EDWARD VI.

King Edw. VI. 1547. THE sole Right and Authority of reforming the Church of England was now vested in the Crown; and by the Act of Succession, in the King's Council, if he were under Age. This was preferable to a foreign Jurisdiction; but it can hardly be proved, that either the King or his Council have a Right to judge for the whole Nation, and impose upon the People what Religion they think best, without their Consent. The Reformation of the Church of England was begun and carried on by the King, assisted by *Archbishop Cranmer* and a few select Divines. The Clergy in Convocation did not move in it, but as they were directed and over-awed by their Superiors; nor did they consent till they were modell'd to the Designs of the Court.

Hist. Ref. Vol. II. in pref. Our learned Historian Bishop Burnet endeavours to justify this Conduct, by putting the following Question, *What must be done when the major part of a Church is, according to the Conscience of the supreme Civil Magistrate, in an Error, and the lesser part is in the Right?* In answer to this Question his Lordship observes, that *There is no Promise in Scripture that the Majority of Pastors shall be in the Right; on the contrary it is certain, that Truth separate from Interest has few Votaries.* Now, as it is not reasonable that the smaller Part should depart from their Sentiments, because opposed by the Majority, whose Interest lead them to oppose the Reformation, therefore they might take Sanctuary in the Authority of the Prince and the Law. But is there any Promise in Scripture that the King or Prince shall be always in the Right? Or, is it reasonable that the Majority should depart from their Sentiments in Religion, because the Prince with the Minority are of another

ther Mind? If we ask, what Authority Christian Princes have to bind the Consciences of their Subjects by ^{King} Edw. VI. ^{1547.} *penal Laws* to worship God after their manner? His Lordship answers, *This was practised in the Jewish State.* But it ought to be remember'd, that the *Jewish State* was a Theocracy; that God himself was their King, and their chief Magistrates only his Vicegerents or Deputies; that the Laws of *Moses* were the Laws of God; and the Penalties annexed to them as much of Divine Appointment as the Laws themselves. It is therefore absurd to make the special Commission of the *Jewish Magistrates* a Model for the *Rights of Christian Princes*. But his Lordship adds, *It is the first Law in Justinian's Code, made by the Emperor Theodosius, That all should every where, under severe Pains, follow that Faith that was received by Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria.* And why might not the King and *Laws of England* give the like Authority to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York? I answer, because *Theodosius's Law* was an unreasonable Usurpation upon the Right of Conscience. If the Apostle *Paul*, who was an inspired Person, had not Dominion over the Faith of the Churches, how came the *Roman Emperor*, or other Christian Princes, by such a Jurisdiction, which has no Foundation in the Law of Nature nor in the New Testament?

His Lordship goes on, *It is not to be imagined how any Changes in Religion can be made by Sovereign Princes, unless an Authority be lodged with them of giving the Sanction of a Law to the founder, though the lesser Part of a Church; for as Princes and Lawgivers are not tied to an implicit Obedience to Clergymen, but are left to the Freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a Power to choose what side to be of, where Things are much enquired into.* And why have not the Clergy and the common People the same Power? Why must they be tied to an implicit Faith in their Princes and Lawgivers? Is there any Promise in the Word of God that Princes and Lawgivers shall be infallible, and always judge

King
Edw. VI.
1547.

judge right which is the founder, though the lesser Part of a Church ? If (as his Lordship adds) the major Part of Synods cannot be supposed to be in Matters of Faith so assisted from Heaven, that the lesser Part must necessarily acquiesce in their Decrees ; or that the civil Powers must always make Laws according to their Votes, especially when Interest does visibly turn the Scale ; how can the Prince or civil Magistrate depend upon such Assistance ? Can we be sure that Interest or Prejudice will never turn the Scale with him ? Or that he has a better Acquaintance with the Truths of the Gospel than his Clergy or People ? 'Tis highly reasonable that the Prince should choose for himself what Side he will be of, when Things are much enquired into ; but then let the Clergy and People have the same Liberty, and neither the major nor minor Part impose upon the other, as long as they entertain no Principles inconsistent with the Safety of the Government. *When the Christian Belief had not the Support of Law, every Bishop taught his own Flock the best he could, and gave his Neighbours such an Account of his Faith, at, or soon after his Consecration, as satisfied them ; and so (says his Lordship) they maintained the Unity of the Church.* And why might it not be so still ? Is not this better upon all Accounts, than to force People to profess what they can't believe, or to propagate Religion with the Sword, as was too much the Case with our Reformers ? If the penal Laws had been taken away, and the Points in Controversy between Protestants and Papists had been left to a free and open Debate, while the civil Magistrate had stood by, and only kept the Peace, the Reformation would certainly have taken Place in due Time, and proceeded in a much more unexceptionable Manner than it did.

To return to the History. King Edward VI. came to the Crown at the Age of nine Years and four Months ; a Prince, for Learning and Piety, for Acquaintance with the World, and Application to Business, the very Wonder of his Age. His Father,
by

by his last Will and Testament, named 16 Persons
 Executors of his Will, and Regents of the Kingdom, King
 till his Son should be 18 Years of Age: Out of these Edw. VI.
 the Earl of Hartford, the King's Uncle, was chosen ^{1547.} King Ed-
 Protector of the King's Realms, and Governor of his ward's
 Person. Besides these, twelve were added as a Privy Council.
 Council, to be assisting to them. Among the Re-
 gents some were for the old Religion, and others for
 the New; but it soon appeared that the Reformers
 had the Ascendant, the young King having been edu-
 cated in their Principles by his Tutor Dr. Cox, and
 the new Protector his Uncle being on the same side.
 The Heads of the two Parties were these,

For the REFORMATION.

King Edward,
 Duke of Somerset, Protector,
 Dr. Cranmer, Abp. Cant.
 Dr. Holgate, Abp. York,
 Sir W. Paget, Sec. State,
 L. V. Lisle, Lord Admiral,
 Dr. Holbeach, Bp. Lincoln,
 Dr. Goodrick, Bp. Ely.
 Dr. Latimer, Bp. Worcester,
 Dr. Ridley, elect of Rochester,

For the Old RELIGION.

*Heads of
the two
Parties.*

Princess Mary,
 Wriothesley E. of Southamp-
 ton, Lord Chancellor,
 Dr. Tonstal, Bp. Durham,
 Dr. Gardiner, Bp. Winche-
 ster,
 Dr. Bonner, Bp. London.

The Majority of the Bishops and inferior Clergy were
 on the Side of Popery, but the Government was in
 the Hands of the Reformers, who began immediately
 to relax the Rigors of the late Reign. The Persecu-
 tion upon the six Articles was stopt; the Prison Doors
 were set open; and several who had been forced to
 quit the Kingdom for their Religion returned home,
 as Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; John
 Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester; John Rogers,
 the Proto-Martyr, and many others, who were pre-
 ferr'd to considerable Benefices in the Church. The
 reforming Divines being deliver'd from their too aw-
 ful

King ful Subjection to the late King, began to open against **Edw. VI.** the Abuses of Popery. Dr. Ridley and others preached vehemently against *Images in Churches*, and inflamed the People, so that in many Places they out-run the Law, and pulled them down without Authority. Some preached against the Lawfulness of Soul Masses and Obits ; though the late King, by his last Will and Testament, had left a large Sum of Money to have them continued at *Windsor* where he was buried, and for a frequent Distribution of Alms for the Repose of his Soul, and its Deliverance out of Purgatory ; but this Charity was soon after converted to other Uses. The Popish Clergy were alarmed at these Things, and insisted strongly, that till the King their supreme Head was of Age, Religion should continue in the State in which King *Henry* left it. But the Reformers averr'd, that the King's Authority was the same while he was a Minor, as when he was of Age ; and that they had heard the late King declare his Resolution to turn the Mass into a Communion if he had lived a little longer, upon which they thought it their Duty to proceed.

Royal Visi- After the Solemnity of the King's Coronation, the
tation. Regents appointed a Royal Visitation, and com-
manded the Clergy to preach no where but in their
Parish Churches without Licence, till the Visitation
was over. The Kingdom was divided into six Cir-
cuits ; two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a
Register being appointed for each. The Divines were
by their preaching to instruct the People in the Do-
ctrines of the Reformation, and to bring them off
from their old Superstitions. The Visitation began
in the Month of *August* ; six of the gravest Divines,
and most popular Preachers, attended it ; their
Names were Dr. Ridley, Dr. Madew, Mr. Briggs,
MS. Cottisford, Joseph, and Farrar. A Book of Homilies
p. 881. or Sermons, upon the chief Points of the Christian
Faith, drawn up chiefly by Archbishop Cranmer,

was

was printed, and ordered to be left with every Parish ^{King} Priest, to supply the Defect of Preaching, which few ^{Edw. VI.} of the Clergy of that Time were capable of performing. ^{1547.} Cranmer communicated it to Gardiner, and would ^{First Book} fain have gained his Approbation of it; but he was so ^{of Homilies} inflamed at being left out of the King's Will, that he constantly opposed all Innovation till the King should be of Age. The Book consisted of twelve Discourses, on the following Arguments.

1. Concerning the Use of the Scriptures.
2. Of the Misery of Mankind by Sin.
3. Of their Salvation by Christ.
4. Of a true and lively Faith.
5. Of good Works.
6. Of Christian Love and Charity.
7. Against Swearing and Perjury.
8. Against Apostasy.
9. Against the Fear of Death.
10. An Exhortation to Obedience.
11. Against Whoredom and Adultery.
12. Against Strife and Contention about Matters of Religion.

With these Homilies the Visitors were to deliver sundry Injunctions from the King, to the Number of thirty six; the chief were,

1. " That all Ecclesiastical Persons observe the ^{Injunctions} Laws relating to the King's Supremacy.
2. " That they preach once a Quarter against Pilgrimages, and praying to Images, and exhort to Works of Faith and Charity.
3. " That Images abused with Pilgrimages and Offerings be taken down; that no wax Candles or Tapers be burnt before them; but only two Lights upon the High Altar before the Sacrament shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the Light of the World.

The Limitation in this Article giving Occasion to great Heats among the People, some affirming their ^{Images}

King Edw. VI. Images had been so abused, and others not, the Council sent Orders to see them all taken down.

1547. 4. "That when there is no Sermon the *Pater Noster*, the *Creed* and ten *Commandments* shall be recited out of the Pulpit to the Parishioners:

5. "That within three Months every Church be provided with a Bible; and within twelve Months with *Erasmus's Paraphrase* on the New Testament.

9. "That they examine such who come to Confession, whether they can recite the *Pater Noster*, *Creed*, and ten *Commandments* in *English*, before they receive the Sacrament of the Altar, else they ought not to come to God's Board.

21. "That in Time of high Mass the Epistle and Gospel shall be read in *English*; and that one Chapter in the *New Testament* be read at Mattins, and one in the *Old* at Even Song.

23. "No Processions shall be used about Churches or Church-yards; but immediately before high Mass the Litany shall be said or sung in *English*; and all ringing of Bells (save one) utterly forborn.

24. "That the Holy Day, at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught; in private and publick Prayers; in acknowledging their Offences to God, and promising Amendment; in reconciling themselves to their Neighbours, receiving the Communion, visiting the Sick, &c. Only it shall be lawful in Time of Harvest to labour upon holy and festival Days, in order to save that Thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain from working on those Days does grievously offend God.

28. "That they take away all Shrines, Coverings of Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, Trindills, or Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned Miracles, so that no Memory of them remain in Walls or Windows; exhort-

" ing the People to do the like in their several King
 " Houses. Edw. VI.

The rest of the Articles related to the Advance-
 ment of Learning, to the Encouragement of Preach-
 ing, and correcting some very gross Abuses. The
 Bishops were enjoined to see the Articles put in Exe-
 cution, and to preach themselves four Times a Year,
 unless they had a reasonable Excuse. They were to
 give Orders to none but such as were able to preach,
 and to recal their Licences from others. The Injun-
 ctions were to be observed under the Pains of Excom-
 munication, Sequestration or Deprivation.

In *Bidding* of their Prayers they were to remem- Original
 ber the King their supreme Head, the Queen Dow- of bidding
 ager, the King's two Sisters, the Lord Protector
 and the Council; the Nobility, the Clergy, and
 the Commons of this Realm. The Custom of *bidding*
Prayer, which is still in Use in the Church, is a Relick of Popery. Bishop Burnet has preserved the H. & Ref.
 Form, as it was in Use before the Reformation, Vo. II.
 which was this: After the Preacher had named and p. 20.
 opened his Text, he called on the People to go to
 their Prayers, telling them what they were to pray
 for. *Ye shall pray* (says he) *for the King, for the Pope,*
for the holy Catholick Church, &c. After which all the
 People said their Beads in a general Silence, and the
 Minister kneeled down likewise and said his; they
 were to say a *Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Deus misereatur nostri, Domine salvum fac Regem, Gloria Patri,*
 &c. and then the Sermon proceeded. How sadly this
Bidding of Prayer has been abused of late, by some
 Divines, to the entire Omission of the Duty it self,
 is too well known to need a Remark!

Most of the Bishops complied with the Injunctions,
 except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester.
 Bonner offered a Reserve, but that not being accept-
 ed, he made an absolute Submission; nevertheless he
 was sent for some Time to the Fleet for Contempt.
 Gardiner having protested against the Injunctions and

King Edw. VI. Homilies as contrary to the Law of God, was sent also to the Fleet, where he continued till after the Parliament was over, and was then released by a general Act of Grace.

Parlia-
ment re-
peals sev-
eral popis
Laws and
makes
new ones. The Parliament that met November 9th, made several Alterations in favour of the Reformation. They repealed all Laws that made any Thing Treason but what was specified in the Act of 25 Edward III; and two of the Statutes against *Lollardies*. They repealed the Statute of the six Articles, with the Acts that followed in explanation of it; all Laws in the late Reign, declaring any Thing Felony that was not so declared before; together with the Act that made the King's Proclamation of equal Authority with an Act of Parliament. Besides the Repeal of these Laws

Edw. 6. sundry new ones were enacted; as, *That the Sacrement of the Lord's Supper should be administered in both Kinds, agreeably to Christ's first Institution, and the Practice of the Church for 500 Years; and that all private Masses should be put down: An Act concerning the Admission of Bishops into their Sees; which sets forth, that the Manner of choosing Bishops by a Conge d' Elire, being but the Shadow of an Election, all Bishops hereafter shall be appointed by the King's Letters Patents only, and shall continue the Exercise of their Jurisdiction durante bene placito; or durante vita naturali, si tam diu se bene gesserint.* One of

Edw. 6. the first Patents with this Clause is that of Dr. Barlow
cap. 2. Bishop of Bath and Wells, bearing Date Feb. 3. in the
Hist. Ref. second Year of the King's Reign; but all the rest of
Vol. II. the Bishops afterwards took our Letters Patents for
p. 218. their Bishopricks with the same Clause. In this the Archbishop had a principal Hand; for it was his Judgment, that the Exercise of all Episcopal Jurisdiction depended upon the Prince; and that as he gave it he might restrain or take it away at his Pleasure: Cranmer thought the Exercise of his own Episcopal Authority ended with the late King's Life, and therefore would not act as Archbishop till he had a new Commission from King Edward. In

In the same Statute it is declared, "That since all ^{King} Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal was de- ^{Edw. VI.}rived from the King, therefore all Processes in ^{1547.} the Spiritual Court should from henceforward be carried on in the King's Name, and be sealed with the King's Seal, as in the other Courts of Common Law, except the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Courts only in all Faculties and Dispensations; but all Collations, Presentations, or Letters of Orders were to pass under the Bishops proper Seals as formerly." By this Law Causes concerning Wills and Marriages were removed into the Courts of *Westminster-hall*; but this was repealed in the next Reign.

Lastly, The Parliament gave the King all the *Chauntries* Lands for Maintenance of Chauntries not possessed ^{given to} by his Father; all Legacies given for Obits, Anniversaries, Lamps in Churches; together with all ^{1 Edw. 6.} Guild Lands which any Fraternity enjoyed on the same Account: The Money was to be converted to ^{cap. 14.} *L.of Cran.* the Maintenance of Grammar Schools; but the hungry Courtiers shared it among themselves. After this the Houses were prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

The Convocation that sat with the Parliament did little; the Majority being on the Side of Popery, the Archbishop was afraid of venturing any Thing of Importance with them; nor are any of their Proceedings upon Record; but Mr. Strype has collected from the Notes of a private Member, That the lower House agreed to the Communion in both Kinds; and that upon a Division, about the Lawfulness of Priests Marriages, 53 were for the Affirmative, and 22 for the Negative.

The Reformation in Germany lying under great ^{Foreign} Discouragements, by the victorious Arms of ^{Protestant} Charles V. who had this Year taken the Duke of Savoy Prisoner, and dispossessed him of his Electorate; several ^{Divines} of the foreign Reformers, who had taken Sanctuary ^{take San-} in England.

King Ew. VI. in those Parts, were forced to seek it elsewhere.
1548. Among these, Peter Martyr a Florentine, was invited by the Archbishop, in the King's Name, into England, and had the Divinity Chair given him at Oxford; Bucer had the same at Cambridge; Ochonus and Fagius, two other learned Foreigners, had either Pensions or Canonries with a Dispensation of Residence, and did good Service in the Universities; but Fagius soon after died.

1548. The common People were very much divided in their Opinions about Religion; some being zealous for preserving the Popish Rites, and others no less averse to them. The Country People were very tenacious of their old Shews, as Processions, Wakes, carrying of Candles on Candlemas-Day, and Palms on Palm-Sundays, &c. while others looked upon them as Heathenish Rites, absolutely inconsistent with the Simplicity of the Gospel. This was so effectually represented to the Council by Cranmer, that a Proclamation was published Feb. 6. forbidding the Continuance of them. And for putting an End to all Contests about Images that had been abused to Superstition, an Order was published Feb. 11th, that all Images whatsoever should be taken out of Churches; and the Bishops were commanded to execute it in their several Dioceses. Thus the Churches were emptied of all those Pictures and Statues, which had Vol. I. p. 61. for divers Ages been the Objects of the Peoples Adoration.

All Preaching forbid. The Clergy were no less divided than the Laity; the Pulpits clashing one against the other, and tending to stir up Sedition and Rebellion: The King therefore, after the Example of his Father, and by Advice of his Council, issued out a Proclamation, Sept. 3. in the 2d Year of his Reign, to prohibit all Preaching throughout all his Dominions: The Words are these, "The King's Highness minding shortly to have one uniform Order throughout this Realm, and to put an End to all Controversies

" lies

“ sies in Religion, so far as God shall give Grace ;
 “ doth at this present, and tll such Time as the said King
 “ Order shall be set forth, inhibit all Manner of Edw. VI.
 “ Persons whatsoever, to preach in open Audience
 “ in the Pulpit or otherwise ; to the Intent that the
 “ whole Clergy, in the mean Space, may apply
 “ themselves in Prayer to Almighty God, for the
 “ better atchieving the same most godly Intent and
 “ Purpose.” 1548.

At the same Time a Committee of Divines was ap- First Re-
 pointed to examine and reform the Offices of the format on
 Church : These were the Archbishops of Canterbury of the Con-
 and York ; the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, West Ref.
 Norwich, St. Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Vol. II.
 Carlisle, Bristol, St. Davids, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, p. 61. -
 Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester ; with the Do-
 ctors Cox, May, Taylor, Haine, Robertson, and Red-
 mayn. They began with the examination of the *Indul-
 gencie*, in which they made but little alteration, leaving
 the Office of the Mass as it stood, only adding to it
 so much as chang'd it into a Communion in both
 Kinds. *Auricular Confession* was left in different. The
 Priest having received the Sacrament himself, was to
 turn to the People and read the Exhortation ; then
 followed a *Denunciation*, requiring such as had not
 repented to withdraw, lest the Devil should enter in-
 to them as he did into Judas. After a little Pause
 to see if any would withdraw, followed a *Confession*
 of Sins and Absolution, the same now in Use ; after
 which the Sacrament was administer'd in both Kinds
 without Elevation. This Office was published with
 a Proclamation, declaring his Majesty's Intentions to
 proceed to a further Reformation ; and willing his Sub-
 jects not to run before his Direction, assuring them of
 his earnest Zeal in this Affair, and hoping they would
 quietly tarry for it.

In reforming the other Offices they examined every one, and
 compared the Romish Missals of Sarum, Westm., Bath, Winchester, Oxford,
 Bangor, and Lincoln ; and out of them composed a new

King the Morning and Evening Service, almost in the Edw. VI. same Form it stands at present ; only there was no ^{1548.} Confession, nor Absolution. It would have obviated many Objections if the Committee had thrown aside the *Mass-Book*, and composed an uniform *Service* in the Language of Scripture, without any Regard to the Church of *Rome* ; but this they were not aware of, or the Times would not bear it. From the same Materials, they compiled a *Litanies*, consisting of many short Petitions, interrupted by Suffrages ; 'tis the same with that which is now used, except the Petition to be delivered from the Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome* and all his detestable Enormities ; which in the Review of the Liturgy in Queen Elizabeth's Time was struck out.

Baptism. In the Administration of *Baptism* a Cross was to be made on the Child's Forehead and Breast, and the Devil was exorcised to go out, and enter no more into him. The Child was to be dipt three Times in the Font, on the right and left Side, and on the Breast, if not weak. A white Vestment was to be put upon it in token of Innocence ; and it was to be anointed on the Head, with a short Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghost.

Confirmation. In order to *Confirmation*, Those that came were to be catechised ; then the Bishop was to sign them with the Cross, and lay his Hands upon them, in the Name of the Father Son and Holy Ghost.

Anointing the Sick. If sick Persons desired to be anointed, the Priest might do it upon the Forehead and Breast, only making the Sign of the Cross, with a short Prayer for his Recovery.

Burial. In the Office of *Burial* the Soul of the departed Person is recommended to the Mercy of God ; and the Minister is to pray, that the Sins which he committed in this World may be forgiven him, and that he may be admitted into Heaven, and his Body raised at the last Day.

This was the first Service Book or Liturgy of King Edward VI. We have no certain Account of the Use of any Liturgies in the first Ages of the Church; those of St. Mark, St. James, and that of Alexandria, being manifestly spurious. 'Tis not till the latter end of the fourth Century that they are first mentioned; and then it was left to the Care of every Bishop to draw up a Form of Prayer for his own Church. In St. Austin's Time they began to consult about an Agreement of Prayers, that none should be used without common Advice; but still there was no Uniformity. Nay, in the darkest Times of Popery, there was a vast Variety of Forms in different Sees, witness the Offices *secundum Usum Sarum, Bangor, York, &c.* But our Reformers split upon this Rock, sacrificing the Peace of the Church to a mistaken Necessity of an exact Uniformity of Doctrine and Worship, in which it was impossible for all Men to agree. Had they drawn up divers Forms, or left a discretionary Latitude for tender Consciences, as to some particular Phrases, all Men would have been easy, and the Church more firmly united than ever.

The like is to be observed as to Rites and Ceremonies of an indifferent Nature. Nothing is more certain, than that the Church of Rome indulged a Variety. Every religious Order (says Bishop Burnet) had their peculiar Rites, with the Saints Days that belonged to their Order, and Services for them: But our Reformers thought proper to insist upon an exact Uniformity of Habits and Ceremonies for all the Clergy; though they knew many of them were exceptionable, having been abused to Idolatry; and were a Yoke which some of the most resolved Protestants could not bear. Nay, so great a Stress was laid upon the square Cap and Surplice, that rather than dispense with the Use of them to some tender Minds, the Bishops were content to part with their best Friends, and hazard the Reformation into the Hands of the Papists. If there must be Habits

King
Edw. VI.
1548.

and Ceremonies for Decency and Order, why did they not appoint new ones, rather than retain the old, which had been idolized by the Papists to such a Degree, as to be thought to have a magical Virtue or a sacramental Efficacy? Or if they meant this, Why did they not speak out, and go on with the Consecration of them?

of the Habits. The Council had it some Time under Consideration, whether those Vestments in which the Priests used to officiate should be continued? It was objected against them, by those who had been Confessors for the Protestant Religion, and others, that the Habits were parts of the Train of the Mass; that the People had such a superstitious Opinion of them, as to think they gave an Efficacy to their Prayers, and that Divine Service said without this Apparel was insignificant; whereas at best they were but Inventions of Popery, and ought to be destroyed with that idolatrous Religion. But it was said on the other hand, by those Divines that had stay'd in England, and weather'd the Storm of King Henry's Tyranny by a politick Compliance, and concealment of their Opinions, that Church Habits and Ceremonies were indifferent, and might be appointed by the Magistrates; that White was the Colour of the Priests Garments in the Mosaical Dispensation; and that it was a natural Expression of the Purity and Decency that became Priests. That they ought to depart no further from the Church of Rome than she had departed from the Practice of the Primitive Church. Besides, the Clergy were then so poor, that they could scarce afford to buy themselves decent Cloaths. But did the Priests buy their own Garments? Could not the Parish provide a Gown, or some other decent Apparel for the Priest to minister in sacred Things, as well as a square Cap, a Surplice, a Cope, or a Tippet? Were these the Habits of the Primitive Clergy before the Rise of the Papacy? But upon these slender Reasons the Garments were continued, which soon after divided the Reformers among themselves, and gave Rise to the two Parties

of Conformists and Nonconformists ; Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley being at the Head of the former ; and Bishop Hooper, Rogers, with the foreign Divines, being Patrons of the latter.

King

Edw. VI.
1548.

The Parliament after several Prorogations, met ^{Parlia-} the 24th of November, and on the 15th of January ^{ment con-} following, the Act confirming the new Liturgy ^{firms the} passed both Houses ; the Bishops of London, Durham, ^{new Li-} Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, ^{turgy.} and Chichester, protesting. The Preamble sets forth, " That the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned Bishops and Divines, having by the Aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform Agreement, concluded upon an Order of Divine Worship, agreeable to Scripture and the Primitive Church, the Parliament having considered the Book, gave the King their most humble Thanks, and enacted, That from the Feast of *Witsunday* 1549. all Divine Offices should be performed according to it ; and that such of the Clergy as refused to do it, or officiated in any other manner, should upon the first Conviction suffer six Months Imprisonment, and forfeit a Year's Profits of his Benefice ; for the second Offence forfeit all his Church Preferences, and suffer a Year's Imprisonment ; and for the third Offence Imprisonment for Life. Such as writ or printed against the Book were to be fined 10*l.* for the first Offence ; 20*l.* for the second ; and to forfeit all their Goods, and be imprisoned for Life for the third." It ought to be observed, that this Service Book was not laid before the Convocation, nor any representative Body of the Clergy : And whereas it is said to be done by *one uniform Agreement*, 'tis certain that four of the Bishops employed in drawing it up protested against it, viz. the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster. But if the Liturgy had been more perfect ^{Hist. Ref.} than it was, the Penalties by which it was imposed ^{Vol II.} were severe and unchristian, contrary to Scripture ^{P. 94.} and Primitive Antiquity.

As

King Edw. VI. As soon as the Act took Place, the Council appointed Visitors to see that the new Liturgy was received all over England. Bonner, who resolved to comply in every Thing, sent to the Dean and Residentiary of St. Paul's to use it; and all the Clergy were so pliable, that the Visitors returned no Complaints; only that the Lady MARY continued to have Mass said in her House, which upon the Intercession of the Emperor was indulged her for a Time. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester continued still a Prisoner in the Tower, without being brought to a Trial, for refusing to submit to the Council's Supremacy while the King was under Age; and for some other Complaints against him.

Bp. Gardiner hardly used. His Imprisonment was certainly illegal; it was unjustifiable to keep a Man in Prison two Years upon a bare Complaint; and then without producing any Evidence in Support of the Charge, to sift him by Articles and Interrogatories: This looked too much like an Inquisition; but the King being in the Pope's

Hist. Ref. room (says Bishop Burnet) there were some Things Vol. II. gathered from the Canon Law, and from the Proceedings *ex Officio*, that rather excused than justified the hard Measures he met with. When the Council sent Secretary Petre to the Bishop, to know whether he would subscribe to the Use of the *Service Book*, he consented with some Exceptions, which not being admitted, he was threaten'd with Deprivation.

Rebellions on behalf of the old Religion. But the new Liturgy did not sit well upon the Minds of the Country People, who were for going on in their old Way, of Wakes, Processions, Church Ales, Holidays, censing of Images, and other Theatrical Rites which strike the Minds of the Vulgar: These being encouraged by the old Monks and Friars rose up in Arms in several Counties, but were soon dispersed. The most formidable Insurrections were those of Devonshire and Norfolk. In Devonshire they were 10000 strong, and sent the following Articles or Demands to the King;

1. " That the six Articles should be restored. King Edw. VI.
2. " That Mass should be said in *Latin*. 1549.
3. " That the Host should be elevated and adored.
4. " That the Sacrament should be given but in " one kind.
5. " That Images should be set up in Churches.
6. " That the Souls in Purgatory should be pray- ed for.
7. " That the Bible should be called in, and pro- hibited.
8. " That the new Service Book should be laid aside, and the Old Religion restored."

An Answer was sent from Court to these Demands ; but nothing prevailed on the enraged Multitude, whom the Priests inflamed with all the Artifice they could devise, carrying the *Host* about the Camp in a Cart, that all might see and adore it. They besieged the City of *Exeter* and reduced it to the last Extremity ; but the Inhabitants defended it with uncommon Bravery, till they were relieved by the Lord *Russell*, who with a very small Force entered the Town and dispersed the Rebels. The Insurrection in *Norfolk* was headed by one *Ket* a Tanner, who assumed to himself the Power of Judicature under an old Oak, called from thence the *Oak of Reformation*. He did not pretend much of Religion, but to place new Counsellors about the King, in order to suppress the Greatnes of the Gentry, and advance the Privileges of the Commons. The Rebels were 20000 strong ; but the Earl of *Warwick* with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horse, quickly dispersed them. Several of the Leaders of both Rebellions were executed, and *Ket* was hanged in Chains.

The Hardships the Reformers underwent in the late Reign from the *six Articles*, should have made them tender of the Lives of those who differed from the present Standard. *Cranmer* himself had been a *Papist*, a *Lutheran*, and was now a *Sacramentary* ; and in every Change guilty of inexcusable Severities : While he was a *Lutheran* he consented to the burning of *John Lam-*

King Edw. VI. *1549.* *Lambert* and *Anne Askew*, for those very Doctrines for which himself afterward suffered. He bore hard upon the Papists, stretching the Law to keep their most active Leaders in Prison ; and this Year he imbrued his Hands in the Blood of a poor frantick Woman, *Joan Bocher*, more fit for *Bedlam* than a Stake ; which was owing not to any Cruelty in the Archbishop's Temper, but to those miserable persecuting Principles by which he was govern'd.

Among others that fled out of *Germany* into *England*, from the *Rustick War*, there were some that went by the Name of *Anabaptists*, who, besides the Principle of Adult Baptism, held several wild Opinions about the Trinity, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Person of Christ. Complaint being made of them to the Council April 12th, a Commission was ordered to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, and some other Divines, any three being a Quorum, to examine and search after all *Anabaptists*, *Hereticks*, or *Contemners* of the Common Prayer, whom they were to endeavour to reclaim, and after Penance to give them Absolution ; but if they continued obstinate they were to excommunicate, imprison, and deliver them over to the secular Arm. This was little better than a Protestant Inquisition. People had generally thought that all the Statutes for burning *Hereticks* had been repeal'd ; but it was now said, that *Hereticks* were to be burnt by the *Common Law of England* ; and that the Statutes were only for directing the manner of Conviction ; so that the repealing them did not take away that which was grounded upon a Writ at *Common Law*. Several Tradesmen that were brought before the Commissioners abjured ; but *Joan Bocher*, or *Joan of Kent*, obstinately maintained, that *Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose Flesh being sinful he could not partake of it* ; but the *Word*, by the Consent of the inward Man in the *Virgin*, took *Flesh of her*. These were her Words : A Scholastick

Joan of Kent.

Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose Flesh being sinful he could not partake of it ; but the *Word*, by the Consent of the inward Man in the *Virgin*, took *Flesh of her*. These were her Words : A Scholastick

Nice-

Nicety, not capable of doing much Mischief, and far from deserving so severe a Punishment. The poor Woman could not reconcile the spotless Purity of Christ's Human Nature, with his receiving Flesh from a sinful Creature; and for this she is declared an obstinate Heretick, and delivered over to the secular Power to be burnt. When the compassionate young King could not prevail with himself to sign the Warrant for her Execution, Cranmer with his superior Learning was employed to persuade him; he argued from the Practice of the Jewish Church in stoning Blasphemers, which rather silenced his Highness than satisfied him: For when at last he yielded to the Archbishop's Importunity, he told him with Tears in his Eyes, *H. & R. Ref.* That if he did wrong, since it was in Submission to Vol. II. his Authority, he should answer for it to God. This *P. 112.* struck the Archbishop with Surprize, but yet he suffered the Sentence to be executed.

Nor did his Grace renounce his burning Principles as long as he was in Power; for about two Years after, he went through the same bloody Work again. One George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of saying, that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God, was dealt with to abjure, but refusing, he was condemned in the same manner with Joan of Kent, and on the 25th of April 1551. was burnt in Smithfield: He was a Man of a strict and virtuous Life, and very devout; he suffered with great Constancy of Mind, kissing the Stake and Faggots that were to burn him. No part of Archbishop Cranmer's Life exposed him more than this: It was now said by the Papists, that they saw Men of harmless Lives might be put to Death for Heresy by the Confession of the Reformers themselves. In all the Books published in Queen Mary's Days justifying her Severities against Protestants, these Instances were always produced; and when Cranmer himself was brought to the Stake they called it a just Retaliation. But neither this, nor any other Arguments,

King Edw. VI.
1549.

Burnet.

King Edw. VI. ments, could convince the Divines of this Age, of the Absurdity and Wickedness of putting Men to Death for Conscience sake.

1549. Bonner Bishop of London being accused of remissness in not settling the new Service Book throughout his Diocese; and being suspected of Disaffection to the Government, was enjoined to declare publickly in a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, his Belief of the King's Authority while under Age, and his Approbation of the new Service Book, with some other Articles; which he not performing to the Council's Satisfaction, was cited before the Court of Delegates, and after several Hearings, in which he behaved with great Arrogance, Sentence of Deprivation was pronounced against him September 23d, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's. It was thought hard to proceed to such Extremities with a Man for a meer Omission; for Bonner pleaded, that he forgot the Article of the King's Authority in his Sermon; and it was yet harder, to add Imprisonment to his Deprivation: But he lived to take a severe Revenge upon his Judges in the next Reign. The vacant See by Ridley was filled up with Dr. Ridley, who on the 24th of Feb. 15⁴⁹. was declared Bishop of London and Westminster, the two Bishopricks being united in him; but his Consecration was deferr'd to the next Year.

Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws. The Parliament that met the 14th of November revived the Act of the late King, empowering his Majesty to reform the Canon Law, by naming 32 Persons (*viz.*) 16 of the Spirituality, of whom four to be Bishops; and 16 of the Temporality, of whom four to be common Lawyers, who within three Years should compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws, which not being contrary to the Statute Law, should be published by the King's Warrant under the Great Seal, and have the Force of Laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. This Design was formed, and very far advanced in King Henry VIII's Time, but the Troubles that

that attended the last part of his Reign prevented the finishing it. It was now resumed, and in pursu-
 ance of this Act a Commission was first given to eight Persons, (*viz.*) two Bishops, two Divines, two Doctors of Law, and two common Lawyers, who were to prepare Materials for the Review of the 32; but the Preface to the printed Book says, that *Cranmer* did almost the whole himself. It was not finished till the Month of *L. of Cran.*
February 1550. when another Commission was granted *P. 271.* to 32 Persons to revise it, of whom the former eight were a part (*viz.*) 8 Bishops, 8 Divines, 8 Civilians, and eight common Lawyers; they divided themselves into four Classes, and the Amendments of each Class were communicated to the whole. Thus the Work was finished, being digested into fifty one Titles. It was translated into *Latin* by Dr. *Haddon* and Sir *John Cheek*; but before it received the Royal Con- *Does not* firmation the King died; nor was it ever revived in *take place*. the succeeding Reigns. Archbishop *Parker* first published it in the Year 1571. under the Title of *Reformatio Legum Anglicarum, &c.* and it was reprinted 1640. By this Book *Cranmer* seems to have softened his burning Principles; for though under the third Title of *Judgments for Heresy*, he lays a very heavy Load upon the Back of an obstinate Heretick, as that he *shall be declared infamous, incapable of publick Trust, or of being Witness in any Court; or of having Power to make a Will; or of having the Benefit of the Law*; yet there is no mention of capital Proceedings.

Another remarkable Act passed this Session, was *Act for Ordaining Ministers*; it appoints, that such *Consecuratio* *Forms of ordaining Ministers* as should be set forth *on of Bi-*
 " by the Advice of six Prelates and six Divines, to be *shops, and* *ordaining*
 " named by the King, and authorized under the Great *Pr. fes*
 " Seal, should be used after *April* next, and no other." *and Dea-*
 Here is no mention again of a Convocation or Synod *cons.* *3 & 4*
 of Divines; nor do the Parliament reserve to them- *Edw. 6th.*
 selves a Right of Judgment, but intrust every Thing *cap. 12.*
 absolutely with the Crown. The Committee soon
 finish-

King Edw. VI. finished their *Ordinal*, which is almost the same with that now in use. They take no Notice in their Book of the lower Orders in the Church of *Rome*, as Sub-deacons, Readers, Acolytes, &c. but confine themselves to Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and here it is observable, that *the Form of ordaining a Priest and a Bishop is the same*, there being no express mention in the Words of Ordination whether it be for the one or the other Office: This has been altered of late Years, since a Distinction of the two Orders has been so generally admitted; but that was not the received Doctrine of these Times. The Committee struck out most of the modern Rites of the Church of *Rome*, and contented themselves (says Bishop *Burnet*) with those mention'd in Scripture (*viz.*) *Imposition of Hands and Prayer*. The Gloves, the Sandals, the Mitre, the Ring and Crosier, which had been used in consecrating *Bishops*, were laid aside. The Anointing, the giving consecrated Vestments, the delivering into the Hands, Vessels for consecrating the Eucharist with a Power to offer Sacrifice for the Dead and Living, which had been the Custom in the Ordination of a *Priest*, were also omitted. But when the Bishop ordained, he was to lay one Hand on the Priest's Head, and with his other to give him a Bible with a Chalice and Bread in it. The Chalice and Bread are now omitted; as is the pastoral Staff in the Consecration of a Bishop. By the Rule of this *Ordinal* a Deacon was not to be ordained before 21, a Priest before 24, nor a Bishop before he was 30 Years of Age.

Mass Books call'd in. The Council went on with pressing the new Liturgy upon the People, who were still inclined in many Places to the old Service; but to put it out of their Power to continue it, it was ordered that all Clergy-men should deliver up to such Persons whom the King should appoint, all their old *Antiphonals*, *Mis-sals*, *Grayls*, *Processionals*, *Legends*, *Pies*, *Portuasses*, &c. and to see to the observing one uniform Order in the Church; which the Parliament confirmed,

requiring further, all that had any Images in their Houses, that had belong'd to any Church, to deface them ; and to dash out of their Primers all Prayers to the Saints.

Ridley being now Bishop of London, resolved upon a Visitation of his Diocese. His Injunctions were usual, to enquire into the Doctrines and Manners of the Clergy ; but the Council sent him a Letter in his Majesty's Name, to see that all Altars were taken down, and to require the Church Wardens of every Parish to provide a Table decently covered, and to place it in such part of the Choir or Chancel as should be most meet, so that the Ministers and Communicants should be separated from the rest of the People. The same Orders were given to the rest of the Bishops, as appears by the Collection of Bishop Sparrow. Ridley began with his own Cathedral at St. Paul's, where he ordered the Wall on the Back-side of the Altar to be broken down, and a decent Table to be placed in its room ; and this was done in most Churches throughout the Province of Canterbury. The Reasons for this Alteration were these :

1. " Because our Saviour instituted the Sacrament at a Table, and not at an Altar. Reasons for it.
2. " Because Christ is not to be sacrificed over again, but his Body and Blood to be spiritually eaten and drunk at the Holy Supper ; for which a Table is more proper than an Altar.
3. " Because the Holy Ghost speaking of the Lord's Supper, calls it the Lord's Table, I Cor. x. 21. but no where an Altar.
4. " The Canons of the Council of Nice, as well as the Fathers St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, call it the Lord's Table ; and though they sometimes call it an Altar it is to be understood figuratively.
5. " An Altar has relation to a Sacrifice ; so that if we retain the one we must admit the other ; which would give great Countenance to Mass-Priests.
- F 6. " There

- King Edw. VI.* 6. " There are many Passages in ancient Writers,
1550. " that shew that Communion Tables were of Wood,
Hist. Ref. " that they were made like Tables ; and that those
Vol. II. " who fled into Churches for Sanctuary did hide
p. 158. " themselves under them.
7. " The most learned foreign Divines have decla-
 " red against Altars ; as *Bucer, Oecolampadius, Zuin-*
 " *glius, Bullinger, Calvin, P. Martyr, Joannes Alasco,*
 " *Hedio, Capito, &c.* and have removed them out
 " of their several Churches : Only the *Lutheran*
 " Churches retain them.

Ibid. *Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the English Reformers, were unanimously of Opinion, that Vol. III. the retaining Altars would serve only to nourish in p. 187. Peoples Minds the superstitious Opinion of a propitiatory Mass, and would minister an Occasion of Offence and Division among the godly ; and the next Age will shew they were not mistaken in their Conjectures.* But some of the Bishops refused to comply with the Council's Order ; as *Day Bishop of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester*, insisting on the Apostle's Words to the *Hebrews, We have an Altar* ; and rather than comply they suffered themselves to be deprived of their Bishopricks for Contumacy, *Octob. 1551.* Preachers were sent into the Countries to rectify the Peoples Prejudices, which had a very good effect ; and if they had taken the same Methods with respect to the *Habits, and other Relicks of Popery* ; these would hardly have kept their Ground, and the Reformers would have acted a more consistent and prudent Part.

Rise of the Controversy about the Habits. The sad Consequences of retaining the Popish Garments in the Service of the Church, began to appear this Year : A Debate, one would think, of small Consequence ; but at this Time apprehended of great Importance to the Reformation. The People having been bred up in a superstitious Veneration for the Priests Garments, were taught that they were sacred ; that without them no Administrations were valid ; that there was a sort of Virtue conveyed into them

them by Consecration ; and in a Word, that they were of the same Importance to a Christian Clergy-^{King} man, as the Priests Garments of old were in their Mi-^{Edw. VI.}nistrations ; it was Time therefore to disabuse them. The Debate began upon Occasion of Dr. Hooper's Nomination to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, in the Room of Dr. Wakeman, who died in December last.

Dr. HOOPER was a zealous, pious, and learned ^{Bishop} Man : He went out of *Engiland* in the latter end of King Henry's Reign, and lived at Zurich at a Time when all *Germany* was in a Flame on account of the *Interim* ; which was a Form of Worship contrived to keep up the exterior Face of Popery, with the Softnings of some other Senses put upon Things. Upon this arose a great and important Question ^{Hist. Ref.} among the *Germans*, concerning the Use of ^{Vol. III.} Things ^{p. 199.} indifferent. It was said, If Things were indifferent in themselves they were lawful ; and that it was the Subjects Duty to obey when commanded. So the old Popish Rites were kept up, on purpose to draw the People more easily back to Popery. Out of this another Question arose, Whether it was lawful to obey in Things indifferent, when it was certain they were injoin'd with an ill Design ? To which it was replied, That the Designs of Legislators were not to be inquired into. This created a vast Distraction in the Country : Some conformed to the *Interim* ; but the major Part were firm to their Principles, and were turned out of their Livings for Disobedience. Those who complied were for the most part *Lutherans*, and carried the Name of *Adiaphorists*, from the Greek Word, that signifies, Things indifferent. But the rest of the Reformed were for shaking off all the Relicks of Popery, with the Hazard of all that was dear to them in the World ; particularly at Zurich, where Hooper was, they were zealous against any Compliance with the *Interim*, or the Use of the old Rites prescribed by it.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

With these Principles *Hooper* came over to *England*, and applied himself to preaching and explaining the Scriptures to the People; he was in the Pulpit almost every Day in the Week, and his Sermons were so popular, that all the Churches were crowded where he preached. His Fame soon reach'd the Court, where Dr. *Poynet* and he were appointed to preach all the Lent Sermons. He was also sent to preach throughout the Counties of *Kent* and *Essex*, in order to reconcile the People to the Reformation. At length, in the Month of *July* 1550. he was appointed Bishop of *Gloucester* by Letters Patents from the King, but declined it for two Reasons,

1. Because of the Form of the Oath, which he calls foul and impious. And,

2. By reason of the Aaronical Habits.

Hist. Ref. By the Oath is meant the Oath of Supremacy, which was in this Form, *By God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Ghost*; which *Hooper* thought impious, because God only ought to be appealed to in an Oath, for as much as he only knows the Thoughts of Men. The young King being convinced of this, struck out the Words with his own Pen.

He refuses the Habits. But the Scruple about the Habits was not so easily got over. The King and Council were inclined to dispense with them; but *Ridley* and the rest of the Bishops that had wore the Habits were of another Mind, saying, *The Thing was indifferent, and therefore the Law ought to be obeyed*. This had such an Influence upon the Council, that all *Hooper's* Objections were afterwards heard with great Prejudice. It discovered but an ill Spirit in the Reformers, not to suffer *Hooper* to decline his Bishoprick, nor yet to dispense with those Habits which he thought unlawful. *Hooper* was as much for the Clergy's wearing a decent and distinct Habit from the Laity, as *Ridley*, but prayed to be excused from the old symbolizing Popish Garments.

His Reasons.

1. Because they had no Countenance in Scripture or Primitive Antiquity.

2. Be-

2. Because they were the Inventions of Antichrist, and were introduced into the Church in the corruptest Ages of Christianity.

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3. Because they had been abused to Superstition and Idolatry; particularly in the pompous Celebration of the Mass; and therefore were not indifferent.

4. To continue the Use of these Garments, was in his Opinion, to symbolize with Antichrist, to mislead the People, and was inconsistent with the Simplicity of the Christian Religion.

Cranmer was inclined to yield to these Reasons; but Ridley and Goodrick insisted strongly on Obedience to the Laws, affirming, that in Matters of Rites and Ceremonies, Custom was a good Argument for the Continuance of those that had been long used. But this Argument seemed to go too far, because it might be used for the retaining all those other Rites and Ceremonies of Popery which had been long used in the Church, but were now abolished by these Reformers themselves.

Hooper not willing to rely upon his own Judgment, ^{Judgment} writ to Bucer at Cambridge, and to Peter Martyr at ^{of foreign} Oxford, who gave their Opinions against the Habits, ^{Divines.} as Inventions of Antichrist, and wished them removed out of the Church; as will appear more fully in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; but were of Opinion, since the BISHOPS were so resolute, that he might acquiesce in the Use of them for a Time till they were taken away by Law: And the rather, because the Reformation was in its Infancy, and it would give Occasion of Triumph to the common Enemy to see the Reformers at Variance among themselves. The Divines of Switzerland and Geneva were of the same Mind, being unwilling that a Clergyman of so much Learning and Piety, and so zealous for the Reformation as Hooper was, should be silenced; they therefore advised him to comply for the present, that he might be the more capable by his Authority and Influence in the Church, to get them laid aside. But these Reasons not satisfying Hooper's Conscience, he continued to refuse for above nine Months.

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Hooper
hardly
used.

The governing Prelates being provoked with his Stiffness, resolved not to suffer such a Precedent of Disobedience to the Ecclesiastical Laws to go unpunished. Hooper must be a Bishop, and must be consecrated in the manner others had been, and wear the Habits the Law appointed; and to force him to comply he was served with an Order of Council, first to silence him, and then to confine him to his House. The Doctor thought this Usage very severe: To miss his Promotion was no Disappointment, but to be persecuted about Cloaths, by Men of the same Faith with himself, and to lose his Liberty because he would not be a Bishop, and in the Fashion, this (says Mr. Collier) was possibly more than he well understood. After some Time Hooper was committed to the Custody of Cranmer, who nor being able to bring him to Conformity, complained to the Council, who thereupon ordered him into the Fleet, where he continued some Months, to the Reproach of the Reformers. At length he laid his Case before the Earl of Warwick, who by the King's own Motion writ to the Archbishop to dispense with the Habits at his Consecration: But Cranmer alledg'd the Danger of a *Præmunire*; upon which a Letter was sent from the King and Council to the Archbishop, and other Bishops to be concerned in the Consecration, warranting them to dispense with the Garments, and discharging them of all manner of Dangers, Penalties and Forfeitures they might incur any manner of way by omitting the same: But though this Letter was dated August the 5th, yet such was the Reluctance of Cranmer and Ridley, that Hooper was not consecrated till March following; in which Time, says Bishop Burnet, the Matter was in some sort compromised; Hooper consenting to be robed in his Habits at his Consecration, and once at Court; but to be dispensed with at other Times. Accordingly being appointed to preach once before the King, he came forth (says Mr. Fox) like a new Player on the Stage: His upper Garment was

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 210.

The Diffe-
rence com-
promised.

was a long scarlet Chymere down to the Foot, and King under that a white linen Rochet that covered all his Edw. VI. Shoulders, and a four square Cap upon his Head; ^{1550.} but he took it patiently for the publick Profit of the Church. After this Hooper retired to his Diocese, Fuller, and preached sometimes two or three Times a Day, to crouds of People that hungred for the Word of Life: He was impartial and zealous in the faithful Discharge of every Branch of his episcopal Character, even beyond his Strength, and was himself a Pattern of what he taught to others.

In the King's Letter to the Archbishop, Hooper is said to be a Divine of great Knowledge, deep Judgment, and long Study both in the Scriptures and prophane Learning; as also, a Person of good Discretion, ready Utterance, and of an honest Life: But all these Qualifications must be buried in Silence and a Prison, at a Time when there was a *Famine of the Word*, rather than the above-mentioned Uniformity in Dress be dispensed with.

Most of the reforming Clergy were with Hooper in *Sentiments* this Controversy: Several that had submitted to the *of the re-Habits* in the late Reign, laid them aside in this; as *forming* the Bishops Latimer and Coverdale; Dr. Taylor, Phil-*Clergy a-pot*, Bradford, and others, who laid down their Lives *about the Habits*. for the Protestant Faith. In some Ordinations Cranmer and Ridley dispensed with the Habits; for Mr. Tho. Sampson, Parson of Bread-street London, afterwards one of the Heads of the Puritans, and successively Dean of Chichester and Christ Church, in a Letter to Secretary Cecil writes, "That at his Ordination *Life of* by Cranmer and Ridley, he excepted against the Ap-Cranmer, parel, and was nevertheless permitted and admitted." p. 192. If they had not done so on some Occasions, there Ridley and would not have been Clergymen to support the Refor-Cranmer mation. Bishop Burnet says, they saw their Error, and designed to procure an Act to abolish the Popish relax their Garments; but whether this were so or not, 'tis certain that in the next Reign they repented their Opinion of the Habits.

act; for when Ridley was in Prison he writ a Letter to Hooper, in which he calls him his dear Brother and fellow Elder in Christ; and desires a mutual Forgiveness and Reconciliation. And when he and Cranmer came to be degraded, they smiled at the ridiculous Attire with which they were clothed, and declared they had long since laid aside all regards to that Pageantry.

German
Church
established.

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
in Records.

This Behaviour of the Bishops towards the King's natural born Subjects was the more extraordinary, because a Latitude was allowed to foreign Protestants to worship God after the Manner of their Country, without any Regard to the Popish Vestments: For this Year a Church of German Refugees was established at St. Austin's in London, and erected into a Corporation under the Direction of John a Lasco, Superintendent of all the foreign Churches in London, with whom were joined four other Ministers; and as a Mark of Favour 380 of the Congregation were made Denizens of England. The Preamble to the Patent sets forth, That the German Church made Profession of pure and uncorrupted Religion; and was instructed in truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites. In the Patent which incorporates them there is the following Clause: Item, " We command, and peremptorily enjoin our Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Magistrates of the City of London, and their Successors, with all Arch-bishops, Bishops, Justices of the Peace, and all Officers and Ministers whatsoever, That they permit the said Superintendent and Ministers to enjoy and exercise their own proper Rites and Ceremonies, and their own proper and peculiar Ecclesiastical Discipline, though differing from the Rites and Ceremonies used in our Kingdom, without Impediment, Let, or Disturbance; any Law, Proclamation, or Injunction here-tofore published to the contrary notwithstanding." John a Lasco was a Polander of noble Birth; and according to the Words of the Patent, a Man very famous for Learning, and for Integrity of Life and Manners.

He

He was in high Esteem with the great *Erasmus*, who ^{King} says, that he, though an old Man, had profited much ^{Edw. VI.} by his Conversation. And *Peter Martyr* calls him ^{1551.} his most learned Patron. But he did not please the ^{L. of Cran.} Court Prelates, because he took part with *Hooper*, p. 238. and writ against the Popish Garments, and for the Posture of sitting rather than kneeling at the Lord's Supper.

Upon the Translation of *Ridley* to the See of *London*, ^{Gardiner} Dr. *Poynet* was declared Bishop of *Rochester*, and ^{deprived.} *Coverdale* Coadjutor to *Veysey* Bishop of *Exeter*. The See of *Winchester* had been two Years as good as ^{1551.} vacant by the long Imprisonment of *Gardiner*, who had been confined all this Time without being brought to a Trial: The Bishop complained of this to the Council, who thereupon issued out a Commission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, with Secretary *Petre*, Judge *Hales*, two Civilians, and two Masters in *Chancery*, to proceed against him for *Contempt*. It was objected to him, that he refused to preach concerning the King's Power while under Age; that he had been negligent in obeying the King's Injunctions, and was so obstinate that he would not ask the King Mercy. It was the declared Opinion of the Popish Clergy at this Time, that the King's Laws were to be obey'd, but not the Orders of his Council; and therefore that all Things should remain as the late King left them, till the present King, now a Child, came of Age. This the Rebels in *Devon* pleaded, as well as the Lady *Mary* and others. For the same Opinion *Gardiner* was deprived of his Bi-^{L. of Cran.} shoprick April 18th, upon which he appealed to the p. 192. King when at Age; and so his Process ended, and he was sent back to the *Tower*, where he lay till Queen *Mary* discharg'd him. Nothing can be said in vindication of this Severity but this, that both he and *Bonner* had taken out Commissions, with the rest of the Bishops, to hold their Bishopricks only during the

King the King's Pleasure ; which gave the Regents a
 Edw. VI. Right to displace them whentsoever they pleased.
 1551. Dr. Poynet was translated from Rochester to Winchester ;
 Dr. Story was made Bishop of Rochester ; and Veysey
 resigning, Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter in
 his room : So that now the Bench of Bishops had a
 Majority for the Reformation.

Doctrines of the Ch. reformed. It was therefore resolved in Council to reform the Doctrine of the Church. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were appointed to this Work, who framed 42 Articles upon the chief Points of the Christian Faith ; Copies of which were sent to the other Bishops and learned Divines, for their Corrections and Amendments ; after which the Archbishop reviewed them a second Time, and having given them his last hand presented them to the Council, where *Hist. Ref.* they received the Royal Sanction. This was another high Act of the Supremacy ; for the Articles were not brought into Parliament, nor agreed upon in Convocation, as they ought to have been, and as the Title seems to express : When this was afterwards objected to Cranmer as a Fraud in the next Reign, he owned the Charge, but said, he was ignorant of the Title, and complained of it to the Council, who told him, the Book was so entitled, because it was published in the Time of the Convocation ; which was no better than a Collusion. It is entitled, *Articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned Men in the Convocation held at London in the Year 1552. for the avoiding Diversity of Opinions, and establishing Consent touching true Religion. Publish'd by the King's Authority.* These Articles are for Substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the Number of Thirty nine in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, where the Reader will meet with the Corrections and Alterations. The controverted Clause of the Twentieth Article, that *The Church has Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith,* is not in King Edward's Ar-

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 210.

Articles ; nor does it appear how it came into Queen ^{King} *Elizabeth's.* 'Tis evident by the Title of the Articles, ^{Edw. VI.} that they were design'd as Articles of Truth, and not ^{1552.} of Peace, as some have since imagin'd, who sub-^{Remarks.} scribed them rather as a Compromise, not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than as a Declaration that they believed according to them. This was a Notion the Imposers never thought of, nor does there appear any Reason for this Conceit. So that (*says Hist. Ref.* Bishop *Burnet*) those who subscribed, did either be-^{Vol. II.} lieve them to be true, or else they did grossly preva-^{P. 169.} ricate.

With the Book of Articles was printed a short Ca-^{Ibid.} techism, with a Preface prefix'd in the King's Name. ^{Vol. III.} 'Tis supposed to be drawn up by Bishop *Poynet*, but ^{P. 214.} revised by the rest of the Bishops and other learned Men. 'Tis dated May 7th, about seven Weeks before the King's Death.

The next Work the Reformers were employed in, ^{Common} was a second Correction of the *Common Prayer Book.* ^{Prayer Book revis- ed a se- cond Time.} Some Things they added, and others that had been retained through the Necessity of the Times were struck out. The most considerable Amendments were these. The daily Service began with a short Confession of Sins, and of Absolution to such as should repent. The Communion began with a rehearsal of the ten Commandments, the Congregation being on their Knees ; and a Pause was made between the Rehearsal of every Commandment, for the People's Devotions. A Rubrick was also added, concerning the Posture of Kneeling, which declares that there was no Adoration intended thereby to the Bread and Wine, which was gross Idolatry ; nor did they think the very Flesh and Blood of Christ there present. This Clause was struck out by Queen *Elizabeth*, to give a Latitude to *Papists* and *Lutherans* ; but was inserted again at the Restoration of King *Charles II.* at the Request of the Puritans. Besides these Amendments, sundry old Rites and Ceremonies, which had been retained in the for-

King former Book, were discontinued ; as the Use of Oil in *Edw. VI.* Confirmation and extream Unction ; Prayer for the *1552.* Dead in the Office of Burial, and in the Communion Service Auricular Confession ; the Use of the *L. of Cran.* Cross in the Eucharist, and in Confirmation. In *p. 290.* short, the whole Liturgy was in a manner reduced to the Form in which it appears at present, excepting some small Variations that have since been made for the clearing some Ambiguities. By this Book of Common Prayer, says Mr. Strype, all Copes and Vestments were forbidden throughout *England*: The Prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their Hoods, and the Bishops their Crosses, &c. as by Act of Parliament is more at large set forth.

*Established
by Parlia-
ment.* When the Parliament met Jan. 23d, the new Common Prayer Book was brought into the House, with an Ordinal or Form of ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons ; both which passed the Houses without any considerable Opposition. The Act requires " All Persons after the Feast of *Alballows* next, to come to Common Prayer every Sunday and Holy Day, under pain of the Censures of the Church. All Archbishops and Bishops are required to endeavour the due Execution of this Act ; and whereas divers Doubts had been raised about the Service Book, 'tis said, the King and Parliament had now caused it to be perused, explained, and made more perfect."

Hist. Ref. The new Service Book was to take Place in all Vol. II. Churches after the Feast of *All Saints*, under the *p. 190.* same Penalties that had been enacted to the former Book three Years before.

*Marriages
of the Cler-
gy legiti-
mated.* By another Act of this Session the Marriages of the Clergy, if performed according to the Service Book, were declared good and valid, and their Children inheritable according to Law ; and by another the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was suppressed, and re-united to the See of *London*. Dr. *Heath*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Day* of *Chichester*, were both deprived this Year, with *Tonstal* Bishop of *Durham*, whose Bishoprick

shoprick was designed to be divided into two; but King Edw. VI. the Act never took effect.

One of the last Things the King set his Hand to was a Royal Visitation, in order to examine what Plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, were in the Churches. The Visitors were to leave in every Church one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linen for the Communion Table and for Surplices, but to bring in the best of the Church-Furniture into the King's Treasury; and to sell the Linen Copes, Altar Cloths, &c. and give the Money to the Poor. The Pretence was, the calling in the superfluous Plate that lay in Churches more for Pomp than Use. Some have called this by no better a Name than *Sacrilege*, or Church Theft; and it was really no better. But it ought to be remember'd, the young King was now languishing under a Consumption, and near his End.

It must however be confess'd, that in the Course of *Blemishes of the Reformation.* this, as well as the last Reign, there was a very great Alienation of Church Lands: The Chauntry Lands were sold among the Laity, some of whom held five or six Prebendaries or Canonries, while the Clergy themselves were in want. Bishop Latimer complains in one of his Sermons, "That the Revenues of the *Alienation of Church-Lands.* Church were seized by the rich Laity, and that the Incumbent was only a Proprietor in Title. That many Benefices were let out to farm by secular Men, or given to their Servants, as a Consideration for keeping their Hounds, Hawks and Horses; and that the poor Clergy were reduced to such short Allowance that they were forced to go to Service; to turn Clerks of the Kitchen, Surveyors, Receivers, &c." And Cambden complains, "That Avarice and Sacrilege had strangely the Ascendant at this Time: That Estates formerly settled for the Support of Religion and the Poor, were ridicul'd as superstitious Endowments; first miscalled and then plundered." The Bishops were too easy in

*King
Edw. VI.
1553.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 218.
L. of Cran.
p. 290.* in parting with the Lands and Manors belonging to their Bishopricks, and the Courtiers were too eager in grasping at every Thing they could lay their Hands upon. If the Revenues of the Church had been abused to Superstition, they might have been converted to other religious Uses ; or if too great a Proportion of the Riches of the Kingdom was in the Hands of the Church, they should have made an ample Provision for the Maintenance of the Clergy, and the Endowment of smaller Livings, before they had enriched their Friends and Families.

*Some of a
licentious
Life.*

Nor were the Lives of many who were zealous for the Reformation free from Scandal : The Courtiers and great Men indulg'd themselves in a dissolute and licentious Life ; and the Clergy were not without Blush. Some that embraced the Reformation were far from adorning their Profession, but rather disposed the People to return to their old Superstitions : Nevertheless there were many great and shining Lights among them, who preached and prayed fervently against the Corruptions of the Times, and were an Example to their Flocks, by the Strictness and Severity of their Lives and Manners ; but their Numbers were small in comparison to the many that were otherwise, turning the Doctrines of Grace into Lasciviousness.

*Reforma-
tion left
imperfect.*

We have now seen the Length of King Edward's Reformation. It was an adventurous Undertaking for a few Bishops and Privy Counsellors, to change the Religion of a Nation only by the Advantage of the Supremacy of a Minor, without the Consent of the People in Parliament or Convocation, and under the Eye of a presumptive Heir, who was a declared Enemy of all their Proceedings ; as was the Case in the former part of this Reign. We have taken Notice of the mistaken Principles of the Reformers, in making use of the civil Power to force Men to Conformity ; and of their stretching the Laws to reach at those whom they could not fairly come at any other way.

way. But notwithstanding these and some other Bl-
King
mishes, they were great and good Men, and valiant Edw. VI.
in the Cause of Truth ; as appears by their sealing it 1553.
with their Blood. They made as quick Advances perhaps in restoring Religion towards its primitive Simplicity, as the Circumstances of the Times would admit ; but 'tis evident they designed to go further, and not make this the purest Standard of Reformation. Indeed Queen *Elizabeth* thought her Brother had gone too far, by stripping Religion of too many Ornaments ; and therefore when she came to the Crown, she was hardly perswaded to restore it to the Condition in which he left it. King *James I.* King *Charles I.* Archbishop *Laud*, and all their Admirers, instead of removing further from the superstitious Pomps of the Church of *Rome*, have been for returning back to them, and have appealed to the Settlement of Queen *Elizabeth* as the purest Standard.

But the Reformers themselves were of another Mind, as appears by the Sermons of *Latimer*, *Hooper*, *Bradford* and others ; by the Letters of *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John a Lasco*, who in his Book *de Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia*, dedicated to *Sigismund King of Poland*, 1555. says, Part I. "That King *Edward* desired that the Rites and Ceremonies used under Popery should be purged out by Degrees ; that it was his Pleasure that Strangers should have Churches to perform all Things according to Apostolical Observation only, that by this means the English Churches might be excited to embrace apostolical Purity with the unanimous Consent of the States of the Kingdom." He adds, "That the King was at the Head of this Project, and that *Cranmer* promoted it, but that some great Persons stood in the Way." As a further Evidence of this, a Passage was left in the Preface of one of their Service Books to this purpose ; That they had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church, confi-

King Edward VI. considering the Times they lived in, and hoped they that came after them would, as they might, do more. King Edward in his Diary laments, That he could not restore the Primitive Discipline according to his Remains, Heart's desire, because several of the Bishops, some for Age, some for Ignorance, some for their ill Name, and some out of love to Popery, were unwilling to it. And the Church her self, in one of her publick Offices, laments the Want of a godly Discipline to this Day.

Martin Bucer, a German Divine, and Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, a Person in high Esteem with the young King, drew up a Plan, and presented it to his Majesty, in which he writes largely of Ecclesiastical Discipline. The King having read it, set himself to write a general Discourse about Reformation but did not live to finish it. Bucer proposed, that there might be a strict Discipline, to exclude scandalous Livers from the Sacrament; that the old popish Habits might be laid aside. He did not like the half Office of Communion, or second Service to be said at the Altar when there was no Sacrament. He approved not of Godfathers answering in the Child's Name so well as in their own. He presses much the Sanctification of the Lord's Day; and that there might be many Fastings, but was against the Observation of Lent. He would have the pastoral Function restored to what it ought to be; that Bishops throwing off all secular Cares, should give themselves to their spiritual Employments. He advises that Coadjutors might be given to some, and a Council of Presbyters appointed for them all. He would have rural Bishops set over 20 or 30 Parishes, who should gather their Clergy often together, and inspect them closely; and that a provincial Synod should meet twice a Year, when a secular Man in the King's Name, should be appointed to observe their Proceedings.

Cranmer was of the same Mind. He dislik'd the present Way of governing the Church by Convocations as they are now form'd; in which Deans, Archdeacons, and Cathedrals, have an Interest far superi- or in number to those elected to represent the Clergy. King Edw. VI. 1553. And Cranmer's. These (says Bishop Burnet) can in no sort pretend to *Hist. Ref.* be more than a Part of our civil Constitution. They Vol. III. P. 214. have no Foundation in Scripture, nor any Warrant from the first Ages of the Church; but did arise from *Original of English Convocation* the Model set forth by Charles the Great, and formed according to the *Feudal Law*, by which a Right of giving Subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such Tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the Support of the State. Nor was Cranmer satisfied with the Liturgy, though it had been twice reformed, if we may give credit to the learned Bullinger, who told the Exiles at *Frankfort*, "That the Arch-*L. of Cran.* bishop had drawn up a Book of Prayers an hundred p. 266. times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the same could not take Place, for that he was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, and other Enemies."

The King was of the same Sentiments; but his untimely Death, which happen'd in the 16th Year of his Reign, put an End to all his noble Designs for perfecting the Reformation. He was indeed an incomparable Prince, of most promising Expectations; and in the Judgment of the most impartial Persons, the very Phænix of his Age. It was more than whispered that he was poison'd. But *pref. p. 4.* it is very surprizing that a Protestant Divine [*Heylin*] *Part. VII.* in his History of the Reformation should say, "That *P. 141.* he was ill principled; that his Reign was unfortunate; and that his Death was not an Infelicity to the Church," only because he was apprehensive he would have reduced the Hierarchy to a more primitive Standard. With good King *Edward* died all further Advances of the Reformation; for the Alterations

King Edw. VI. terations that were made afterwards by Queen Elizabeth hardly came up to his Standard.

1553. *Remarks.* We may observe from the History of this Reign, 1. That in Matters of Faith the first Reformers followed the Doctrine of St. AUSTIN, in the controverted Points of Original Sin, Prædestination, Justification by Faith alone, Effectual Grace, and Good Works.

2. That they were not satisfied with the present Discipline of the Church, though they thought they might submit to it, till it should be amended by the Authority of the Legislature.

3. That they believed but two Orders of *Church-Men* in Holy Scripture (*viz.*) Bishops and Deacons; and consequently, that Bishops and Priests were but different Ranks or Degrees of the same Order.

4. That they gave the Right-Hand of Fellowship to foreign Churches, and Ministers that had not been ordained by Bishops; there being no Dispute about Re-ordination in order to any Church Preferment, till the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

In all which Points most of our modern Church-Men have departed from them.



C H A P. III.

The Reign of Queen MARY.

IT will appear in the Course of this Reign, that Queen Mary, ^{1553.} an absolute Supremacy over the Consciences of Men, lodged with a single Person, may as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true Religion : For if King Henry VIII. and his Son King Edward VI. reformed some Abuses by their Supremacy against the Inclinations of the Majority of the People, we shall find Queen Mary making use of the same Power to turn Things back into their old Channel, till she had restored the grossest and most idolatrous Part of Popery. This was begun by Proclamations and Orders of Council, till her Majesty could procure a Parliament that would repeal King Edward's Laws for Religion, which she quickly found means to accomplish. 'Tis strange indeed, that when there was but seven or eight Peers that opposed the Laws made in favour of the Reformation under King Edward, the same House of Lords should almost all turn Papists in the Reign of Queen Mary ; but as to the Commons 'tis less wonderful, because they are changeable, and the Court took care to new model the Magistrates in the Cities and Corporations before the Elections came on, so that not one almost was left that was not a Roman Catholick. Bribery and Menaces were ^{Rapin,} made use of in all Places ; and where they could ^{P. 143.} not carry Elections by reason of the Superiority of the ^{Hist. Ref.} Reformed, the Sheriffs made double Returns. 'Tis sad when the Religion of a Nation is under such a Direction ! But so it will be when the Management of Religion falls into the Hands of a bigotted Prince and Ministry.

Queen Mary was a sad Example of the Truth of this Observation, whose Reign was no better than

Mary, one continued Scene of Calamity. 'Tis the genuine Picture of Popery, and should be remember'd by all true Protestants with Abhorrence ; the Principles of that Religion being such as no Man can receive, till he has abjured his Senses, renounced his Understanding and Reason, and put off all the tender Compas-sions of Human Nature.

King Edw. King Edward VI. being far gone in a Consumption, from a Concern for preserving the Reformation, was persuaded to set aside the Succession of his Sisters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and of the Queen of Scots, the first and last being Papists, and *Elizabeth's* Blood being tainted by Act of Parliament; and to settle the Crown by Will upon the Lady *Jane Grey*, eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, a Lady of extraordi-nary Qualities, zealous for the Reformation, and next in Blood, after the Princesses abovementioned. One may guess the sad Apprehensions the Council were under for the Protestant Religion, when they put the King, who was a Minor, and not capable of making a Will, upon this Expedient, and set their Hands to the Validity of it. The King being dead, Queen

Q. Jane proclaimed JANE was proclaimed with the usual Solemnities, and an Army raised to support her Title; but the Princess *Mary*, then at *Norfolk*, being inform'd of her Brother's Death, sent a Letter to the Council in which she claims the Crown, and charges them upon their Allegiance to proclaim her in the City of *London*, and elsewhere. The Council in return insisted upon her laying aside her Claim, and submitting as a good Subject to her new Sovereign. But *MARY*, by the Encouragement of her Friends in the North, resolved to maintain her Right; and to make her Way more easy, she promised the *Suffolk* Men to *make no Alterations in Religion*. This gained her an Army, with which she marched towards *London*; but before she came thither, both the Council and Citizens of *London* declared for her : And on the third of *August* she made her publick Entry without the Loss of a Drop

of Blood, four Weeks after the Death of her Brother. ^{Q. Mary} Upon Queen Mary's Entrance into the Tower she ^{1553.} released Bonner, Gardiner, and others whom she ^{Q. Mary} called her Prisoners. August 12. her Majesty decla-^{enters} red in Council, "That though her Conscience was London, "settled in Matters of Religion, yet ^{she was resolved Her Decla-} "not to compel others, but by the preaching of the Word." ^{ration} This was different from her Promise to the Suffolk ^{about Reli-} Men: She assured them that Religion should be left ^{gion.} upon the same Foot she found it at the Death of King Edward, but now she insinuates, that the old Religion is to be restored, but without Compulsion. Next Day there was a Tumult at St. Paul's, occasioned by Dr. Bourne, one of the Canons of that Church, preaching against the late Reformation: He spoke in Commendation of Bonner, and was going on with severe Reflections upon the late King Edward, when the whole Audience was in an Uproar; some calling to pull down the Preacher, others throwing Stones, and one a Dagger, which stuck in the Timber of the Pulpit. Mr. Rogers and Bradford, two popular Preachers for the Reformation, hazarded their Lives to save the Doctor, and conveyed him in Safety to a neighbouring House; for which Act of Charity they were soon after imprisoned, and then burnt for Heresy.

To prevent the like Tumults for the future the Queen published an Inhibition, Aug. 18th, forbidding all preaching without special License; declaring further, that she would not compel her Subjects to be of her Religion, till publick Order should be taken in it by common Assent. Here was another Intimation of an approaching Storm: *The Subjects were not to be compell'd till publick Order should be taken for it.* And to prevent further Tumults a Proclamation was published, for Masters of Families to oblige their Apprentices and Servants to frequent their own Parish Churches on Sundays and Holidays, and to keep them at home at other Times.

Q. Mary,
1553.
Suffolk
Men pu-
nished.

The shutting up all the Protestant Pulpits at once awaken'd the *Suffolk Men*, who presuming upon their Merits and the Queen's Promise, sent a Deputation to Court to represent their Grievances; but the Queen check'd them for their Insolence: And one of their Number happening to mention her Promise, was put in the Pillory three Days together, and had his Ears cut off for Defamation. On the 22d of *August*, *Bonner* of *London*, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Tonstal* of *Durham*, *Heath* of *Worcester*, and *Day* of *Chichester*, ^{Reformers} _{imprison'd.} were restored to their Bishopricks. Some of the Reformers continuing to preach after the Inhibition were sent for into Custody, among whom were *Hooper* Bishop of *Gloucester*, *Coverdale* of *Exeter*, Dr. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, *Rogers* the Proto-Martyr, and several others. *Hooper* was committed to the *Fleet*, Sept. 1. no regard being had to his active Zeal in asserting the Queen's Right in his Sermon against the Title of the Lady *Jane*; but so sincerely did this good Man follow the Light of his Conscience, when he could not but see what sad Consequences it was like to have. *Coverdale* of *Exeter* being a Foreigner, was ordered to keep his House till further Order. *Burnet* says he was a *Dane*, and had afterwards leave to retire. But according to *Fuller* he was born in *Yorkshire*. Archbishop *Cranmer* was so silent at *Lambeth* that it was thought he would have returned to the old Religion; but he was preparing a Protestation against it, which taking Air, he was examined, and confessing the Fact, he was sent to the *Tower*, with Bishop *Latimer*, about the 13th of *September*. The beginning of next Month *Holgate* Archbishop of *York* was committed to the *Tower*, and *Horn* Dean of *Durham* was summoned before the Council, but he fled beyond Sea.

^{Foreigners;} <sub>command-
ers; above eight Hundred of them retired into
reign Parts; among whom were five Bishops (viz.)
the King-
doms.</sub> The Storm gathering so thick upon the Reformers, above eight Hundred of them retired into reign Parts; among whom were five Bishops (viz.) *Poynct* of *Winchester*, who died in Exile; *Barlow* of *Bath* and *Well*; who was Superintendant of the Congregation

gregation at Embden; Scory of Chichester; Coverdale ^{L. of Mary,}
of Exon; and Bale of Ossory: Five Deans, *viz.* Dr. Cox, Haddon, Horn, Turner and Sampson; four Arch-deacons, and above fifty Doctors of Divinity and eminent Preachers, among whom were Grindal, Jewel, Sandys, Reynolds, Pilkington, Whitehead, Lever, Nowel, Knox, Rough, Fox, Wittingham, Parkhurst, and others, famous in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Besides of Noblemen, Merchants, Tradesmen, Artificers, and Plebeians, many Hundreds. Some fled in Disguise, or went over as the Servants ^{L. of Cran.} of foreign Protestants, who having come hither for p. 314. Shelter in King Edward's Time, were now required to leave the Kingdom; among these were Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, with his Congregation of Germans. But to prevent too many of the English embarking with them, an Order of Council was sent to all the Ports, that none should be suffered to leave the Kingdom without proper Passports. The Roman Catholick Party, ^{Hist. Ref.} out of their abundant Zeal for Vol. III. their Religion, out-run the Laws, and celebrated p. 223. Mass in divers Churches before it was restored by Authority; while the People that favoured the Reformation continued their publick Devotions with great Seriousness and Fervency, as foreseeing what was coming upon them; but the rude Multitude came into the Churches, insulted their Ministers, and ridicul'd their Worship. The Court not only wink'd at these Things, but fined Judge Hales (who alone refused to sign the Act which transferri'd the Crown to Jane Grey) a Thousand Pounds Sterling, because in his Circuit he ordered the Justices of Kent to conform themselves to the Laws of King Edward, not yet repealed; upon which that Gentleman grew melancholy and drowned himself.

The Queen was crowned Octob. 1. by Gardiner, at Popery re-
tended by ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, ^{stored by} Copes and Crosiers; and a Parliament was summon- ^{Parlia-}
ed to meet the 10th. What Methods were used in ^{ment.}

Q. Mary, the Elections has been related. On the 31st of October 1553. a Bill was sent down to the Commons for repealing King Edward's Laws about Religion, which was argued six Days, and at length carried. It repeals in general all the late Statutes relating to Religion, and enacts, " That after the 20th of December next, " there should be no other Form of Divine Service " but what had been used in the last Year of King " Henry VIII." Severe Punishments were decreed against such as should interrupt the publick Service; as should abuse the Holy Sacrament, or break down Altars, Crucifixes, or Crosses. It was made Felony for any Number of Persons above twelve, to assemble together with an Intention to alter the Religion established by Law. Nov. 3d Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Guilford, Lady Jane, and two other Sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their Trials for High Treason, in levying War against the Queen, and conspiring to set up another in her Room. They all confessed their Indictments, but Cranmer appealed to his Judges, how unwillingly he had set his Hand to the Exclusion of the Queen: These Judgments were confirmed by Parliament, after which the Queen's intended Marriage with Philip of Spain being discovered, the Commons sent their Speaker, and 20 of their Members, humbly to entreat her Majesty, not to marry a Stranger; with which she was so displeased, that upon the 6th of December she dissolved the Parliament.

*Proceedings
of Convoca-
tion.* The Convocation that sat with the Parliament was equally devoted to the Court. Care had been taken about their Elections. In the Collection of publick Acts there are found about 150 Presentations to Livings before the Choice of Representatives; so that the lower House of Convocation was of a piece with the upper, from whence almost all the Protestant Bishops were excluded by Imprisonment, Deprivation, or otherwise. Bonner presided as the first Bishop of the Province of Canterbury. Harpsfield his Chaplain preach-

preached the Sermon, on *Acts xx. 28. Feed the Flock*; *Q. Mary,*
and Weston Dean of Westminster was chosen Prolocutor. 1554.
 On the 20th of October it was proposed to the Members to subscribe to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; which all complied with but the following six Divines, who by their Places had a Right to sit in Convocation; *Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester;* *Philips Dean of Rochester;* *Haddon Dean of Exeter;* *Cheyney Archdeacon of Hereford;* *Aylmer Archdeacon of Stow;* and *Young Chaunter of St. David's:* These disputed upon the Argument for three *Hift. Ref.* Days, but the Disputation was managed according *Vol. II.* to the Fashion of the Times, with Reproaches and *P. 267.* Menaces on the stronger Side; and the Prolocutor ended it with saying, *You have the Word but we have the Sword.*

This Year began with *Wyat's* Rebellion, occasioned by a general Dislike of the Queen's Marriage with *Philip of Spain:* It was a raw, unadvised Attempt, and occasioned great Mischiefs to the Protestants, though Religion had no share in the Conspiracy, *Wyat* himself being a Papist: This Gentleman got together 4000 Men, with whom he marched directly to *London;* but coming into *Southwark Feb. 2.* he found the Bridge so well fortified that he could not force it without Cannon; so he marched about, and having crossed the *Thames at Kingston,* he came by *Charing Cross to Ludgate next Morning,* in hopes the Citizens would have opened their Gates; but being disappointed, he yielded himself a Prisoner at *Temple Rapin, Bar,* and was afterwards executed; as were the Lady *P. 161.* *Jane Grey, Lord Guilford her Husband, and others;* the Lady *Elizabeth* her self hardly escaping, *Wyat* upon his Trial accused her, in hopes of saving his Life; upon which she was ordered into Custody: but when *Wyat* saw he must die, he acquitted her on the Scaffold; and upon the Queen's Marriage this Summer she obtained her Pardon.

Q. Mary. As soon as the Nation was a little settled, her Majesty, by virtue of the Supremacy, gave Instructions to her Bishops to visit the Clergy. The Injunctions were drawn up by *Gardiner*, and contain an angry Recital of all the Innovations introduced into the Church in the Reign of King *Edward*; and a Charge to the Bishops, “ To execute all the Ecclesiastical Laws that had been in force in King *Henry the VIIIth's* Reign; but not to proceed in their Courts in the Queen's Name. She enjoins them not to exact the Oath of Supremacy any more, but to punish Hereticks and Heresies, and to remove all married Clergymen from their Wives; but for those that wou'd renounce their Wives they might put them into some other Cures—All the Ceremonies, Holidays and Fasts, used in King *Henry's* Time were to be revived. Those Clergy-men who had been ordained by the late Service Book, were to be re-ordained, or have the Defects of their Ordination supplied; that is, the Anointing, the giving the priestly Vestments, with other Rites of the *Roman Pontifical*. And

Hist. Ref. “ Lastly, It was declared that all People should be compell'd to come to Church.” The Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *St. David's*, *Chester*, and *Bristol*, were deprived for being married; and the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Gloucester*, and *Hereford*, were deprived by the Royal Pleasure, as holding their Bishoprics by such a Patent. It was very arbitrary to turn out the married Bishops, while there was a Law subsisting to legitimate their Marriages; and to deprive the other Bishops without any manner of Proces, merely for the Royal Pleasure. This was acting up to the Height of the Supremacy, which though the Queen believed to be an unlawful Power, yet she claimed and used it for the Service of the Romish Church. The vacant Bishoprics were filled up the latter end of *March*, with Men after the Queen's Heart, to the number of Sixteen, in the Room of so many deprived or dead.

Vol. II.

P. 290.

The

1554.
A visita-tion.

The new Bishops in their Visitation, and particularly Bishop Bonner, executed the Queen's Injunctions with Rigour. The Mass was set up in all Places, and the old Popish Rites and Ceremonies revived. The Carvers and Makers of Statues had a quick Trade for *Roods* and other Images that were to be set up again in Churches. The most eminent Preachers in London were under Confinement; and all the married Clergy throughout the Kingdom were deprived. Dr. Parker reckons, that of 16 Thousand Clergymen 12 Thousand were turn'd out; which is not probable, for if we compute by the Diocese of Norwich, which is almost an eighth Part of England, and in which there were but 335 deprived, the whole Number will fall short of 3000. Some were turned out without Conviction, upon common Fame: Some were never cited, and yet turned out for not appearing. Those that quitted their Wives, and did Penance, were nevertheless deprived; which was grounded on the Vow that (as was pretended) they had made. Such was the deplorable Condition of the Reformed this Summer, and such the Cruelty of their Adversaries.

The Queen's second Parliament met April 2d. The Court had taken Care of the Elections by large Promises of Money from Spain: Their Design was to perswade the Parliament to approve of the Spanish Match; which they accomplish'd, with this Proviso, *That the Queen alone should have the Government of the Kingdom*; after which the Houses were presently dissolved. King Philip arrived in England, July 20th, and was married to the Queen on the 27th, at Winchester, he being then in the 27th Year of his Age, and the Queen in her 38th. He brought with him a vast Mass of Wealth; 27 Chests of Bullion, every Chest being above a Yard long; and Ninety nine Horse Loads, and two Cart Loads of coined Silver and Gold.

The Reformers complaining of their Usage in the Disputatiate Dispute held in Convocation, the Court resolved ^{on at Oxford.} to give them a fresh Mortification, by appointing

ano-

Mary,
1554.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 226.

2. Mary, another at Oxford in Presence of the whole University ;
 1554. and because Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley and Latimer, were the most celebrated Divines of the Reformation, they were by Warrant from the Queen removed from the Tower to Oxford, to manage the Dispute. The Convocation sent their Prolocutor and several of their Members, who arriving on the 13th of April, being Friday, sent for the Bishops on Saturday, and appointed them Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, every one his Day, to defend their Doctrine. The Questions were, upon *Transubstantiation and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass*. The Particulars of the Dispute are in Mr. Fox's Book of Martyrs. The Bishops behaved with great Modesty and Presence of Mind ; but their Adversaries insulted and triumphed in a most barbarous Manner. Bishop Ridley writes, " That there were perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, Reproaches, Noise and Confusion." Cranmer and old Latimer were hiss'd and laugh'd at ; and Ridley was born down with Noise and Clamour ; " In all my Life (says he) I never saw any Thing carried more vainly and tumultuously ; I could not have thought that there could have been found any English Man honoured with Degrees in Learning, that could allow of such thrasonical Ostentations, more fit for the Stage than the Schools." On the 28th of April they were summoned again to St. Mary's, and required by Weston the Prolocutor to subscribe, as having been vanquished in Disputation ; but they all refusing, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and no longer Members of the Catholick Church.

It was designed to expose the Reformers by another Disputation at Cambridge ; but the Prisoners in London hearing of it published a Paper, declaring " That they would not dispute but in Writing, except it were before the Queen and Council, or before either House of Parliament, because of the Misreports and unfair Usage they had every where met

Life of Cranmer,
p. 338.

“ met with.” At the same Time they printed a Q. Mary,
 Summary of their Faith, for which they were ready 1554.
 to offer up their Lives to the Halter or the Fire, as Hist. Ref.
God should appoint. Vol. II.

And here they declared, “ That they believed the p. 285.
 “ Scriptures to be the true Word of God, and the Reformers
 “ Judge of all Controversies in Matters of Religion ; Declarati-
 “ and that the Church is to be obeyed as long as she on of
 “ followed this Word. Faith.

“ That they adhered to the Apostle’s Creed ;
 “ and those Creeds set out by the Councils of Nice,
 “ Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon ; and by the
 “ first and fourth Councils of Toledo ; and the Sym-
 “ bols of Albanusius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Da-
 “ matus.

“ They believed Justification by Faith alone ;
 “ which Faith was not only an Opinion, but a cer-
 “ tain Persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost,
 “ which did illuminate the Mind, and supple the
 “ Heart to submit it self unfeignedly to God.

“ They acknowledged the Necessity of an inhe-
 “ rent Righteousness ; but that Justification and
 “ Pardon of Sins came only by Christ’s Righteous-
 “ ness imputed to them.

“ They affirmed, that the Worship of God
 “ ought to be performed in a Tongue understood
 “ by the People.

“ That Christ only, and not the Saints, were to
 “ be prayed to.

“ That immediately after Death departed Souls
 “ pass either into the State of the Blessed, or of the
 “ Damned, without any Purgatory between.

“ That Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are the
 “ Sacraments of Christ, which ought to be admini-
 “ ster’d according to his Institutions ; and therefore
 “ they condemned the denying the Cup to the Peo-
 “ ple, Transubstantiation, the Adoration or Sacri-
 “ fice of the Mass : And asserted the Lawfulness of
 “ Marriage to all Ranks and Orders of Men.”

These

Q. Mary, These Truths they declare themselves ready to
 1554. defend, as before ; and in conclusion they charged all
 People to enter into no Rebellion against the Queen,
 but to obey her in all Points, except where her Com-
 mands are contrary to the Law of God. This put
 an End to all farther Triumphs of the Popish Party
 for the present , and was a noble Testimony to the
 chief and distinguishing Doctrines of the Protestant
 Faith. But since the Reformers were not to be run
 down by Noise and Clamour, therefore their Sted-
 fastness must undergo the fiery Trial.

The Queen's third Parliament met November 11. In the Writs of Summons the Title of Supreme Head of the Church was omitted, though it was still by Law vested in the Crown. The Money brought from Spain had procured a House of Commons devoted to the Court. The first Bill passed in the House was *Card. Pool* the Repeal of Cardinal Pool's Attainder. It had the Royal Assent Nov. 22d. and the Cardinal himself arrived in England two Days after in quality of the Pope's Legate, with a Commission to receive the Kingdom of England into the Bosom of the Catholick Church under the Pope as their supreme Pastor. On the 27th he made a Speech in Parliament, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apostolick See. Two Days after a Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed to draw up a Supplication to the King and Queen, to intercede with the Legate for a Reconciliation ; with a Promise to repeal all Acts made against the Pope's Authority. This being presented by both Houses on their Knees to the King and Queen, they made Intercession with the Cardinal, who thereupon made a long Speech in the House, at the Close of which he enjoin'd them for Penance to repeal the Laws abovementioned, and so in the Pope's Name he granted them a full Absolution, which they received on their Knees ; and then absolved the Realm from all Censures.

*arrives
from the
Pope.*

*The King-
dom recon-
ciled to
Rome.*

The Act of Repeal was not ready till the beginning of January, when it passed both Houses, and received the Royal Assent. It enumerates and reverses all Acts since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the Holy See; but then it contains the following ^{Laws a-}_{gainst the Pope re-pealed.} Restrictions, which they pray, through the Cardinal's Intercession, may be established by the Pope's Authority.

1. " That all Bishopricks, Cathedrals or Colleges, now established, may be confirmed for ever.
2. " That Marriages within such Degrees as are not contrary to the Law of God, may be confirmed, and their Issue legitimated.
3. " That Institutions into Benefices may be confirmed.
4. " That all judicial ProcesSES may be confirmed.
5. " That all the Settlements of the Lands of any Bishopricks, Monasteries, or other Religious Houses, may continue as they were, without any trouble from the Ecclesiastical Courts."

The Cardinal admitted of these Requests, but ended ^{Rapin,} with a heavy Denunciation of the Judgments of God ^{p. 173.}

upon those who had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, and did not restore them. And to make the Clergy more easy the Statutes of Mortmain were repealed for 20 Years to come. But after all, the Pope refused to confirm the Restrictions, alledging, That the Legate had exceeded his Powers; so that the Possessors of Church Lands had but a precarious Title to their Estates under this Reign; for even before the Reconciliation was fully concluded, the Pope published a Bull, by which he excommunicates all those Persons who were in Possession of the Goods of the Church or Monasteries, and did not restore them. This alarmed the superstitious Queen, who apprehending her self near her Time of Child-birth, sent for her Ministers of State, and surrender'd up all the Lands of the Church that remained in the Crown, to be disposed of as the Pope or his Legate should think fit. ^{Queen re-stores the Ch. Lands.}

Q. Mary, But when a Proposal of this kind was made to the Commons in Parliament, some of them boldly laid their Hands upon their Swords, and said, *They well knew how to defend their own Properties.* But the Queen went on with Acts of Devotion to the Church ; she repaired several old Monasteries and erected new ones ; she ordered a strict Enquiry to be made after those who had pillaged the Churches and Monasteries, and had been employed in the Visitations of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She commanded Bishop Bonner to raze out of the publick Records all that had been done against the Monks ; and particularly the Accounts of the Visitations of Monasteries ; which has render'd the Ecclesiastical History of this Time defective.

Laws a-
gainst He-
reticks re-
vived.

The next Act brought into the House, was for reviving the Statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. and V. for burning Hereticks ; which passed both Houses in six Days, to the unspeakable Joy of the Popish Clergy. The Houses having been informed of some heretical Preachers, who had prayed in their Conventicles, That God would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else shorten her Days ; they passed an Act, " That all that " prayed after this manner should be adjudged Trai- " tors." After which, on the 16th of Jan. the Par- liament was dissolved.

1555.
Protestants
burnt.

The Kingdom being now reconciled to the Church of Rome, and the penal Laws against Hereticks revived, a Council was held about the Manner of dealing with the Reformed. It is said, that Cardinal Pool was for the gentler Methods of Instruction and Persuasion, which is very doubtful ; but Gardiner was certainly for Rigor, imagining that a few Examples of Severity upon the Heads of the Party, would terrify the rest into a Compliance. The Queen was of his Mind, and commanded Gardiner, by a Commission to himself and some other Bishops, to make the Experiment. He began with Mr. Rogers,

Mr.

Mr. Cardmaker, and Bishop Hooper, who had been ² Mary, kept in Prison 18 Months without Law. These upon ^{1555.} Examination were asked, whether they would abjure their heretical Opinions about the Sacrament, and submit to the Church as then established ; which they refusing, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and delivered over to the secular Power. Mr. Rogers ^{Mr. Rogers} was burnt in Smithfield, Feb. 4. a Pardon being offered him at the Stake, which he refused, though he had a Wife and ten small Children unprovided for. Bi- ^{Bp. Hooper} shop Hooper was burnt at Gloucester, Feb. 9. He was not suffered to speak to the People ; and was used so barbarously in the Fire, that his Legs and Thighs were roasted, and one of his Hands dropt off, before he expired : His last Words were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* While he was in Prison he writ several excellent Letters, full of Devotion and Piety, to the foreign Divines. In one to Bullinger, dated Dec. ^{Hift. Ref.} 11, 1554. about two Months before his Martyrdom, ^{Vol. III.} are these Expressions, — “ With us the Wound ^{in Records,} Numb. 38; “ which Antichrist had received is healed, and he is “ declared Head of the Church, who is not a Member of it. We are still in the utmost Peril, as we “ have been for a Year and half: We are kept a-sunder in Prison, and treated with all Kinds of Inhumanity and Scorn. They threaten us every Day “ with Death, which we do not value. We resolutely despise Fire and Sword for the Cause of Christ. We know in whom we have believed, “ and are sure we have committed our Souls to him by well-doing. In the mean Time, help us “ with your Prayers, That he that has begun the good Work in us would perform it to the End. “ We are the Lord’s, let him do with us as seemeth good in his sight.”

About the same Time Mr. Saunders, another Minister was burnt at Coventry. When he came to the Stake he said, *Welcome the Cross of Christ; Welcome Dr. Taylor.* everlasting Life. Dr. Taylor Parson of Hadley, suffered

Q. Mary, ^{1555.} fered next : *Gardiner* used him very roughly, and after condemning and degrading him sent him to his own Parsonage to be burnt ; which he underwent with great Courage Feb. 9. though he had barbarous Usage in the Fire, his Brains being beat out with one of the Halberts.

Bonner's Cruelty. *Gardiner* seeing himself disappointed, meddled no further, but committed the Prosecution of the bloody Work to *Bonner Bishop of London*. This Clergyman behaved more like a Cannibal than a Christian ; he condemned without Mercy all that came before him ; ordering them to be kept in the most cruel Durance till they were delivered over to the Civil Magistrate. He tore off the Beard of *Tomkins a Weaver* in *Shoreditch*, and held his Hand in the Flame of a Candle till the Sinews and Veins shrank and burst, and the Blood spurted out in *Harpsfield's Face*, who was standing by. He put others in Dungeons, and in the Stocks, and fed them with Bread and Water ; and when they were brought before him insulted over their Misery in a most brutish Manner.

In the Month of *March* were burnt, *Bishop Ferrars* at *St. Davids* ; *Mr. Lawrence* a Priest at *Colchester* ; *Mr. Tomkins* a Weaver in *Smithfield* ; *Mr. Hunter* an Apprentice of 19 Years of Age, at *Brentwood* ; *Mr. Causton* and *Mr. Higden*, Gentlemen of good Estates in *Essex* ; *Mr. William Pigot* at *Braintree* ; *Mr. Stephen Knight* at *Malden* ; *Mr. Rawlins White* a poor Fisherman at *Cardiffe*. In the next Month, *Mr. March* a Priest at *Chester* ; and one *Flower*, a young Man in *St. Margaret's Church-yard, Westminster*.

Petition from beyond Sea in behalf of the Martyrs. These Burnings were disliked by the Nation, which began to be astonished at the Courage and Constancy of the Martyrs ; and to be startled at the unrelenting Severity of the Bishops, who being reproached with their Cruelties, threw the Odium upon the King and Queen. At the same Time a Petition was printed by the Exiles beyond Sea, and addressed to the

the Queen, putting her in mind, " That the Turks ^{Q, Mary,} ~~Q~~ tolerated Christians, and the Christians in most ^{1555.} ~~most~~ Places tolerated Jews. That no Papist had been put to Death for Religion in King Edward's Time. And then they beseech the Nobility and common People, to intercede with her Majesty, to put a stop to this Issue of Blood, and at least grant her Subjects the same Liberty she allowed Strangers, of transporting themselves into foreign Parts." But it had no Effect. King Philip being informed of the Artifices of the Bishops, caused his Confessor *Alphonsus* to preach against these Severities, which he did in the Face of the whole Court ; Bonner himself pretended to be sick of them ; but after some little Recels he went on. And though Philip pretended to be for milder Measures, yet on the 24th of May he and the Queen ^{Rapin, p.} sign'd a Letter to Bonner, to quicken him to his pastoral Duty ; whereupon he redoubled his Fury, and in the Month of June condemned nine Protestants at once to the Stake in Essex ; and the Council writ to the Sheriffs, to gather the Gentry together to countenance the Burnings with their Presence.

In the Month of July Mr. John Bradford late Preacher in King Edward's Days suffered Martyrdom. He was a most pious Christian, and is said to do as much Service to the Reformation by his Letters from Prison, as by his Preaching in the Pulpit. Endeavours were used to turn him, but to no purpose. He was brought to the Stake with one John Lease, an Apprentice of 19 Years old ; he kissed the Stake and the Faggots ; but being forbid to speak to the People, he only prayed with his Fellow-Sufferer, and quietly submitted to the Fire. His last Words were, *Strait is the Gate, and narrow the Way, that leadeth unto eternal Life, and few there be that find it.* From Smithfield the Persecution spread all over the Country ; in the Months of June and July eight Men and

Q Mary, one Woman were burnt in several Parts of Kent ; and
1555. in the Months of *August* and *September* Twenty five
Bp. Ridley more in *Suffolk*, *Essex*, and *Surry*.

and Latimer.

But the greatest Sacrifice to Popish Cruelty was yet to come : For on the 16th of *October* the Bishops *Ridley* and *Latimer*, were burnt at one Stake in *Oxford*. *Latimer* died presently ; but *Ridley* was a long Time in exquisite Torments, his lower Parts being burnt before the Fire reach'd his Body. His last Words to his Fellow-Sufferer were, *Be of good Heart, Brother, for God will either asswage the Fury of the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* *Latimer* replied, *Be of good Comfort, for we shall this Day light such a Candle in England, as I trust by God's Grace shall never be put out.* The very same Day *Gardiner* their great Persecutor, was struck with the Illness of which he died ; it was a Suppression of Urine, which held him in great Agonies till the 12th of *November*, when he expired. He would not sit down to Dinner till he had received the News from *Oxford* of the Burning of the two Bishops, which was not till four of the Clock in the Afternoon ; and while he was at Dinner he was seized with the Distemper that put an End to his Life. When Bishop *Day* spoke to him of Justification through the Blood of Christ, he said, *If you open that Gap to the People, then farewell all again.* He confessed he had sinned with *Peter*, but had not repented with him.

On the 18th of *December* Mr. Archdeacon *Philpot* was burnt, and behaved at the Stake with the Courage and Resolution of the Primitive Martyrs.

Abp. Cranmer burnt. On the 21st of *March* following Archbishop *Cranmer* suffered. He had been degraded by the Bishops *Thirlby* and *Bonner* on *Feb. 14th*. *Bonner* insulted him in an indecent Manner, but *Thirlby* melted into Tears. After this by much Persuasion, and in hope of Life, he set his Hand to a Paper, in which he renounced the Errors of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and acknowledged his belief of the Corporal Presence, the Pope's Supremacy,

premacy, Purgatory, and Invocation of Saints, &c. & Mary, This was quickly published to the World with great Triumph among the Papists, and Grief to the Reformers. But the unmerciful Queen was still resolved to have his Life, and accordingly sent down a Writ for his Execution : She could never forgive the Share he had in her Mother's Divorce, and in driving the Pope's Authority out of *England*. Cranmer suspecting the Design prepared a true Confession of his Faith, and carried it in his Bosom to St. Mary's Church on the Day of his Martyrdom, where he was raised on an Eminence, that he might be seen by the People, and hear his own Funeral Sermon. Never was a more awful and melancholy Spectacle ; an Archbishop, once the second Man in the Kingdom, now clothed in Rags, and a gazing Stock to the World ! Cole the Preacher magnified his Conversion as the immediate Hand of God, and assured him of a great many Masses to be said for his Soul. After Sermon he desired Cranmer to declare his own Faith, which he did with Tears, declaring his Belief in the holy Scriptures, and the Apostles Creed ; and then came to that, which he said troubled his Conscience more than any Thing he had done in his Life, and that was his Subscribing the abovementioned Paper out of fear of Death and love of Life ; and therefore when he came to the Fire he was resolved, that Hand that sign'd it should burn first. The Assembly was all in Confusion at this Disappointment ; and the broken-hearted Archbishop shedding abundance of Tears was led immediately to the Stake ; and being tied to it, he stretched out his right Hand to the Flame, never moving it but once to wipe his Face, till it dropt off. He often cried out, *That unworthy Hand!* which was consumed before the Fire reached his Body. His last Words were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* He died in the 67th Year of his Age, and 23d of his Archbischoprick, and was succeeded by Cardinal Pool.

Q Mary,
1555.
Further
Cruelties.

It is not within the Compass of my Design to write a Martyrology of these Times; nor to follow Bishop Bonner and his Brethren through the Rivers of Protestant Blood which they spilt. The whole Year 1556 was one continued Persecution, in which Popery triumphed in all its false and bloody Colours. Bonner not content to burn Hereticks singly, sent them by Companies to the Flames. Such as were suspected of Heresy were examined upon the Articles of the *Corporal Presence* of Christ in the Sacrament, *Auricular Confession*, and the *Mas*; and if they did not make satisfactory Answers, they were without any farther Proofs condemned to the Fire. Women were not spared, nor Infants in the Womb. In the Isle of Guernsey a Woman with Child being ordered to the Fire, was delivered in the Flames, and the Infant being taken from her, was ordered by the Magistrates to be thrown back into the Fire. At length the butcherly Work growing too much for the Hands that were employed in it, the Queen erected an extraordinary Tribunal for trying of Heresy, like the Spanish Inquisition, consisting of 31 Commissioners, most of them Laymen; and in the Month of June 1555. she issued out a Proclamation, That such as received heretical Books should be immediately put to Death by *martial Law*. She forb'd Prayers to be made for the Sufferers, or even to say, *God bless them*: So far did her fiery Zeal transport her. Upon the whole, the Number of them that suffered Death for the Reformed Religion in this Reign, were no less than 277 Persons, of whom were 5 Bishops, 21 Clergymen, 8 Gentlemen, 84 Tradesmen, 100 Husbandmen, Labourers and Servants, 55 Women, and 4 Children. Besides these, there were 54 more under Prosecution, 7 of whom were whipt, and 16 perished in Prison; the rest who were making themselves ready for the Fire, were delivered by the merciful Interposure of Divine Providence in the Queen's Death.

Clark's
Martyr.
p. 506.

The Num-
bers that
were burnt
in this
Reign.

In

In a Book corrected, if not writ by Lord Burleigh *Q. Mary,*
 in Queen Elizabeth's Time, entitled *The Executions 1555.*
for Treason, it is said 400 Persons suffered publickly
 in Queen Mary's Reign, besides those who were se-
 cretly murdered in Prison ; of these, 20 were Bisho^ps *Hist. Ref.*
Vol. III. *p. 264.*
 and dignified Clergymen ; 60 were Women, of
 whom some were big with Child ; and one was deli-
 vered of a Child in the Fire, which was burnt ; and
 above 40 Men-Children. I might add, these mer-
 ciless Papists carried their Fury against the Reform-
 ed beyond the Grave ; for they caused the Bones of
Fagius and *Bucer*, to be dug out of their Graves, and
 having ridiculously cited them by their Commissi-
 oners to appear, and give an Account of their Faith,
 they caused them to be burnt for Non-appearance.
 Is it possible after such a Relation of Things, for any
 Protestant to be in love with *High Commissions*, with
Oaths ex officio, and *Laws to deprive Men of their Lives*,
Liberties and Estates, for *Matters of meer Conscience* ?
 And yet these very Reformers, when the Power re-
 turned into their Hands, were too much inclined to
 these Engines of Cruelty.

The Controversy about *Prædestination* and *Free-Will* appeared first among the Reformers at this Time. Some that were in the King's Bench Prison for the Profession of the Gospel denied the Doctrines of absolute Prædestination and Original Sin. They were Men of strict and holy Lives, but warm for their Opinions, and unquiet in their Behaviour. Mr. Bradford had frequent Conferences with them, and gained over some to his own Perswasion. The Names of their Teachers were *Harry Hart*, *Trew*, and *Abingdon*; they ran their Notions as high as the modern *Arminians*, or as *Pelagius* himself, despising Learning, and utterly rejecting the Authorities of the Fathers. Bradford was apprehensive that they would do a great deal of Mischief in the Church, and therefore in concert with Bishop *Ferrar*, *Taylor* and *Philpot*, he writ to *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, at

*Q. Mary, Oxford, to take some Cognizance of the Matter, and
 1555. consult together about remedying it.* Upon this Occasion Ridley writ back a Letter of God's Election and Praedestination, and Bradford writ another upon the same Subject. But the Free-Willers treated him rudely; "They told him, he was a great Slander to the Word of God in respect of his Doctrine, because he believed and affirmed the Salvation of God's People to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same. They said, it hanged partly upon our Perseverance to the End, but Bradford said it hung upon God's Grace in Christ, and not upon our Perseverance in any Point, otherwise Grace was no Grace." When this holy Martyr saw he could not convince them, he desired they might pray one for another. *I love you (says he) my dear Hearts, though you have taken it otherwise without cause: I am going before you to my God and your God; to my Father and your Father; to my Christ and your Christ; to my Home and your Home.*

Mr. Careless, another eminent Martyr, had much Conference with these Men in the King's Bench Prison, of whose Contentiousness he complained in a Letter to Philpot. In answer to which Philpot writes, *That he was sorry to hear of the Contentions that these Schismatics raised, but that he should not cease to do his Endeavours in Defence of the Truth, against these arrogant, self-willed, and blinded Scatterers: That these Sects were necessary for the Trial of our Faith.* He advises Mr. Careless to be modest and humble, that others seeing his grave Conversation among those contentious Babblers might glorify God in the Truth. He then beseeches the Brethren in the Bowels of Christ, to keep the Bond of Peace, and not to let any Root of Bitterness spring up among them.

But this Contention could not be laid asleep for some Time, notwithstanding their common Sufferings for the Cause of Religion. They writ one against another in Prison, and dispersed their Writings abroad in the World.

World. Mr. Careless writ a Confession of his Faith ; one Q. Mary, Article of which was for Prædestination, and against Free-Will. This Confession he sent to the Protestant Prisoners in *Newgate*, whereunto they generally subscribed, and particularly twelve that were under Sentence of Condemnation to be burnt. Hart having got a Copy of Careless's Confession, writ his own in opposition to it on the back-side ; and would have perswaded the Prisoners in *Newgate* to subscribe it, but could not prevail. I don't find any of these Free-Willers at the Stake (says my Author) or if any of them suffered, they made no mention of their distinguishing Opinions when they came to die. But these unhappy Divisions among Men that were under the Cross, gave great Advantage to the Papists, who took Occasion from hence to scoff at the Professors of the Gospel, as disagreeing among themselves. They blazed abroad their InfirmitieS, and said, *They were suffering for they knew not what.* Dr. Martin, a great Papist, exposed their Weaknesses ; but when Martin came to visit the Prisoners, Careless took the Opportunity to protest openly against Hart's Doctrines, saying, *He had deceived many simple Souls with his Pelagian Opinions.*

Besides these Free-Willers, it seems there were some Arians. few in Prison for the Gospel that were Arians, and disbelieved the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of them lay in the King's Bench, and raised such unseemly and quarrelsome Disputes, that the Marshal was forced to separate the Prisoners from one another ; and in the Year 1556. the Noise of their Contentions L. of Cran. reached the Ears of the Council, who sent Dr. Martin p. 232. to the King's Bench to examine into the Affair.

I mention these Disputes, to shew the Frailty and Corruption of human Nature, even under the Cross, and to point the Reader to the first Beginnings of those Debates which afterwards occasioned unspeakable Mischiefs to the Church ; for though the Pelagian Doctrine was espoused but by a very few of the English Re-

Q. Mary, 1555. Reformers, and was buried in that Prison where it began for almost 50 Years, it revived in the latter End of Queen Elizabeth, under the Name of *Arminianism*, and within the Compass of a few Years supplanted the received Doctrine of the Reformation.

Some recant. Many of the Clergy that were zealous Professors of the Gospel under King Edward VI. through fear of Death recanted and subscribed; some out of Weakness, who as soon as they were out of Danger, revoked their Subscriptions, and openly confessed their Fall: Of this Sort were Scory and Barlow Bishops, the famous Mr. Jewel and others. Among the common People some went to Mass to preserve their Lives, and yet frequented the Assemblies of the *Gospellers*, holding it not unlawful to be present with their Bodies at the Service of the Mass, as long as *L. of Cran.* their Spirits did not consent. Bradford and others p. 362. writ with great Warmth against these Temporizers, and advised their Brethren not to trust, or consort with them. They also published a Treatise upon this Argument, entitled, *The Mischief and Hurt of the Mass*; and recommended the reading it to all that had defiled themselves with that idolatrous Service.

Private Congregations of Protestants But though many complied with the Times, and some concealed themselves in Friends Houses, shifting from one Place to another, others resolved with the Hazard of their Lives to join together and worship God, according to the Service Book of King Edward. There were several of these Congregations up and down the Country, which met together in the Night, and in secret Places, to cover themselves from the Notice of their Persecutors. Great Numbers in *Suffolk* and *Essex* constantly frequented the private Assemblies of the *Gospellers*, and came not at all to the publick Service; but the most considerable Congregation was in and about *London*. It was formed soon after Queen Mary's Accession, and consisted of above 200 Members. They had divers

Preach-

Preachers, as Mr. Scambler afterwards Bishop of ^{2. Mary,} Peterborough, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Rough a Scots Man, ^{1555.} who was burnt; Mr. Bernber, and Mr. Bentham who survived the Persecution, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign was made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry: Mr. Cuthbert Simpson was Deacon of the Church, and kept a Book with the Names of all that belonged to it: They met sometimes about Aldgate, sometimes in Blackfriars, sometimes in Thames-street, and sometimes on board of Ships, when they had a Master for their purpose: Sometimes they assembled in the Villages about London, to co-^{Their sufferings.}ver themselves from the Bishop's Officers and Spies; and especially at Islington; but here, by the Treachery of a false Brother, the Congregation was at length discovered and broke up: Mr. Rough their Minister, and Mr. Simpson their Deacon, were apprehended and burnt, with many others. Indeed the whole Church was in the utmost Danger; for whereas Simpson the Deacon used to carry the Book wherein the Names of the Congregation were contained, to their private Assemblies, he happen'd that Day, through the good Providence of God, to leave it with Mrs. Rough the Minister's Wife. When he was in the Tower the Recorder of London examined him strictly, and because he would neither discover the Book nor the Names, he was put upon the Rack three Times in one Day. He was then sent to Bonner, Clarke's who said to the Spectators, " You see what a per-^{Martyr.}sonable Man this is; and for his Patience, if he ^{P. 491.}" was not an Heretick, I should much commend him, for he has been thrice rack'd in one Day, " and in my House has endured some Sorrow, and " yet I never saw his Patience moved." But notwithstanding this, Bonner condemned him, and ordered him first into the Stocks in his Coal-House, and from thence to Smithfield, where with Mr. Fox and Davenish, two others of the Church taken at Islington, he ended his Life in the Flames.

Many

Many go into a voluntary Exile. **Q. Mary, 1556.** Many escaped the Fury of the Persecution, by withdrawing from the Storm, and flying into foreign Countries. Some went into *France* and *Flanders*, some to *Geneva*, and others into those Parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland* where the Reformation had taken place; as *Basil*, *Francfort*, *Embden*, *Straburgh*, *Doesburgh*, *Arrow*, and *Zurich*, where the Magistrates received them with great Humanity, and allowed them Places for publick Worship. But the Uncharitableness of the *Lutherans* on this Occasion was very remarkable; they hated the Exiles because they were *Sacramentarians*, and when any *English* came among them for Shelter, they excluded them their Cities; so that they found little *Refuge* in *Saxony* and other Places of *Germany*, where *Arianism* was professed. *Philip Melancthon* interceded with the Senate on their behalf, but the Clergy were so zealous for their *Consubstantiation*, that they irritated the Magistrates every where against them. The Number of the Refugees are computed at above 800; the most considerable of whom have been mentioned, as the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Chichester*, *Exeter*, and *Ossory*; the Deans of *Christ Church*, *Exeter*, *Durham*, *Wells*, and *Chichester*; the Archdeacons of *Canterbury*, *Stow*, and *Lincoin*; with **L. of Cran.** a great many other very learned Divines. The Laity **P. 354.** of Distinction were the Dutches of *Suffolk* with her Husband, Sir *Tho. Wroth*, Sir *Rich. Morison*, Sir *Anthony Cook*, Sir *John Cheeke*, and others.

1556. *The Exiles* were most numerous at *Frankfort*, where that Contest and Division began which gave **Rise of the Puritans.** rise to the *PURITANS*, and to that Separation from the Church of *England* which continues to this Day. It will therefore be necessary to trace it from its Original. On the 27th of June 1554. Mr. *Whittingham*, *Williams*, *Sutton* and *Wood*, with their Families and Friends, came to settle at the City of *Frankfort*; and upon Application to the Magistrates were admitted to a Partnership in the *French Church* for

for a Place of Worship ; the two Congregations being to meet at different Hours, as they should agree among themselves, but with this Proviso, That before they enter'd they should subscribe the French Confession of Faith, and not quarrel about Ceremonies, to which the English agreed ; and after Consultation among themselves they concluded, by universal Consent of all present, not to answer aloud after the Minister, nor to use the Litany and Surplice ; but that the publick Service should begin with a general Confession of Sins, then the People to sing a Psalm in Metre in a plain Tune, after which the Minister to pray for the Assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and so proceed to the Sermon ; after Sermon, a general Prayer for all Estates, and particularly for England, at the End of which was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a Rehearsal of the Articles of Belief ; then the People were to sing another Psalm, and the Minister to dismiss them with a Blessing. They took Possession of their Church July 29th, 1554. and having chosen a Minister and Deacons to serve for the present, they sent to their Brethren that were dispersed, to invite them to come to Francfort, where they might hear God's Word truly preached, the Sacraments rightly minister'd, and Scripture Discipline used, which in their own Country could not be obtained.

The more learned Clergymen, and some younger Divines, settled at Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basil, for the Benefit of the Libraries of those Places, and of the learned Conversation of the Professors, as well as in hopes of some little Employment in the way of Printing. The Congregation at Francfort sent Letters to these Places of the 2d of August, 1554. beseeching the English Divines to send some of their Number, whom they might choose, to take the Oversight of them. In their Letter they commend their new Settlement, as nearer the Policy and Order of Scripture than the Service Book of King Edward. The Strasburgh Divines demurring upon the Affair,

Q. Mary, the Congregation at Francfort sent for Mr. Knox from Geneva, Mr. Haddon from Strasburgh, and Mr. Lever from Zurich, whom they elected for their Ministers.

Disputes about Ceremonies and that unless they might be assured, that they would use the same Order of Service concerning Religion, as was set forth by King Edward, they would not come to them, for they were fully determined to admit and use no other.

To this the *Francfort Congregation* replied, That they would use the *Service Book* as far as God's Word commanded it ; but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, though some of them were tolerable, yet being in a strange Country they could not be suffered to use them ; and indeed they thought it better that they should never be practised, “ If any (say they) think that the not using the Book in all Points should weaken our godly Fathers and Brethrens Hands, or be a Disgrace to the worthy Laws of King Edward, let them consider, that they themselves have upon Consideration and Circumstances altered many Things in it heretofore ; and if God had not in these wicked Days otherwise determined, would hereafter have altered more ; and in our case we doubt not but they would have done as we do.” So they made use of part of the Book, but omitted the Litany and Responses.

But this not giving Satisfaction, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Grindal came with a Letter from the learned Men of Strasburgh, subscribed with 16 Hands, in which they exhort them in most pressing Language to a full Conformity. They say they make no question but the Magistrates of *Francfort* will consent to the Use of the *English Service*, and therefore they cannot doubt of the Congregation's good Will, and ready Endeavours to reduce their Church to the exact Pattern of King *Edward's Book*, as far as possible can be obtained ; “ Should they deviate from it at this Time, they apprehend they should seem to condemn those who were now seal-

“ ing

“ ing it with their Blood, and give Occasion to their ^{Q.} Mary, “ Adversaries to charge them with Inconstancy.” ^{1556.}

The *Francfort Congregation* in their Letter of December 2. reply, that “ They had omitted as few Ceremonies as possible, so that there was no danger of their being charged with Inconstancy. They apprehended that the Martyrs in *England* were not dying in defence of Ceremonies, which they allow may be alter’d; and as for Doctrine there is no difference; therefore if the learned Divines of *Strasburgh* should come to *Francfort* with no other Views, but to reduce the Congregation to King *Edward’s* Form, and to establish the popish Ceremonies, they give them to understand that they had better stay away.” This was signed by *John Knox*, now come from *Geneva*, *John Bale*, *John Fox* the Martyrologist, and fourteen more.

Things being in this uncertain Posture at *Francfort*; ^{They ap-} King *Edward’s* Book being used in part, but not ^{peal to} wholly; and there being no Prospect of an Accommodation with their Brethren at *Strasburgh*, they resolved to ask the Advice of the famous Mr. *Calvin* Pastor of the Church at *Geneva*; who having perused the *English* Liturgy, took Notice, “ That there were many tolerable Weaknesses in it, which because at first they could not be amended were to be suffered; but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to enterprize farther, and to set up something more filed from Rust, and purer. If Religion (*says he*) had flourished till this Day in *England*, many of these Things should have been corrected. But since the Reformation is overthrown, and a Church is to be set up in another Place, where you are at liberty to establish what Order is most for Edification, I cannot tell what they mean, who are so fond of the Leavings of popish Dregs.” Upon this Letter the *Francfort Congregation* agreed not to submit to the *Strasburgh* Divines, but to make use of so much of the Service

Q. Mary, Book as they had done, till the End of April, 1555; and if any new Contention arose among them in the mean Time, the Matter was to be referr'd to *Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger and Vyret.*

Dr. Cox
restores the
Use of the
Service
Book.

But upon the 13th of March Dr. *Cox*, who had been Tutor to King *Edward VI.* a Man of an high Spirit, but of great Credit with his Countrymen, coming to *Francfort* with some of his Friends, broke through the Agreement, and interrupted the publick Service by answering aloud after the Minister; and the Sunday following one of his Company, without the Consent of the Congregation, ascended the Pulpit and read the whole *Litany*. Upon this Mr. *Knox* their Minister taxed the Authors of this Disorder in his Sermon with a Breach of their Agreement; and further affirmed, That some Things in the Service Book were superstitious and impure. The zealous Dr. *Cox* reproved him for his Censoriousness; and being admitted with his Company to vote in the Congregation, got the Majority to forbid Mr. *Knox* to preach any more.

Mr. Knox
banis̄d. But *Knox's* Friends applied to the Magistrate, who commanded them to unite with the *French Church* both in Discipline and Ceremonies, according to their first Agreement. Dr. *Cox* and his Friends finding *Knox's* Interest among the Magistrates too strong, had recourse to an unchristian Method to get rid of him. This Divine some Years before when he was in *England*, had published an *English Book*, called *An Admonition to Christians*; in which he had said, That the Emperor was no less an *Enemy to Christ* than *Nero*. For which, and some other Expressions in the Book, these Gentlemen accused him of High Treason against the Emperor. The Senate being tender of the Emperor's Honour, and not willing to embroil themselves in a Controversy of this Nature, desired Mr. *Knox*, in a respectful manner, to depart the City, which he did accordingly, *March 25, 1556.*

After this *Cox's* Party being strengthen'd by the Addition of several *English Divines* from other Places,

sixteen of them (*viz.*) 3 Doctors of Divinity, and 13 ^{2.} Mary, 1
Batchelors, petitioned the Magistrates for the free
Use of King Edward's Service Book, which they
were pleased to grant. Thus the old Congregation
was broke up by Dr. Cox and his Friends, who now
carried all before them. They chose new Church-
Officers, taking no Notice of the old ones, and set
up the Service Book of King Edward without Interruption; Knox's Friends would have left the Matter
to the Arbitration of Divines, which the others re-
fused, but writ to Mr. Calvin to countenance their
Proceedings, which that great Divine could not do;
but after a modest Excuse for intermeddling in their
Affairs, told them, that "In his Opinion they were
" too much addicted to the English Ceremonies; nor
" could he see to what purpose it was to burden the
" Church with such hurtful and offensive Things,
" when there was liberty to have a simple and more
" pure Order. He blamed their Conduct to Mr.
" Knox, which he said, was neither godly nor brother-
" ly; and concludes, with beseeching them to prevent
" Divisions among themselves." This pacifick Letter
having no Effect, the old Congregation left their
Countrymen in possession of their Church and de-
parted the City. Mr. Fox the Martyrologist with ^{Congregati-}
a few more went to Basil; and the rest to Geneva, ^{tion di-}
where they were received with great Humanity, and ^{vides.}
having a Church appointed them, they chose Mr. ^{Part go to} Knox and Goodman ^{Geneva.} their Pastors. Here they set up
the Geneva Discipline, which they published in Eng-
lish, under the Title of *The Service, Discipline, and*
Form of Common Prayers and Administration of Sacra-
ments used in the English Church of Geneva: With a
Dedication to their Brethren in England and elsewhere.
Dated from Geneva, Feb. 10th, 1556. The Liturgy
is too long to be inserted in this Place, but is agree-
able to that of the French Churches. In their Dedi-
cation they say, "That their Discipline is limited
" within the Compass of God's Word, which is suf-
I " ficient

2 Mary, 1556. " ficient to govern all our Actions. That the di-
latory Proceedings of the Bishops in reforming
Church Discipline, and removing offensive Cere-
monies, is one Cause of the heavy Judgments
of God upon the Land. That the late Ser-
vice Book of King Edward being now set aside
by Parliament according to Law, it was in no
Sense the Established Worship of the Church of
England, and consequently they were under no
Obligation to use it, any further than it was con-
sonant to the Word of God. Being therefore at
liberty, and in a strange Land, they had set up
such an Order as in the Judgment of Mr. Calvin
and other learned Divines, was most agreeable to
Scripture, and the best reformed Churches."

Their Reasons for laying aside the late Rites and Ce-
remonies were these; " Because being invented by
Men, though upon a good Occasion, yet they
had since been abused to Superstition, and made a
necessary Part of Divine Worship. Thus Hezekiah
was commended for breaking in pieces the *Brazen*
Serpent, after it had been erected 800 Years, and
the *High Places* that had been abused to Idolatry
were commanded to be destroyed. In the New
Testament, the washing the Disciples Feet, which
was practised in the Primitive Church, was for
wise Reasons laid aside, as well as their Love-
Feasts. Besides, these Rites and Ceremonies
have occasioned great Contentions in the Church
in every Age. The *Galatian* Christians objected
to St. Paul, that he did not observe the *Jewish* Ce-
remonies as the other Apostles did; and yet he
observed them while there was any hopes of gain-
ing over weak Brethren; for this reason he cir-
cumcised *Timothy*; but when he perceived that
Men would retain them as necessary Things in
the Church, he called that which before he made
indifferent wicked and impious, saying that
Whosoever was circumcised, Christ could nothing profit
" him.

“ him. The like Contentions have been between ^{2.} Mary,
“ the Greek and Latin Church in later Ages. For 1556.
“ which, and other Reasons, they have thought fit
“ to lay aside these human Inventions which have
“ done so much Mischief; and have contented
“ themselves with that Wisdom that is contained
“ in God’s Book; which directs them to preach
“ the Word of God purely; to minister the
“ Sacraments sincerely; and use Prayers and
“ other Orders thereby approved, to the Edifi-
“ cation of the Church, and Encrease of God’s
“ Glory.”

The Reader has now seen the first Breach or ^{Remarks:} Schism between the *English* Exiles, on the Account of the Service Book of King *Edward*; which made way for the Distinction, by which the two Parties were afterwards known, of PURITANS and CONFORMISTS.

Tis evident that Dr. *Cox* and his Friends were the Aggressors, by breaking in upon the Agreement of the Congregation of *Francfort*, which was in peace, and had consented to go on in their way of Worship for a limited Time, which Time was not then expired. He artfully ejected Mr. *Knox* from his Ministry among them, and brought in the Service Book with a high Hand; by which those who had been in Possession of the Church almost two Years, were obliged to depart the City, and set up their Worship in another Place. The Doctor and his Friends discovered an ill Spirit in this Affair. They might have used their own Forms without imposing them upon others, and breaking a Congregation to pieces that had settled upon a different Foundation with the leave of the Government under which they lived. But they insisted, that because the Congregation of *Francfort* was made up of *English* Men, they ought to have the Form of an *English* Church; that many of them had subscribed to the Use of the Service Book; and that the departing from it at this Time was pouring Contempt on the Martyrs who were sealing it with

Q. Mary, their Blood. But the others replied, that the Laws
 1557. of their Country relating to the Service Book were
 repealed; and as for their Subscription, it could not bind them from making nearer Approaches to the Purity and Simplicity of the Christian Worship, especially when there was no established Protestant Church of *England*, and they were in a strange Country where the Vestments and Ceremonies gave Offence. Besides, it was allowed on all hands that the Book it self was imperfect; and it was credibly reported, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had drawn up a Form of Common Prayer much more perfect, but that he could not make it take place, because of the Corruption of the Clergy. As for Discipline, it was out of the Question that it was imperfect, for the Service Book it self laments the want of it; and therefore they apprehend, that if the Martyrs themselves were in their Circumstances they would practise with the same Latitude, and reform those Imperfections in the *English* Service Book, which they attempted, but could not obtain in their own Country.

1557.
 Congrega-
 tion at
 Francfort
 divided a
 second
 Time.

To return to Dr. Cox's Congregation at *Francfort*: The Doctor having settled Mr. *Horn* in the Pastoral Office in the Room of Mr. *Whitehead* who resigned, after some Time left the Place. But within six Months a new Division happen'd among them, occasioned by a private Dispute between Mr. *Horn* the Minister, and Mr. *Ashby*, one of the principal Members. Mr. *Horn* summoned *Ashby* to appear at the Vestry before the Elders and Officers of the Church; *Ashby* appealed from them as Parties, to the whole Church, who appointed the Cause to be brought before them; but Mr. *Horn* and the Officers protested against it, and chose rather to lay down their Ministry and Service in the Church, than submit to a popular Decision. The Congregation being assembled on this Occasion gave it as their Opinion, that in all Controversies among themselves, and especially

cially in Cases of Appeals, the *dernier Resort* should be in the Church. It is hardly credible what Heats and Divisions, Factions and Parties, these personal Quarrels occasioned among a handful of Strangers, to the Scandal of Religion and their own Reproach with the People among whom they lived. At length the Magistrate interposed, and advised them to bury all past Offences in Oblivion, and to choose new Church Officers in the room of them that had laid down; and since their Discipline was defective as to the Points of Controversy that had been before them, they commanded them to appoint certain Persons of their Number to draw up a new Form of Discipline, or correct and amend the old one; and to do this before they chose their Ecclesiastical Officers, that being all private Persons they might agree upon that which was most reasonable in it self, without respect of Persons or Parties. This Precept was delivered in writing, March 1st, 1557. and signed by Mr. John Glauburge. Hereupon fifteen Persons were appointed to the Work, which after some Time was finished; and having been subscribed by the Church, to the Number of 57, was confirmed by the Magistrate; and on the 21st of December 28 more were added to the Church and subscribed; but Mr. Horn and his Party, to the Number of 12 dissented, and appealed to the Magistrates, who had the Patience to hear their Objections, and the others Reply. But Mr. Horn and his Friends not prevailing, left the Congregation to their new Discipline and departed the City; from which Time they continued in Peace till the Death of Queen Mary.

During these Troubles died Dr. Poynet, late Bishop of Winchester, born in Kent, and educated in Queen's Coll. Oxon, a very learned and pious Divine, who was in such Favour with King Edward for his practical Preaching, that he preferr'd him first to the Bishoprick of Rochester, and then to Winchester. Up Fuller's on the Accession of Queen Mary he fled to Strasburgh, Wurthes,

Q. Mary, where he died, Aug. 2, 1556. before he was full 40 Years old, and was buried with great Lamentations of his Country Men.

*A Visita-
tion of the
univer-
ties.*

To return to England; both the Universities were visited this Year. At Cambridge they burnt the Bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, with their Books and heretical Writings. At *Oxford* the Visitors went through all the Colleges, and burnt all the *English* Bibles, and such heretical Books as they could find. They took up the Body of *Peter Martyr's* Wife out of one of the Churches and buried it in a Dunghill, because having been once a Nun, she had broke her Vow; but her Body was afterwards taken up again in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and mixed with the Bones of *St. Fridiswide*, that they might never more be disturbed by Papists. The Persecution of the Reformed was carried on with all imaginable Fury; and a Design was set on foot to introduce the Inquisition, by giving Commissions to certain Laymen to search for Persons suspected of Heresy, and present them to their Ordinaries, as has been related. Cardinal *Pool* being thought too favourable to Hereticks, because he had released several that were brought before him upon their giving ambiguous Answers, had his Legantine Power taken from him, and was recalled; but upon his Submission he was forgiven, and continued here till his Death, but had little influence afterwards either in the Courts of *Rome* or *England*, being a Clergyman of too much Temper for the Times he lived in.

*Princess
Elizabeth
her suffer-
ings.*

Princess ELIZABETH was in constant Danger of her Life throughout the whole Course of this Reign. Upon the breaking out of *Wyat's* Conspiracy she was sent to the Tower, and led in by the Traitors Gate; her own Servants being put from her, and no Person allowed to have access to her: The Governor used her hardly, not suffering her to walk in the Gallery, or upon the Leads. *Wyat* and his Confederates were examined about her, and some of them put to the Rack; but they all cleared her except *Wyat*, who once

once accused her, in hopes to save his Life, but declared upon the Scaffold to all the People, that he only did it with that View. After some Time she was sent to *Woodstock* in Custody of Sir *Henry Befield*, who used her so ill, that she apprehended they designed to put her privately to Death. Here she was under close Confinement, being seldom allowed to walk in the Gardens. The politick Bishop *Gardiner* often moved the Queen to think of putting her out of the Way, saying, It was to no purpose to lop off the Branches while the Tree was left standing. But King *Philip* was her Friend; who sent for her to Court, where she fell upon her Knees before the Queen, and protested her Innocence, as to all Conspiracies and Treasons against her Majesty; but the Queen still hated her: However after that, her Guards were discharged, and she was suffered to retire into the Country, where she gave her self wholly to study, meddling in no sort of Business, for she was always apprehensive of Spies about her. The Princess complied outwardly with her Sister's Religion, avoiding as much as she could all Discourses with the Bishops, who suspected her of an Inclination to Heresy from her Education. The Queen her self was apprehensive of the Danger of the popish Religion if she died without Issue; and was often urged by her Clergy, especially when her Health was visibly declining, to secure the Roman Catholick Religion, by delivering the Kingdom from such a presumptive Heir. Her Majesty had no scruple of Conscience about spilling human Blood in the Cause of Religion; the Preservation of the Princess was therefore little less than a Miracle of Divine Providence, and was owing under God, to the Protection of King *Philip*, who despairing of Issue from his Queen, was not without Expectations from the Princess.

But the Hand of God was against Queen *Mary* and her Government, which was hardly attended with one prosperous Event; for instead of having Issue by

Mary
1558.

*Calamities
of the Na-
tion.*

Q. Mary, her Marriage, she had only a false Conception, so
 1558. that there was little or no hopes afterwards of a Child.
 This encreased the Sowerness of her Temper; and her Husband being much younger than she, grew weary of her, slighted her Company, and then left her to look to his hereditary Dominions, after he had lived with her about 15 Months. There being a War between Spain and France, the Queen was oblige^t to take part with her Husband; this exhausted the Treasure of the Nation, and was the Occasion of the Loss of all the English Dominions upon the Continent. In the beginning of this Year the strong Town of Calais was taken, after it had been in the Possession of the English 210 Years: Afterwards the French took Guines, and the rest of that Territory; nothing being left but the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey. The English (says a learned Writer) had lost their Hearts; the Government at home being so unacceptable that they were not much concerned to support it, for they began to think Heaven it self was against it.

Hist. Ref. Indeed there were strange and unusual Accidents Vol. II. in the Heavens. Great Mischief was done in many p. 366. Places by Thunder and Lightnings; by Deluges; by excessive Rains; and by stormy Winds. There was a contagious Distemper like the Plague, that swept away great Numbers of People; so that in many Places there were not Priests to bury the Dead, nor Men enough to reap the Harvest. Many Bishops died, which made way for Protestant ones in the next Reign. The Parliament was dissatisfied with King Philip's Demands of Men and Money for the Recovery of Calais; and the Queen her self grew melancholy upon the Loss of that Place and the other Misfortunes of the Year. She had been declining in Health ever since her pretended Miscarriage, which was vastly encreased by the Absence of her Husband, her despair of Issue, and the cross Accidents that attended her Government. Her Spirits were now decayed, and a Dropfy coming violently upon her put an

an End to her unhappy Life and Reign, Nov. 17, ^{Q. Mary,} 1558. in the 43d Year of her Age, and 6th of her Reign; Cardinal Pool Archbishop of Canterbury dying the same Day.

^{Q. Mary's}
^{Death and}
^{Character.}

Queen Mary was a Princess of severe Principles, constant at her Prayers, and very little given to Diversions. She did not mind any of her Affairs so much as the Church, being entirely at the Disposal of her Clergy, and forward to give a Sanction to all their Cruelties. She had deep Resentments of her own ill Usage in her Father's and Brother's Times, which easily induced her to take Revenge, though she coloured it over with a Zeal against Heresy. She was perfectly blind in Matters of Religion, her Conscience being absolutely directed by the Pope and her Confessor, who encouraged her in all the Cruelties that were exercised against the Protestants, assuring her, that she was doing God and his Church good Service. There is but one Instance of a Pardon of any condemned for Heresy in her whole Reign. Her natural Temper was melancholy; and her Infirmities together with the Misfortunes of her Government, made her so peevish, that her Death was lamented by none but her popish Clergy. Her Reign was in every respect calamitous to the Nation, and ought to be transmitted down to Posterity in Characters of Blood.



C H A P. IV.

From the beginning of Queen ELIZABETH's Reign, to the Separation of the Protestant Non-Conformists.

Queen Elizabeth, 1558.
State of the Nation.

QUEEN Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown gave new Life to the Reformation: As soon as it was known beyond Sea most of the Exiles returned home; and those who had hid themselves in the Houses of their Friends began to appear; but the publick Religion continued for a Time in the same Posture the Queen found it: The popish Priests kept their Livings and went on in celebrating their Mass. None of the Protestant Clergy that had been ejected in the last Reign were restored; but Orders were given against all Innovations without publick Authority. Though the Queen had complied with all the Changes in her Sister's Reign, it was well known she was a Favourer of the Reformation; but her Majesty proceeded with great Caution, for fear of raising Disturbances in her infant Government. No Prince ever came to the Crown under greater Disadvantages. The Pope had pronounced her illegitimate; upon which the Queen of Scots put in her Claim to the Crown. All the Bishops and Clergy of the present Establishment were her Enemies. The Nation was at War with France, and the Treasury exhausted; the Queen therefore by the Advice of her Privy Council, resolved to make Peace with her Neighbours as soon as possible, that she might be more at leisure to proceed in her intended Alterations of Religion, which though very considerable, were not so entire as the best and most learned Protestants of these Times desired. The Queen had the Spirit of her Father, and affected a great deal of Magnificence in her Devotions, as well as in her Court.

Court. She was fond of many of the old Rites and Ceremonies in which she had been educated. She thought her Brother had stript Religion too much of its Ornaments ; and made the Doctrines of the Church too narrow in some Points. It was therefore with difficulty that she was prevailed with to go the length of King Edward's Reformation.

The only Thing her Majesty did before the Meeting of the Parliament, was to prevent Pulpit Disputes ; for some of the Reformed that had been Preachers in King Edward's Time, began to make use of his Service Book without Authority or Licence from their Superiors ; this alarm'd the Popish Clergy and gave Occasion to a Proclamation, dated Dec. 27. By which all Preaching of Ministers, or others, was prohibited ; and the People were charged to hear no other Doctrine or Preaching, but the Epistle and Gospel for the Day, and the ten Commandments in English, without any Exposition or Paraphrase whatsoever. The Proclamation admits of the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English ; but no publick Prayers were to be read in the Church but such as were appointed by Law, till the Meeting of the Parliament which was to be upon the 23d of January.

While the Exiles were preparing to return home, *Return of the Exiles.* conciliatory Letters past between them : Those of Geneva desired a mutual Forgiveness, and prayed their Brethren of Arrow, Basil, Francfort, Strasburgh, and Worms, to unite with them in preaching God's Word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a Form of Worship as they had seen practised in the best Reformed Churches. The others replied, that it would not be in their Power to appoint what Ceremonies should be observed ; but they were determined to submit in Things indifferent, and hoped those of Geneva would do so too ; however, they would join with them in petitioning the Queen, that nothing burdensome might be imposed. Both Parties

Queen Elizabeth, 1558. Parties congratulated her Majesty's Accession, in Poems, Addresses, and Dedications of Books ; but they were reduced to the utmost Poverty and Distress. They came Thread-bare home, bringing nothing with them (says Mr. Strype) but much Experience, as well as Learning. Those that could comply with the Queen's Establishment were quickly preferr'd, but the rest were neglected, and tho' suffered to preach in the Churches for some Time, they were afterwards suspended, and reduced to as great Poverty as before.

Advice of foreign Divines about the Reformation. It had been happy, if their Sufferings had taught them a little more Charity and mutual Forbearance ; or that they had followed the Advice of their learned Friends and Patrons beyond Sea, who advised them to go through with the Reformation, and clear the Church of all the Relicks of Popery and Superstition at once. This was the Advice of GUALTER, one of the chief Divines of Zurich, who in his Letter to Dr. Masters, the Queen's Physician, Jan. 16, 1559. wishes, " That the Reformers among us would not hearken to the Counsels of those Men, who when they saw that Popery could not be honestly defended, nor entirely retained, would use all Artifices to have the outward Face of Religion to remain mixed, uncertain and doubtful ; so that while an evangelical Reformation is pretended, those Things should be obtruded on the Church which will make the returning back to Popery, Superstition and Idolatry very easy. — We have had the Experience of this (says he) for some Years in Germany, and know what Influence such Persons may have : Their Counsels seem to a carnal Judgment, to be full of Modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal Agreement ; and we may well believe the common Enemy of our Salvation will find out proper Instruments, by whose means the Seeds of Popery may still remain among you. — I apprehend, that in the first begin-

“ beginnings, while Men may study to avoid the Queen
 “ giving some small Offence, many Things may be Elizabeth,
 “ suffered under this Colour, that they will be conti- 1558.
 “ nued but for a little while, and yet afterwards it will His. Ref.
 “ scarce be possible by all the Endeavours that can Vol. III.
 “ be used to get them removed, at least not without P. 273.
 “ great struglings.” The Letter seems to be writ
 with a prophetick Spirit; MASTERS laid it before
 the Queen, who read it all over, but without effect.
 Letters of the same Strain were writ by the learned
 Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner, to the Earl of
 Bedford, who had been some Time at Zurich; and
 to Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Grindal, and the rest
 of the late Exiles, pressing them vehemently to act
 with Zeal and Courage, and to take care in the first
 Beginnings to have all Things settled upon sure and
 found Foundations.

The Exiles in their Answers seem resolved to fol- Resolution
 low their Advices, and make a bold Stand for a tho- of the
 rough Reformation; and if they had done so, they Exiles.
 might have obtained it. Jewel in his Letter of May
 22. thanks Bullinger for quickening their Zeal and
 Courage; and adds, “ They were doing what they
 “ could; and that all Things were coming into a bet-
 “ ter State.” In another of April 10. “ He la-
 “ ments the want of Zeal and Industry in pro- moting
 “ the Reformation; and that Things were managed
 “ in so slow and cautious a Manner, as if the Word
 “ of God was not to be received on his own Autho-
 “ rity.” In another of Nov. 16. “ He complains
 “ of the Queen’s keeping a Crucifix in her Chapel,
 “ with lighted Candles; that there was worldly Po-
 “ licy in this, which he did not like: That all Things Ibid.
 “ were so loose and uncertain with them, that he p. 289.
 “ did not know whether he should not be obliged to
 “ return back to Zurich. He complains of the Po-
 “ pish Vestments, which he calls the Relicks of the
 “ Amorites, and wishes they were extirpated to
 “ the deepest Roots.” The like Complaints were
 made

Queen Elizabeth, made by *Cox, Grindal, Horn, Pilkington,* and others ; but they had no Courage : For had they united Counsels and stood by one another, they might at this Juncture have obtained the removal of those Grievances which afterwards occasioned the Separation.

Proceedings of Parliament. To return to the Parliament. The Court took such Measures about Elections as seldom fail of Success ; the Magistrates of the Counties and Corporations were changed, and the People who were weary of the late Persecutions were assisted, and encouraged to exert themselves in favour of such Representatives as might make them easy ; so that when the Houses met, the Majority were on the Side of the Reformation. The Temper of the House was first tried by a Bill to restore to the Crowns the *First Fruits and Tents*, which *Queen Mary* had returned to the Church. It passed the Commons without much Opposition, *Feb. 4th.* but in the House of Lords all the Bishops voted against it. By another A&t they repealed some of the *penal Laws*, and enacted, That no Person should be punished for exercising the Religion used in the last Year of King *Edward*. They appointed the publick Service to be performed in the vulgar Tongue. They empowered the Queen to nominate Bishops to the vacant Bishopricks by *Conge d' Elire*, as at present. They suppressed the Religious Houses founded by *Queen Mary*, and annexed them to the Crown ; but the two principal A&ts passed this Session were the Acts of SUPREMACY, and of UNIFORMITY OF COMMON PRAYER.

The Act of Supremacy. The former is entitled, *An Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual ; and for abolishing foreign Power.* It is the same for Substance with the 25th of *Henry VIII.* already mentioned, but the Commons incorporated several other Bills into it ; for besides the Title of *Supreme Governor in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal* which is restored to the Queen, the A&t revives those Laws

Laws of King *Henry VIII.* and King *Edward VI.* which had been repealed in the late Reign. It forbids all Appeals to *Rome*, and exonerates the Subjects from all Exactions and Impositions heretofore paid to that Court; and as it revives King *Edward's* Laws, it repeals a severe Act made in the late Reign for punishing Heresy; and three other old Statutes mentioned in the said Act. "Moreover, all Persons in any publick Employs, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, are obliged to take an Oath in Recognition of the Queen's Right to the Crown, and of her Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, on penalty of forfeiting all their Promotions in the Church, and of being declared incapable of holding any publick Office." In short, by this single Act of the *Supremacy*, all that had been done by Queen *Mary* was in a manner vacated, and the external Policy of the Church was put upon the same foot as it stood at the Death of King *Edward VI.*

Further, "The Act forbids all writing, printing, teaching, or preaching, and all other Deeds or Acts whereby any foreign Jurisdiction over these Realms is defended, upon pain that they and their Abettors being thereof convicted, shall for the first Offence forfeit their Goods and Chattels; and if they are not worth 20 Pounds, suffer a Year's Imprisonment; Spiritual Persons shall lose their Benefices, and all Ecclesiastical Preferments; for the second Offence they shall incur the Penalties of a *Præmunire*; and the third Offence shall be deemed High Treason."

There is a remarkable Clause in this Act, which gave Rise to a new Court, called the Court of *the High Commission*. The Words are these, "The Queen and her Successors shall have Power, by their Letters Patents under the Great Seal, to assign, name, and authorize, as often as they shall think meet, and for as long Time as they shall please, Persons being natural born Subjects,

Queen Elizabeth, 1558.

Queen Elizabeth, " to use, occupy, and exercise under her and them,
 1558. " all manner of Jurisdiction, Privileges, and Pre-
 eminences, touching any Spiritual or Ecclesi-
 astical Jurisdiction within the Realms of *England*
 Rapin, p. 236. " and *Ireland*, &c. to visit, reform, redress, or
 der, correct and amend all Errors, Heresies,
 Schisms, Abuses, Contempts, Offences and Enor-
 mities whatsoever. Provided, that they have no
 Power to determine any Thing to be Heresy, but
 what has been adjudged to be so by the Authority of
 the Canonical Scripture, or by the first four general
 Councils, or any of them; or by any other general
 Council, wherein the same was declared Heresy by the
 express and plain Words of Canonical Scripture; or
 such as shall hereafter be declared to be Heresy by
 the High Court of Parliament, with the Assent
 of the Clergy in Convocation."

Remarks. Upon the Authority of this Clause the Queen ap-
 pointed a certain Number of *Commissioners* for Eccle-
 siastical Causes, who exercised the same Power that
 had been in the Hands of one Vicegerent in the Reign
 of King *Henry VIII.* and how sadly they abused their
 Power in this and the two next Reigns will appear in
 the sequel of this History. They did not trouble
 themselves much with the express Words of Scripture,
 or the four first general Councils, but entangled their
 Prisoners with Oaths *ex Officio*, and the inextricable
 Mazes of the popish Canon Law; and though all
 Ecclesiastical Courts ought to be subject to a Prohi-
 bition from the Courts of *Westminster*, this Privilege
 was seldom allowed by the Commissioners. The
 Act makes no mention of an arbitrary Jurisdiction
 of fining, imprisoning, or inflicting corporal Pu-
 nishments on the Subjects, and therefore can be con-
 strued to extend no further than to Suspension or
 Deprivation; and in all criminal Cases must refer to
 the Laws of the Land; but notwithstanding this,
 these Commissioners sported themselves in all the
 wanton Acts of Tyranny and Oppression, till their
 very

very Name became odious to the whole Nation ; in-
somuch that their Proceedings were condemned by the Queen
Elizabeth, ^{1558.}
united Voice of the People, and the Court dissolved by
Act of Parliament, with a Clause, that *No such Juris-
diction should be revived for the future in any Court what-
soever.*

Bishop Burnet says, that the Supremacy granted *n*o*. Ref.*
by this Act is short of the Authority that King Vol. II.
Henry had ; nor is it the whole that the Queen ^{P. 386.}
claimed, who sometimes stretch'd her Prerogative
beyond it. But since it was the Basis of the Reformation,
and the Spring of all its future Movements,
it will be proper to enquire what Powers were
thought to be yielded the Crown by this *Act of Su-*
premacy, and some others made in support of it.
King Henry VIII. in his Letter to the Convocation of ^{Powers}
York assures them, that *He claimed nothing more by vested in*
the SUPREMACY, than what Christian Princes in the ^{the Crown}
Primitive Times assumed to themselves in their own Do- ^{by the Act} *of Supre-*
minions. But it is capable of Demonstration, that *macy*.
the first Christian Emperors did not claim all that Ju-
risdiction over the Church in Spirituals, that King
Henry did, who by the *Act of the 31st of his Reign,*
was made absolute Lord over the Consciences of his
Subjects, it being therein enacted, that *Whatsoever*
his Majesty should enjoin in Matters of Religion should be
obeyed by all his Subjects.

'Tis very certain, that the Kings and Queens of
England never pretended to the Character of Spiritual
Persons, or to discharge any part of the Ecclesiastical
Function in their own Persons ; they neither preach-
ed or administer'd the Sacraments, or Censures of the
Church ; nor did they ever consecrate to the Episco-
pal Office, though the Right of Nomination is in
them : These Things were done by Spiritual Persons,
or by proper Officers in the Spiritual Courts, deriv-
ing their Powers from the Crown. When the Ad-
versaries of the Supremacy objected the Absurdity
of a Lay Persons being Head of a Spiritual Body, the

Queen Elizabeth, 1558. Queen endeavoured to remove the Difficulty, by declaring in her Injunctions to her Visitors, "That she did not, nor would she ever challenge Authority and Power to minister Divine Service in the Church; nor would she ever challenge any other Authority, than her Predecessors King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. used."

But abating this Point, it appears very probable, that all the Jurisdiction and Authority claimed by the Pope as Head of the Church in the Times preceding the Reformation, was transferr'd to the King by the Act of Supremacy and annexed to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, as far as was consistent with the Laws of the Land then in being, though since it *Eccles. Pol.* has undergone some Abatements. The Words of B. VIII. the learned Mr. Hooker are very express: "If the

J. 8. " whole Ecclesiastical State should stand in need of " being visited and reformed: Or when any part " of the Church is infested with Errors, Schisms, " Heresies, &c. whatsoever Spiritual Powers the " Legates had from the See of *Rome*, and exercised " in Right of the Pope for remedying of Evils, " without violating the Laws of God or Nature; as " much in every Degree have our Laws fully grant- " ed to the King for ever, whether he thinks fit to " do it by Ecclesiastical Synods, or otherwise ac- " cording to Law."

The Truth of this Remark will appear, by considering the Powers claimed by the Crown in this and the following Reigns.

With Regard to Doctrine.

I. The Kings and Queens of England claimed Authority in Matters of Faith, and to be the ultimate Judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the Word of God. The Act of Supremacy says expressly, " That the King has Power to redress and amend all Errors and Heresies; he might enjoin what Doctrines he would to be preached, not repugnant to the Laws of the Land: And if any should preach contrary, he was for the third Offence to be judged an Heretick and suffer

“ suffer Death ; his Majesty claimed a Right to forbear Queen
 “ bid all Preaching for a Time, as King Henry VIII. Elizabeth,
 “ King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Elizabeth did ; 1558.
 “ or to limit the Clergy’s Preaching to certain of the
 “ Thirty nine Articles established by Law, as
 “ King Charles I. did.” All the forementioned Kings and Queens published Instructions or Injunctions concerning Matters of Faith, without Consent of the Clergy in Convocation assembled ; and enforced them upon the Clergy under the Penalties of a *Præmunire* ; which made it a little difficult to understand that Clause of the 20th Article of the Church, which says, the CHURCH has Authority in Matters of Faith.

2. With regard to Discipline the Kings of England Discipline. seem to have had the Keys at their Girdle ; for tho’ the old Canon Law be in force, as far as is consistent with the Laws of the Land, and the Prerogative of the Crown, yet the King is the supreme and ultimate Judge in the Spiritual Courts by his Delegates. His Majesty might appoint a single Person of the Laity to be his Vicar General in all Causes Ecclesiastical to reform what was amiss, as King Henry VIII. and Charles I. did, which very much resembled the Pope’s Legate in the Times before the Reformation. By Authority of Parliament the Crown was empowered to appoint 32 Commissioners, some of the Laity, and some of the Clergy, to reform the Canons or Ecclesiastical Laws ; and though the Design was not executed, the Power was certainly in the King, who might have ratified the new Canons, and given them the Force of a Law, without Consent of the Clergy in Convocation, or of the Parliament ; and therefore at the Coronation of King Charles I. the Bishop was directed to pray, “ That God would give the King Peter’s Key of Discipline, and Paul’s Doctrine.”

3. As to Rites and Ceremonies the Act of Uniformity says expressly, “ That the Queen’s Majesty, Eliz. by Advice of her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or cap. 1.

Queen Elizabeth, " of her Metropolitan, may ordain and publish such Ceremonies or Rites, as may be most for the Advancement of God's Glory, and the Edifying of the Church." Accordingly her Majesty published her Injunctions, without sending them into Convocation or Parliament, and erected a Court of *High Commission* for Ecclesiastical Causes, consisting of Commissioners of her own Nomination to see them put in Execution. Nay, so jealous was Queen Elizabeth of this Branch of her Prerogative that she would not suffer her high Court of Parliament to pass any Bill for the Amendment or Alteration of the Ceremonies of the Church, it being (as she said) an Invasion of her Prerogative.

Nominati-
tion of Bi-
shops.

4. The Kings of England claimed the sole Power of the Nomination of Bishesps ; and the DEANS and CHAP-
TERS were obliged to choose those whom their Majesties named, under Penalty of a *Præmunire* ; and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by Commission from the Crown. They held their very Bishopricks for some Time *durante benefacito* ; and by the Statute of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI, *chap. 1.* it was enacted, " That Archbishops and Bishesps shall punish by Censures of the Church all Persons that offend, &c." Which plainly implies, that without such a Licence or Authority they might not do it.

Convoca-
tions.

5. No Convocations or S:nods of the Clergy can assemble but by a Writ or Precept from the Crown ; and when assembled, they can do no Business without the King's Letters *Præmun.* Patents, appointing them the particular Subjects they are to debate upon ; and after all, their Canons are of no force without the Royal Sanction,

Stat. 25 H. 6. Upon the whole it is evident, by the express Words of several Statutes, That all jurisdiction Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, was given to the King, and taken away from the Bishesps except by Delegation from him. The King was chief in the Determination of a Cause in the Chancery ; he had Authority

rity to make Laws, Ceremonies and Constitutions, Queen Elizabeth, 1558.
and without him no such Laws, Ceremonies or Constitutions, are or ought to be of force. And, Lastly, All Appeals which before were made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his Majesty's Chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by Delegates.

I am sensible, that the Constitution of the Church has been alter'd in some Things since that Time : But let the Reader judge, by what has been recited from Acts of Parliament, of the high Powers that were then intrusted with the Crown ; and how far they were agreeable with the natural or religious Rights of Mankind. The whole Body of the Papists refused the Oath of Supremacy, as inconsistent with their Allegiance to the Pope ; but the Puritans took it under all these Disadvantages, with the Queen's Explication in her Injunctions ; that is, that no more was intended, than *That her Majestiy, under God, had the sentiments Sovereignty and Rule over all Persons born in her Realms, of the Pu- either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, so as no foreign Power ritans.* bad, or ought to have Authority over them. They apprehended this to be the natural Right of all Sovereign Princes in their Dominions, though there had been no Statute Law for it ; but as they did not admit the Government of the Church to be Monarchical, they were of Opinion, that no single Person, whether Layman or Ecclesiastick, ought to assume the Title of supreme Head of the Church on Earth, in the Sense of the Acts abovementioned. This appears from the Writings of the famous Mr. Cartwright, in his Admonition to the Parliament.

" The Christian Sovereign (says he) ought not to be called Head under Christ of the particular and visible Churches within his Dominions : 'Tis a Title not fit for any mortal Man ; for when the Apostle says Lib. II. that Christ is *νεκας*, the Head, it is as much as if p. 4, 11. he had said, Christ and no other is Head of the Church. No civil Magistrate in Councils or Assemblies

Queen Elizabeth, " blies for Church Matters, can either be chief Moderator, Over-ruler, Judge, or Determiner ; nor
 1558. " has he such Authority as that without his Consent,
 " it should not be lawful for Ecclesiastical Persons
 " to make any Church Orders or Ceremonies. —
 " Church Matters ought ordinarily to be handled by
 " Church Officers. — The principal Direction of
 " them, is by God's Ordinance, committed to the
 " Ministers of the Church, and to the Ecclesiastical
 " Governors : As these meddle not with the making
 " Civil Laws, so the Civil Magistrate ought not to
 " ordain Ceremonies, or determine Controversies in
 " the Church, as long as they do not intrench upon
 " his temporal Authority. — — Nevertheless,
 " our Meaning is not to seclude the Magistrate from
 " our Church Assemblies : He may call a Council
 " of his Clergy, and appoint both Time and Place ;
 " he may be there by himself or his Deputy, but
 " not as Moderator, Determiner or Judge ; he may
 " have his Voice in the Assembly, but the Orders
 " and Decrees of Councils are not made by his Au-
 " thority ; for in ancient Times the Canons of the
 " Councils were not called the Decrees of the Empe-
 " rors but of the Bishops. — 'Tis the Prince's
 " Province to protect and defend the Councils of his
 " Clergy, to keep the Peace, to see their Decrees
 " executed, and to punish the Contemners of them,
 " but to exercise no spiritual Jurisdiction."

We shall meet with a fuller Declaration of the Puritans upon this Head hereafter ; in the mean Time it may be observed, that the just Boundaries of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers were not well understood and stated in this Age.

Remarks. The Powers of the Civil Magistrate seem chiefly to regard the Civil Welfare of his Subjects : He is to protect them in their Properties, and in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Civil and Religious Rights ; but there is no Passage in the New Testament that gives him a Commission to be Lord of the Consciences

ences of his Subjects, or to have Dominion over their Faith. Nor is this agreeable to Reason, for Religion ought to be the Effect of a free and deliberate Choice. Why must we believe as the King believes, any more than as the Church or Pope? If every Man could believe as he would; or if all Men's Understandings were exactly of a Size; or if God would accept of a meer outward Devotion *when commanded by Law*, then it would be reasonable there should be but one Religion, and one uniform Manner of Worship: But to make Ecclesiastical Laws, obliging Mens Practice under severe Penalties, without or against the Light of their Consciences, looks like an Invasion of the kingly Office of Christ, and must be subversive of all Sincerity and Virtue.

On the other hand, the *Jurisdiction of the Church* is purely spiritual. No Man ought to be compelled by Rewards or Punishments to become a Member of any Christian Society, or to continue of it any longer than he apprehends it to be his Duty. All the Ordinances of the Church are spiritual, and so are her Weapons and Censures. The Weapons of the Church are *Scripture and Reason*, accompanied with Prayers and Tears. These are her Pillars and the Walls of her Defence. The Censures of the Church are *Admonitions, Reproofs, or Declarations of Persons Unfitness for her Communion*, commonly called *Excommunications*, which are of a spiritual Nature, and ought not to affect Men's Lives, Liberties or Estates. No Man ought to be cut off from the Rights and Privileges of a Subject, meerly because he is disqualified for Christian Communion. Nor has any Church upon Earth Authority from Christ to inflict corporal Punishments upon those whom she may justly expel her Society: These are the Weapons of Civil Magistrates, who may punish the Breakers of the Laws of their Countries, with corporal

Queen Elizabeth.
1558.

~~Queen Elizabeth~~ ral Pains and Penalties, as Guardians of the Civil Rights of their Subjects ; but Christ's Kingdom is not of this World.

1559.

If these Principles had obtained at the Reformation, there would have been no room for the Disturbance of any, whose religious Principles were not inconsistent with the Safety of the Government. Truth and Charity would have prevailed ; the Civil Powers would have protected the Church in her spiritual Rights ; and the Church, by instructing the People in their Duty to their Superiors, would have supported the State. But the Reformers, as well Puritans as others, had different Notions. They were for one Religion, one uniform Mode of Worship, one Form of Discipline or Church Government for the whole Nation, with which all must comply outwardly, whatever were their inward Sentiments ; it was therefore resolved to have an Act of Parliament to establish an UNIFORMITY of publick Worship, without any Relaxation to tender Consciences : Neither Party had the Wisdom or Courage to oppose such a Law, but both endeavoured to be included in it.

Dispute between Papists and Protestants.

1559.

To make way for this, the Papists who were in Possession of the Churches were first to be vanquish'd ; the Queen therefore appointed a publick Disputation in Westminster Abbey, before her Privy Council and both Houses of Parliament, March 3rd, between nine of the Bishops and the like Number of Protestant Divines, upon these three Points.

1. " Whether it was not against Scripture and the Custom of the ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in the Common Prayers and Sacraments ?
2. " Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so the same were done to edifying ?
3. " Whe-

3. "Whether it could be proved by the Word of God, that in the Mass there was a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and Living?"

Queen Elizabeth,
1559.

The Disputation was to be in writing; but the Papists finding the Populace against them broke it off after the first Day, under pretence that the Catholick Cause ought not to be submitted to such an Arbitration, though they had not these Scruples in the Reign of Queen Mary, when the Issue of the Conference was known before-hand. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said, *The Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already established, and that it was too great an Encouragement to Heretics, to admit them to discourse against the Faith before an unlearned Multitude.* They added, *That the Queen had deserved to be excommunicated; and talked of thundring out their Anathema's against the Privy Council, for which they were both sent to the Tower.* The Reformed had a great Advantage by their Adversaries quitting the Field in this manner, for it was concluded from hence, that their Cause would not bear the Light, which prepared the People for further Changes.

The Papists being vanquished, the next Point K. Edw. Liturgy
reviewed. was to unite the Reformed among themselves, and get such an Establishment as might make them all easy; for though the Troubles at Frankfurt were hush'd, and Letters of Forgiveness had pass'd between the contending Parties; and though all the Reformers were of one Faith, yet they were far from agreeing about Discipline and Ceremonies, each Party being for settling the Church according to their own Model; some were for the late Service and Discipline of the English at Geneva; others were for the Service Book of King Edward VI. and for withdrawing no farther from the Church of Rome than was necessary to recover Purity of Faith, and the Independency of the Church upon a foreign Power. Rites and Ceremonies were (in their Opinion) indifferent; and those of the

Queen Elizabeth, the Church of *Rome* preferable to others, because they were venerable and pompous, and because the People had been used to them : These were the Sentiments of the QUEEN, who therefore appointed a Committee of Divines to review King *Edward's* Liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to be changed ; their Names were Dr. Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir Tho. Smith, Doctor of the Civil Law. Their Instructions were, to strike out all offensive Passages against the Pope, and to make People easy about the Belief of the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament ; but not a Word in favour of the stricter Protestants.

Her Majesty was afraid of Reforming too far ; she was desirous to retain Images in Churches, Crucifixes and Crosses, vocal and instrumental Musick, with all the old Popish Garments ; 'tis not therefore to be wonder'd, that in reviewing the Liturgy of King *Edward*, no Alterations were made in favour of those who now began to be called PURITANS, from their attempting a purer Form of Worship and Discipline than had yet been established. The Queen was more concerned for the Papists, and therefore, in the Litany this Passage was struck out, *From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Enormities, good Lord deliver us.* The Rubrick that declared, that by kneeling at the Sacrament no Adoration was intended to any corporal Presence of Christ, was expunged. The Committee of Divines left it at the People's Liberty to receive the Sacrament kneeling or standing, but the Queen and Parliament restrain'd it to kneeling ; so that the enforcing this Ceremony was purely an act of the State. The old Festivals with their Eves, and the Popish Habits, were continued, as they were in the 2d Year of King *Edward VI.* till the Queen should please to take them away ; for the Words of the Statute are, *They shall be retained till other Order shall be therein taken by the Authority of the Queen's*

Queen's Majesty, with the Advice of the Commissioners authorized under the Great Seal of England for Causes Ecclesiastical. Some of the Collects were a little altered; and thus the Book was presented to the two Houses and passed into a Law, being hardly equal to that which was set out by King Edward, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign. For whereas in that Liturgy all the Garments were laid aside but the Surplice, the Queen now returned to King Edward's first Book, wherein Copes and other Garments were ordered to be used.

The Title of the Act is, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Service in the Church, and for the Administration of the Sacraments.* It was brought into the House of Commons April 18. and was read a third Time April 20. It passed the House of Lords April 28. and took Place from the 24th of June 1559. Heath Archbishop of York made an elegant Speech against it, in which among other Things he observes very justly, That an Act of this Consequence ought to have had the Consent of the Clergy in Convocation before it passed into a Law, " Not only the Orthodox, but even the Arian Emperors (*says he*) ordered that Points of Faith should be examined in Councils; and Gallio by the Light of Nature knew that a Civil Judge ought not to meddle with Matters of Religion." But he was over-ruled, the Act of Supremacy having already vested this Power in the Crown. This Statute lying open to common View at the beginning of the Common Prayer Book, 'tis not worth while to transcribe it in this Place. I shall only take notice of one Clause, by which all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was again delivered up to the Crown; " The Queen is hereby empowered with the Advice of her Commissioners or Metropolitan, to ordain and publish such further Ceremonies and Rites as may be for the Advancement of God's Glory,

" and

Queen Elizabeth, "and edifying his Church, and the Reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments." And had it not been for this Clause of a Reserve of Power to make what Alterations her Majesty thought fit, she told Archbishop Parker, that she would not have passed the Act.

Remarks. Upon this fatal Rock of Uniformity in Things merely indifferent (in the Opinion of the Imposers) was the Peace of the Church of England split. The Pretence was Decency and Order; but it seems a little odd that Uniformity should be so necessary to the decent Worship of God, when in most other Things there is a greater Beauty in Variety. 'Tis not necessary to a decent Dress that Mens Clothes should be always of the same Colour and Fashion; nor would there be any Indecency or Disorder, if in one Congregation the Sacrament was administred kneeling, in another sitting, and in a third standing; or if in one and the same Congregation the Minister was at liberty to read Prayers in a black Gown or a Surplice, supposing the Garments were indifferent, which the Makers of this Law admitted, tho' the Puritans denied. The rigorous pressing of this Act was the Occasion of all the Mischiefs that befel the Church for above 80 Years. What good End could it answer to press Mens Bodies into the publick Service, without convincing their Minds beforehand? If there must be one established Form of Worship, there should certainly have been an Indulgence for tender Consciences. When there was a Difference in the Church of the Romans about eating Flesh, and observing Festivals, the Apostle did not pinch them with an Act of Uniformity, but allowed a Latitude, Rom. xiv. 5. *Let not him that eateth judge him that eateth not; but let every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind. — Why dost thou judge thy Brother? or, Why dost thou set at nought thy Brother? For we must all stand before the Judgment Seat*

Seat of Christ. Had our Reformers followed this apostolical Direction, the Church of England would have made a more glorious Figure in the Protestant World, than it did by this compulsive Act of Uniformity.

Sad were the Consequences of these two Laws, both *proceeding of* to the Papists and Puritans. The Papists in Convocation made a Stand for the old Religion; and in their 6th Session agreed upon the following Articles, to be presented to the Parliament for disburdening their Consciences.

1. " That in the Sacrament of the Altar the natural Body of Christ is really present, by virtue of the Words of Consecration pronounced by the Priest.

2. " That after the Consecration there remains not the Substance of Bread and Wine, nor any other Substance but God-Man.

3. " That in the Mass the true Body of Christ is offered as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead.

4. " That the supreme Power of feeding and ruling the Church is in St. Peter and his Successors.

5. " That the Authority of determining Matters of Faith and Discipline belongs only to the Pastors of the Church, and not to Laymen."

These Articles or Resolutions were presented to the Lord Keeper by their Prolocutor Dr. Harpsfield, but his Lordship gave them no Answer; nor did the Convocation move any further in Matters of Religion, it being apparent that they were against the Reformation.

As soon as the Sessions was over the Oath of Supremacy was tender'd to the Bishops, who all refused it, except Dr. Kitchen Bishop of Llandaff, to the Number of fourteen; the rest of the Sees being vacant. Of the deprived Bishops three retired beyond Sea, (viz.) Dr. Pate Bishop of Wrecfier, Scot of Chester,

Queen Elizabeth,
1559.

Queen ster, and Goldwell of St. Asaph; Heath Archbishop of Elizabeth, York, was suffered to live at his own House, where 1559. *the Queen went sometimes to visit him; Tonstal and Thirleby Bishops of Durham and Ely, lived at Lambeth in the House of Archbishop Parker with freedom and ease; the rest were suffered to go at large upon their Parole; only Bonner Bishop of London, White of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln, whose Hands had been deeply stained with the Blood of the Protestants in the late Reign, were made close Prisoners; but they had a sufficient Maintenance from the Queen. Most of the Monks returned to a secular Life; but the Nuns went beyond Sea, as did all others who had a mind to live where they might have the free Exercise of their Religion.*

Some of the Reformed Exiles were offered Bishoprics, but refused them, on the Account of the Habits and Ceremonies, &c. as Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Bernard Gilpin, old Father Miles Coverdale, Mr. Knox, Mr. Tho. Sampson, and others. Many that accepted, did it with trembling; from the Necessity of the Times, and in hopes by their Interest with the Queen to obtain an Amendment in the Constitution of the Church; among these were Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, Pilkington, and others.

The Sees were left vacant for some Time, to see if any of the old Bishops would conform; but neither Time, nor any Thing else could move them; at length after 12 Months, Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, by some of the Bishops that had been deprived in the late Reign, for not one of the present Bishops would be concerned. This, with some other Accidents, gave Rise to the Story of his being consecrated at the Nags-Head-Tavern in Cheapside, a Fable that has been sufficiently confuted by our Church Historians; the Persons concerned in the Consecration were Barker, p. 38, low and Scory Bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford; 60, 61. Miles Coverdale the deprived Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins

*Consecra-
tion of Abp.
Parker.*

*L. of Par-
ker, p. 38,
60, 61.*

Hodgkins Suffragan of Bedford; the two former appeared in their *Chimere* and *Surplice*, but the two latter wore long Gowns open at the Arms, with a falling Cape on the Shoulders; the Ceremony was performed in a plain manner without Gloves or Sandals, Ring or Slippers, Mitre or Pall, or even without any of the Aaronical Garments, only by Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Strange! That the Archbishop should be satisfied with this, and yet be so zealous to impose the Popish Garments upon others.

But still it has been doubted, whether *Parker's* Consecration was perfectly canonical.

1. Because the Persons concern'd in it had been legally deprived in the late Reign, and were not yet restored. To which it was answered, That having been once consecrated, the Episcopal Character remained, and therefore they might convey it; though *Coverdale* and *Hodgkins* never exercised it after this Time.

2. Because the Consecration ought by Law to have been directed according to the Statute of the 25th of *Henry VIII.* and not according to the Form of King *Edward's* Ordinal for ordaining and consecrating Bishops, forasmuch as that Book had been set aside in the late Reign, and was not yet restored by Parliament.

These Objections being frequently thrown in the way of the new Bishops by the Papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the Validity of their Consecrations, or at least of their legal Title to their Bishopricks. The Affair was at length brought into Parliament, and to silence all future Clamours *Parker's* Consecration, and those of his Brethren, were confirmed by the two Houses, about seven Years after they had filled their Chairs.

The Archbishop was installed Dec. 17. 1559, soon after which he consecrated several of his Brethren, whom the Queen had appointed to the vacant Sees,

Queen Elizabeth,
1559.

as

Queen Elizabeth, as *Grindal* to the Bishoprick of *London*, *Horn* to *Wincsfer*, and *Pilkington* to *Durham*, &c. Thus the Reformation was restored, and the Church of *England* settled on its present Basis. The new Bishops being poor made but a mean Figure in comparison of their Predecessors : They were unacquainted with Courts and Equipages, and numerous Attendants, but as they grew rich they quickly raised their Deportment, and assumed a lordly Superiority over their Brethren.

The Hierarchy being now at its Standard, it will not be improper to set before the Reader in one View the Principles upon which it stands ; with the different Sentiments of the Puritans, by which he will discover the Reasons why the Reformation proceeded no further.

Principles of the Reformers with the opposite Sentiments of the Puritans. 1. The Court Reformers apprehended, *That every Prince had Authority to correct all Abuses of Doctrine and Worship, within his own Territories.* From this Principle the Parliament submitted the Consciences and Religion of the whole Nation to the disposal of the King ; and in case of a Minority to his Council ; so that the King was sole Reformer, and might by Commissioners of his own Appointment remove all manner of Errors, Heresies, &c. and model the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church into what Shape he pleased, provided his Injunctions did not expressly contradict the Statute Law of the Land.

Thus the Reformation took place in sundry material Points in the Reigns of King *Edward VI.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, before it had the Sanction of Parliament or Convocation : And though Queen *Mary* disallowed of the Supremacy, she made use of it to restore the old Religion, before the Laws which had abolished it were repealed. Hence also they indulged the foreign Protestants with the Liberty of their separate Discipline, which they denied to their own Countrymen.

The Puritans disown'd all foreign Authority and Jurisdiction over the Church as much as their Brethren,

Queen

Elizabeth,

1559.

thren, but could not admit of that extensive Power which the Crown claimed by the Supremacy, apprehending it unreasonable, that the Religion of a whole Nation should be at the Disposal of a single Lay-Person ; for let the Apostle's Rule, *That all Things be done decently and in order*, mean what it will, it was not directed to the Prince or Civil Magistrate. However they took the Oath with the Queen's Ex-plication in her Injunctions, as restoring her Majesty only to the ancient and natural Rights of Sovereign Princes over their Subjects.

2. It was admitted by the Court Reformers, that the Church of Rome was a true Church, though corrupt in some Points of Doctrine and Government ; that all her Ministriations were valid, and that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not of the universal Church. It was thought necessary to maintain this, for the support of the Character of our Bishops, who could not otherwise derive their Succession from the Apostles.

But the Puritans affirmed the Pope to be Anti-christ, the Church of Rome to be no true Church, and all her Ministriations to be superstitious and idolatrous ; they renounced her Communion, and durst not hang the Validity of their Ordinations upon an uninterrupted Line of Succession from the Apostles through their Hands.

3. It was agreed by all, that the Holy Scriptures were a perfect Rule of Faith ; but the Bishops and Court Reformers did not allow them a Standard of Discipline or Church Government, but affirmed that our Saviour and his Apostles left it to the Discretion of the Civil Magistrate, in those Places where Christianity should obtain, to accommodate the Government of the Church to the Policy of the State.

But the Puritans apprehended the Holy Scriptures to be a Standard of Church Discipline, as well as Doctrine ; at least that nothing should be imposed as necessary but what was expressly contained in, or

Queen Elizabeth, if it should be proved, that all things necessary to the well Government of the Church, could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, they maintained that the discretionary Power was not lodged with the Civil Magistrate, but with the Spiritual Officers of the Church.

4. The Court Reformers maintained, that the Practice of the Primitive Church for the first 4 or 5 Centuries was a proper Standard of Church Government and Discipline, and in some respects a better than that of the Apostles, which (according to them) was only accommodated to the infant State of the Church while it was under Persecution, whereas theirs was suited to the Grandeur of a national Establishment. Therefore they only pared off the later Corruptions of the Papacy, from the Time the Pope usurped the Title of universal Bishop, and left those standing which they could trace a little higher, such as Archbishops, Metropolitans, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Rural Deans, &c. which were not known in the Apostolic Age, or those immediately following.

Whereas the Puritans were for keeping close to the Bible in the main Principles of Church Government; and for admitting no Church-Officers or Ordinances, but such as are mention'd therein. They apprehended that the Form of Government appointed by the Apostles was Aristocratical, according to the Constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and was designed as a Pattern for the Churches in after Ages, not to be departed from in any of its main Principles; and therefore they paid no regard to the Customs of the Papacy, or the Practice of the earlier Ages of Christianity, any farther than they corresponded with the Bible.

5. Our Reformers maintained, That Things indifferent in their own Nature, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Holy Scriptures, such as Rites, Ceremonies, Habits, &c. might be settled, determined, and made

made necessary by the Command of the Civil Magistrate ; Queen Elizabeth, and that in such cases it was the indispensable Duty of all Subjects to observe them. 1559.

But the Puritans insisted, that those Things which Christ had left indifferent ought not to be made necessary by any human Laws, but that we are to stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ has made us free : And further, that such Rites and Ceremonies as had been abused to Idolatry, and had a manifest Tendency to lead Men back to Popery and Superstition, were no longer indifferent, but to be rejected as unlawful.

6. Both Parties agreed too well in asserting the Necessity of an Uniformity of publick Worship, and of calling in the Sword of the Magistrate for the Support and Defence of their several Principles, which they made an ill Use of in their turns, as they could grasp the Power into their Hands. The Standard of Uniformity, according to the Bishops, was the Queen's Supremacy and the Laws of the Land ; according to the Puritans the Decrees of Provincial and National Synods, allowed and enforced by the Civil Magistrate : But neither Party were for admitting that Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of Profession, which is every Man's Right, as far as is consistent with the Peace of the Government he lives under.

The Principle upon which the Bishops justified their Severities against the Puritans, in this and the following Reigns, was the Subjects Obligation to obey the Laws of their Country in all Things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the Laws of God. And the excellent Archbishop Tillotson in one of his Sermons, represents the *Dissenters* as an humorous and perverse Set of People, for not complying with the Service and Ceremonies of the Church, for no other Reason (*says he*) but because their Superiors require them. But if this were true, 'tis a justifiable Reason for their Dissent, supposing the Magistrate

Queen Elizabeth, has exceeded his Power by requiring that which is not within the Bounds of his Commission. Christ (say the Non-Conformists) is the sole Law-giver of his Church, and has enjoin'd all Things necessary to be observed in it to the End of the World; therefore where he has indulged a Liberty to his Followers, it is as much their Duty to stand fast in it, as to observe any other of his Precepts. If the Civil Magistrate should stretch his Prerogative by dispensing with the Laws of his Country, or by making new ones, according to his Sovereign Will and Pleasure, without Consent of Parliament, would it deserve the Brand of Humour or Perverseness to refuse Obedience, if it were for no other Reason, but because we will not submit to an arbitrary, dispensing Power? Besides, if the Magistrate has a Power to impose Things indifferent, and make them necessary to the Service of God; he may dress up Religion in any Shape, and instead of one Ceremony may load it with a Hundred.

To return to the History. The Reformation being thus settled, the Queen gave out Commissions for a general Visitation, and set forth a Body of *Injunctions*, consisting of 53 Articles, commanding her loving Subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep them, according to their Offices, Degrees and States. They are almost the same with those of King Edward. I shall therefore only give the Reader an Abstract of such as we may have Occasion to refer to hereafter.

Queen's Injunctions.

Artic. 1. " All Ecclesiastical Persons shall see that
" the Act of Supremacy be duly observed, and shall
" preach four Times a Year against yielding Obedi-
" ence to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Artic. 2. " They shall not set forth or extol the Dignity of any Images, Relicks or Miracles, but
" shall declare the Abuses of the same, and that all
" Grace is from God.

Artic. 3. "Parsons shall preach once every Month Queen
" upon Works of Faith, Mercy and Charity, com- Elizabeth,
" manded by God ; and shall inform the People, *1559.*
" that Works of Man's devising, such as Pilgrima-
" ges, setting up of Candles, praying upon Beads,
" &c. are offensive to God.

Artic. 4. "Parsons having Cure of Souls shall Sparrow's
" preach in Person once a Quarter at least, or else Collection.
" read one of the Homilies prescribed by the Queen
" to be read every Sunday in the Churches where
" there is no Sermon.

Artic. 5. "Every holy Day, when there is no
" Sermon, they shall recite from the Pulpit the
" Pater - Noster , Creed , and ten Command-
" ments.

Artic. 6. "Within three Months every Parish
" shall provide a Bible, and within twelve Months
" Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospel in English,
" and set them up in their several Churches.

Artic. 7. "The Clergy shall not haunt Ale-houses
" or Taverns, or spend their Time idly at Dice,
" Cards, Tables, or any other unlawful Game.

Artic. 8. "None shall be admitted to preach in
" Churches without Licence from the Queen, or
" her Visitors ; or from the Archbishop or Bishop
" of the Diocese.

Artic. 16. "All Parsons under the Degree of
" M. A. shall buy for their own Use the New Te-
" stament in Latin and English, with Paraphrases,
" within three Months after this Visitation.

Artic. 17. "They shall learn out of the Scriptures
" some comfortable Sentences for the Sick.

Artic. 18. "There shall be no Popish Processions ;
" nor shall any Persons walk about the Church, or
" depart out of it, while the Priest is reading the
" Scriptures.

Artic. 19. "Nevertheless the Perambulation of
" Parishes or Processions with the Curates shall con-
" tinue, who shall make a suitable Exhortation.

Queen Elizabeth, " Artic. 20. " Holy Days shall be strictly observed, except in Harvest Time, after Divine Service.

1559. " "

Artic. 21. " Curates may not admit to the Holy Communion, Persons that live openly in Sin without Repentance ; or, that are at Variance with their Neighbours, till they are reconciled.

Artic. 22. " Curates, &c. shall teach the People not obstinately to violate the laudable Ceremonies of the Church.

Artic. 23. " Also, They shall take away, utterly extinguish, and destroy all Shrines, Coverings of Shrines ; all Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all other Monuments of feigned Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry and Superstition, so that there remain no Memory of the same in Walls, Glass Windows, or elsewhere within their Churches and Houses ; preserving nevertheless, or repairing both the Walls and Glass Windows ; and they shall exhort all their Parishioners to do the like in their several Houses.

Artic. 28. " Due Reverence shall be paid to the Ministers of the Gospel.

Artic. 29. " No Priest or Deacon shall marry without Allowance of the Bishop of his Diocese, and two Justices of the Peace ; nor without Consent of the Parents of the Woman (if she have any) or others that are nearest of kin, upon penalty of being incapable of holding any Ecclesiastical Promotion, or ministering in the Word and Sacraments. Nor shall Bishops marry without Allowance of their Metropolitan, and such Commissioners as the Queen shall appoint.

Artic. 30. " All Archbishops and Bishops, and all that preach or administer the Sacraments, or that shall be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Vocation, or into either of the Universities, shall

" wear such Garments, and square Caps, as were Queen
 " worn in the Reign of King Edward VI. Elizabeth,

Artic. 33. " No Person shall absent from his Parish Church, and resort to another, but upon an extraordinary Occasion.

Artic. 34. " No Inn-holders or publick Houses, shall sell Meat or Drink in Time of Divine Service.

Artic. 35. " None shall keep in their Houses any abused Images, Tables, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned Miracles.

Artic. 36. " No Man shall disturb the Minister in his Sermon ; nor mock or make a Jest of him.

Artic. 37. " No Man, Woman or Child, shall be otherways busied in Time of Divine Service, but shall give due Attendance to what is read and preached.

Artic. 40. " No Person shall teach School but such as are allowed by the Ordinary.

Artic. 41. " School-Masters shall exhort their Children to love and reverence the true Religion now allowed by Authority.

Artic. 42. " They shall teach their Scholars certain Sentences of Scriptures tending to Godliness.

Artic. 43. " None shall be admitted to any Spiritual Cure that are utterly unlearned.

Artic. 44. " The Parson or Curate of the Parish shall instruct the Children of his Parish for half an Hour before Evening Prayer on every holy Day, and second Sunday in the Year, in the Catechism, and shall teach them the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and ten Commandments.

Artic. 45. " All the Ordinaries shall exhibit to the Visitors a Copy of the Book containing the Causes, why any have been imprisoned, famished, or put to Death for Religion in the late Reign.

Queen Elizabeth, " Artic. 46. " Overseers in every Parish shall see,
 1559. " that all the Parishioners duly resort to Church ;
 " and shall present Defaulters to the Ordinary.

Artic. 47. " Church Wardens shall deliver to the
 " Queen's Visitors an Inventory of all their Church
 " Furniture, as *Vestments, Copes, Plate, Books, and*
 " especially of *Grayles, Couchers, Legends, Proceſſions, Manuals, Hymnals, Portueſſes, and such like,*
 " appertaining to the Church.

Artic. 48. " The Litany and Prayers shall be read
 " weekly on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Artic. 49. " Singing Men shall be continued and
 " maintained in Collegiate Churches, and there
 " shall be a modest and distinct Song so used in all
 " Parts of the Common Prayers in the Church, that
 " the same may be as plainly understood as if it
 " were read without singing ; and yet nevertheless,
 " for the comforting such as delight in Musick, it
 " may be permitted that in the beginning or end of
 " the Common Prayer, there may be sung an
 " Hymn, or such like Song, in the best sort of Me-
 " lody and Musick, that may be conveniently devi-
 " sed, having respect that the Sentences of the Hymn
 " may be understood and perceived.

Artic. 50. " There shall be no vain and conten-
 " tious Disputes in Matters of Religion ; nor the
 " Use of approbrious Words, as *Papist, Papistical*
Heretick, Schismatick or Sacramentary. Offenders
 " to be remitted to the Ordinary.

Artic. 51. " No Book or Pamphlet shall be print-
 " ed or made publick without Licence from the
 " Queen, or six of her Privy Council, or her Ec-
 " clesiastical Commissioners, or from the Archbi-
 " shops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London,
 " the Chancellors of both Universities ; the Bishop
 " being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the
 " Place, where any such Book shall be printed, or
 " two of them, whereof the Ordinary to be always
 " one : The Names of the Licensers to be printed

" at

" at the end. Ancient and prophane Authors are
" excepted.

Queen
Elizabeth,

1559.

Artic. 52. " In Time of reading the Litany, and
" all other Collects and Common Prayer, all the
" People shall devoutly kneel ; and when the Name
" of JESUS shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or
" otherways pronounced in the Church, due Reve-
" rence shall be made of all Persons with lowness of
" Courtesy, and uncovering the Heads of the Men-
" kind, as has been heretofore accustom'd."

These Injunctions were to be read in the Churches
once every Quarter of a Year.

An Appendix was added, containing the Form of
Bidding Prayer ; and an Order relating to *Tables in
Churches*, which enjoins, " That no Altar be taken
" down but by oversight of the Curate and Church
" Wardens, or one of them at least, wherein no
" riotous or disorderly Manner shall be used ; and
" that the Holy Table in every Church be decently
" made, and set in the Place where the Altar stood,
" and there to stand covered, saving when the Sa-
" crament is to be administred ; at which Time it
" shall be so placed within the Chancel, as whereby
" the Minister may be more conveniently heard of
" the Communicants, and the Communicants also
" more conveniently, and in more Numbers com-
" municate with the said Minister ; and after the
" Communion done the Holy Table shall be placed
" where it stood before."

The Penalties for disobeying these Injunctions, were
Suspension, Deprivation, Sequestration of Fruits and
Benefices, Excommunication, and such other Corrections
as to those who have Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction
under her Majesty shall seem meet.

The major Part of the Visitors were Laymen, any ^{Proceed-}
two of whom were empowered to examine into the ^{ings of the}
true State of all Churches ; to suspend or deprive such ^{Visitors.}
Clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into ^{Hist. Ref.}
their Places ; to proceed against the Obstinate by ^{Vol. II.}
Im-^{p. 4ca}

Queen Elizabeth, Imprisonment, Church Censures, or any other legal Methods. They were to reserve Pensions for such as quitted their Benefices by Resignation ; to examine into the Condition of all that were imprisoned on the Account of Religion, and to discharge them ; and to restore all such to their Benefices as had been unlawfully deprived in the late Times.

This was the first High Commission, that was given out about *Midsummer*, 1559. It gave Offence to many, that the Queen should give *Lay-Visitors* Authority to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures ; but this was no more than is frequently done by Lay-Chancellors in the Ecclesiastical Courts. It was much more unjustifiable for the Commissioners to go beyond the Censures of the Church, by Fines, Imprisonments, and inquisitory Oaths, to the Ruin of some hundreds of Families, without the Authority of that Statute that gave them *Being*, or any other.

Mr. *Strype* assures us, That the Visitors took effectual Care to have all the Instruments and Utensils of Idolatry and Superstition demolished and destroyed out of the Churches where God's pure Service was to be set up ; such as Roods, *i. e.* Images of Christ upon the Cross, with *Mary* and *John* standing by ; also Images of tutelary Saints of the Churches that were dedicated to them, Popish Books, Altars, and the like. But it does not appear that either the 2d or 23d Articles of Injunctions impowered them absolutely to remove all Images out of Churches ; the Queen her self was as yet undetermined in that Matter. Bishop *Jewel* in his Letter to *Peter Martyr*, Feb. 4. 1560. says, there was to be a Conference about the Lawfulness of Images in Churches the Day following, between *Parker* and *Cox*, who were for them, and himself and *Grindal*, who were against them ; and if they prevail, (says he) I will be no longer a Bishop. However it is certain, that the Visitors commanded the Prebendaries

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ries and Archdeacon of London to see that the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's be purged and freed from all and singular Images, Idols and Altars ; and in the Place of the Altars to provide a decent Table for the ordinary Celebration of the Lord's Supper ; and accordingly the Roods and High Altar were taken down.

The Populace was on the Side of the Reformation, having been provoked with the Cruelties of the late Times : Great Numbers attended the Commissioners, and brought into Cheapside, Paul's Church-yard, and Smithfield, the Roods and Crucifixes that were taken down, and in some Places the Vestments of the Priests, Copes, Surplices, Altar Cloths, Books, Banners, Sepulchres, and burnt them to Ashes, as it were, to make Atonement for the Martyrs that had been burnt there. Nay, they went further, and in their furious Zeal broke the painted Glass Windows, rased out some ancient Inscriptions, and spoiled those Monuments of the Dead that had any Marks of Popery upon them. "The Divines of this Time (says Mr. Strype) could have been content to have been without all Relicks, and Ceremonies of the Roman Church, that there might not be the least Compliance with Popish Devotions." And it had not been the worse for the Church of England if their Successors had been of the same Mind.

But the Queen dislik'd these Proceedings ; she had a Crucifix with the Blessed Virgin and St. John, still in her Chapel ; and when Sandys Bishop of Worcester spoke to her against it, she threaten'd to deprive him ; and issued out a Proclamation, dated Sept. 19th. in the 2d Year of her Reign, prohibiting "The defacing or breaking any Parcel of any Monument, Tomb or Grave, or other Inscription, in Memory of any Person deceased, or breaking any Images of Kings, Princes, or Nobles, &c. set up only in Memory of them to Posterity, and not for any Re-

Queen

Elizabeth,

1559.

Strype's

Ann.

p. 175.

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Queen Elizabeth, "any Images in glass Windows in any Churches,
1559. "without consent of the Ordinary." It was with
 great Difficulty, and not without a sort of Protestation from the Bishops, that her Majesty consented to have so many Monuments of Idolatry as are mentioned in her 23d Injunction, removed out of Churches; but she would not part with her Altar, nor her Crucifix, nor with lighted Candles, out of her own Chapel. The Gentlemen and singing Children appeared there in their Surplices, and the Priests in their Copes; the Altar was furnished with rich Plate, with two gilt Candlesticks, with lighted Candles, and a massy Crucifix of Silver in the midst: The Service was sung not only with Organs but with the artificial Musick of Cornets, Sackbutts, &c. on solemn Festivals. The Ceremonies observed by the Knights of the *Garter* in their Adoration towards the Altar, which had been abolished by King *Edward*, and revived by Queen *Mary*, were retained. In short, the Service performed in the Queen's Chapel, and in sundry Cathedrals, was so splendid and showy, that Foreigners could not distinguish it from the *Roman*, except that it was performed in the *English* Tongue. By this Method most of the Popish Laity were deceived into Conformity, and came regularly to Church for nine or ten Years, till the Pope being out of all Hopes of an Accommodation forbid them, by excommunicating the Queen, and laying the whole Kingdom under an Interdict.

*Numbers
of Popish
Clergy de-
priv'd.*

When the Visitors had gone through the Kingdom, and made their Report of the Obedience given to her Majesty's Laws and Injunctions, it appeared that not above 243 Clergymen had quitted their Livings, (*viz.*) 14 Bishops, and 3 Bishops elect; one Abbot, 4 Priors, 1 Abbess, 12 Deans, 14 Archdeacons, 60 Canons or Prebendaries, 100 beneficed Clergy, 15 Heads of Colleges in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; to which may be added about 20 Doctors in

in several Faculties. In one of the Volumes in the Cotton Library the Number is 192; D'Ewe's Journal mentions but 177; Bishop Burnet 199; but Cambden and Cardinal Allen reckon as above. Most of the inferior beneficed Clergy kept their Places, as they had done through all the Changes of the three last Reigns; and without all Question, if the Queen had died, and the old Religion had been restored, they would have turned again; but the Bishops and some of the dignified Clergy having sworn to the Supremacy under King Henry, and renounced it again under Queen Mary, they thought it might reflect a Dishonour upon their Character to turn again, and therefore they resolved to hold together, and by their Weight endeavour to distress the Reformation. But upon so great an Alteration of Religion the Number of Recusants out of 9400 parochial Benefices was inconsiderable; and yet it was impossible to find Protestants of a tolerable Capacity to supply the Vacancies, because many of the stricter Sort that had been Exiles for Religion could not come up to the Terms of Conformity, and the Queen's Injunctions.

It may seem strange, that amidst all this Concern for the new Form of Worship, no Notice should be taken of the Doctrinal Articles which King Edward had published for avoiding Diversities of Opinions in the Church, though her Majesty might have enjoined them, by virtue of her Supremacy under the Great Seal, as well as her Brother; but the Bishops durst not venture them into Convocation, because the Majority was for the old Religion, and the Queen was not very fond of her Brother's Doctrines. To supply this Defect for the present, the Bishops drew up the following Declaration of their Faith, which all *Churchmen* were obliged to read publickly at their Entrance upon their Cures. 'Tis entitled,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.
Reformers
Declara-
tion of
Faith,
printed by
Jugge the
Queen's
Printer,
Cum Priv.
Reg. Maj.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set out by Order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars and Curates; as well in Testification of their common Consent in the said Doctrine, to the Stopping of the Mouths of them that go about to slander the Ministers of the Church for Diversity of Judgment, and as necessary for the Instruction of their Peoples; to be read by the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, at their Possession taking, or first Entry into their Cures: And also, after that yearly, at two several Times; that is to say, the Sunday next following Easter Day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday within one Month after those Feasts, immediately after the Gospel.

“ FOrasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian
“ Men, but especially to the Ministers and Pa-
“ stors of the Church, being Teachers and Instru-
“ ctors of others, to be ready to give a Reason of
“ their Faith, when they shall be thereunto requi-
“ red; I, for my part, now appointed your Parson,
“ Vicar or Curate, having before mine Eyes the
“ Fear of God, and the Testimony of my Consci-
“ ence, do acknowledge for my self, and require
“ you to assent to the same.

1. “ That there is but One living and true God,
“ of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; the
“ Maker and Preserver of all Things; and that in
“ Unity of this Godhead, there be Three Persons
“ of one Substance, of equal Power and Eternity,
“ the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. “ I believe also whatsoever is contained in the
“ Holy Canonical Scriptures; in the which Scrip-
“ tures are contained all Things necessary to Salva-
“ tion; by the which also, all Errors and Heresies
“ may sufficiently be reprov'd and convicted; and
“ all Doctrines and Articles necessary to Salvation
“ are

“ are establish’d. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the Articles contain’d in the three Creeds ; the *Nicene Creed*, *Athanasius’s Creed*, and our common *Creed*, called the *Apostles Creed* ; for these do briefly contain the principal Articles of our Faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

Queen Elizabeth, 1560.

3. “ I do acknowledge also that Church to be the Spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly ministred according to Christ’s Institution, and the Authority of the Keys duly used : And that every such particular Church hath Authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away Ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical Rites, as they be superfluous or abused ; and to constitute others, making more to Seemliness, to Order, or Edification.

4. “ Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any Man to take upon him any Office or Ministry, either Ecclesiastical or Secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called, by the high Authorities, according to the Ordinances of the Realm.

5. “ Furthermore, I do acknowledge the Queen’s Majesty’s Prerogative, and Superiority of Government of all Estates, and in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal within this Realm and other her Dominions and Countries, to be agreeable to God’s Word, and of Right to appertain to her Highness in such sort, as is in the late Act of Parliament expressed, and sithence by her Majesty’s Injunctions declared and expounded.

6. “ Moreover, touching the Bishop of *Rome* I do acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures and Word of God, he hath no more Authority than other Bishops have in their Provinces and Dioceses ; and therefore the Power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme Head of the universal Church of Christ, and so to be above all

Queen Elizabeth, 1560. " all Emperors, Kings and Princes; is an usurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church, and therefore is for most just Causes taken away and abolish'd in this Realm.

7. " Furthermore, I do grant and confess that the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the Authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures; and that it is Catholick and Apostolick, and most for the advancing of God's Glory, and the edifying of God's People; both for that it is in a Tongue that may be understood of the People, and also for the Doctrine and Form of Administration contained in the same.

8. " And although in the Administration of Baptism there is neither Exorcism, Oil, Salt, Spittle, or hallowing of the Water now used; and for that they were of late Years abused and esteemed necessary, whereas they pertain not to the Substance and Necessity of the Sacrament, and therefore be reasonably abolished; yet is the Sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all Intents and Purposes, agreeable to the Institution of our Saviour Christ.

9. " Moreover, I do not only acknowledge that private Masses were never used amongst the Fathers of the Primitive Church, I mean publick Ministration and receiving of the Sacrament by the Priest alone, without a just Number of Communicants, according to Christ's saying, *Take ye, and eat ye, &c.* But also that the Doctrine that maintaineth the Mass to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, and a Mean to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apostolick, but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to the precious Redemption of our Saviour Christ, and is only sufficient

" ficient Sacrifice offered once for ever upon the Altar of the Cross.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1563.

10. " I am of that Mind also, that the Holy Communion or Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, for the due Obedience to Christ's Institution, and to express the Virtue of the same, ought to be ministred unto the People under both Kinds: And that it is avouched by certain Fathers of the Church to be a plain Sacrilege to rob them of the Mystical Cup, for whom Christ has shed his most precious Blood, seeing he himself hath said, *Drink ye all of this;* considering also, that in the Time of the ancient Doctors of the Church, as *Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius,* and others, six Hundred Years after Christ, and more, both the Parts of the Sacrament were ministred to the People.

Last of all, " As I do utterly disallow the extolling of Images, Relicks, and feign'd Miracles; and also all kind of expressing God invisible, in the Form of an old Man, or the Holy Ghost in the Form of a Dove; and all other vain Worshipping of God, devised by Mens Fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures; as wandering on Pilgrimages, setting up of Candles, praying upon Beads, and such like Superstition; which kind of Works have no Promise of Reward in Scripture, but contrariwise Threatnings and Maledictions: So I do exhort all Men to the Obedience of God's Law, and to the Works of Faith, as Charity, Mercy, Piety, Alms, devout and fervent Prayer, with the Affection of the Heart, and not with the Mouth only; godly Abstinence and Fasting, Chastity, Obedience to the Rulers and superior Powers, with such like Works, and Godliness of Life commanded by God in his Word; which, as St. Paul saith, *Hath the promise both of this Life, and of the Life to come;* and are Works only acceptable in God's sight.

Queen Elizabeth, “ These Things above rehears'd, though they be appointed by common Order, yet do I, without ^{1560.} all Compulsion, with freedom of Mind and Conscience, from the Bottom of my Heart, and upon most sure Persuasion, acknowledge to be true, and agreeable to God's Word. And therefore I exhort you all of whom I have Cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we all joining together in Unity of Spirit, Faith and Charity, may also at length be joined together in the Kingdom of God, and that through the Merits and Death of our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all Glory and Empire, now and for ever. Amen.”

Terms of Conformity not approved by many.

These were the Terms of Ministerial Conformity at this Time; the *Oath of Supremacy*, compliance with the *Act of Uniformity*, and this *Declaration of Faith*. There was no Dispute among the Reformers about the first and last of these Qualifications, but they differed upon the second; many of the learned Exiles, and others, refusing to accept of Livings in the Church according to the *Act of Uniformity*, and the Queen's Injunctions. If the Popish Habits and Ceremonies had been left indifferent, or other decent Ones appointed in their room, the Seeds of Division had been prevented; but as the Case stood, it was next to a Miracle that the Reformation had not been lost back into the Hands of the Papists; and if some of the *Puritans* had not complied for the present, in hopes of the removal of these Grievances, when Things were better settled, it must have been so; for it was impossible, with all the Assistances they could get from both Universities, to fill up the Parochial Vacancies with Men of Learning and Character. Many Churches were disfurnished for a considerable Time, and not a few Mechanicks, altogether as unlearned as the most remarkable of those that

that were ejected, were preferr'd to Dignities and ^{Queen} Livings, who were disregarded by the People, and did the Reformation more harm than good, while ^{Elizabeth,} others of the first Rank for Learning, Piety, and Usefulness in their Functions, were laid aside. There was little or no Preaching all over the Country; the Bishop of Bangor writes, that he had but two Preachers in all his Diocese. It was enough if the ^{M. S.} Parson could read the Service, and sometimes ^{an p. 836.} Homily. The Bishops were sensible of the Case; but instead of opening the Door a little wider, to let in some of the more conscientious and zealous Reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate that would come up to the Terms of the Law; and published a second Book of Homilies for their further Assistance.

It is hard to say at this distance of Time, how far the Bishops were to blame for their servile and abject Compliance with the Queen; but one is ready to think, that those who had drunk so deep of the Cup of Persecution, and had seen the dreadful Effects of it, in the fiery Trial of their Brethren the Martyrs, should have insisted as one Man, upon a Latitude for their conscientious Brethren in Points of meer Indifference; Whereas their Zeal run in a quite different Channel; for when the spiritual Sword was put into their Hands, they were too forward in brandishing it over the Heads of others, and even to out-run the Laws, by suspending, depriving, fining, and imprisoning Men of true Learning and Piety, popular Preachers, declared Enemies of Popery and Superstition, and of the same Faith with themselves, but fearful of a sinful Compliance with Things that had been abused to Idolatry.

All the Exiles were now come home, except a few of the Puritan Stamp that stay'd at Geneva to ^{Geneva} finish their Translation of the Bible begun in the late Reign. The Persons concerned in it were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Antkazy.

Queen Elizabeth, 1560. Gibbs, Thomas Sampson, William Cole of C. C. C. Oxon, and William Wittingham: They compared Tyndal's old English Bible first with the Hebrew, and then with the best modern Translations; they divided the Chapters into Verses, which the former Translators had not done; they added some Figures, Maps and Tables, and publish'd the whole this Year at Geneva, in Quarto, printed by Rowland Harle, with a Dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to the Reader, dated April 10th, which are left out in the after Editions; because they touched somewhat severely upon certain Ceremonies retained in the Church of England, which they excited her Majesty to remove, as having a Popish Aspect; and because the Translators had published sundry marginal Notes, some of which were thought to touch the Queen's Prerogative, and to allow the Subject to resist wicked and tyrannical Kings; therefore when the Proprietors petitioned the Secretary of State for Reprinting it in England for publick Use, in the Year 1565. it was refused, and the Impression stopt, till after the Death of the Archbishop in the Year 1576. For the Author of the Troubles at Frankfurt, published in the Year 1575. complains that " If the Geneva Bible be such as no Enemy of God can justly find fault with, then may Men marvel that such a Work, being so profitable, should find so small Favour, as not to be printed again." The exceptionable Notes were on Exodus xv. 19. where Disobedience to Kings is allowed. 2 Chron. xix. 16. where Asa is censured for stopping short at the Depositing of his Mother and not executing her. Rev. ix. 3. where the Locusts that come out of the Smoak are said to be Hereticks, False Teachers, worldly, subtle Prelates, with Monks, Fryars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters. But notwithstanding these, and some other exceptionable Passages in the Notes, the Geneva Bible was reprinted in the Years 1576 and 1579. and was in such

Life of Parker, p. 206.

Hickman against Heylin, p. 179.

such Repute, that some who have been curious to search into the Number of its Editions say, that by the Queen's own Printers it was printed above thirty Times. But for a present Supply Tyndal and Coverdale's Translation printed in the Reign of King Henry VIII. was revised and published for the Use of the Church of England, till the Bishops should publish a more correct one; which they now undertook.

Together with the Exiles, the Dutch and German Protestants, who in the Reign of King Edward VI. had the Church in Austin Fryars given them for a Place of Worship, returned to England with John a Lasco, a Polonian, their Superintendent. They petitioned the Queen to restore them to their Church and Privileges, which her Majesty declined for some Time, because she would not admit of a Stranger to be Superintendent of a Church within her Bishop's Diocese. To take off this Objection Alasco resigned, and the People chose Grindal Bishop of London their Superintendent, and then the Queen confirmed their Charter, which they still enjoy, though they never chose another Superintendent after him. The French Protestants were also restored to their Church in Threadneedle-street, which they now enjoy.

The Reformation took Place this Year in Scotland, Scots Re-forma-tion. by the preaching of Mr. John Knox, a bold and courageous Scots Divine, who shun'd no Danger, nor fear'd the Face of any Man in the Cause of Religion. He had been a Preacher in England in King Edward's Time, then an Exile at Francfort, and at last one of the Ministers of the English Congregation at Geneva, from whence he arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d, 1559. being 54 Years of Age, and settled at Perth, but was a sort of Evangelist over the whole Kingdom. He maintain'd this Position, That if Kings and Princes refused to reform Religion, inferior Magistrates and the People being directed and instructed in the Truth by their Preachers, may lawfully reform within

Queen Elizabeth,
1560.

Queen Elizabeth, their own Bounds themselves ; and if all or the far greatest part be enlighten'd by the Truth, they may make a publick Reformation. Upon this Principle the Scots Reformers humbly petition'd the Queen Dowager, Regent for her Daughter [Mary] now in France, for liberty to assemble publickly or privately for Prayer, for reading and explaining the Holy Scriptures, and administering the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the vulgar Tongue ; and the latter in both Kinds, according to Christ's Institution. This reasonable Petition not being admitted, certain Noblemen and Barons form'd an Association, resolving to venture their Lives and Fortunes in this Cause ; and they encouraged as many of the Curates of the Parishes within their Districts as were willing to read the Prayers and Lessons in English, but not to expound the Scriptures till God should dispose the Queen to give them liberty. This being executed at Perth and the neighbouring Parts without disturbance, the Association spread, and was sign'd by great Numbers even in the capital City of Edinburgh. Upon this they presented another Petition, representing to the Regent the Unseasonableness of her Rigor against the Protestants, considering their Numbers ; but she was deaf to all moderate Councils. At the meeting of the Parliament, the Congregation or Heads of the Association presented the Regent with sundry Articles relating to Liberty of Conscience, to lay before the House, which she suppress'd, and would not suffer to be debated ; upon which they drew up the following Protestation, and desired it might be recorded. " That since they could not procure a Reformation, agreeable to the Word of God, from the Government, that it might be lawful for them to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences. That none that join'd with them in the Profession of the true Faith should be liable to any civil Penalties, or incur any Damages for so doing. They protest, that if any

“ any Tumults arise on the Score of Religion, the Queen
 “ Imputation ought not to lie upon them who now Elizabeth,
 “ humbly entreat for a regular Remedy; and that
 “ in all other Things they will be most loyal
 “ Subjects.” The Regent acquainted the Court of France with the Situation of Affairs, and received an Order to suffer no other Religion but the Roman Catholick, with a Promise of large Supplies of Forces to support her. Upon this she summoned the Magistrates of Perth, and the reformed Ministers to appear before her at Sterlin, with a design to have them banished by a solemn Decree. The Ministers appeared to defend their Cause, being attended with vast Crouds of People armed and prepared to defend them, agreeably to the Custom of Scotland, which allowed Criminals to come to their Trials attended with their Relations and Friends. The Regent astonished at the Sight prayed John Areskin to persuade the Multitude to retire, and gave her Parole that nothing should be decreed against the Ministers; but they were no sooner gone quietly home but she condemned them for Non-appearance.

This News being brought to Perth, the Burghers encouraged by great Numbers of the Nobility and neighbouring Gentry formed an Army of 7000 Men under the Command of the Earl of Glencarne, for the Defence of their Ministers against the Regent, who was marching with an Army of French and Scots to drive them out of their Country; but being informed of the Preparation of the Burghers she consented to a Treaty, by which it was agreed, that she should be received with Honour into the City, and be suffered to lodge in it some Days, provided she would promise to make no Alteration in Religion, but refer all to the Parliament; the Scots Forces on both Sides to be dismissed: But the Reformed had no sooner dismissed their Army, and opened their Gates to the Regent, but she broke all the Articles, set up the Mass, and left a Garrison of French in the Town, resolving

Queen Elizabeth, 1560. to make it a Place of Arms. Upon this notorious Breach of Treaty, as well as the Regent's Declaration, that *Promises were not to be kept with Heretics*, the Congregations of *Fyfe, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns and Montrose*, raised a little Army, and signed an Engagement to assist each other in maintaining the Reformation with their Lives and Fortunes. Mr. Knox encouraged them by his Sermons, and the Populace being warmed, pulled down Altars and Images, plundered the Monasteries, and disfurnish'd the Churches of their superstitious Ornaments, the Regent marched against them at the Head of 2000 French, and 2000 Scots in French Pay; but being afraid to venture a Battle she retreated to Dunbar, and the Confederates made themselves Masters of Perth, Scone, Sterlin, and Lithgoe. At length a Truce was concluded, by which the Ministers of the Congregation had liberty to preach in the Pulpits of Edinburgh for the present; but the Regent having soon after received large Recruits from France, repoffesed her self of Leith, and ordered it to be fortified, and stored with all necessary Provisions; the Confederates desired her to demolish the Works, alledging it to be a Violation of the Truce; but she commanded them upon their Allegiance to be quiet and lay down their Arms; and marching directly to Edinburgh, she obliged them to desert the City and retire to Sterlin, whither the French Troops followed them, and dispersed them into the Mountains. In this low Condition they published a Proclamation, discharging the Regent of her Authority, and threatening to treat as Enemies all that obeyed her Orders; but not being able to stand their Ground, they threw themselves into the Arms of Queen Elizabeth, who being sensible of the Danger of the Protestant Religion, and of her own Crown, if Scotland should become entirely Popish, under the Government of a Queen of France, who claimed the Crown of England; enter'd into an Alliance to support the Confederate Protestants in their Religion and

and Civil Liberties, and sign'd the Treaty at Berwick, Queen
Feb. 27. 1560.

Elizabeth,
1560.

Among other Articles of this Treaty it was stipulated, that the Queen should send Forces into Scot-^{Treaty of} land, to continue there till Scotland was restored to its Edin-^{burgh.} Liberties and Privileges, and the French driven out of the Kingdom. Accordingly her Majesty sent an Army of 7000 Foot, and 1200 Horse, which joined the confederate Army of like Force. The Army was afterwards reinforc'd by a large Detachment from the Northern Marches, under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk; after which they took the City of Leith, and obliged the Queen Regent to shut her self up in the Castle of Edinburgh, where she died June 10th. The French offered to restore Calais, if the Queen would recal her Forces from Scotland; but she refus'd. At length the Troubles of France requiring all their Forces at home, Plenipotentiaries were sent into Scotland to treat with Elizabeth's about withdrawing the French Forces out of that Kingdom, and restoring the Scots to their Parliamentary Government. The Treaty was concluded the beginning of August, whereby a general Amnesty was granted; the English and French Forces were to withdraw in two Months, and a Parliament to be called with all convenient speed, to settle the Affairs of Religion and the Kingdom; but Francis and Mary refused to ratify it.

Before the Parliament met Francis died, and left Mary Queen of Scots a young Widow. The late Treaty not being ratified, the Parliament had no direct Authority from the Crown, but assembled by virtue of the late Treaty, and received the following Petitions from the Barons and Gentlemen concerning Religion.

1. " That the Doctrines of the Roman Church should be suppressed by Act of Parliament, in those exceptionable Points therein mentioned.

2. " That the Discipline of the ancient Church be revived,

3. " That

Queen Elizabeth, " 3. " That the Pope's usurped Authority be dis- charged.

1560.

All which was voted, and the Ministers were desired to draw up a Confession of Faith, which they performed in 25 Articles, agreeable to the Sentiments of *Calvin*, and the foreign Reformers. The Confession being read in Parliament was carried but with three dissenting Voices ; the Popish Prelates offering nothing in Defence of their Religion.

By another Act the Pope's Authority was abolished, and reading Mass was made punishable, for the first Offence with Loss of Goods ; for the second Banishment ; and for the third Death. This was carrying Matters too far ; for to judge Men to Death for Matters of meer Conscience that don't affect the Government, is not to be justified. " To affirm that " we are in the Right, and others in the Wrong " (says Mr. Collier) is foreign to the Point ; for every " one that suffers for Religion thinks himself in the " Right, and therefore ought not to be destroyed " for his Sincerity, for the Prejudices of Education, " or the want of a better Understanding, unless his " Opinions have Mutiny and Treason in them, and " shake the Foundations of Civil Society.

Collier's
Eccl. Hist.
p. 468.

their Kirk Discipline. Upon the breaking up of the Parliament a Commission was directed to Mr. Knox, Willock, Spotiswood, and some other Divines, to draw up a Scheme of Discipline for the Church, which they did pretty much upon the *Geneva Plan*, only they admitted Superintendents in the room of Bishops, and rejected Imposition of Hands in the Ordination of Ministers, because that Miracles were ceased, which they apprehended to accompany that Ceremony. Their Words are these, " Other Ceremonies than the publick App- " probation of the People, and Declaration of the " chief Minister, that the Person there presented is " appointed to serve the Church, we cannot ap- " prove ; for albeit the Apostles used *Imposition of* " Hands, yet seeing the Miracle is ceased, the using " of

First Book
of Disci-
pline,
p. 31.

" of the Ceremony we judge not necessary." They also appointed 10 or 12 Superintendents to plant and erect Kirks, and to appoint Ministers in such Countries as should be committed to their Care, where there were none already. But then they add, These Men must not live like idle Bishops, but must preach themselves twice or thrice a Week, and visit their Districts every three or four Months, to inspect the Lives and Behaviour of the Parochial Ministers, to redress Grievances, or bring them before an Assembly of the Kirk. The Superintendents were to be chosen by the Ministers and Elders of the several Provinces ; and to be depriv'd by them for Misbehaviour. The Assemblies of the Kirk were divided into Classical, Provincial, and National, in which last the dernier Resort of all Kirk Jurisdiction was lodged.

When this Plan of Discipline was laid before the Estates, it was referr'd to further Consideration, and had not a Parliamentary Sanction, as the Reformers expected. But after the Recess of the Parliament several Noblemen, Barons, and chief Gentlemen of the Nation, met together at the Instance of Mr. Knox, and sign'd it, resolving to abide by the new Discipline, till it should be confirm'd or alter'd by Parliament. From this Time the old Hierarchical Government was disused, and the Kirk was governed by General, Provincial, and Classical Assemblies, with Superintendents, though there was no Law for it, till some Years after.

To return to England. The Popish Bishops behaved rudely towards the Queen and her new Bishops. ^{Behaviour} of the popis. They admonished her Majesty by Letter to return to *Piis*. the Religion of her Ancestors, and threaten'd her with the Censures of the Church if she did not. This not prevailing, Pope *Pius* 4th himself exhorted her by Letter, dated *May 5, 1570.* to reject evil Counsellors, and obey his fatherly Admonitions, assuring her, That if she would return to the Bosom of the Church, he would receive her with like affe-

Queen Elizabeth, his Son. *Parpalio*, the Nuncio that was sent with this Letter, offer'd in the Pope's Name to confirm the English Liturgy, to allow of the Sacrament in both Kinds, and to disannul the Sentence against her Mother's Marriage ; but the Queen would not part with her Supremacy. Another Nuncio, the Abbot *Martmegues* was sent this Summer with other Proposais, but was stopt in Flanders and forbid to set foot in the Realm. The Emperor and other Roman Catholick Princes, interceeded with the Queen to grant her Subjects of their Religion Churches to officiate in after their manner, and to keep up a separate Communion ; but her Majesty was too politick to trust them ; upon which they enter'd upon more desperate Measures, as will be seen hereafter.

Abp. visits his Diocese. Archbishop *Parker* visited his Diocese this Summer, but found it in a deplorable Condition ; the major Part of the beneficed Clergy being either Mechanicks or Mass Priests in disguise ; many Churches were shut up, and in those that were open not a Sermon was to be heard in some Counties within the Compass of 20 Miles ; *the People perished for lack of Knowledge*, while Men that were capable of instructing them were kept out of the Church, or at least denied all Preferment in it. But the Queen was not so much concerned for this, as for maintaining her Supremacy ; his Grace therefore, by her Order, drew up a Form of Subscription to be made by all that held any Ecclesiastical Preferment, wherein they acknowledge and confess, " That the restoring the Supremacy to the Crown, and the abolishing all foreign Power ; as well as the Administration of the Sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's Injunctions, is agreeable to the Word of God and the Practice of the Primitive Church." Which most that favoured the Reformation, as well as great Numbers of Time-serving Priests complied with ; but some refused and were deprived.

L. of Parker, p. 77.

The

The next Thing the Archbishop undertook was, settling the Kalendar, and the Order of Lessons to be read throughout the Year, which his Grace, as one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, procur'd Letters under the Great Seal to reform. Before this Time it ^{Queen Elizabeth, 1561.} nes me, was left to the Discretion of the Minister to change the Chapters to be read in course for some others that were more for Edification ; and even after this new Regulation the Bishops recommended it ; for in the Preface to the second Book of Homilies published in the Year 1564. there is a serious *Admonition* to all Ministers Ecclesiastical, to be diligent and faithful in their high Functions ; in which, among others, is this remarkable Instruction to the Curates or Ministers, “ If one or other Chapter of the Old Testament falls in order to be read on Sundays or Holy-days, it shall be well done to spend your Time to consider well of some other Chapter in the New Testament of more Edification, for which it may be changed. By this your Prudence and Diligence in your Office will appear, so that your People may have Cause to glorify God for you, and be the readier to embrace your Labours.” If this Indulgence had been continued, one considerable Difficulty of the Puritans had been removed (*viz.*) their Obligation to read the *Apochrypha* Lessons ; and surely there could be no great Danger in this, when the Minister was confined within the Canon of Holy Scripture.

But this Liberty was not long permitted, though Strype's the *Admonition* being never legally reversed, Arch-bishop Abbot was of Opinion, that it was in force in his Time, and ought to have been allowed the Clergy throughout the Course of this Reign. His Words are these, in his Book entitled, *Hill's Reasons unmask'd*, p. 317. “ It is not only permitted to the Minister, but recommended to him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical Scripture, where the *Apochrypha* upon good Judgment seemeth not so

L. of Par-
ker, p. 84.

Queen Elizabeth, " so fit ; or any Chapter of the Canonical may be conceived not to have in it so much Edification before the simple, as some other Parts of the same Canonical Scriptures may be thought to have." But the governing Bishops were of another mind, they would trust nothing to the Discretion of the Minister, nor vary a tittle from the Act of Uniformity.

*Appoint-
ment of
Lessons for
Sundays
and Hol-
days.
L. of Par-
ker, p. 83.*

Hitherto there were few or no peculiar Lessons for Holidays and particular Sundays, but the Chapters of the Old and New Testament were read in Course, without any Interruption or Variation ; so it is in the Common Prayer Book of 1549. Fol. In the second Edition of that Book under King Edward VI. there were proper Lessons for some few Holidays, but none for Sundays ; but now there was a Table of proper Lessons for the whole Year thus entitled, *Proper Lessons to be read for the first Lesson, both at Morning and Evening Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Years ; and for some also the second Lessons.* It begins with the Sundays of Advent, and appoints Isa. i. for Mattens, and Isa. ii. for Even Song. There is another Table for proper Lessons on Holidays, beginning with St. Andrew ; and a third Table for proper Psalms on certain Days, as *Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, &c.* At the End of this Common Prayer Book, printed by Jug and Cawood, 1560. were certain Prayers for private and family Use, which in the later Editions are either shorten'd or left out. Mr. Strype cannot account for this Conduct, but says, It was great pity that the People were disfurnished of those Assitances they so much wanted ; but the Designs seems to have been, to confine all Devotion to the Church, and to give no liberty to Clergy or Laity, even in their Closets or Families, to vary from the publick Forms. An Admonition was published at the same Time, and set up in all Churches, forbidding all Parsons under the Degree of a Master of Arts, to preach or expound

pound the Scriptures, or to innovate or alter any Queen Thing, or use any other Rite but only what is set forth by Authority ; these were only to read the Homilies. And whereas by reason of the Scarcity of L. of Par-^{1561.}
Ministers, the Bishops had admitted into the Ministry sundry Artificers, and others not brought up to Learning, and some that were of base Occupation, it was now desired, that no more Tradesmen should be ordained, till the Convocation met and took some better Order in this Affair.

But it was impossible to comply with this Admo-^{sad State}nition ; for so many Churches in Country Towns and Villages were unfurnish'd, that in some Places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading a Homily, for many Months together. In sundry Parishes it was hard to find Persons to baptize or bury the Dead ; the Bishops therefore were obliged to admit of Pluralists, Non-residents, Civil Lawyers, and to ordain such as offer'd themselves, how meanly soever they were qualified, while others who had some Scruples about Conformity, stood by unprovided for ; the learned and industrious Mr. John Fox the Martyrologist was of this Number, for in a Letter to his Friend Dr. Humpreys, lately chosen President of Magdalen College, Oxon, he writes thus, " I still wear the same Clothes, and remain in the same sordid Condition that England received me in, when I first came home out of Germany, nor do I change my Degree or Order, which is that of the Mendicants ; or if you will, of the Friars Preachers." Thus pleasantly did this grave and learned Divine reprobate the Ingratitude of the Times. The Puritans complained of these Hardships to the Queen, but there was no remedy.

The two Universities could give little or no Assistance to the Reformers ; for the Professors and Tutors being of the Popish Religion, had trained up the Youth in their own Principles for the last six or seven Years. Some of the Heads of Colleges were displaced ^{And of the Universi-ties.}

Queen Elizabeth, ced this Summer, and Protestants put in their room ;
 1562. but it was a long Time before they could supply the
 Necessities of the Church. There were but three
 Protestant Preachers in the University of Oxford in
 the Year 1563. and they were all Puritans (*viz.* Dr.
Humphreys, Mr. *Kingsmill*, and Mr. *Sampson* ; and
 though by the next Year the Clergy were so mo-
 dell'd, that the Bishops procured a Convocation that
 favoured the Reformation, yet they were such poor
 Scholars that many of them could hardly write their
 Names.

*Queen a-
verse to the
married
Clergy.*

L. of Par-
ker, p. 107,
109.

Indeed the Reformation went heavily on. The Queen could hardly be persuaded to part with Images, nor consent to the Marriage of the Clergy ; for she commanded that no Head or Member of any Collegiate or Cathedral Church, should bring a Wife or any other Woman within the Precincts of it, to abide in the same, on pain of Forfeiture of all Ecclesiastical Promotions : And her Majesty would have absolutely forbid the Marriage of all her Clergy, if Secretary *Cecil* had not briskly interposed. She repented that she had made any married Men Bishops ; and told the Archbishop in anger, that she intended to publish other Injunctions, which his Grace understood to be in favour of Popery ; upon which the Archbishop writ to the Secretary, that he was sorry the Queen's Mind was so turned ; but in such a Case he should think it his Duty to obey God rather than Man. Upon the whole, the Queen was so far from improving her Brother's Reformation, that she often repented she had gone so far.

1562. Her Majesty's second Parliament met the 12th of January, in which a remarkable Act was passed, *For Assurance of the Queen's Royal Power over all States and Subjects within her Dominions*. It was a Confirmation of the Act of Supremacy. " All Persons that " by writing, printing, preaching or teaching, " maintain'd the Pope's Authority within this " Realm, incurred a Præmunire for the first " Offence,

" Offence, and the second was High Treason. The Queen
 " Oath of Supremacy was to be taken by all in Ho- Elizabeth,
 " ly Orders, by all Graduates in the Universities, 1562.
 " Lawyers, Schoolmasters, and all other Officers of
 " any Court whatsoever; and by all Knights, Citi-
 " zens and Burgeses in Parliament." But the Arch- L. of Par-
 bishop by the Queen's Order writ to the Bishops, ker, p. 126.
 not to tender the Oath but in case of Necessity, and never to press it a second Time without his special Direction; so that none of the Popish Bishops or Divines were burdened with it, except Bonner and one or two more.

The Convocation was open'd at St. Paul's the Day Convoca-
 after the Parliament met. Mr. Day Provost of Eaton ^{tion re-}
 preached the Sermon, and Alexander Nowel Dean of ^{view the}
 St. Paul's was chosen Prolocutor. Her Majesty ^{Art. of the}
 having directed Letters of Licence to review the Do- ^{church.}
 ctrine and Discipline of the Church, they began with the Doctrine, and reduced the 42 Articles of King Edward VI. to the Number of 39, as at present, the following Articles being omitted; Article 39. *The Resurrection of the Dead is not passed already.* Art. 40. *The Souls of Men deceased do neither perish with their Bodies nor sleep idly.* Art. 41. *Of the Millenarians.* Art. 42. *All Men not to be saved at last.* Some of the other Articles underwent a new Division, two being sometimes joined into one, and in other parts one is divided into two; but there is no remarkable Variation in the Doctrine.

It has been warmly disputed, whether the first Controver-
 Clause of the 20th Article, *The Church has Power to ed Clause of*
decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Contro- ^{the 20th}
versies of Faith, was a part of the Article which passed the Synod, and was afterwards confirmed by Parliament in the Year 1571. 'Tis certain that it is not among King Edward's Articles; nor is it in that original Manuscript of the Articles subscribed by both Houses of Convocation with their own Hands, still preserved in Bennet College Library among the rest

Queen rest of Archbishop Parker's Papers. The Records
Elizabeth, of this Convocation were burnt in the Fire of London,
1562. so that there is no appealing to them ; but Arch-
bishop Laud says, that he sent to the publick Re-
cords in his Office, and the Notary returned him the
20th Article with the Clause ; and that afterwards
he found the Book of Articles subscribed by the low-
er House of Convocation in 1571. with the Clause.
Heylin says, That he consulted the Records of Con-
vocation, and that the contested Clause was in the
Book ; and yet *Fuller*, a much fairer Writer, who
had the Liberty of perusing the same Records, de-
clares he could not decide the Controversy. The
Fact is this, the Statute of 1571. expresly confirms
English Articles compriz'd in an imprinted Book,
entitled, *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Arch-
bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy
in the Convocation holden at London in the Year 1562.*
according to the Computation of the Church of England ;
for the avoiding Diversity of Opinions, and for the es-
tablishing of Consent touching true Religion : Put forth by the
Queen's Authority. Now there were but two Edi-
tions of the Articles in *English* before this Time, both
which have the same numerical Title with that tran-
scribed in the Statute, and both (*says my Author*)
want the Clause of the *Church's Power*. But Mr.
Strype in his Life of Archbishop Parker says, that
the Clause is to be found in two printed Copies of
1563. which I believe very few have seen. However,
till the Original *M. S.* abovementioned can be set
aside, which is carefully marked as to the Number
of Pages, and the Number of Lines and Articles in
each Page, it seems more probable that the Clause
was some way or other surreptitiously inserted by those
that were Friends of the Church's Power, than
struck out by the Puritans, as *Laud* and his Follow-
ers have published to the World ; for 'tis hard to
suppose, that a foul Copy as this is pretended to be,
should be so carefully marked and subscribed by eve-
ry

ry Member of the Synod with their own Hands, and yet not be perfect ; but 'tis not improbable that the Notary or Register, who transcribed the Articles into the Convocation Book, with the Names of them that subscribed, might by Direction of his Superiors privately insert it ; and so it might appear in the Records of 1571. though it was not in the original Draught. But the Controversy is of no great Moment to the present Clergy, because 'tis certain, the Clause was a part of the Article confirmed by Parliament at the Restoration of King Charles II. 1662. though how far it was consistent with the Act of Supremacy, which lodged the ultimate Power of determining Matters of Faith and Discipline in the Crown, I must leave with the Reader. The Synod it self seemed to be apprehensive of the Danger of a *Præmunire*, and therefore after their Names these Words were cautiously added, *Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac Protestatione, quod nihil statuunt in Præjudicium cuiusquam Senatus consulti, sed tantum supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliiter offerunt*, i. e. This Subscription is made by all with this Protestation, that they determine nothing in Prejudice of any Act of Parliament, but only humbly offer this little Book to the Queen or Parliament, containing their Requests and Petitions.

The Articles were concluded, and the Subscription finished, in the *Chapter-House* of St. Paul's, Jan. 31, ^{subscribed.} 1562. in the 9th Session of Convocation. All the ^{Strype's} Bishops subscribed, except Gloucester and Rochester, ^{An. p. 329.} who I believe were absent. Of the lower House there are upwards of an hundred Hands ; but whatever their Learning was, many of them writ so ill that it is hard to read their Names. Among the Subscribers are several of the learned Exiles, who were dissatisfied with the Constitution ; as, the Reverend Mr. Bazeley, Watts, Mullyns, Cole, Sampson, Pullan, Spencer, Wisdom, Nowel, Beaumont, Heton, Pedder, Lever, Pownal, Wilson, Croley, and others.

Queen Elizabeth, But the Articles did not pass into a Law, and become a Part of the Establishment, till nine Years after, though some of the more rigid Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission insisted upon Subscription from this Time.

Debate about Ceremonies. The next considerable Affair that came under Debate, was the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; and here, first Bishop *Sandys* brought in a Paper of Advice to move her Majesty;

1. "That private Baptism, and Baptism by Women, may be taken out of the Common Prayer Book.

2. "That the Cross in Baptism may be disallowed as needless and superstitious.

3. "That Commissioners may be appointed to reform the Ecclesiastical Laws."

Another Paper was presented to the House with the following Requests, signed by thirty three Names.

Proposals for Reformation.

1. "That the Psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole Congregation; and that Organs may be laid aside.

2. "That none may baptize but Ministers; and that they may leave off the Sign of the Cross.

3. "That at the Ministration of the Communion the Posture of Kneeling may be left indifferent.

4. "That the Use of Copes and Surplices may be taken away; so that all Ministers in their Ministry use a grave, comely and side Garment, as they commonly do in preaching.

5. "That Ministers be not compell'd to wear such Gowns and Caps, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel have chosen to be the special Array of their Priesthood.

6. "That the Words in the 33d Article, concerning the Punishment of those who do not in all Things conform to the publick Order about Ceremonies, may be mitigated.

7. " That all Saints Days, Festivals, and Holy days, bearing the Name of a Creature may be abrogated; or at least a Commemoration only of them reserved by Sermons, Homilies or Common Prayer, for the better instructing the People in History; and that after Service Men may go to work."

Queen
Elizabeth,
1562.

I have subjoin'd the Names of the Subscribers to this Paper, that the Reader may take Notice what considerable Persons they were for Learning and Ability, as well as Numbers, that desired a further Reformation in the Church.

Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's and Prolocutor,
— Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon,
Lawrence Nowel, Dean of Lichfield,
— Ellis, Dean of Hereford,
— Day, Provost of Eaton,
— Dodds, Dean of Exon,
— Mullins, Archdeacon of London,
— Pullan, Archdeacon of Colchester,
— Lever, Archdeacon of Coventry,
— Bemont, Archdeacon of Huntingdon,
— Spencer, Archdeacon of Chichester,
— Croley, Archdeacon of Hereford,
— Heton, Archdeacon of Gloucester,
— Rogers, Archdeacon of St. Asaph,
— Kemp, Archdeacon of St. Albans,
— Prat, Archdeacon of St. Davids,
— Longland, Archdeacon of Bucks,
— Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex.

<i>Calfbil,</i> <i>Walker,</i> <i>Saul,</i> <i>Wiburne,</i> <i>Savage,</i> <i>W. Bonner,</i> <i>Avys,</i>	}	Proctors of the	<i>Church of Oxon,</i> <i>Clergy of Suffolk,</i> <i>Dean and Chap. of Gloucester,</i> <i>Church of Rochester,</i> <i>Clergy of Gloucester,</i> <i>Church of Somerset,</i> <i>Church of Wigorn,</i>
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Queen Elizabeth, 1562. 	<i>Wilson,</i> <i>Nevynson,</i> <i>Tremayne,</i> <i>Renyger,</i> <i>Roberts,</i> <i>Reeve,</i> <i>Hills,</i>	Proctors of the	<i>Church of Wigorn, Worcester,</i> <i>Clergy of Canterbury,</i> <i>Clergy of Exeter,</i> <i>Dean and Chap. of Winton,</i> <i>Clergy of Norwich,</i> <i>Dean and Chap. of Westm.</i> <i>Clergy of Oxon.</i>
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Other Proposals. This Paper not being approved, another was brought into the lower House Feb. 13. containing the following Articles, to be approved or rejected.

*Ann.
p. 337.*

1. " That all Sundays in the Year, and principal Feasts of Christ, be kept Holidays ; and that all other Holidays be abrogated.
2. " That in all Parish Churches the Minister in Common Prayer turn his Face towards the People, and there read distinctly the Service appointed, that the People may hear and be edified.
3. " That in Baptism the Cross may be omitted, as tending to Superstition.
4. " Forasmuch as divers Communicants are not able to kneel for Age and Sickness at the Sacrament, and others kneel and knock superstitiously, that therefore the Order of Kneeling may be left to the Discretion of the Ordinary.
5. " That it be sufficient for the Minister in time of saying Divine Service, and ministering of the Sacraments (once) to wear a Surplice; and that no Minister say Service, or minister the Sacraments, but in a comely Garment or Habit.
6. " That the Use of Organs be removed,"

*Rejected by
a single
Proxy.* These Propositions were the Subject of great Debates, some approving, and others rejecting them. In conclusion the House being divided, it appeared upon the Scrutiny, that the Majority of those present were for approving them, 43 against 35; but when the Proxies were counted the Scale was turned; those who were for the Propositions being 58, and those against them 59; so that by the Majority of one single

single Voice, and that not a Person present to hear the Debates, but a Proxy, it was determined to make no Alteration in the Ceremonies, nor any Abatements of the present Establishment. The Names of the 43 that approved of the Articles abovementioned, were,

Dean Nowel, Prolocutor, St. Paul's,
 Mr. Archdeacon Lever, Coventry,
 Dean Pedder, Wigorniensis,
 Mr. Archdeacon Watts, Middlesex,
 Dean Nowel, of Lichfield,
 Mr. Archdeacon Spencer, Ciceſtrenſis,
 Mr. Besely, Proct. Cler. Cant.
 Mr. Nevynson, Proct. Cler. Cant.
 Mr. Bower, Proct. Cler. Somers.
 Mr. Ebden, Proct. Cler. Wint.
 Mr. Archdeacon Longland, Bucks,
 Mr. Lancaster, Thesaurar. Sarum,
 Mr. Archdeacon Weston, Lewensis,
 Mr. Archdeacon Wiſdom, Eliensis,
 Mr. Saul, Proct. Dec. & Cap. Glouc.
 Mr. Walker, Proct. Suffolk,
 Mr. Becon,
 Mr. Proctor, Proct. Cler. Suffex,
 Mr. Coccrel, Proct. Cler. Surrey,
 Mr. Archdeacon Tod, Bedf.
 Mr. Archdeacon Croley, Hereford,
 Mr. Soreby, Proct. Cler. Ciceſt.
 Mr. Bradbridge, Cancellar. Ciceſt.
 Mr. Hills, Proct. Cler. Oxon,
 Mr. Savage, Proct. Cler. Glouc.
 Mr. Archdeacon Pullan, Colcheſt.
 Mr. Wilson, Proct. Wigorn.
 Mr. Burton,
 Mr. Archdeacon Bemont, Huntingd.
 Mr. Wiburne, Proct. Eccl. Roff.
 Mr. Day, Prov. Eaton,
 Mr. Reeve, Proct. Dec. Cap. Westm.

^{Queen}
 Elizabeth,
 1562.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1563.

- Mr. Roberts, Proct. Cler. Norw.
- Mr. Calfbil, Proct. Cler. Lond. & Oxon,
- Mr. Godwin, Proct. Cler. Linc.
- Mr. Archdeacon Prat, St. David's,
- Mr. Tremayn, Proct. Cler. Exon,
- Mr. Archdeacon Heton, Glouc.
- Mr. Archdeacon Kemp, St. Albans,
- Mr. Ayys, Proct. Eccl. Wigorn.
- Mr. Kenyger, Proct. Dec. Cap. Wint.
- Mr. Dean Ellis, Hereford,
- Mr. Dean Sampson, Oxon.

I mention these Names not to detract from the Merit of those that appear'd for the present Establishment ; for many of them would have voted for the Alterations, but were awed by their Superiors, or afraid of a *Præmunire* ; whereas, if the contrary Vote had prevailed, it was only to address the Queen or Parliament, to alter the Service Book in those Particulars : But I mention them to show, that the Voice of half the Clergy in Convocation, and of no less Numbers out of it, were for Amendments, or at least a Latitude in the Observation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. Indeed it was very unkind, that when such considerable Abatements had been made in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*, nothing should be indulged to those of the same Faith, and who had suffered in the same Cause with themselves, especially when the Controversy was about Points which one Party apprehended to be sinful, and the other allowed to be meerly indifferent. Sundry other Papers and Petitions were drawn up by the lower House of Convocation in favour of a further Reformation, but nothing passed into a Law.

1563. The Church having carried their Point against the Puritans in Convocation, we are now to see what Use they made of their Victory. The Plague being in London and several Parts of the Country this Summer, put a little stop to their Zeal for Uniformity at pre-

present ; some were indulged, but none were prefer'd that scrupled the Habits. For Proof of this we may produce the Examples of two of the Worthiest and most learned Divines of the Age ; one was Father Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, who with Tyndal and Rogers first translated the Bible into English after Wickliffe. This Prelate was born in York-shire, bred at Cambridge, and proceeded Doctor in Divinity in the University of Tubing. Returning into England in the Reign of King Edward, he was made Bishop of Exeter, 1551. Upon the Accession of Queen Mary he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped the Fire ; but by the Intercession of the King of Denmark was sent over into that Country, and coming back at her Death, he assisted at the Consecration of Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury ; but because he could not comply with the Ceremonies and Habits he was neglected, and had no Preferment. This Reverend Man (says Mr. Strype) being now old and poor, Grindal Bishop of London gave him the small Living of St. Magnus at the Bridge foot, where he preached quietly about two Years ; but not coming up to the Conformity required, he was persecuted thence, and obliged to relinquish his Parish a little before his Death, which happen'd May 20, 1567. at the Age of 81. He was a celebrated Preacher, admired and followed by all the Puritans ; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his Reverend gray Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, and was attended to his Grave with vast Crouds of People.

The other was the Reverend Father Mr. John Fox, the Martyrologist, a grave, learned, and painful Divine, and Exile for Religion, who employed his Time abroad in writing the Acts and Monuments of that Church that would hardly receive him into her Bosom, and in collecting Materials relating to the Martyrdom of those that suffered for Religion in the Reigns

Queen Elizabeth, 1563.
verdale
dispensed
with as to
the Habits.

Ann.
p. 105.

Fox the
Martyrolo-
gift.

Queen Elizabeth, which he published first in *Latin*, for the Benefit of
Foreigners, and then in *English* for the Service of his own Country, and the Church of *England* in the Year 1561. No Bookever gave such a mortal Wound to Popery as this; it was dedicated to the Queen, and was in such high Reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in the Churches; where it raised in the People an invincible Horror and Detestation of that Religion that had shed so much innocent Blood. Queen *Elizabeth* had a particular Esteem for Mr. *Fox*; but this excellent and laborious Divine, though reduced to very great Poverty and Want, had no Preferment in the Church because he scrupled the Habits, till at length, by the Intercession of some great Friend, he obtained a Prebend in the Church of *Sarum*, which he made a shift to hold to his Death, though not without some Disturbance from the Bishops.

The Parochial Clergy both in City and Country had an Aversion to the Habits; they wore them sometimes in Obedience to the Law, but more frequently administer'd without them; for which some were cited into the Spiritual Courts, and admonished, but the Bishops had not yet assumed the Courage of proceeding to Suspension and Deprivation. At length the Matter was laid before the Queen, as appears by a Paper found among Secretary *Cecil's MSS.* dated Feb.

Variety of Forms and Habits complain'd of. 14, 1564. which acquaints her Majesty, that " Some perform Divine Service and Prayers in the Chancel, others in the Body of the Church; some in a Seat made in the Church, some in the Pulpit with their Faces to the People; some keep precisely to the Order of the Book, some intermix Psalms in Metre; some say with a Surplice, and others without one.

" The Table stands in the Body of the Church in some Places, in others it stands in the Chancel; in some Places the Table stands Altarwise, distant from the Wall a Yard; in some others in the middle of the Chancel, North and South; in some Places

“ Places the Table is joined, in others it stands upon Queen Elizabeth,
 “ Tressels; in some the Table has a Carpet, in o-
 thers none.

“ Some administer the Communion with Surplice L. of Par-
 “ and Cap; some with Surplice alone; others ker, p. 152;
 “ with none; some with Chalice, others with a
 “ Communion Cup, others with a common Cup;
 “ some with unleavened Bread, and some with lea-
 “ vened.

“ Some receive Kneeling, others Standing, others
 “ Sit ing; some baptize in a Font, some in a Bason;
 “ some sign with the Sign of the Cross, others sign
 “ not; some minister in a Surplice, others without;
 “ some with a square Cap, some with a round Cap,
 “ some with a button Cap, some with a Hat; some
 “ in Scholars Cloaths, some in others.”

Her Majesty was highly displeased with this Report, and especially that her Laws were so little regarded; she therefore directed a Letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, dated Jan. 25th, “ To confer with the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and to enquire what Diversities there were among the Clergy in Doctrine, Rites and Ceremonies, and to take effectual Methods that an exact Order and Uniformity be maintained in all external Rites and Ceremonies, as by Law and good Usages are provided for; and that none here-*Ibid.* after be admitted to any Ecclesiastical Preferment, but p. 154. who is well disposed to common Order, and shall formally promise to comply with it.” To give Countenance to this Severity, it was reported that some of the warmer Puritans had turned the *Habits* into Ridicule, and given unhandsome Language to them that wore them; which according to Mr. Strype was an Occasion of their being pressed afterwards with so much Rigor: But whatever gave Occasion to the Persecution that followed, or whoever was at the Head of it, supposing the Insinuation to be just, it was very hard that so great a Number of useful Mini-

Queen Elizabeth, 1564. Ministers, who neither censured their Brethren, nor abused their Indulgence by an unmannerly Behaviour, should be turned out of every thing they had in the Church for the Indiscretion of a few. The Bishops in their Letters to the foreign Divines had promised *not to urge their Brethren in these Things, and when Opportunity should serve to seek Reformation of them*; but now they took themselves to be released from their Promises, and set at liberty by the Queen's express Command to the contrary; their meaning being, that they would not do it of their own accord, without Direction from above.

Letters of Puritans to Courtiers against pressing the Habits. The Puritans and their Friends foreseeing the Storm did what they could to prevent it. *Pilkington Bishop of Durham* writ to the Earl of *Leicester, Octob. 25.* to use his Interest with the Queen in their Behalf. He said, "that Compulsion should not be used

" in Things of Liberty. He prayed the Earl to " consider, how all reformed Countries had cast " away popish Apparel with the Pope, and yet we " contend to keep it as an holy Relick. That many " Ministers would rather leave their Livings than " comply; and the Realm had a great Scarcity of " Teachers; many Places being destitute of any. " That it would give incurable Offence to foreign " Protestants; and since we have forsook Popery " as wicked, I do not see (says the Bishop) how " their Apparel can become Saints and Professors of " the Gospel." *Whittingham Dean of Durham* writ to the same Purpose. He dreaded the Consequence of imposing that as necessary, which at best was but indifferent, and in the Opinion of many wise and learned Men was superstitious. " If the Apparel " which the Clergy wear at present (says he) seems " not so modest and grave as their Vocation requires, " or does not sufficiently distinguish them from Men " of other Callings, they refuse not to wear that " which shall be thought by godly Magistrates most " decent for these Ules; provided they may keep " them-

L. of Par-
ker, p. 155.

" themselves ever pure from the defiled Robe of Anti-
 " tichrist. Many Papists (says he) enjoy their Li- Queen
 " vings and Liberty, that have not sworn Obedience, Elizabeth,
 " nor do any part of their Duty to their miserable Life of
 " Flock. Alas ! my Lord, that such Compulsion Parker,
 " should be used towards us, and such great Lenity P. 157.
 " towards the Papists. Oh ! noble Earl, be our
 " Patron and Stay in this behalf, that we may
 " not lose that Liberty that hitherto by the
 " Queen's Benignity we have enjoyed." Other
 Letters were writ to the same Purpose : And all
 made what Friends they could among the Cour-
 tiers.

The Nobility were divided, and the Queen her self seem'd to be at a stand, but the Archbishop spirited her up ; and having received her Majesty's Letter, authorizing him to proceed, he enter'd upon the unpleasing Work with Vigor and Resolution. The Bishops *Jewel* and *Horn* preached at *Paul's Cross* to reconcile the People to the Habits. *Jewel* said, he did not come to defend them, but to shew that they were indifferent, and might be complied with. *Horn* went a little further, and wished those cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black Garments, round or square Caps. The Puritans were not allowed to preach against the Habits, but they writ to the Bishops, and told them, that in their Opinions, those ought rather to be cut off which stopt the Course of the Gospel, and that grieved and offended their weak Brethren, by urging the Remnants of Antichrist more than God's Commandments, and by punishing the Refusers of them more extreamly than the Breakers of God's Laws.

The Archbishop, with the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Winchester*, and *Lincoln*, framed sundry Articles to inforce the Habits, which were afterwards published under the Title of ADVERTISEMENTS. But when his Grace brought them to Court the Queen refused to give them the Royal Sanction.

The

Queen Elizabeth, said that the Court had put him upon framing the *Advertisements*; and if they would not go on, and give them the Royal Sanction, they had better never have done any Thing; nay, if the Council would not lend their helping Hand against the Non-Conformists, as they had done heretofore in *Hooper's Days*, they should be but laug'd at for all they had done.

L. of Parker, p. 159. But still the Queen was so cold, that when the Bishop of *London* came to Court, she spoke not a Word to him about the redressing the Neglect of Conformity in the City of *London*, where it was most disregarded. Upon which the Archbishop writ to the Secretary, desiring another Letter from the Queen to back their Endeavours for Conformity, adding in some Heat, *If you remedy it not by Letter I will no more strive against the Stream, fume or chide who will.*

But the wearing the Popish Garments being one of the grand Principles of Non-Conformity, it will be proper to set before the Reader the Sentiments of the most learned Reformers upon this Controversy, which employed the Pens of the most judicious Divines of the Age.

Sentiments of the first Reformers about the Habits. We have related the unfriendly Behaviour of the Bishops *Cranmer* and *Ridley* towards *Hooper*; and that those very Prelates who once threaten'd his very Life for refusing the Habits, if we may credit Mr. *Fox's Book of Martyrs*, Vol. III. p. 500. Ridley, lived to see their Mistake and repent: For when *BROOKS* Bishop of Gloucester came to *Oxford* to degrade Bishop *Ridley*, he refused to put on the *Surplice*, and while they were putting it on him whether he would or no, he vehemently inveighed against the *Apparel*, calling it *foolish, abominable, and too fond for a Vice in a Play.*

Latimer. Bishop *Latimer* also derided the Garments; for when they pulled off his *Surplice* at his Degradation, *Now (says he) I can make no more Holy Water.*

In the Articles against Bishop *Farrar* in King *Queen Edward's Reign*, 'twas objected, Artic. 49. that he ^{Elizabeth,} had vowed never to wear the *Cap*, but that he ^{1564.} came into his Cathedral with a long Gown and a *Farrar*. Hat; which he did not deny, but alledged he did it to avoid Superstition; and without any Offence to the People.

When the Popish Vestments were put upon Dr. *Taylor*. *Taylor* the Martyr in order to his Degradation, he walked about with his Hands by his Sides, saying, *How say you, my Lord, am I not a goodly Fool? If I were in Cneapside would not the Boys laugh at these foolish Toys and apish Trumpery?* And when the Surplice was pulled off, *Now (says he) I am rid of a Fool's Coat.*

When they were pulling the same off of Archbishop *Cranmer*. *Cranmer* he meekly replied, *All this needed not, I myself had done with this Gear long ago.*

Dr. *Heylin* testifies, That *John Rogers* the Proto-*Rogers*, Martyr peremptorily refused to wear the Habits, unless the Popish Priests were enjoined to wear upon their Sleeves, by way of Distinction, a *Chalice with an Host*. The same he asserts concerning *Philpot*, a very eminent Martyr; and concerning one *Tyms* a Deacon, who was likewise martyr'd in Queen *Mary's Reign*.

The holy Martyr *John Bradford*, as well as Mr. *Bradford Sampson*, and some others, excepted against the Habits at their Entrance into Holy Orders, and were ordained without them.

Bucer and *Peter Martyr*, Professors of our two famous Universities, were both against the Habits, and refused to wear them. *Bucer* being ask'd, Why he did not wear the square Cap, answer'd, Because his Head was not square. And *Martyr* in one of his Letters after his return home, says, when I was at Oxford, I would never use those white Garments in the ^{Hift. Ref.} Choir, though I was a Canon in the Church; and I am p. 65. satisfied in my own Reasons for what I did. In the same

Queen Elizabeth, Letter he calls them meer Relicks of Popery ; and says, He never liked them.

1564. These were the Sentiments of our first Reformers in the Reign of King Edward VI. and Queen Mary..

Upon restoring the Protestant Religion under Queen Elizabeth, the same Sentiments concerning the Habits prevailed amongst all the Reformers at first, though they disagreed upon the grand Question, *Whether they should desert their Ministry rather than comply?*

Parker. Mr. Strype, in his Life of Archbishop Parker, a most cruel Perfecutor of the Puritans, says, That he was not fond of the *Cap*, the *Surplice*, and the *Wafer Bread*, and such like Injunctions, and would have been pleased with a Toleration ; that he gloried in having been consecrated without the *Aaronical Garments* ; but that his Concern for his Prince's Honour made him resolute that her Royal Will might take place.

Horn. Dr. Horn Bishop of Winchester, in his Letter to Gualter says, " That the Act of Parliament which enjoined the Vestments, was made before they were in Office, so that they had no hand in making it ; but they had obeyed the Law, thinking the Matter to be of an indifferent Nature ; and they had reason to apprehend, that if they had deserted their Stations on that Account their Enemies might have come into their Places ; but he hoped to procure an Alteration of the Act in the next Parliament, though he believed it would meet with great Opposition from the Papists." Yet this very Bishop a little after wished them cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black Garments.

Jewel. Bishop Jewel calls the Vestments " the Habits of the Stage, the Relicks of the Amorites, and wishes they may be extirpated to the Roots, that all the Remnents of former Errors, with all the Rubbish, " and

Pierce's Vindicat.
P. 44.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
P. 289,
294.

“ and even the Dust that yet remained, might be taken away.” But he adds, the Queen is fixed ; and so was his Lordship soon after, when he refused the learned Dr. Humphreys a Benefice within his Diocese on this Account, and called all the Non-Conformists Men p. 873. of squeamish Stomachs.

Queen Elizabeth,
1564.
MS.

Bishop Pilkington complains “ that the Disputes Pilkington which began about the Vestments were now carried further, even to the whole Constitution ; that pious Persons lamented this; Atheists laughed, and the Papists blew the Coals ; and that the Blame of all was cast upon the Bishops. He urged that it might be considered, that all Reformed Churches had cast away Popish Apparel with the Pope ; that many Ministers would rather leave their Livings than wear them ; and he was well satisfied that it was not an Apparel becoming those that profess Godliness. I confess (says he) we suffer many Things against our Hearts groaning under them ; but we cannot take them away though we were ever so much set upon it. We are under Authority, and can innovate nothing without the Queen ; nor can we alter the Laws ; the only Thing left to our Choice is, whether we will bear these Things or break the Peace of the Church.”

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 316.

Bishop Grindal was a considerable Time in suspense, Grindal whether he should accept a Bishoprick with the Popish Vestments. He writ to Peter Martyr on this Head, and says, That all the Bishops that had been beyond Sea had dealt with the Queen to let the Habits fall ; but she was inflexible. This made them submit to the Laws, and wait for a fit Opportunity to reverse them. Upon this Principle he conformed and was consecrated ; and in one of his Letters, “ He calls God to witness, that it did not lie at their [the Bishops] Door, that the Habits were not quite taken away.”

Queen Elizabeth, 1564. Dr. Sandys Bishop of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, inveigh severely against the Habits, and they with the rest of the Bishops threaten to declaim against them, 'Till they are sent to Hell from whence they came. Sandys in one of his Letters to Parker says, "I hope we shall not be forced to use the Vestments, but that the meaning of the Law is, that others in the mean Time shall not take them away, but that they shall remain for the Queen."

Guest. Dr. Guest Bishop of Rochester writ against the Ceremonies to Secretary Cecil, and gave it as his Opinion, "That having been evil used, and once taken away, they ought not to be used again, because the Galatians were commanded, To stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ had made them free ; and because we are to abstain from all Appearance of evil. The Gospel teaches us to put away needless Ceremonies, and to worship God in Spirit and Truth ; whereas these Ceremonies were no better than the Devices of Men, and had been abused to Idolatry. He declares openly against the Cross, against Images in Churches, and against a Variety of Garments in the Service of God. If a Surplice be thought proper for one, (says his Lordship) it should serve for all Divine Offices. The Bishop is for the People's receiving the Sacrament into their Hands, according to the Example of Christ and the Primitive Church, and not for putting it into the People's Mouths : And as for the Posture, that it should be rather standing than kneeling ; but that this should be left to every one's Choice."

Not one of the first Set of Bishops after the Reformation approved of the Habits, or argued for their Continuance from Scripture, Antiquity, or Decency, but submitted to them out of Necessity, and to keep the Church in the Queen's Favour. How much are the Times now alter'd with us ! Our first Reformers never ascribed any Holiness or Virtue to the

the Vestments, but wished and prayed for their Removal; whereas many of our modern Conformists have made them essential to their Ministries; and have represented Religion as lean and defective without them.

Queen Elizabeth; 1564.

But the Question that divided the Reformers, was *state of the Question about the Habits.* The LAWFULNESS of wearing Habits that had been consecrated to idolatrous and superstitious Usages, and were the very Marks and Badges of that Religion they had renounced. Upon this they consulted the foreign Divines, who agreed in the Reasonableness of abolishing the Habits, but were divided in their Sentiments about the Lawfulness of wearing them in the mean Time: Some were afraid of the Return of Lutheranism or Popery, if the Ministers should desert their Stations in the Church; and others apprehended, that if they did not reject them at first, they should never obtain their removal afterwards.

Dr. Humphreys and Sampson, two Heads of the Non-Conformists, writ to Zurich the following Reasons against the Lawfulness of wearing the Habits: "That they did not think the prescribing Habits to the Clergy meerly a Civil Thing; nor that the Habits now prescribed were decent; for how can that Habit be decent that serves only to dress up the theatrical Pomp of Popery? The Papists glory in this, that these Habits were brought in by them, for which they vouch Otho's Constitutions and the Roman Pontifical. They add, that in King Edward's Time the Surplice was not universally used nor pressed; whereas the Copes then taken away are now to be restored. This is not to extirpate Popery but to plant it again, and instead of going forward in Reformation to go backward. We do not place Religion in Habits (say they) but we oppose them that do, [the Papists]. Besides, it gives some Authority to Servitude to deprive us from our Liberty. We hate Contention;

Queen Elizabeth, " nor do we desert our Churches and leave them exposed to Wolves, but we are *driven from them*.
 1564. " We leave our Brethren to stand and fall to their own Master, and desire the same favourable Favourance from them. All that is pretended is, that the Habits are not *unlawful*; not that they are good and expedient; but forasmuch as the Habits of the Clergy are visible Marks of their Profession, they ought not to be taken from their Enemies. The ancient Fathers had their Habits, but not peculiar to Bishops, nor distinct from the Laity. The Instances of St. John and Cyprian are singular. In Tertullian's Time the *Pallium* was the common Habit of all Christians. Chrysostom speaks of white Garments, but with no Approbation; he rather finds fault with them: Nor do we condemn Things indifferent as *unlawful*; but we wish there might be a free Synod to settle this Matter, in which Things may not be carried according to the Minds of one or two Persons. The Doctrine of our Church is now pure, and why should there be any Defect in our Worship? Why should we borrow any Thing from Popery? Why should we not agree in Rites as well as in Doctrine with the other reformed Churches? We have a good Opinion of our Bishops, and bear with their State and Pomp; we once bore the same Cross with them, and preached the same Christ with them; why then are we now turned out of our Benefices, and some put in Prison, only for Habits, and publickly defamed?

Hist. Ref. Vol. III. p. 311. " But the Dispute is not only about a Cap and Surplice; there are other Grievances which ought to be redressed or dispensed with; as, (1.) Music and Organs in Divine Worship. (2.) The Sponsors in Baptism, answering in the Child's Name. (3.) The Cross in Baptism. (4.) Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the Use of unleavened Bread. (5.) There is also a want of Discipline in

“ the Church. (6.) The Marriage of the Clergy Queen
 “ is not legitimated, but their Children are looked Elizabeth,
 “ upon by some as Bastards. (7.) Marriage is not 1554.
 “ to be performed without a Ring. (8.) Women
 “ are not to be churched without the Veil. (9.)
 “ The Court of Faculties; Pluralities; Licences
 “ for Non-Residence; for eating Flesh in Lent,
 “ &c. are insufferable Grievances. (10.) Ministers Hist. Ref.
 “ have not a free Liberty to preach without sub-in Records.
 “ scribing to the Use and Approbation of all the P. 335.
 “ Ceremonies. And, Lastly, the Article which
 “ explained the Manner of Christ’s Presence in the
 “ Sacrament is taken away.”

The Bishops writ in Vindication of their Compliance with these Things, from the Necessity of the Times; the Queen’s Peremptoriness; the indifferent Nature of the Things required, and their Fears of the Loss of the whole Reformation, if they should desert their Stations in the Church; promising not to urge them upon their Brethren who were dissatisfied; but to endeavour their Removal in a proper Time.

The learned Foreigners gave their Opinions upon *Sentiments* this nice Question with Caution and Reserve. *Peter of foreign Martyr* in his Letter to *Grindal* writes thus; “ As for *Divines*.
 “ the Habits to be used in holy Things, since they *Strype’s*
 “ carry an Appearance of the Mass, and are meer- *Life of*
 “ ly Remainders of Popery, it is (says he) the Opi- *Grindal*,
 “ nion of the learned *Bullinger*, the chief Minister of P. 29, 30.
 “ Zurich, that they are to be refrained from, lest by
 “ your Example a Thing that is scandalous should
 “ be confirmed; but (he adds) though I have been
 “ always against the Use of such Ornaments, yet I
 “ see the present Danger, lest you should be put
 “ from the Office of Preaching. There may also
 “ be some Hopes, that as Images and Altars are
 “ taken away, so also those Appearances of the
 “ Mass may be removed, if you and others who
 “ have taken upon you Episcopacy labour in it.—I

Queen Elizabeth, " am therefore more backward to advise you rather
 1564. " to refuse the Bishoprick than to submit to the Use
 " of those Vestures ; and yet because I am sensible
 " Scandals of this kind are to be avoided, I am more
 " willing to yield to Bullinger's Opinion aforesaid :"
 But after all he advises him to do nothing against
 his Conscience.

of the Bullinger and Gualter, Ministers of Zurich, in their
Switzers. Letters to Horn and Grindal, " lament the unhappy
 " Breach in the Church of England, and approve of
 " the Zeal of those Divines, who wish to have the
 " House of God purged from all the Dregs of Po-
Hist. Ref. " pery. They are not pleased with them who first
Vol. III. " made the Laws about Habits, nor with those who
 p. 308. " zealously maintain them. They declare that they
 " acted unwisely if they were of the Reformed side ;
 " but if they were disguised Enemies, that they had
M. S. " been laying Snares with ill Designs. They are

p. 889.

 " therefore absolutely against the Imposition of
 " these, and other Grievances ; but they think ma-
 " ny Things of this Sort should be submitted to, ra-
 " ther than Men should forsake the Ministry at this
 " Juncture, lest the whole Reformation should be
 " lost ; but that they should press the Queen and the
 " Nobility to go on and complete the Reformation
 " so gloriously begun."

These Divines writ also to the Earl of Bedford, and
 acquainted him, " That they were sorry to hear
 " that not only the Vestments, but many other
 " Things were retained in the Church which favour-
 " ed plainly of Popery. They complain of the Bi-
 " shops printing their Letter, and that their private
 " Opinion about the Lawfulness of wearing the Ha-
 " bits for the present, should be made use of to cast
 " Reproaches on Persons, for whom they should ra-
 " ther have Compassion in their Sufferings, than
 " study to aggravate them. They pray his Lord-
 " ship to intercede with the Queen and Nobility, for
 " their Brethren that were then under Sufferings,
 " who

“ who deserved a very great Regard, forasmuch as Queen Elizabeth,
 “ it had appeared what true Zeal they had for Religion, since the only thing they desired was, that 1564.
 “ the Church should be purged from all the Dregs of Popery. This Cause (say they) in general is such, that those who promote it are worthy of the highest Dignity. They do therefore earnestly pray his Lordship at this Time, to exert himself, and employ all the Interest he has in the Queen and Nobility, that the Church of England, so happily reformed to the Admiration of the whole World, may not be defiled with the Remnants of Popery. To retain these Things will look like Giddiness (say these Divines;) it will offend the Weak, and give great Scandal to their Neighbours in France and Scotland, who are yet under the Cross; and the very Papists will justify *Hist. Ref.* their tyrannical Impositions by such Proceedings.” Vol. III. They also writ to Grindal and Horn to the same Purpose, p. 313. pose, but with no Effect.

The Divines of Geneva were more peremptory in *of the* their Advices; for in their Letter of Octob. 24. sign'd French by Theodore Beza, and seventeen of his Brethren, Divines. they say, “ If the Case were theirs they would not receive the Ministry upon these Conditions if it were proffered, much less would they sue for it. As for those who have hitherto complied, if they are obliged not only to wink at manifest Abuses, but to approve of those Things which ought to be redressed, what Thing else can we advise them to, but that they should retire to a private Life.—As for the Popish Habits, those Men that are Authors of their being imposed, do deserve most evil of the Church, and shall verily answer it at the dreadful Bar of Christ's Judgment.” They then argue very strongly against the Habits; and having advised the Ministers not to lay down their Ministry presently, for fear of the Return of Popery, they conclude thus, “ Nevertheless, if Ministers are com-

" manded not only to tolerate these Things, but by their Subscriptions to allow them as lawful, what can we advise them to, but that having witnessed their Innocence, and tried all other Means " in the Fear of the Lord, they should give over " their Functions to open wrong?" They then give their Opinions against the Cross in Baptism; the Validity of Baptism by Midwives; the Power of the Keys being in the Hands of Lay-Chancellors and Bishops Courts: And conclude with an Exhortation and Prayer for Unity, and a more perfect Reformation in the English Church.

Of the
Scots.

Though the Reformation in Scotland was not fully established, yet the *superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges* within that Realm, directed a Letter the very first Opportunity, to their Brethren the Bishops, and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. It was dated from Edinburgh, Dec. 28th, 1566. and signed by John Spotswood, and nine of his Brethren, Preachers of Christ Jesus. The Letter does not enter into the Debate, whether the Habits are simply indifferent or not; but pleads in a most earnest and pathetick Manner for Toleration and Forbearance, and that the deprived Ministers may be restored. " If Surplice, Corner Cap and Tippet (say they) have been Badges of Idolatry, what have the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the open Rebukers of all Superstition, to do with the Dress of the Romish Beast? " Our Brethren that of Conscience refuse that unprofitable Apparel, do neither damn yours, nor molest you that use such vain Trifles. If ye shall do the like by them we doubt not but you will therein please God, and comfort the Hearts of many." But the whole Letter breaths such an excellent Spirit, that I cannot forbear recommending it to the Reader's Perusal in the Appendix.

Appendix,
No. L

It is evident upon the whole, that it was the unanimous Opinion of the foreign Divines, that the Habits ought to be laid aside by Authority; and that in the mean Time they should not be urged upon those that scrupled them: But they were not so well agreed in the Lawfulness of wearing them till they were taken away; though their Fears of the Return of Popery, if the Ministers should desert their Stations; their Compassion to the Souls of the People that were perishing for lack of Knowledge; and their Hopes, that the Queen would quickly be prevailed with to remove them, made most of them think they might be dispensed with for the present.

The English Laity were more averse to the of the Habits than the Clergy; as their Hatred of Property encreased, so did their Aversion to the Garments. There was a strong Party in the very Court against them, among whom was the great Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys Vice-Chamberlain; Burleigh Lord Treasurer; Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State; the Earl of Bedford, Warwick, and others. But the Protestant Populace throughout the Nation were so inflamed, that nothing but an awful Subjection to Authority could have kept them within the Church. Great Numbers refus'd to frequent those Places of Worship where Service was minister'd in that Dress; they would not salute such Ministers in the Streets, nor keep them Company; nay, if we may believe Dr. Whitgift, in his Defence against Cartwright, "They Strype's spit in their Faces, reviled them as they went Annals, along, and showed such like rude Behaviour, because they took them for Papists in disguise, for Time-servers, and half-faced Protestants, that would be content with the Return of that Religion whose Badge they wore." There was indeed a warm Spirit in the People, against every Thing that came from that pretended Church, whose Garments had been so lately dyed with the Blood of their Friends

Queen Elizabeth,
1564.

Queen Elizabeth, Friends and Relations. Upon the whole, I leave the Reader to determine, how far the Wisdom and Justice of the Queen can be vindicated, in imposing these Habits on the Clergy ; or the Bishops be excused for imprisoning, suspending, and depriving, some of the most useful Preachers in the Kingdom, for Things which in their own Opinion were but barely tolerable ; but in the Judgment of their Brethren were absolutely sinful.

We have already mentioned the Queen's Letter of January 25th ; in Obedience to which Archbishop Parker writ to his Brethren of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and in particular to *Grindal Bishop of London*, (there being in that City the greatest Number of Clergy, and of the best Learning that refused the Apparel) to consult proper Methods to reduce them to an exact Uniformity. After some Debate the Commissioners agreed upon certain ADVERTISEMENTS (as they were called) partly for due Order in preaching and administering the Sacraments ; and partly for the Apparel of Persons Ecclesiastical.

Adverti-
m ents or
Injuncti-
ons for U-
niformity.
Sparrow.

The Articles for Preaching declare, “ That all Licences granted before March 1st, 1564. shall be void and of none effect ; and that all that shall be thought meet for the Office of Preaching shall be admitted again, paying no more than four Pence for the Writing, Parchment, and Wax ; and that those who were not approved as Preachers, might read the Homilies.

“ In the Ministration of the Communion in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, the principal Ministers shall wear a Cope with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably ; but at all other Prayers to be said at the Communion Table, they shall wear no Copes but Surplices only : Deans and Prebendaries shall wear a Surplice with a silk Hood in the Choir ; and when they preach a Hood.

“ Every Minister saying the publick Prayers, or administering the Sacraments, &c. shall wear a Sur-

“ Surplice with Sleeves ; and the Parish shall provide Queen
 “ a decent Table standing on a Frame for the Com- Elizabeth,
 “ munion Table ; and the ten Commandments shall 1564.
 “ be set on the East Wall over the said Table.
 “ All Dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Doctors,
 “ Batchelors of Divinity and Law, having Eccle-
 “ siastical Livings, shall wear in their common Ap-
 “ parel a broad side-Gown with Sleeves, strait at
 “ the Hands without any Cuffs, or falling Capes ;
 “ and Tippets of Sarsenet, and a square Cap, but
 “ no Hats, except in their Journeying. The infe-
 “ rior Clergy are to wear long Gowns and Caps of
 “ the same Fashion ; except in Case of Poverty,
 “ when they may wear short Gowns.”

To these ADVERTISEMENTS certain Protesta- *New sub-*
 tions were annexed, to be made, promised, and sub-*scriptions.*
 scribed by such as shall hereafter be admitted to any
 Office or Cure in the Church. “ And here every
 “ Clergyman subscribed, and promised not to preach
 “ or expound the Scriptures, without special Licence
 “ of the Bishop under his Seal, but only to read the
 “ Homilies ; and likewise to observe, keep, and
 “ maintain such Order and Uniformity in all exter-
 “ nal Polity, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church,
 “ as by Laws, good Usages, and Orders are already
 “ well provided and established.”

These ADVERTISEMENTS were enjoined the Clergy
 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Lon-
 don and Rochester Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiasti-
 cal, and by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and some
 others. The Preface says, “ That they do not pre-
 “ scribe these Rules as equivalent with the Word of
 “ God, or as of Necessity to bind the Consciences
 “ of the Queen’s Subjects, in their own Nature con-
 “ sider’d ; or as adding any Efficacy or Holiness to
 “ publick Prayer, or to the Sacraments ; but as
 “ temporal Orders meerly Ecclesiastical, without
 “ any vain Superstition, and as Rules of Decency,
 “ Distinction, and Order, for the Time.”

By

Queen Elizabeth, 1565. By the first of these Articles, all Preachers throughout the Nation were disqualified at once ; and by the last, they subscribed, and promised not to preach or expound the Scriptures, without a special Licence from the Bishop, which was not to be obtained without a Promise under Hand of an absolute Conformity to the Ceremonies. But here the Commissioners surely broke through the Act of Submission, by which they are obliged never to make or execute any Canons or Constitutions without the Royal Assent. But the Bishops presumed upon their Interest with her Majesty ; they knew her Mind, though she refused, for political Reasons, to ratify their Advertisements, telling them that the Oath of Canonical Obedience was sufficient to bind the inferior Clergy to their Duty, without the Interposition of the Crown.

E. of Parker, p. 161. Parker therefore went on ; and having cited the Puritan Clergy to Lambeth, he admonished some, and threaten'd others : But Grindal withdrew, being naturally averse to Methods of Severity, and afraid of a Præmunire : His Grace took a great deal of Pains to gain him over, and by his Arguments (says Strype) brought him to a good Resolution. He also writ to the Council for the Queen's and their Assistance ; and to the Secretary of State, beseeching him to spirit up the Bishop of London to his Duty, which was done accordingly. What Pains will some Men take to draw their Brethren into a Snare, and force them to be Partners in Oppression and Cruelty !

Dr. Humphreys and Sampson before the Commissioners. Among others that the Archbishop cited before him were the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, President of Magdalen College, Oxon, Men of high Renown throughout the Nation for Learning, Piety, and Zeal for the Reformation, having been Exiles for Religion in Queen Mary's Reign, but averse to the Habits. Upon their Appearance the Archbishop urged them with the Opinions of Bucer and Peter Martyr ; but the Authority of these Divines not being

ing sufficient to remove their Scruples, they were ordered not to depart the City without leave. After long Attendance, and many Checks from some of the Council for their Refractoriness, they framed a supplicatory Letter in a very elegant but submissive Stile, and sent it to the Archbishop, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, March 20th, "In which they protest before God, what a bitter Grief it was to them, that there should be such Dissentions about a Cap and Suplice among Persons of the same Faith. They alledge the Authorities of St. Austin, Socrates, and Theodoret, to shew that in their Times there was a Variety of Rites and Observances which break not Unity and Concord. They beseech the Bishops therefore, if there was any Fellowship in Christ, that they would follow the Direction of St. Paul about Things in their own Nature indifferent, That every one should be persuaded in his own Mind. Conscience (say they) is a tender Thing, and all Men cannot look upon the same Things as indifferent; if therefore these Habits seem so to you, you are not to be condemned by us; on the other hand, if they do not appear so to us, we ought not to be vexed by you. They then appeal to Antiquity, to the Practice of other Reformed Churches, and to the Consciences of the Bishops themselves; and conclude thus, Wherefore we most humbly pray, that a Thing which is the Care and Pleasure of Papists, and which you [the Bishops] have no great Value for your selves, and which we refuse not from any Contempt of Authority, but from an Aversion to the Common Enemy, may not be our Snare nor our Crime."

In one of their Examinations the Archbishop put nine Questions to them, to which they gave the following Answers.

Quest. I. "Is the Surplice a Thing evil and wicked; or ^{The Abb's} is it indifferent?" ^{Questions and their}

Answ. Answers.

Queen Elizabeth, " *Answe.* " Though the Surplice in Substance be in different, yet in the present Circumstance it is not, 1565. " being of the same Nature with the *Vestis peregrina*, " or the Apparel of Idolatry, for which God by the " Prophet threatens to visit.

Quest. 2. " If it be not indifferent, for what Cause?

Answe. " Because Things that have been consecrated to Idolatry are not indifferent.

Quest. 3. " Whether the Ordinary [or Bishop] detesting Papistry, may enjoin the Surplice to be worn, and enforce his Injunction?

Answe. " It may be said to such an one in Tertullian's Words, *Si tu Diaboli Pomparamoderis, quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse Idololatriam.* That is, If thou hatest the Pomp and Pageantry of the Devil, whatsoever of it thou medlest with, is Idolatry. " Which if he believes he will not enforce the Injunction.

Quest. 4. " Whether the Cope be a Thing indifferent, being prescribed by Law for Decency and Reverence, and not in respect of Superstition or Holiness?

Answe. " Decency is not promoted by a Cope, which was devised to deface the Sacrament. St. Jerom says, that the Gold ordained by God for Reverence and Decency of the Jewish Temple, is not to be admitted to beautify the Church of Christ; and if so, much less Copes brought in by Papists, and continued in their Service as proper Ornaments of their Religion.

Quest. 5. " Whether any Thing that is indifferent may be enjoined as godly, to the Use of Common Prayer and Sacraments?

Answe. " If it be merely indifferent, as Time, Place, and such necessary Circumstances of Divine Worship, for the which there may be brought a Ground out of Scripture, we think it may.

Quest. 6. " Whether the Civil Magistrate may constitute by Law an Abstinence from Meats on certain Days?

Answ. " Because of Abstinence a manifest Commodity ariseth to the Commonwealth in Policy, if it be sufficiently guarded against Superstition, he may appoint it, due Regard being had to Persons and Times.

Queen

Elizabeth,
1565.

Quest. 7. " Whether a Law may be made for the Difference of Ministers Apparel from Laymen ?

Answ. " Whether such Prescription to a Minister of the Gospel of Christ be lawful, may be doubted, because no such Thing is decreed in the New Testament; nor did the Primitive Church appoint any such Thing, but would rather that Ministers should be distinguished from the Laity *Doctrinâ, non Veste,* by their Doctrine, not by their Garments.

Quest. 8. " Whether Ministers going in such Apparel as the Papists used, ought to be condemned of any Preacher for so doing ?

Answ. " We judge no Man; to his own Master he stands or falls.

Quest. 9. " Whether such Preachers ought to be reformed, or restrained, or no ?

Answ. " Irenæus will not have Brethren restrained L. of Par- from brotherly Communion for Diversity in Ce-ker, p. 166. remonies, provided there be Unity of Faith and Charity; and it is to be wished that there may be the like charitable Permission among us."

To these Answers, our Divines subjoined some other Arguments against wearing and enforcing the Habits; as, (1.) Apparel ought to be worn as Meat ought to be eat; but according to St. Paul, Meat offered to Idols ought not to be eaten, therefore Popish Apparel ought not to be worn. (2.) We ought not to give Offence in Matters of meer Indifference, therefore the Bishops who are of this Opinion ought not to enforce the Habits. (3.) Popish Garments have many superstitious mystical Significations, for which Purpose they are consecrated by the Papists; we ought therefore to consecrate them also, or lay them wholly

Other Ar-
guments
against the
Habits.

Queen Elizabeth, by some not to be valid, or acceptable to God, unless performed in Popish Apparel; and this being a prevailing Opinion, we apprehend it highly necessary to disabuse the People. (5.) Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then they change their Nature, and we lose our Christian Liberty. (6.) If we are bound to wear Popish Apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven Crowns, and to make use of Oil, Spittle, Cream, and all the rest of the papistical Additions to the Ordinances of Christ.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were very much divided in their Opinions, how to proceed with these Men. Some were for answering the Reasons above-mentioned, and for enforcing the Habits with a Protestation, that *they wished them taken away*. Others were for Connivance; and others for some Compromise: Accordingly a pacifick Proposition was drawn up which *Humphreys and Sampson* were willing to sub-

Proceedings scribe, with the Reserve of the Apostle, *All Things of the Com-* are lawful, but all Things edify not. But the Arch-*missioners*.

bishop, who was at the Head of the Commission, would abate nothing; for on the 29th of April he told them peremptorily in open Court, that they should conform to the Habits; that is, to wear the square Cap and no Hats in their long Gowns; to wear the Surplice with Non-regent's Hoods in the Choirs, according to ancient Custom; and to communicate Kneeling in Wafer Bread; or else they should part with their Pla-

L. of Par- ces. To which our Divines replied, that their Con- ker, p. 185 sciences could not comply with these Injunctions, be Sampson the Event what it would. Upon this they were both deprived.

put under Confinement; but the Storm fell chiefly upon Sampson, who was detained in Prison a considerable Time, as a Terror to others; and by special Order from the Queen, was deprived of his Deanry; nor could he ever obtain, after this, any higher Preferment in the Church, than the Government of a poor Hospital.

Hum-

Humphrey's Place was not at the Queen's Disposal; but he durst not return to Oxford, even after he had obtained his Release out of Prison, but retired to one Mrs. Warcup's in *Derbyshire*, a most devout Woman, who had run all Hazards for harbouring the persecuted Protestants in the late Times: From hence he wrote to the Queen, in which he beseeches her Majesty's Favour about the Habits, "forasmuch as she well knew that the Controversy was about Things in their own Nature indifferent, and in which Liberty of Conscience ought not to be restrained. He protests his own and his Brethrens Loyalty, and then expostulates with her Majesty, why her Mercy should be shut against them, when it was open to all others? Did she say she would not yield to Subjects? Yet she might spare miserable Men. Would she not rescind a publick Act? Yet she might relax and suspend it. Would she not take away a Law? Yet she might grant a Toleration. Was it not fit to indulge some Mens Affections? Yet it was most fit and equal not to force the Minds of Men. He therefore earnestly beseeched her to consider the Majesty of the Glorious Gospel, the Equity of the Cause, the Fewness of the Labourers, the Greatness of the Harvest, the Multitude of the Tares, and the Heaviness of the Punishment." Humphreys made so many Friends at Court, that at length he obtained a Tolerant. M. S. Church, till after 10 or 12 Years, when he submitted p. 873. to the Habits. The Bishop of *Winchester* presented him to a small Living within the Diocese of *Salisbury*, but *Jewel* refused to admit him, and said he was determined to abide by his Resolution till he had good Assurance of his Conformity. The Oxford Historian Athen. Oxf. says, Dr. Humphreys was a moderate, conscientious Non-Conformist, but a great and general Scholar, an able Linguist, a deep Divine; and that for his Excellency of Style, Exactness of Method, and Substance of

Queen Elizabeth, Matter in his Writings, he went beyond most of our Theologists.

1565. While the Case of these Oxford Divines was under Consideration, his Grace was consulting how to reduce the London Puritans: He was afraid to press them with the ADVERTISEMENTS, because the Queen could not be prevail'd with to put the Seal to them; he therefore sent them again to the Secretary with a Letter to the Queen, praying, " That if not all, yet at least those Articles that related to the Apparel might be returned with some Authority."

L. of Par- But the Queen was firm to her former Resolution; ker, p. 212, she would give no Authority to the Advertisements; 214. but to support her Commissioners issued out a Proclamation, peremptorily requiring Uniformity in the Habits, upon pain of Prohibition from Preaching, and Deprivation.

Proceed- ings with the Lon- don Clergy. Upon this the Archbishop consulted with Men learned in the Civil Law, what Method to proceed in; and then concluded with the Consent of the rest of the Commissioners, to summons the whole Body of Pastors and Curates, within the City of London, to appear at Lambeth, and to examine every one of them upon this Question, Whether they would promise Conformity to the Apparel established by Law, and testify the same by Subscription of their Hands? Those that demurred were immediately to be suspended, and after three Months deprived of their Livings. To prepare the Way for this general Citation it was thought proper, first to summon the Reverend Mr. John Fox the Martyrologist, that the Reputation of his great Piety might give the greater Countenance to the Proceedings of the Commissioners; but when they called upon him to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his Pocket, and said, To this I will subscribe. And when they offered him the Canons he refused, saying, I have nothing in the Church but a Prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you take it from me. But the Commissioners had not Cou-

rage

rage enough to deprive a Divine of so much Merit, Queen Elizabeth,
who held up the Ashes of Smithfield before their Eyes.
1569.

The 26th of March being the Day appointed for Fuller,
the Appearance of the London Clergy, the Archbishop
desired the Secretary, with some of the Nobility and
Queen's Council to countenance the Proceedings of
the Commissioners with their Presence, but they would
not be concerned in such disagreeable Work. When
the Ministers appeared in Court, Mr. Thomas Cole a
Clergyman being placed by the Side of the Commis-
sioners in priestly Apparel, the Bishop's Chancellor
from the Bench addressed them in these Words :
 " My Masters, and ye Ministers of London, the
 " Council's Pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the
 " Unity of Apparel, like this Man who stands here
 " canonically Habited with a square Cap, a Scho-
 " lar's Gown Priest-like, a Tippet ; and in the
 " Church a Linen Surplice. Ye that will subscribe,
 " write Volo ; those that will not subscribe, write
 " NOLO : Be brief, make no Words." — When
 some of the Clergy offer'd to speak he interrupted
 them, and cried, Peace, Peace. A paritor call over L. of Grin-
 the Churches, and ye Masters answer presently sub dal, p. 98.
pæna contemptus. Great was the Anguish and Distress Strype's
 of those Ministers, who cried out for Compassion to An. p. 463.
 themselves and Families, saying, We shall be killed in
 our Souls for this Pollution of ours. After much Per-Numbers
 swasion and many Threatnings, Sixty one out of depriv'd.
 about a Hundred were prevailed with to subscribe,
 and Thirty seven absolutely refus'd ; of which last L. of Paro
 Number, as the Archbishop acknowledged, were ker, p. 215.
 some of the best Preachers. These were immediate-
 ly suspended, and put from all Manner of Ministry,
 with signification, that if they did not conform with-
 in three Months they were to be deprived. The
 Archbishop imagined that their Behaviour would
 have been rough and clamorous, but contrary to
 his Expectations it was reasonable, quiet, and modest.

Queen Elizabeth, sons for refusing the Apparel.
1565.

Their REASONS grounded upon the SCRIPTURES, whereby we are persuaded not to admit the Use of the outward Apparel, and ministering Garments of the Pope's Church.

First, " OUR Saviour saith, Take heed that you contemn not one of these little Ones ; for he that offendeth one of these little Ones that believeth in me, it were good for him that a Milstone were hanged about his Neck, and that he were drowned in the Depth of the Sea. To offend the little Ones in Christ, is to speak or do any Thing whereby the simple Christians may take Occasion either to like that which is evil, or to mislike that which is good. Now for us to admit the Use of these Things may occasion this Mischief, therefore in consenting to them we should offend many of these little Ones.

" Further, St. Paul saith, If any Man that is infirm shall see thee that hast Knowledge sitting at Meat at the Idols Table, will not his Conscience be stirred up to eat that which is offered to Idols ? And so the weak Brother for whom Christ died shall perish in thy Knowledge ; and in sinning after this Sort against the Brethren, and wounding their weak Consciences, ye do sin against Christ, 1 Cor. viii. 10, 11, 12. This Place pro- veth, that whatsoever is done by him that has Knowledge, or seems to have it, in such sort that he may seem to allow that as good, which in it self cannot be other than evil, is an Occasion for the Weak to allow and approve of the Thing that is evil, and to mislike that that is good, though the doing it be indifferent of it self in him that has Knowledge. To set at the Idols Table, or to eat Things offered to Idols, is in him that has Knowledge a Thing indifferent, for he knows that the Idol is nothing, and that every Creature of God is good,

“ good, and to be received with Thanksgiving with- E Queen
 “ out asking any Questions for Conscience sake. Elizabeth,
 “ But to do this in the Presence of him that thinks 1565.
 “ that none can do so, but he must be Partaker of
 “ Idolatry, is to encourage him to like Idolatry, and
 “ to mislike the true Service of God; for none can
 “ like both. Now the Case of eating and drinking,
 “ and of wearing Apparel, is in this Point the same;
 “ for though to wear the outward and ministring
 “ Garments of the Pope’s Church is in it self indiffe-
 “ rent, yet to wear them in Presence of the infirm
 “ and weak Brethren, who do not understand the In-
 “ differency of them, may occasion them to like the
 “ Pomp of the Pope’s Ministrion, which of it self
 “ is evil, and to mislike the simple Ministrion of
 “ Christ, which in it self is good.

Secondly, “ We may not use any Thing that is re-
 “ pugnant to *Christian Liberty*, nor maintain an Opin-
 “ ion of Holiness where none is; nor consent to
 “ Idolatry, nor deny the Truth, nor discourage the
 “ Godly, and encourage the Wicked, nor destroy
 “ the Church of God, which we are bound to edify,
 “ nor shew Disobedience where God commandeth us
 “ to obey; all which we should do, if we should con-
 “ sent to wear the outward and ministring Garments
 “ of the Pope’s Church; as appears by the following
 “ Passages of Scripture; by St. Paul’s Exhortation,
 “ Gal. v. 1. Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ has
 “ made you free; by the Example of Christ, Matth.
 “ xv. 2, 3. who would not have his Disciples maintain
 “ an Opinion of Holiness which the Pharisees had in
 “ washing Hands; by the Doctrine of St. Paul, 2 Cor.
 “ vi. 15. where he teacheth, that there can be no Agree-
 “ ment between Christ and Belial; by the Example of
 “ Daniel, ch. vi. who making his Prayer to God con-
 “ trary to the Commandment of the King, set open
 “ his Window towards Jerusalem, lest he might seem
 “ to deny his Profession, or consent to the Wicked:
 “ By the Example of St. Paul, who rebuked Peter

Queen Elizabeth, " sharply, because he did by his Dissimulation dis-
 courage the Godly that from among the Heathen
 1565. " were converted to Christ, and encourage the su-
 perstitious Jews: And again, by his Doctrine,
 " 2 Cor. xiii. where he teacheth, that Ministers have
 " Power to edify, but not to destroy. It is farther
 " evident, from the Examples of the Patriarchs and
 " Prophets, who in worshipping God would not use
 " the Rites and Ceremonies of the Idolatrous: And
 " to conclude, from the Doctrine and Example of
 " Peter and John, Acts iv. who refusing to obey the
 " Commandment of the Rulers, in ceasing to preach
 " Christ, said, Whether it be right in the Sight of God
 " to obey you rather than God, be you your selves
 " Judges.

Thirdly, " For a further Proof we may bring the
 " Testimony and Practice of the ancient Fathers.

" Tertullian, in his Book de Corona Militis, com-
 pares those Men to dumb Idols, who wear any
 Thing like the decking of the Idols. Again, he
 faith, Si in Idolio recumbere alienum est a fide, quid in
 Idoli Habitū videri? If it be a Matter of Infidel-
 ity to sit at the Idols Feasts, what is it to be seen
 in the Habit or Apparel of the Idol?

" St. Austin, in his 86th Epistle to Casulanus,
 warneth him not to fast on the same Day, lest
 thereby he might seem to consent with the wicked
 Manichees.

" The fourth Council of Toletane, [Toledo] Canon
 5th, to avoid Consent with Hereticks, decreed, That
 in Baptism the Body of the baptized should be but
 once dipped.

" The great Clerk Origen, as Epiphanius writeth,
 Tom. I. B. 2. Hæres. 64. because he delivered
 Palm to those that offered to the Image of Sera-
 pis, although he openly said, Venite accipite non
 frondes simulachri sed frondes Christi; Come and re-
 ceive the Boughs, not of the Image but of Christ; yet
 was he for this, and such like doings, excommuni-
 cated

" nicated and cast out of the Church, by those Mar- Queen
" tyrs and Confessors that were at Athens. Elizabeth,
~~~~~  
1565.

" In the tripartite History, B. 6. chap. 30. It is said, that the Christian Soldiers that by the Subtlety of Julian were brought to offer Incense to the Idol, when they perceived their Fault, they ran forth into the Streets, professing the Religion of Christ, testifying themselves to be Christians, and confessing that their Hands had offended unadvisedly, but that now they were ready to give their whole Bodies to the most cruel Torments and Pains for Christ.

" Further, to prove that wearing the ministring Garments of the Pope's Church, is to confirm the Opinion of the *Necessity and Holiness*, of the same, and to shew Consent to *Idolatry*, let it be rememb'rd that the first Devisers of them have taught, that of *Necessity they must be had*; and have made Laws to punish and deprive those that had them not; as appears in the Pontifical *de Clerico faciendo*, that is, of the ordering of a Clerk, where the Surplice is termed the Habit or Garment of the holy Religion. And Durandus, in his 3d Book, entitled *Rationale Divinor.* calls it the linen Garment which those Men that are occupied in any Manner at the Service of the Altar and holy Things, must wear over their common Apparel.

" Lyndwood also, in his Constitutions for the Province of England, *de Habitu Clericali*, affirms the *Necessity* of this Habit; so does Ottobonus and others, appointing grievous Punishments for those that refuse to wear them; yea, and the Pontifical teaches, that when a Clerk has by Murder, or otherwise, deserved to die, he must be degraded, by plucking violently from him those Garments with these Words, *Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis, Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, &c.* By the Authority of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our Authority we take from thee the Habit of the Clergy, and we make thee naked and bare of the

Queen Elizabeth, "Ornaments of Religion; and we do depose, degrade, spoil, and strip thee of thy Clergy Order, Benefice, and Privilege; and as one that is unworthy of the Profession of a Clerk, we bring thee back again into the Servitude and Shame of the Secular Habit.

" These Things being thus weigh'd, with the Warning that St. Paul giveth, *1 Thess. chap. v.* where he commands us to abstain from all Appearance of Evil, we cannot but think that in using of these Things we should beat back those that are coming from Superstition, and confirm those that are grown in Superstition, and consequently overthrow that which we have been labouring to build, and incur the Danger of that horrible Curse that our Saviour has pronounced, *Wo to the World because of Offences.*

" Knowing therefore how horrible a Thing it is to fall into the Hands of the living God, by doing that which our Consciences (grounded upon the Truth of God's Word, and the Example and Doctrine of ancient Fathers) do tell us were evil done, and to the great Discrediting of the Truth whereby of we profess to be Teachers; we have thought good to yield our selves into the Hands of Men, to suffer whatsoever God hath appointed us to suffer, for the preferring of the Commandments of God and a clear Conscience, before the Commandments of Men; in complying with which we cannot escape the Condemnation of our Consciences; keeping always in Memory that horrible Saying of John in his first Epistle, *If our Conscience condemn us, God is greater than our Conscience:* And not forgetting the Saying of the Psalmist, *It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in Man.* Psal. cxviii. *It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in Princes.* And again, Psal. cxlvii. *Trust not in Princes, nor in the Children of Men, in whom there is no Health, whose Spirit shall depart out of them, and they shall return to the Earth from whence they came,*

" came, and in that Day all their Devices shall come to Queen  
" nought. Elizabeth,

" Not despising Men therefore, but trusting in  
" God only, we seek to serve him with a clear Con-  
" science, so long as we shall live here, assuring our  
" selves that those Things that we shall suffer for do- M.S. pe-  
" ing so, shall be a Testimony to the World, that <sup>nes me,</sup>  
" great Reward is laid up for us in Heaven, where p. 57. &c.  
" we doubt not but to rest for ever, with them that  
" have before our Days suffered for the like."

To this Declaration, and every Thing else that was offered, from the Danger of the Reformation, and the Ruin of so many poor Families ; the Commissioners replied, it was not their Business to argue and debate, but to execute the Queen's Injunctions. Archbishop Parker seemed pleased with the Resolution of his Chancellor, and said, That he did not doubt, but when the Ministers had felt the Smart of Poverty and Want they would comply ; for the Wood (says he) is yet but green. He declared further, that he was fully bent to go through with the Work he had begun ; and the rather, because the Queen would have him try with his own Authority what he could do for Order. This raised his Ambition, and put him upon soliciting the Secretary with Letters for his Countenance ; in one of which he tells him, that " If he was not better back'd there would be fewer Winchester's, as is desired," referring to Stephen Gardiner, the bloody persecuting Bishop of Winchester in Queen Mary's Reign ; " but for my part (says he) so that my Prince may win Honour, I will be very gladly the Rock of Offence ; since the Lord is my Helper I will not fear what Man can do to me ; nor will I be amused or daunted, *Fremat Mundus ruat Cælum.*" These were the Weapons, and this the Language, of one whom Mr. Strype calls the mild and gentle Archbishop !

*Queen Elizabeth, 1565.* The Non-Conformists had juster Thoughts of him; he was at the Head of all their Sufferings, and pushed them forward with unrelenting Vigor. The Queen might have been soften'd; the Secretary of State and Courtiers declared they could not keep Pace with him; Grindal relented, and the Bishop of Durham declared he would rather lay down his Bishoprick than suffer such Proceedings in his Diocese. But Parker was above these Reproaches, and instead of relaxing framed such Injunctions for the London Clergy as had never been heard of in a Protestant Kingdom, or a free Government. The Commissioners obliged every Clergyman that had Cure of Souls to swear Obedience, (1.) To all the Queen's Injunctions and Letters Patents. (2.) To all Letters from the Lords of the Privy Council. (3.) To the Articles and Injunctions of their Metropolitan. (4.) To the Articles and Mandates of their Bishop, Archdeacon, Chancellors, Somners, Receivers, &c. And in a Word, to be subject to the Controul of all their Superiors with Patience. To gird these Injunctions close upon the Puritans, there was appointed in every Parish four or eight Censors, Spies, or Jurats, to take Cognizance of all Offences given or taken. These were under Oath enjoined to take particular Notice of the Conformity of the Clergy and of the Parishioners, and to give in their Presentments when requir'd; so that it was impossible for an honest Puritan to escape the High Commission.

*Consequences of them. L. of Parker, p. 224.* By these Methods of Severity, Religion and Virtue were discountenanced for the sake of their pretended Ornaments; the Consciences of good Men were entangled, and the Reformation exposed to the utmost Hazard. Many Churches were shut up in the City of London for want of Ministers, to the Grief of all good Men, and the inexpressible Pleasure of the Papists, who rejoiced to see the Reformers weakening their own Hands, by silencing such Numbers of the most useful and popular Preachers, while the Country

New Injunctions of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Strype's Ann.

P. 463.

try was in distress for want of them. Bishop Sandys in one of his Sermons before the Queen some Years after, tells her Majesty, " That many of her People, especially in the Northern Parts, perished for want of saving Food. Many there are (says he) that hear not a Sermon in seven Years, I might safely say in seventeen : Their Blood will be required at some Bodies hands."

But to make thorough Work with the *Refusers of Further Services against the Puritans.* the Archbishop called in all Licences, according to the *Advertisements,* and appointed all Preachers throughout his whole Province to take out new Ones ; this was to reach those who were neither Incumbents, nor Curates in Parishes, but Lecturers, or occasional Preachers. All Parsons and Curates *Licences taken away.* were forbid to suffer any to preach in their Churches upon any former Licences given by the Archbishop ; and such as took out new Licences bound themselves for the future, not to disturb the publick Establishment, or vary from it. And because some when they had been discharged from their Ministry in one Diocese for Nonconformity, got a Settlement in another, it was now appointed that such Curates as came out of other Dioceeses should not be allowed to preach without Letters Testimonial from the Ordinary where they last served. But those Puritans who could not *L. of Parke, p. 189.* with a good Conscience take out new Licences kept their old ones, and made the best use of them they could. " They travel'd up and down the Countries from Church to Church, preaching where they could get leave, as if they were Apostles (says Bishop Jewel)" and so they were with Regard to their Poverty, *For Silver and Gold they had none :* But his Lordship adds, " And they take Money for their Labours." An unpardonable Crime ! that honest Men of a liberal Education, that had parted with their Livings in the Church for a good Conscience, should endeavour after a very poor manner to live by the Gospel.

*Queen Elizabeth, 1565.* There was still one Door of Entrance into the Ministry left open to the Puritans, which the Archbishop used all his Interest to shut, but could not prevail. It was a Privilege granted the University of Cambridge by Pope Alexander VI. to licence twelve Ministers yearly, to preach any where throughout England, without obtaining Licences from any of the Bishops. The Bull says, that "The Chancellor of the University (who was then Fisher Bishop of Rochester) and his Successors, shall licence twelve Preachers yearly, under the common Seal of the University, who shall have liberty to preach, &c. durante vita naturali." The Archbishop sent to Secretary Cecil their Chancellor, praying him to set aside this Practice. (1.) Because the present Licences varied from the original Bull, being given out by the Vice-Chancellor, whereas they ought to be in the Name of the Chancellor only. (2.) Because it was unreasonable to give Licences *durante vita naturali*, i. e. for Life; whereas they ought to be only *quam diu nobis placuerint, & dum laudabiliter gesserint*, i. e. During our Pleasure, or as long as they behave well. (3.) But that which troubled the Archbishop most, was the Clause that infringed his own and his Brethrens Jurisdiction, that they might preach without a Licence from any of the Bishops. This was thought insufferable; the Vice-Chancellor therefore was sent for to Town to defend the Privilege of the University, which he did to the Satisfaction of the Chancellor; but the Archbishop was so angry, that he declared he would not admit any of their Licences without the Chancellor's Name; nor could he imagine that the Vice-Chancellor, by his pretended Experience and Skill in the Civil Law, could inform his Honour of any Thing that he was not capable of answering. But here his Grace met with a Disappointment, for the University retained their Privilege, and made use of it to the Relief of the Puritans.

In the Queen's Progress this Year, her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, visited the University of Cambridge, and continued there five Days, being entertained by the Scholars <sup>1565.</sup> with Speeches and Disputations. On the 3d Day of Queen vi her being there [Aug. 7.] a Philosophy Act was kept <sup>sits the U-</sup> by Tho. Byng of Peter-house, on these two Questions. <sup>niversity</sup> (1.) Whether Monarchy be not the best Form of <sup>of Cam-</sup> Government? (2.) Whether frequent Alterations of <sup>bridge.</sup> the Laws is dangerous? The Opponents were Mr. Tho. Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Chadder-ton, of Queens, Mr. Preston and Clark of Kings College; who performed their Parts to the Satisfaction of the Queen and the whole Audience; but it seems Preston pleased her Majesty best, and was made her Scholar, with the Settlement of a Salary. The Divinity Questions were, 1. Whether the Authority of the Scripture is greater than that of the Church? 2. Whether the Civil Magistrate has Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs? These were the Tests of the Times. At the Close of the Disputation the Queen made a short and elegant Oration in Latin, encouraging the Scholars to pursue their Studies, with a Promise of her Countenance and Protection.

But this learned Body was soon after thrown into <sup>They scrup.</sup> Confusion, by the Controversy of the Habits, espe-<sup>the</sup> cially of the Surplice. Dr. Longworth, Master of <sup>Habits.</sup> St. Johns, being absent from his College, the Students of that House came to Chapel on a Festival Day without their Hoods and Surplices, to the Number of 300, and continued to do so for some Time; the Master at his Return making no Complaint, nor attempting to recover them to Uniformity. In Trinity College all except three declared against the Surplice, and many in other Colleges were ready to follow their Example. The News of this being sent to Court, it was easy to foresee an impending Storm: Several Members of the University writ to the Secretary, humbly beseeching his Intercession with the Queen, that they might not be forced to receive a <sup>popish</sup>

*Queen Elizabeth, 1565.* popish Ceremony which they had laid aside ; assuring him before God, that nothing but Reason, and the quiet Enjoyment of their Consciences, had induced them to do as they had done. But *Cecil* writ them an angry Letter, admonishing them to return quietly to the Habits, as they had used them before. He also writ to the Vice-Chancellor, requiring him to call together the Heads of the Colleges, and let them know, that as they tender'd the Honour of God, the Preservation of Christian Unity, the Reputation of the University, the Favour of the Queen, and his own good Will to them, they should continue the Use of the Habits.

*Whitgift writes for dispensing with the Habits.*

The Heads of Colleges being sensible of the Risk the University would run of being disfurnished of Students, if the Habits were pressed, writ again to their Chancellor *Cecil*, to intercede with the Queen for a Dispensation ; one of their Letters was sign'd by the Master of *Trinity College*, Dr. *Beaumont*, who had been an Exile, *John Whitgift*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roger Kelk*, Master of *Magdalen-College*, *Richard Longworth*, Master of *St. John's*, *Matthew Hutton*, Master of *Pembroke-Hall*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, and many others ; in their Letter *L. of Parker, p. 194.* they acquaint *his Honour*, " That a great many Persons in the University of Piety and Learning, were fully persuaded of the Unlawfulness of the Habits ; and therefore if Conformity were urged, they would be forced to desert their Stations, and thus the University would be stript of its Ornaments ; they therefore give it as their humble Opinion, that Indulgence in this Matter would be attended with no Inconveniencies ; but on the other hand, they were afraid Religion and Learning would suffer very much by Rigor and Imposition." This Letter was resented at Court, and especially by the Ecclesiastical Commission ; *Longworth* Master of *St. John's* was sent for before the Commissioners, and obliged to sign a Recantation, and read it publickly in the Church ;

Church ; the rest made their Peace by submissive Letters : All the Heads of Colleges were commanded to assist the Vice-Chancellor in bringing the Scholars to an Uniformity in the Habits, which nevertheless they could not accomplish for many Years. *Whitgift* seeing which way the Tide of Preferment ran, drew his Pen in defence of the Hierarchy in all its Branches, and became a most potent Advocate for the Habits. But the University of Cambridge was still a Sanctuary for the Puritans.

Queen Elizabeth,  
1565.

To return to the *London Clergy* : Among the *The Abp's deprived Ministers*, some betook themselves to the *Rigor and Study of Physick*, others enter'd upon a secular Employment ; some went into *Scotland* or beyond Sea ; some got to be Chaplains in Gentlemen's Families ; but many that had large Families were reduced to Beggary. Many Churches were now shut up, and the People ready to mutiny for their Ministers. 600 Persons came to a Church in *London* to receive the Communion on *Palm Sunday*, but the Doors were shut, there being none to officiate. The Cries of the People reached the Court ; the Secretary writ to the Archbishop to supply the Churches, and release the Prisoners ; but his Grace was inexorable, and had rather the People should have no Sermons or Sacraments, than have them without the *Surplice and Cap*. He acquainted the Secretary in a Letter, " That when the Queen put him upon what he had done, he told her that these *precise Folks* would offer their Goods and Bodies to Prison rather than relent ; and her Highness then willed him to imprison them. He confessed that there were many Parishes unserved ; that he underwent many hard Speeches, and much Resistance from the People ; but nothing more than was to be expected. That he had sent his Chaplains into the City to serve in some of the great Parishes, but they could not administer the Sacrament, because the Officers of the Parish had provided neither *Surplice nor Water*"

L. of Par-  
ker, p. 225.

" fer

Queen Elizabeth, 1565. " fer Bread. That on *Palm* Sunday one of his Chaplains designing to administer the Sacrament to some that desired it, the Table was made ready, but while he was reading the Chapter of the *Pas-sion* one of the Parishioners drew from the Table both the Cup and the Wafer Bread, because the Bread was not *common*; and so the People were disappointed, and his Chaplain derided. That divers Church Wardens would provide neither Sur-plice nor Wafer Bread. He acquainted the Secretary further, That he had talked with several of the new Preachers, who were Movers of Sedition and Disorder, that he had commanded them silence, and had put some into Prison. That on *Maunday Thursday* he had many of the Bishop of London's Parishioners, Church Wardens, and others before him; but that he was fully tired, for some Ministers would not obey their *Suspensions*, but preached in defiance of them. Some Church-Wardens would not provide the Church Furni-ture; and others opposed and disturbed those that were sent to officiate in the prescribed Apparel. He then calls upon the Secretary to spirit up [Grin-dal] Bishop of London, to his Duty; and assures him, that he had spoken to him to no Purpose; that he was younger, and nearer the City, and had vacant Priests in his Church, who might supply the Places of the deprived Ministers; he therefore bewail'd that he should be put upon the Oversight of the Parishes of London, which was another Man's Charge; and that the Burden should be laid on his Neck when other Men drew back." The Truth is, Grindal was weary of the unpleasant Work, and having a real Concern to promote the Preaching of the Word of God, he would not act against the Ministers, but as he was pusht forwards; and when the Eyes of his Superiors were turned another way, he would relax again. When the Secretary and Archbishop sent to him to provide for his *Charge*, and fill up the vacant

vacant Pulpits ; he told them it was impossible, for there were no Preachers ; all he could do was to supply the Churches by Turns, which was far from stopping the Murmurs of the People.

Queen Elizabeth;

1566.

This was the sad Condition of the City of London ; the very Bread of Life being taken from the People, for the sake of a few trifling Ceremonies : And if it was thus in the City, how much worse must it be in those distant Countries where her Majesty's Injunctions were rigidly executed ? And yet with all this Rigour it was not in the Power of the Queen and her Bishops to reconcile the Clergy and common People to the Habits. The Queen her self was in earnest, and her Archbishop went into the most servile Measures to fulfil the Commands of his Royal Mistress ; the High Commission was furious, but the Council were backward to countenance their Proceedings.

All Applications to the Queen and her Commissioners being ineffectual, the suspended Ministers thought it their Duty to lay their Case before the World ; accordingly they published a small Treatise this Year, in Vindication of their Conduct, intituled, *A Declaration of the Doings of those Ministers Abstract of of God's Word and Sacraments in the City of London, the su-*  
*which have refused to wear the upper Apparel, and mi- spended*  
*nistring Garments of the Pope's Church.* In this Book *Ministers Reasons for Non-*  
 they shew, " That neither the Prophets in the Old *Confor-*  
 " Testament, nor the Apostles in the New, were *mity.*  
 " distinguished by their Garments ; that the Linen  
 " Garment was peculiar to the Priesthood of Aaron,  
 " and had a Signification of some Thing to be fulfil-  
 " led in Christ and his Church. — That a Distin-  
 " ction of Garments in the Christian Church did not  
 " generally obtain till long after the rising of Anti-  
 " christ ; for the whole Clergy of Ravenna writing to  
 " the Emperor Carolus Calvus, in the Year of our Lord  
 " 876. say, *We are distinguished from the Laity not by*  
 " *our Cloaths but by our Doctrines ; not by our Habits*  
 " *but our Conversation.* — That the Surplice, or  
 " white

Queen Elizabeth, " white Linen Garment came from the *Egyptians* into the *Jewish Church*; and that Pope *Sylvester* 1566. " about the Year 320, was the first that appointed the Sacrament to be administred in a white Linen Garment; giving this Reason for it, Because the Body of Christ was buried in a white Linen Cloth. — They represent how all these Garments had been abused to Idolatry, Sorcery, and all kinds of Conjurations; for (say they) the popish Priests can perform none of their pretended Consecrations of holy Water, Transubstantiation of the Body of Christ, Conjurations of the Devil out of Places or Persons possessed, without a Surplice, or an *Albe*, or some hallowed *Stole*. — They argue against the Habits as an Offence to weak Christians, an Encouragement to ignorant and obstinate Papists, and as an Affectation to return to their Communion. — That at best they were but human Appointments, and came within the Apostle's Re-proof, *Col. ii. 20, 22.* *Why as though living in the World are ye subject to Ordinances, after the Commandments and Doctrines of Men?* Which all are to perish with the using. Touch not, taste not, handle not. — That supposing the Garments were indeed different (which they did not grant) yet they ought not to be imposed, because it was an Infringement of the Liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. — Lastly, They call in the Suffrages of foreign Divines, who all condemned the Habits, though they were not willing to hazard the Reformation in its Infancy for them. Even Bishop *Ridley*, who contended so zealously for the Habits, when Dr. *Brooks* at his Degradation would have persuaded him to put on the Surplice with the rest of the Massing Garments, absolutely refused, saying, *If you put the Surplice upon me, it shall be against my Will.* And when they forced it upon him, he inveighed against the Apparel, as foolish and abominable."

At the end of the Book is a Prayer, in which are these Words ; —— “ Are not the Relicks of Romish Idolatry stoutly retained ? Are we not bereaved of some of our Pastors, who by Word and Example sought to free thy Flock from these Offences ? Ah, good Lord ! these are now by Power put down from pastoral Care ; they are forbid to feed us ; their Voice we cannot hear. This is our great Discomfort ; this is the Joy and Triumph of Antichrist ; and which is more heavy, the Increase of this Misery is of some threaten’d, of the wicked hoped for, and of us feared, as thy Judgments against us for our Sins.” — At the Conclusion is the Lord’s Prayer and Creed, after this Manner, In thy Name, O Christ our Captain, we ask these Things, and pray unto thee, O heavenly Father, saying, Our Father, &c. After this ; O Lord, encrease our Faith, whereof we make Confession, I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. And in the end is this Sentence, Arise, O Lord, and let thine Enemies be confounded.

Other Pamphlets of the same kind were publish’d in favour of the suspended Ministers, which the Bishops appointed their Chaplains to answer. Mr. Strype is of Opinion, that the Archbishop himself published an Answer to their Declaration ; but whoever be the Author, He is a Man of a bad Spirit, and abusive Language : The Ministers printed a Reply to it, intitled, *An Answer for the Time, to the Examination put in print without the Author’s Name, pretending to maintain the Apparel prescrib’d, against the Declaration of the Ministers of London* ; it answers the Adversary Paragraph by Paragraph with good Temper and Judgment. But the Bishops printed some new Testimonies of foreign Divines, without their Consent, with a Collection of Tracts, *Of Obedience to the Magistrate, and Melanchton’s Exposition of Rom. xiii. 1. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers* : From whence they conclude, that because Things are barely tol-

*Queen Elizabeth, 1566.*

*Strype’s Annals, p. 555. Pierce, p. 61.*

*Queen Elizabeth, 1566.* rable, though offensive, dangerous, and in their own Opinions, to be removed out of the Church, as soon as an Opportunity shall offer, yet in the mean Time they may be imposed under the Penalties of Suspension, Deprivation, and Imprisonment, from a mistaken Interpretation of the Apostle's Words, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers.*

The Puritans replied to all these Attempts of their Adversaries ; their Tracts were eagerly sought after, and had a wide spread among the People ; upon which the Commissioners had recourse to their last Remedy, which was the further restraint of the Pres. They complain'd to the Council, that notwithstanding the Queen's Injunctions, the Differences in the Church were kept open by the printing and publishing seditious Libels ; and procured the following Decree of the Star-Chamber, (*viz.*)

- L. of Par-  
ker, p. 221. Restraint  
of the  
Pres.*
1. " That no Person should print or publish any Book against the Queen's Injunctions, Ordinances or Letters Patents, set forth, or to be set forth, or against the meaning of them.
  2. " That such Offenders should forfeit all their Books and Copies, and suffer three Months Im-prisonment, and never practise the Art of Printing any more.
  3. " That no Person should sell, bind or stitch such Books, upon pain of 20 Shillings for every Book.
  4. " That all forfeited Books should be brought to Stationers-Hall, and half the Money forfeited to be reserved for the Queen, the rest for the In-former, and the Books to be destroyed or made waste Paper.
  5. " That the Wardens of the Company may from Time to Time search all suspected Places, and open all Packs, Dry Fats, &c. wherein Paper or foreign Books may be contained ; and enter all Warehouses where they have reasonable Suspicion.

“ Suspicion, and seize all Books and Pamphlets *Queen Elizabeth,*  
 “ against the Queen’s Ordinances, and bring the *Elizabeth,*  
 “ Offenders before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. *1566.*

6. “ All Stationers, Booksellers, and Merchants  
 “ trading in Books, shall enter into Recognizances  
 “ of reasonable Sums of Money, to observe the Pre-  
 “ mises, or pay the Forfeitures.”

This was signed by Eight of the Privy Council, and L. of Par-  
 by the Bishops of Canterbury and London, with five ker,p.222.  
 more of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and published  
 June 29th, 1566. in the eighth Year of the Queen’s  
 Majesty’s Reign.

The Puritans being thus foreclosed, and shut out *Hardships of the Puritans.*  
 of the Church by *Sequestrations, Imprisonments, the taking away of their Licences to preach, and the Restraint of the Press,* most of them were at a loss how to behave, being unwilling to separate from a Church where the Word and Sacraments were truly administer’d, though defiled with some popish Superstitions ; of this Number was Dr. Humphreys, *Some continuers in the Church.*  
 Sampson, Fox the Martyrologist, Lever, Whittingham, Johnson, and others, who continued preaching up and down, as they had Opportunity, and could be dispensed with for the Habits, though they were excluded all parochial Preferment.

But there were great Numbers of the common People that abhorred the Habits as much as the Ministers, and would not frequent the Churches where they were used, thinking it as unlawful to countenance such Superstitions with their Presence, as if they themselves were to put on the Garments. These were at a loss where to hear ; some staid without the Church till Service was over, and the Minister was entering upon his Prayer before Sermon ; others flocked after Father Coverdale, who preached without the Habits ; but being turned out of his Church at St. Magnus, London-Bridge, they were obliged to send to his House on Saturdays, to know where they might hear him next Day : The Government took

*Queen Elizabeth,* was obliged to tell his Friends, that he durst not inform them any more of his Preaching for fear of offending his Superiors. At length, after having waited about eight Weeks to see if the Queen would have Compassion on them, several of the deprived Ministers had a solemn Consultation with their Friends, in which after Prayer, and a serious Debate about the Lawfulness and Necessity of separating from the establish'd Church, they came to this Agreement, That since they could not have the Word of God preached, nor the Sacraments administered without IDOLATROUS GEARE (as they called it) and since there had been a separate Congregation in London, and another at Geneva in Queen Mary's Time, which used a Book and Order of Preaching, Administration of Sacraments and Discipline, that the great Mr. Calvin had approved of, and which was free from the Superstitions of the English Service ; that therefore it was their Duty in their present Circumstances, to break off from the publick Churches; and to assemble, as they had Opportunity, in private Houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the Light of their Consciences. Had the Habits and a few Ceremonies been left indifferent, both Ministers and People had been easy ; but it was the compelling these Things by Law (as they told the Archbishop) that made them separate.

L. of Par-ker,p.241. It was debated among them, whether they should use as much of the Common Prayer and Service of the Church as was not offensive, or resolve at once, since they were cut off from the Church of England, to set up the purest and best Form of Worship, most consonant to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Practice of the foreign Reformers ; the latter of these was concluded upon, and accordingly they laid aside the English Liturgy, and made use of the Geneva Service Book.

*Sad Consequences of it.* Here was the ÆRA or Date of the SEPARATION, a most unhappy Event (says Mr. Strype) whereby “ People

“ People of the same Country, of the same Religion,  
“ and of the same Judgment in Doctrine, parted  
“ Communions; one Part being obliged to go aside  
“ into secret Houses, and Chambers, to serve God  
“ by themselves, which begat Strangeness between  
“ Neighbours, Christians, and Protestants.” And  
not only Strangeness but unspeakable Mischiefs to  
the Nation in this and the following Reigns. The  
Breach might easily have been made up at first,  
but it widened by Degrees; the Passions of the  
contending Parties encreased, till the Fire, which  
for some Years was burning under Ground, broke  
out into a Civil War, and with unspeakable Fury  
destroy’d the Constitution both of Church and  
State.

I leave the Reader to judge at whose Door the *Remarks.*  
Beginnings of these Sorrows are to be laid, for each  
Party cast the Blame on the other. The Confor-  
mists charged the *deprived Ministers* with Disobedi-  
ence to the Queen, with Obsturacy, Preciseness,  
and with breaking the Peace of the Church for Mat-  
ters of no Consequence to Salvation. The *Ministers*,  
on the other hand, thought it cruel Usage to be  
turned out of the Church for Things which their  
Adversaries acknowledged to be trifling, and of meer  
indifference; whereas they took it upon their Con-  
sciences, and were ready to declare in the most so-  
lemn manner, that they apprehended them unlawful.  
They complied as far as they could with the Es-  
tablishment while they were within it, by using as  
much of the Liturgy as was not offensive, and by tak-  
ing the Oath of Supremacy; they were as dutiful  
Subjects to the Queen as the Bishops, and declared  
themselves ready to obey their Sovereign in all  
Things lawful; and when they could not obey, pa-  
tiently to suffer the Will of God. After all this, to  
impute the Behaviour of the *Nonconformists* to Obsti-  
nacy and Peevishness, was very uncharitable. What  
could move them to part with their Livings, or sup-

*Queen*  
Elizabeth,  
1565.

*Queen Elizabeth, 1566.* port them under the Loss, but the Testimony of a good Conscience? When they could not but be sensible their Non-Conformity must be attended with Poverty and Disgrace, with the Loss of their Characters and Usefulness in the Church; and with numberless unforeseen Calamities to themselves and Families, unless it should please God in his All-wise Providence to soften the Queen's Heart in their Favour.

*Affairs of Scotland.*

In Scotland all Things were in Confusion. The young Queen *Mary*, after the Death of her Husband *Francis II.* returned into her own Country, *August 21, 1561.* upon ill Terms with Queen *Elizabeth*, for assuming the Arms of *England*, and putting in her Claim to the Crown on the foot of Queen *Elizabeth's* Bastardy, which most of the popish Powers maintained, because she was born during the Life of Queen *Katherine*, whose Marriage had been declared valid by the Pope. *Elizabeth* offered her a safe Conduct if she would ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; but she chose rather to run all Risks than submit. *MARY* was a bigotted Papist, but her juvenile Amours and Follies soon entangled her Government, and lost her Crown. As soon as she arrived in *Scotland* she had the Mortification to see the whole Nation turned Protestant, and the Reformation established by Laws so secure and strict, that only her self was allowed the Liberty of Mass in her own Chapel, and that without Pomp or Ostentation. The Protestants of *Scotland*, by the Preaching of Mr. *Knox*, and others, had received the strongest Aversion to Popery, and were for removing at the greatest Distance from its Superstitions. The general Assembly petition'd her Majesty to ratify the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the Mass, and for obliging all her Subjects to frequent the reformed Worship. But she replied, That she saw no Impiety in the Mass, and was determined not to quit the Religion in which she was bred, being satisfied it was founded on the Word of God. To which the general Assembly answered a little coarsely, That

*Turcism*

Turcism stood upon as good Ground as Popery ; and then Queen required her in the Name of the Eternal God, to inform her self better, by frequenting Sermons, and conferring with learned Men : But her Majesty gave no Ear to their Counsels.

In the Year 1564. the Queen married Henry Stuart, <sup>Birth of K.</sup> Lord Darnley, who was joined with her in the Government. By him she was brought to Bed of a Son June 15, 1566. afterwards James I. King of England ; but when she was with Child of him, she received a Fright by her Husband's coming into her Chamber with his Servants, and putting to Death her Favourite David Rizzo an Italian Musician, while she was sitting with him at Table. This was thought to have such an Influence upon the Prince that was born of her, that he never loved the Sight of a Sword. Soon after this the King himself was found murdered in a Garden, the House in which the Murder was committed being blown up with Gun-Powder, to prevent the Discovery. Upon the King's Death the Earl of Bothwel became the Queen's Favourite, and as soon as he had sued out a Divorce from his lawful Wife, she took him into her Marriage-Bed, to her very great Infamy, and the Regret of the whole Scots Nation, who took up Arms to revenge the late King's Murder, and dissolve the present incestuous Marriage. When the two Armies were ready to engage Bothwel fled to Dunbar ; and the Queen being apprehensive her Soldiers would not fight in such an infamous Cause, surrendered her self to the Confederates, who shut her up in the Castle of Lock-Levin, and obliged her to resign the Crown to her young Son, under the Regency of the Earl of Murray: From hence she made her Escape into England in the Year 1568. where she was detained Prisoner by Queen Elizabeth almost 18 Years, and then put to Death. Bothwel turned Pirate, and being taken Prisoner by the Danes, was shut up for ten Years in a noisom Prison in Denmark till he lost his Senses and died mad.

The

*Queen Elizabeth*, vened a Parliament and Assembly at Edinburgh, in 1566. which the Pope's Authority was again discharged, and the Act of Parliament of the Year 1560. for re-ppling estab- blished. nouncing the Jurisdiction of the Court of Rome was confirmed, and all Acts passed in former Reigns, for the Support of *popish Idolatry* were annulled. The new Confession of Faith was ratified, and the Protestant Ministers, and those of their Communion, declared to be the only true and holy Kirk within that Realm. The Examination and Admission of Ministers, is declared to be only in the Power and Disposition of the Church ; with a saving Clause for *Lay-Patrons*. By another *Act*, the Kings at their Coronation for the future, are to take an Oath to maintain the reformed Religion then professed : And by another, none but those who profess the reformed Religion now established, are capable of being Judges or Proctors, or of practising in any of the Courts of Justice ; excepting the Rights of Offices hereditary, or for Life.

The general Assembly declared their Approbation of the Discipline of the reformed Churches of *Geneva* and *Switzerland* ; and for a Parity among Ministers, in opposition to the superior Claim of the Bishops. All Church-Affairs were managed by Provincial, Classical and National Assemblies ; but these Acts of the general Assembly not being confirmed by Parliament, *Episcopal Government* was not legally abolished, but tacitly suspended till the King came of Age. However, the general Assembly shewed their Power of the Keys at this Time, by deposing the Bishop of *Orkney* for marrying the Queen to *Bothwel*, who was supposed to have murdered the late King ; and by making the Countess of *Argyle* do Penance for assisting at the Ceremony.

## C H A P. V.

*From the Separation of the Protestant Non-Conformists to the Death of Archbishop PARKER.*

THOUGH all the Puritans of these Times <sup>Queen Elizabeth,</sup> would have remained within the Church, if <sup>1566.</sup> they might have been indulged in the Habits and a few Ceremonies, yet they were far from being satisfied with the HIERARCHY. They had other Objections besides those for which they were deprived, which they laboured incessantly throughout the whole Course of this Reign to remove. I'll set them before the Reader in one View, that he may form the better Judgment of the whole Controversy.

First, They complained of the BISHOPS affecting to be thought a superior Order to Presbyters, <sup>of the Puritans against the Hierarchy</sup> and claiming the sole Right of Ordination, and the Use of the Keys. They disliked the temporal Dignities and Lordships annexed to their Office, and of the their engaging in secular Employments and Trusts, <sup>of the Church.</sup> &c. as tending to exalt them too much above their Brethren, and not so agreeable to their Characters as <sup>M. S.</sup> Ministers of Christ, nor consistent with the due Dis- p. 174. charge of their spiritual Function.

Secondly, They excepted to the Titles and Offices of Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters, and other Officials belonging to Cathedrals, as having no Foundation in Scripture or primitive Antiquity, but intrenching upon the Privileges of the Presbyters of the several Dioceses.

Thirdly, They complained of the exorbitant Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops and their Chancellors in their Spiritual Courts, as derived from the Canon Law of the Pope, and not from the Word of God,

*Queen Elizabeth*, or the Statute Law of the Land. They complain'd  
1566. of their fining, imprisoning, depriving, and putting  
Men to excessive Charges for small Offences ; and  
that the highest Censures, such as *Excommunication* and  
*Absolution*, were in the Hands of *Laymen*, and not in  
the spiritual Officers of the Church.

Fourthly, They lamented the Want of a godly Discipline, and were uneasy at the promiscuous and general Access of all Persons to the Lord's Table. The Church being described in her Articles as a *Congregation of faithful Persons*, they thought it necessary that a Power should be lodged somewhere, to enquire into the Qualifications of such as desired to be of her Communion.

Fifthly, Tho' they did not dispute the Lawfulness of *Sixt Forms of Prayer*, provided a due Liberty was allowed for Prayers of their own Composure before and after Sermon ; yet they disliked some Things in the publick Liturgy established by Law ; as the frequent Repetition of the *Lord's Prayer* ; the Interruption of the Prayers by the frequent Responses of the People, which in some Places seem to be little better than vain Repetitions, and is practised in no other Protestant Church in the World. They excepted to some Passages in the Offices of *Marriage* and *Burial*, &c. which they very unwillingly complied with ; as in the Office of Marriage, *With my Body I thee worship* ; and in the Office of Burial, *In sure and certain Hope of the Resurrection to eternal Life*, to be pronounced over the worst of Men, if not excommunicated, &c.

Sixthly, They dislik'd the Reading of the *Apocryphal Books* in the Church, while some parts of Canonical Scripture were omitted ; and though they did not dislike the Homilies, they thought that no Man should be ordained a Minister in the Church, but who was capable of preaching and expounding the holy Scriptures. One of their great Complaints therefore, throughout the Course of this Reign was,  
that

that there were so many *dumb Ministers*, *Pluralists* Queen and *Non-Residents*; and that Presentations to BENE-Elizabeth, fices were in the Hands of the Queen, Bishops, or some *Lay-Patron*, which ought to arise from the Ele-<sup>1567.</sup>  
ction of the People.

Seventhly, They disapproved of the Observation of sundry of the Church Festivals or Holidays, as having no Foundation in Scripture, or primitive Antiquity. *We have no Example* (say they) *in the Old or New Testament*, of any Days appointed in Commemoration of Saints; To observe the Fast in Lent of Friday and Saturday, &c. is unlawful and super-<sup>M.S.</sup> stitious; as also, buying and selling on the Lord's Day.<sup>P. 174.</sup>

Eighthly, They disallowed of the *Cathedral Mode of Worship*; of singing their Prayers, and of the *Antiphone*, or chanting of the Psalms by Turns, which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in King Edward VIth's Time advised the laying aside. Nor did they approve of musical Instruments, as *Trumpets, Organs, &c.* which were not in use in the Church for above 1200 Years after Christ.

Ninthly, They scrupled Conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies, which were enjoin'd by the Rubrick, or the Queen's Injunctions; as,

1. To the *Sign of the Cross in Baptism*, which is no part of the Institution as directed in Scripture; and though it was usual for Christians, in the earlier Ages of the Church, to cross themselves, or make a Cross in the Air upon some Occasions, as a sort of Enchantment, yet there is no express mention of its being used in Baptism, till about the 5th Century. Besides, it having been abused to Superstition by the Church of *Rome*, and been had in such Reverence by some Protestants, that Baptism it self has been thought imperfect without it, they apprehend it ought to be laid aside. They also disallowed of Baptism by *Midwives*, or other Women, in cases of Sickness; and of the Manner of *Churching Women*, which look'd

*Queen Elizabeth*, look'd to them too much like the Jewish Purification.

1567.

2. They excepted to the Use of God-fathers and God-mothers, to the Exclusion of the Parents from being Sureties for the Education of their own Children. If Parents were dead, or in a distant Country, they were as much for Sponsors to undertake for the Education of the Child, as their Adversaries ; but when the Education of Children is by the Laws of God and Nature committed to Parents, who are bound to form them to Virtue and Piety, they apprehended it very unjustifiable to release them totally from that Promise, and deliver up the Child to a Stranger ; as was then the constant Practice, and is since enjoined by the 29th Canon, which says, “*No Parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as God-father to his own Child.*” In giving Names to Children it was their Opinion, that heathenish Names should be avoided, as not so fit for Christians ; and also, the Names of God, and Christ, and Angels, and the peculiar Offices of the Mediator. They also disliked the God-fathers answering in the Name of the Child, and not in their own.

3. They dislik'd the Custom of Confirming Children, as soon as they could repeat the Lord's Prayer and their Catechism, by which they had a Right to come to the Sacrament, without any other Qualification ; this might be done by Children of five or 6 Years old. They were also dissatisfied with that part of the Office where the Bishop laying his Hand upon the Children, prays that God would by this Sign certify them of his Favour and Goodness, which seems to put a sacramental Efficacy upon the Imposition of his Hands.

4. They excepted against the Injunction of Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which they apprehended not so agreeable to the Example of Christ and his Apostles, who gave it to his Disciples rather in a Posture of Feasting than of Adoration. Besides, it has no Foundation in Antiquity for many hun-

hundred Years after Christ ; and having since been grossly abus'd by the Papists to Idolatry in their Adoration of the Host, it ought (say they) to be laid aside ; but if it should be allowed, that the *Posture* was indifferent, yet it ought not to be imposed and made a necessary Term of Communion ; nor did they approve of either of the Sacraments being administer'd in private ; no not in cases of Danger.

Queen  
Elizabeth,  
1567.

5. To Bowing at the Name of JESUS, as grounded upon a false Interpretation of that Passage of Scripture, *At the Name of JESUS every Knee shall bow* ; as if greater external Reverence was requir'd to that Name, than to the Person of our Blessed Saviour, under the Titles of *Lord, Saviour, Christ, Immanuel, &c.* and yet upon this Mistake was founded the Injunction of the Queen, and the 18th Canon, which says, " When in Time of Divine Service the Name " JESUS shall be mention'd, due and lowly Reverence shall be done by all Persons present." But the Puritans maintained, that all the Names of God and Christ were to be had in equal Reverence, and therefore it was besides all Reason to bow the Knee, or uncover the Head, only at the Name of Jesus.

6. To the Ring in Marriage. This they sometimes complied with, but wished it altered. 'Tis derived from the Papists, who make Marriage a Sacrament, and the Ring a sort of a sacred Sign or Symbol. The Words in the Liturgy are, " Then shall they again loose their Hands, and the Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the Book ; and the Priest taking the Ring, shall deliver it to the Man, to put it on the 4th Finger of the Woman's left Hand ; and the Man holding the Ring there, and taught by the Priest shall say, *With this Ring I thee wed, with my Body I thee worship, and with all my worldly Goods I thee endow.* In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." They also disallowed the forbidding of Marriage at certain Times of the Year, and

*Queen Elizabeth,* " and then " licensing it for Money (say they) is more intolerable. Nor is it lawful to grant Licences that some may marry without the Knowledge of the Congregation, who ought to be acquainted with it, lest there should be any secret Letts or Hindrances."

7. To the Wearing of the Surplice, and other Vestments to be used in Divine Service ; concerning which the Church says, in the Preface to her Liturgy, that tho' they were devised by Men, yet they are reserved for Decency, Order, and Edification. And again, They are apt to stir up the dull Mind of Man to the remembrance of his Duty to God by some notable and special Signification, whereby he might be edified. But the Puritans saw no Decency in the Vestments ; nay, they thought them a Disgrace to the Reformation, and in the present Circumstances absolutely unlawful, because they had been defiled with Superstition and Idolatry ; and because many pretended Protestants placed a kind of Sanctity or Holiness in them. Besides, the wearing them gave Countenance to Popery, and look'd as if we were fond of being thought a Branch of that Communion which we had so justly renounced. But suppose them to be indifferent, they gave great Offence to weak Minds, and therefore ought not to be imposed and made necessary, when there was no Foundation for the Use of them in Scripture or primitive Antiquity.

These Things (say they) every one should endeavour to reform in his Place, Ministers by the Word, Magistrates by their Authority, according to the Word of God, and the People by Prayer.

There was no difference in Points of Doctrine between the Puritans and Conformists ; so that if we add but one Article more, we have the chief Heads of Controversy between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters at this Day ; and that is, *The natural Right that every Man has to judge for himself, and make Profession of that Religion he apprehends most agreeable to Truth, as far as it does not affect the Peace*

and Safety of the Government he lives under; without being determined by the Prejudices of Education, the Laws of the civil Magistrate, or the Decrees of Councils, Churches, or Synods. This Principle would effectually put an End to all Impositions; and unless it be allowed, I am afraid our Separation from the Church of Rome can hardly be justified. The Bible (says Mr. Chillingworth) and that only, is the Religion of Protestants; and every one by making use of the Helps and Assurances that God has put into his Hands, must learn and understand it for himself as well as he can.

It will appear hereafter what Sort of Discipline the PURITANS would have set up; but these were the Objections that hinder'd their Compliance with the present Establishment, and for which they were content to suffer the Loss of all Things. Those that remained within the Church became itinerant Preachers, Lecturers, or Chaplains. The chief Leaders of the Separation, according to Mr. Fuller, were the Reverend Mr. Colman, Mr. Button, Mr. Halingham, Mr. Benson, Mr. White, Mr. Rowland, and Mr. Hawkins, all beneficed within the Diocese of London. These had their Followers of the Laity, who forsook their Parish Churches, and assembled with the deprived Ministers in Woods and private Houses, to worship God without the offensive Habits and Ceremonies of the Church.

The Queen being informed of their Proceedings, sent to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to take effectual Measures to keep the Laity to their Parish Churches, and to let them know, that if they frequented any separate Conventicles, or broke through the Laws of the Church, they should for the first Offence be deprived of their Freedom of the City of London, and after that abide what further Punishment she should direct. This was a vast Stretch of the Prerogative; for there was no Law as yet to disfranchise any Man for not coming to Church.

R

But

Queen Elizabeth,  
1567.

Queen Elizabeth, <sup>1567.</sup> But notwithstanding this threatening Message they went on with their Assemblies, and on the 19th of June agreed to have a Sermon and a Communion at Plumbers-Hall, which they hired for that Day under Pretence of a Wedding; but here the Sheriffs of London detected and broke them up, when they were assembled to the Number of about 100; most of them were taken into Custody and sent to the Comptal, p. 315. ter, and next Day seven or eight of the Chief were brought before the Bishop of London, Dean Goodman, Mr. Archdeacon Watts, and Sir Roger Martin, Lord Mayor of London. The Bishop charged them with absenting from their Parish Churches, and with setting up separate Assemblies for Prayer and Preaching and ministering the Sacrament. He told them, that by these Proceedings they condemned the Church of England, which was well reformed according to the Word of God, and those Martyrs that had shed their Blood for it. To which one of them replied in the Name of the rest, that they condemned them not, but only stood for the Truth of God's Word. Then the Bishop asked the ancientest of them, Mr. John Smith, what he could answer? Who replied, "That they thanked God for the Reformation; that as long as they could hear the Word of God preached without idolatrous Gear about it they never assembled in private Houses; but when it came to this Point, that all their Preachers were displaced who would not subscribe to the Apparel, so that they could hear none of them in the Church for the space of 7 or 8 Weeks, except Father Coverdale, they began to consult what to do; and rememboring there had been a Congregation of Protestants in the City of London in Queen Mary's Days, and another of English Exiles at Geneva, that used a Book framed by them there, they resolved to meet privately together and use the said Book." And finally, Mr. Smith offered in the Name of the rest, to yield, and do Penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the

Bishop and the Commissioners with him, could reprove that Book, or any Thing else that they held, by the Word of God.

Queen

Elizabeth,

1567.

The Bishop told him, *They could not reprove the Peirce, Book*, but that was no sufficient Answer for not going to Church. To which Mr. Smith replied, that "He would as soon go to Mass as to some Churches, and particularly to his own Parish Church; for the Minister that officiated there was a very Papist." Others said the same of other Parish Priests. The Bishop asked, If they accused any of them; upon which one of them presently named Mr. Bedel, who was there present, but the Bishop would not enquire into the Accusation.

The Dean of *Westminster*, who was one of the Ecclesiastical Commission, charged them with derogating from the Queen's Authority of appointing indifferent Things in God's Worship. To which one of them answered, that "it lay not in the Authority of a Prince, nor the Liberty of a Christian Man, to use and defend that which appertained to Papistry, Idolatry, and the Pope's Canon Law." Another said, that "these Things were preferr'd before the Word of God and the Ordinances of Christ." The Bishop asked them what was preferr'd? One of them answer'd boldly, "That which was upon the Bishop's Head and upon his Back; their Copes and Surplices, and Canon Laws." Another said, "That he thought both Prince and People ought to obey the Word of God." To which the Bishop yielded, except in Things that were indifferent, which God had neither commanded nor forbid; in these he asserted, that Princes had Authority to order and command. Whereupon several of them cried out, "Prove that, where find you that?" But the Bishop would not enter into the Debate, but alledg'd the Judgment of the learned Bullinger; to which Mr. Smith replied, That perhaps they could shew Bullinger against Bullinger in the Affair of the Habits.

Queen

Elizabeth,

1567.

The Bishop asked them, whether they would be determined by the Church of Geneva. Mr. Smith replied, " That they reverenced the Learned in Geneva, " and in other Places, but did not build their Faith " and Religion upon them. The Bishop produced the following Passage out of one of Beza's Letters, against them; *That against the Bishops and Prince's Will they should exercise their Office, they [the Ministers of Geneva] did much the more tremble at it.* Mark, says the Bishop, how the learned Beza trembles at your Case. But one of them said they knew the Letter well enough, and that it made nothing against them, but rather against the Prince and the Bishops. Beza and his learned Brethren trembled at their Case, in proceeding to such Extremities with Men, as to drive them against their Wills to that which they did not care to mention. Their Words are these, " We hope that her Royal Majesty, and so many Men of Dignity and Goodness, will endeavour that Care may rather be taken of so many pious and learned Brethren, than so great an Evil should happen, to wit, that the Pastors should be forced against their Consciences, to do that which is evil, and so to involve themselves in other Mens Sins, or to give over; for we more dread that third Thing (viz.) to execute their Ministry contrary to the Will of her Majesty and the Bishops, for Causes, which though we hold our Peace, may well enough be understood." How the Bishop could think this was levelled against the Non-Conformists is hard to understand.

*Life of  
Grindal,  
Records,  
Nº XVI.*

To go on with the Examination. One of the Prisoners said, that " Before they compell'd the Ceremonies, so that none might officiate without them, all was quiet." Another (viz.) Mr. Hawkins produced a Passage out of Melanchton, that " When the Opinion of Holiness, or Necessity, is put unto Things indifferent, they darken the Light of the Gospel." The Bishop replied, *That the Ceremonies*

monies and Habits were not commanded of Necessity. To which Hawkins rejoined, that they had made them Matters of Necessity, as many a poor Man had felt to his Cost, who had been discharged of his Living for Non-Conformity. When the Bishop had occasionally said, that he had formerly said Mass, but was sorry for it, one of them said, he went still in the Habit of a Mass-Priest. To which he replied, that he had rather minister without the Cope and Surplice, but for Order sake and Obedience to the Queen. When some of the Commissioners urged them with the Reformation of King Edward, one said, that "They never went so far in his Time, as to make a Law that none should preach or minister without the Garments." Sundry other Expressions of some Warmth passed on both Sides; at length one of them delivered to Justice Harris their Book of Order, [the Geneva Book] and challenged any of the Commissioners to disprove it by the Word of God and they would give over. The Bishop said they reprov'd it not, but they liked not their separate Assemblies to trouble the common Quiet of the Realm against the Queen's Will. But the others insisted on their superior Regards to the Word of God. In conclusion their sufferings. the Prisoners not yielding to the Bishop were sent to Bridewell, where they with their Brethren, and sundry Women, were kept in Durance above a Year: At length, their Patience and Constancy having been sufficiently tried, an Order was sent from the Lords of the Council to release them; with an Admonition to behave themselves better for the future. Accordingly twenty four Men and seven Women were discharged; the Names of the Men were, John Smith, John Roper, Robert Hawkins, James Ireland, William Nickson, Walter Hynkesman, Thomas Rowland, George Waddy, William Turner, John Naysbe, James Adderton, William Wight, Thomas Lydford, Richard Langton, Alexander Lacy, John Leonard, Robert Tod, Roger Hawksworth, Robert Sparrow, Richard King, Christopher

Queen Elizabeth,  
1567.

*Queen* *pher Colman, John Benson, John Bolton, Robert Gates,*  
*Elizabeth, Whether these Severities were justifiable by the Laws*  
*1568.* *of God or the Land, I leave with the Reader.*

There was a Spirit of uncommon Zeal in these People to suffer all Extremities for the Cause in which they were engaged. In one of their Letters, directed to all the Brethren that believed in Christ, the Writer, who was but a Layman, says, — “ The Reason why we will not hear our Parish Ministers, is because they will not stand forth and defend the Gospel against the Leavings of Popery, for fear of loss of Goods, or punishment of Body, or danger of Imprisonment, or else for fear of Men more than God.” He then calls up their Courage, “ Awake, O ye cold and lukewarm Preachers, out of sleep; gird up your selves with the Truth; come forth and put your Necks [to the Yoke] and think with Peter, that Persecution is no strange Thing; for which of the Prophets were not persecuted as well as Christ and his Apostles; not for evil Doing, but for preaching God’s Word, and for rebuking the World of Sin, and for their Faith in Jesus Christ? This is the Ordinance of God, and this is the Highway to Heaven, by corporal Death to eternal Life, as Christ saith, *John v.* Let us never fear Death that is killed [conquered] by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever. There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ. O Death! where is thy Sting? Thanks be to God, that has given us the Victory. Let us not then dissemble, as some do, to save their Pigs, but be valiant for the Truth. I doubt not, but all they who believe the Truth, and will obey it, will consider the Cause; and the Lord, for his Christ’s sake, make Ephraim and Manasses to agree, that we may all with one Heart and Mind unfeignedly seek God’s Glory, and the Edification of his People, that we may live in all godly Peace, Unity and Concord. This grant, O Lord, for Christ Jesus sake, to

“ whom

“ whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all Queen  
“ Praise, Glory and Honour, for ever and ever.” Elizabeth,  
Another in a Letter to Bishop Grindal, occasioned 1568.  
by his Lordship’s Discourse to the *Prisoner* at his  
Examination before him, December 19. begins thus,  
“ Pleaseth your *Wisdom*, my Duty remember’d,  
“ &c. being grieved at certain Words spoken by  
“ you, and at your extreme Dealing with us of  
“ late, I am bold to utter my Grief in this manner.  
“ You said, if Discipline did not tend to Peace and  
“ Unity, it were better refused; whereas our Savi-  
“ our Christ commandeth Discipline as one part of  
“ the Gospel, most necessary for the Church’s Peace  
“ and Order; the Apostles practised it, and Mr.  
“ Calvin and other learned Men, call it the Sinews  
“ of the Church, that keep the Members together;  
“ and Beza says, where Discipline is wanting there  
“ will be a licentious Life and a School of Wicked-  
“ ness — *Secondly*, You seemed to be offended  
“ with a late Exercise of *Prayer*, and *Fasting*, say-  
“ ing, That you had not heard of any Exercise of  
“ this kind without consent of publick Authority;  
“ to which the Example of the *Ninevites* plainly  
“ answers, who proclaimed a Fast before they ac-  
“ quainted the King with it; nor did the King blaine  
“ his Subjects for going before him in Well-doing,  
“ but approved it by doing the like — *Thirdly*,  
“ You said, You would never ask God Mercy for M.S.p 12:  
“ using the Apparel; and should appear before him  
“ with a better Conscience than we; whereas you  
“ said in a Sermon, as many can witness, That *you*  
“ was sorry, for that you knew you should offend  
“ many godly Consciences by wearing this Apparel;  
“ requiring your Auditory to have Patience for a  
“ Time, for that you did but use them for a Time,  
“ to the end you might the sooner abolish them:  
“ And now you displace, banish, persecute, and  
“ imprison such as will not wear, nor consent there-  
“ unto, and at the same Time say, you fear not to

Queen " appear before God for so doing. But if the Corin-  
Elizabeth, " thians, for eating Meat to the Offence of their  
1568. " Brethren, are said to sin against Christ, how much  
" more do you, who not only retain the Remnants  
" of Antichrist, but compel others to the same ?  
" Better were it for you to leave your *lordly Dignity*,  
" not given you by Christ, and to suffer Affliction  
" for the Truth of the Gospel, than by enjoying  
" thereof to become a Persecutor of your Brethren.  
" Consider (I pray you) if throughout the whole  
" Scriptures you can find one, that was first a Per-  
secutor, and after was persecuted for the Truth,  
" that ever fell to persecuting again and repented.  
" I desire you, in the Bowels of Christ, to consider  
" your own Case, who by your own Confession was  
" once a Persecutor, and has since been persecuted ;  
" whether displacing, banishing, and imprisoning  
" God's Children more streightly than Felons, He-  
reticks or Traytors, be persecuting again or no ?  
" They that make the best of it, say, you buffet  
" your Brethren, which if the Master of the House  
" find you so doing you know your Reward. I  
" desire you, therefore, in the Bowels of Christ,  
" not to restrain us of the Liberty of our Consci-  
ences, but be a Means to enlarge our Liberty  
" in the Truth and Sincerity of the Gospel ; and  
" use your Interest, that all the Remnants of An-  
tichrist may be abolished, with every Plant that  
" our heavenly Father has not planted. — Signed,  
" Yours in the Lord to command, WILLIAM WHITE,  
" who joineth with you in every Speck of Truth, but  
" utterly detesteth whole Antichrist, Head, Body, and  
" Tail, never to join with you, or any, in the least  
" Joint thereof ; nor in any Ordinances of Man, contrary  
" to the Word of God, by his Grace unto the Church."

But neither the Arguments nor Sufferings of the Puritans, nor their great and undissembled Piety, had an Influence upon the Commissioners, who had their Spies in all suspected Places, to prevent their reli-

religious Assemblies ; and gave out strict Orders, Queen Elizabeth,  
That no Clergyman should be permitted to preach in any of the Pulpits of London, without a Licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.

The Persecution of the Protestants in France and Refugees the Low Countries was hot and terrible about this encrease. Time. The King of France broke through all his Edicts, for the free Exercise of the reformed Religion ; he banished their Ministers, and much Blood was spilt in their religious Wars. In the Netherlands the Duke D'Alva breathed out nothing but Blood and Slaughter, putting Multitudes to Death for their Religion. This occasioned great Numbers to fly into England, which encreased the Number of the Dutch Churches in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, London, Southwark, and elsewhere. The Queen, for their Encouragement, allowed them the Liberty of their own Mode of Worship, which turned to a good Account, for they brought their Manufactures over with them, which proved very beneficial to the Trade and Merchandise of the Nation.

Even in England the Hearts of all good Men were dangerous ready to fail, for fear of the Return of popish Idolatry ; the Queen being suddenly taken with a severe fit of Sickness this Summer, which brought her to the very Point of Death, and the presumptive Heir, MARY, late Queen of Scots, being a bigotted Papist. The Queen, together with her bodily Distemper, was under great Terror of Mind for her Sins, and for not discharging the Duty of her high Station as she ought : She said, *She had forgotten her God, to whom she had made many Vows, and been unthankful to him.* Prayers were composed, and publickly read in all Churches for her Majesty's Recovery, in which they petition'd, *That God would heal her Soul, and cure her Mind as well as her Body.* The Papists were never in greater Expectations, nor the Reformation

*Queen Elizabeth, well,* and other Prisons, were full of Puritans, as appears by a manuscript Letter of Mr. Thomas Lever, now before me, dated December 5, 1568. in which he endeavours to comfort the Prisoners, and declares, *m.s. p. 18.* that though the popish Garments and Ceremonies were not unclean in themselves, yet he was determined for himself, by God's Grace, never to wear the *Square Cap* and *Surplice*, because they tended neither to Decency nor Edification, but to Offence, Diffension, and Division in the Church of Christ: Nor would he kneel at the Communion, because it was a symbolizing with Popery, and looked too much like the Adoration of the Host. But at length it pleased Almighty God to dissipate for the present the Clouds that hung over the Reformation, by the Queen's Recovery.

*Bishops Bible.*

This Year was published the Bible in Folio, called the *Bishops Bible*, with a Preface by Archbishop Parker. It was only Cranmer's Translation revised and corrected by several Bishops and learned Men, whose Names may be seen in the Records of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. It was designed to set aside the *Geneva Translation*, which had given Offence. In the beginning, before the Book of *Genesis*, is a Map of the Land of Canaan; before the *New Testament* is a Map containing the Places mentioned in the four Evangelists, and the Journeys of Christ and his Apostles. There are several Cuts dispersed through the Book, and several Genealogical and Chronological Tables, with the Arms of sundry Noblemen, and particularly those of Cranmer and Parker. There are also some References and marginal Notes, for the Explication of difficult Passages. This was the Bible that was read in the Churches till the last Translation of King James I. took place.

*Strype's An. p. 216.*

*Popish Con-*  
*federacy.*

But there was another Storm gathering from Abroad, which threaten'd the Reformation all over Europe; most of the popish Princes having enter'd

enter'd into a League to extirpate it out of the World : *Queen Elizabeth,* 1568.  
The principal Confederates were the Pope, the Em-  
peror, the Kings of *Spain, France, and Portugal* ; with the Duke of *Savoy*, and some lesser Princes : Their Agreement was, to endeavour by Force of Arms to depose all Protestant Kings or Potentates, and to place Catholicks in their room ; and to displace, banish, and condemn to Death, all Well-wishers, and Assitants of the Clergy of *Luther* and *Calvin*, while the Pope was to thunder out his Anathema's against the Queen of *England*, to interdict the Kingdom, and to absolve her Subjects from their Allegiance. In Prosecution of this League, War was already begun in *France, Holland*, and in several Parts of *Germany*, with unheard of Cruelties against the Reformed. Under these Difficulties the Protestant Princes of *Germany* enter'd into a League for their common Defence, and invited the Queen of *England* into it. Her Majesty sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* over to the Elector *Palatine* with a handsome Excuse ; and at the same Time ordered her Ambassador in *France*, to offer her Mediation between that King and his Protestant Subjects : But the Confederacy was not to be broken by Treaties ; upon which her Majesty, by way of Self-defence, and to keep off the Storm from her own Kingdoms, assisted the Confederate Protestants of *France* and *Holland* with Men and Money. This was the second Time the Queen had supported them in their religious Wars against their natural Kings. The foreign popish Princes reproached her for it ; and her Majesty's Ministers had much ado to reconcile it with the Court Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance.

At home the Papists were in Motion, having vast *Their Number.* Expectations from certain Prophecies, that the Queen should not reign above 12 Years ; their Numbers were formidable, and such was their Latitude, that it was not easy to bring them within the Verge of the

*Queen Elizabeth,* was laid aside, Churches were shut up, and the Mass said openly. The Queen sent down Commissioners of Enquiry, but all they could do was to bind some of the principal Gentlemen to their good Behaviour in Recognizances of 100 Marks. Two of the Colleges of Oxford, (viz.) *New College* and *Corpus Christi*

*1569.*  
*Strype's Ann.*  
*p. 541.*  
*Grindal's Life,*  
*p. 133.*

were so over-run with Papists, that the Bishop of *Winchester* their Visitor, was forced to break open the Gates of the College, and send for the Ecclesiastical Commission to reduce them to Order. Great Numbers of Papists harboured in the Inns of Court, and in several other Places of publick Resort, expecting with Impatience the Death of the Queen, and the Succession of the presumptive Heir, MARY, late Queen of *Scotland*.

*Rebellion in the North.*

Towards the latter End of the Year the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, with their Friends, to the Number of 4000, broke out into open Rebellion ; their Pretence was, to restore the popish Religion and deliver the Queen of *Scots*. In the City of *Durham* they tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book to pieces, and restored the Mass in all Places where they came ; but hearing of the Advance of the Queen's Army under the Earl of *Suffolk*, they fled Northward and mouldered away, without standing a Battle : The Earl of *Northumberland* was taken in *Scotland*, and executed at *York*, with many of his Confederates ; but the Earl of *Westmorland* escaped into *Flanders* and died in Poverty. No sooner was this Rebellion over but the Lord *Dacres* began another on the Borders of *Scotland* ; but after a small Skirmish with the Governor of *Berwick* he was defeated and fled, and the Rabble were pardoned. There was a general Commotion among the Papists in all Parts of the Kingdom, who would have united their Forces, if the Northern Rebels had kept their ground.

To give new Life to the Catholick Cause, the Pope published a *Bull*, excommunicating the Queen, and absolving her Subjects from their Allegiance. In <sup>1569.</sup> this Bull he calls her Majesty an *Usurper, and a Vassal of Iniquity*; and having given some Instances of her Aversion to the Catholick Religion, he declares "her an Heretick, and an Encourager of Heretics; and anathematizes all that adhere to her. " He deprives her of her Royal Crown and Dignity, and absolves all her Subjects from all Obligations of Fidelity and Obedience. He involves all those in the same Sentence of Excommunication, who presume to obey her Orders, Commands, or Laws, for the future; and excites all foreign Powers to take up Arms against her." This Effects of alarm'd the Administration, and put them upon their Guard; but it quickly appear'd that the Pope's Thunderbolts had lost their Terror; for the Roman Catholick Princes not being forward to encourage the Court of Rome's pretended Power of excommunicating Princes, continued their Correspondence with the Queen; and her own Roman Catholick Subjects remained pretty quiet; though from this Time they separated openly from the Church. But the Queen took hold of the Opportunity to require all Justices of Peace, and other Officers in Commission, throughout all the Counties in England, to subscribe their Names to an Instrument, professing their Conformity and Obedience to the Act of Uniformity in Religion, and for due resorting to their Parish Churches to hear Common Prayer. This affected Puritans as well as Papists. The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court were also cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and examined about their resorting to Church, and receiving the Sacrament, of which most of them were very negligent. This raised a Clamour, as if the Queen intended to ransack into Mens Consciences; in answer to which she published a Declaration, that she had no such Intention, "That she did not enquire "into

*Queen Elizabeth,* " into the Sentiments of People's Mind, but only required an external Conformity to the Laws ; and *1569.* " that all that came to Church, and observed her " Injunctions, should be deemed good Subjects." So that if Men would be Hypocrites, her Majesty would leave them to God ; but if they would not come to Church, they should suffer the Law.

*Penal Laws a-* *13 Eliz.* When the next Parliament met they passed a Law *against the Papists.* to make it High Treason, *To declare the Queen to be an Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel or Usurper ; to publish or put in Use the Pope's Bulls ; to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, or to receive Absolution by virtue of them.* The concealing, or not discovering Offenders against this Act, is Misprision of Treason. A Protestation was likewise drawn up, to be taken by all reputed Papists, in these Words ; " I do profess " and confess before God, that Queen *Elizabeth*, my " Sovereign Lady, now reigning in *England*, is right- " fully, and ought to be, and continue Queen, and " lawfully beareth the Imperial Crown of those " Realms, notwithstanding any Act or Sentence that " any Pope or Bishop has done or given, or can do " or give ; and that if any Pope, or other, say or " judge to the contrary, whether he say it as *Pope*, " or howsoever, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth " and teacheth Error." And that the Puritans might not escape without some Note of Disloyalty, another Protestation was drawn up for them ; in

*L. of Par-* which they profess before God, that " they believe  
*ker, p. 324.* " in their Consciences, that Queen *Elizabeth* is and " ought to be lawful Queen of *England*, notwithstanding any Act or Sentence, that any Church, " Synod, Consistory, or Ecclesiastical Assembly " hath done or given, or can give ; and that if any " say or judge the contrary, in what respect soever " he saith it, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth and " teacheth Error and Falshood."

There was no manner of Occasion for this last Protestation ; for in the midst of these Commotions the

*Puri-*

Puritans continued the Queen's faithful and dutiful Subjects, and served her Majesty as Chaplains in her Armies and Navy, though they were not admitted into the Churches. One would have thought these formidable Conspiracies of the Roman Catholicks should have alienated the Queen's Heart from them, and prevailed with her Majesty to yield something for the sake of a firmer Union among her Protestant Subjects; but instead of this, the Edge of the Laws that were made against popish Recusants, was turned against Protestant Non-Conformists, which instead of bringing them into the Church, like all other Methods of Severity, drove them further from it.

This Year died Mr. Andrew Kingsmill, born in <sup>Death of</sup> Hampshire, and educated in All Souls College, Oxon, <sup>Mr. King-</sup><sub>mill.</sub> of which he was elected Fellow in 1558. He had such a great Memory, that he could readily rehearse in the Greek Language all St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and other Portions of Scripture memoriter. He was a most pious and religious Person, undervaluing all worldly Profit, in comparison of the Assurance of his Salvation. In the Year 1563. <sup>Wood's</sup> there were but three Preachers in the University, of <sup>Athen. Ox.</sup> whom Kingsmill was one; but after some Time, when <sup>p. 161.</sup> Conformity was pressed, and Sampson turned out of his Deanry, he withdrew out of the Kingdom, resolving to live in one of the best reformed Churches for Doctrine and Discipline, the better to prepare himself for the Service of the Church; accordingly he lived 3 Years at Geneva, from thence he removed to Lausanne, where he died this Year, in the prime of his Days, leaving behind him an excellent Pattern of Piety, Devotion, and all kinds of Virtues.

The rigorous Execution of the Penal Laws made 1570. Business for the Civilians; many were cited into the <sup>Proceed-</sup><sub>ings of the</sub> Spiritual Courts, and after long Attendance, and great Charges, were suspended or deprived; the Pursuivant, or Messenger of the Court, was paid by the Mile; the Fees were exorbitant which the Priso-

Queen Elizabeth,  
1570.

*Queen Elizabeth.* *1570.* ner must satisfy before he is discharged ; the Method of Proceeding was dilatory and vexatious, though they seldom called any Witnesses to prove the Charge, but usually tender'd the Defendant an Oath, to answer the Interrogatories of the Court ; and if he refused the Oath they examined him without it, and convicted him upon his own Confession ; if the Prisoner was dismissed he was almost ruined with the Charges, and bound in a Recognizance to appear again whensoever the Court should send for him. We shall meet with many sad Demonstrations of this in the latter Part of this Reign. The honest *Puritans* made Conscience of not denying any Thing they were charged with, *if it was true*, though they might certainly have put the Court upon the Proof of it : Nay, most of them thought themselves bound to confess the Truth, and bear a publick Testimony to it, before the Civil Magistrate, though it was made use of to their Disadvantage.

*Mr. Axton's Examination.* I have an Example of this now before me ; the Reverend Mr. Axton, Minister of *Morton Corbet* in *Leicestershire*, was cited into the Bishop's Court three several Times this Year, and examined upon the Reasons of his refusing the *Apparel*, the *Cross* in Baptism, and *kneeling* at the Sacrament, which he debated with the Bishop and his Officers with a decent Freedom and Courage. At the Close of the Debate the Bishop said ;

BISH. Now Mr. Axton, I would know of you, what you think of the Calling of the Bishops of *England* ?

AXTON. I may fall into danger by answering this Question.

BISH. I may compel you to answer upon your Oath.

AXT. But I may choose whether I will answer upon Oath or not. I am not bound to bring my self into danger ; but because I am persuaded it will redound to God's Glory, I will speak, be the Consequence

quence what it will ; and I trust in the *Holy Spirit* Queen Elizabeth, 1570.  
that I shall be willing to die in Defence of the Truth.

BISH. Well ; what do you think of my Calling ?

AXT. You are not lawfully called to be a Bishop, according to the *Word of God.*

BISH. I thought so ; but why ?

Axt. For three Causes, 1. Because you were not ordained by the Consent of the *Eldership.*

BISH. But I had the Hands of 3 or 4 Bishops.

Axt. But that is not the Eldership St. Paul speaks of, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

BISH. By what Eldership were you ordained ? Was it not by a Bishop ?

Axt. I had indeed the laying on of the Hands of one of the Bishops of *England*, but that was the least Part of my Calling.

BISH. What Calling had you more ?

Axt. I having exercised and expounded the *Word* several Times in an ordinary Assembly of 10 Ministers ; they joined in Prayer, and being required to speak their Consciences in the Presence of God, declared upon the Trial they had of me, that they were persuaded I might become a profitable Labourer in the House of God ; after which I received the Laying on of the Hands of the Bishop.

BISH. But you had not the Laying on of the Hands of those Preachers.

Axt. No ; I had the Substance, but I wanted the Accident, wherein I beseech the Lord to be merciful to me ; for the Laying on of Hands, as it is the *Word*, so it is agreeable with the mighty Action of ordaining the Ministers of God.

BISH. Well, then your Ordination is imperfect as well as mine. What is your second Reason ?

Axt. Because you are not ordained Bishop over any one Flock ; nay, you are not a Pastor over any one Congregation, contrary to 1 Pet. v. 2. *Feed the Flock*; and to *Acts xiv. 23*; from whence 'tis manifest that

*Queen Elizabeth,* there should be Bishops and Elders through every Congregation.  
1570.

BISH. What is a Congregation?

AXT. Not a whole Diocese, but such a Number of People as ordinarily assemble in one Place to hear the Word of God.

BISH. What if you had a Parish six or seven Miles long, where many could not come to hear once in a Quarter of a Year?

AXT. I would not be Pastor over such a Flock.

BISH. What is your third Reason?

AXT. Because you are not chosen by the People; *A&s xiv. 23. And they ordained Elders by Election in every Church, καὶ εἵλονται, by the lifting up of Hands.*

B'S CHANC. How came you to be Parson of Morton Corbet.

AXT. I am no *Parson*.

CHANC. Are you then *Vicar*?

AXT. No; I am no Vicar, I abhor those Names as Antichristian; I am Pastor of the Congregation there.

CHANC. Are you neither *Parson* nor *Vicar*? How hold you your Living?

AXT. I receive these temporal Things of the People, because I being their Pastor, do minister to them spiritual Things.

CHANC. If you are neither *Parson* nor *Vicar* you must reap no Profit.

AXT. Do you mean good Faith in that you say?

CHANC. Yea, if you will be neither *Parson* nor *Vicar* there is good Cause why another should.

BISH. You must understand, that all Livings in the Church are given to Ministers as *Parsons* and *Vicars*, and not as *Pastors* and *Ministers*. How were you chosen Pastor?

AXT. By the free Election of the People and Leave of the Patron: After I had preached about six Weeks by way of Probation, I was chosen by one Consent of

of them all, a Sermon being preached by one of my Brethren, setting forth the mutual Duties of Pa-<sup>Queen Elizabeth,</sup> stor and People.

BISH. May the Bishops of *England* ordain Ministers?

Axt. You ought not to do it in the Manner ye do ; that is, without the Consent of the Eldership, without sufficient Proof of their Qualifications, and without ordaining them to a particular Congregation.

BISH. Well, Mr. *Axton*, you must yield somewhat to me, and I will yield somewhat to you ; I will not trouble you for the *Cross in Baptism* ; and if you will wear the *Surplice* but sometimes it shall suffice.

Axt. I can't consent to wear the *Surplice*, 'tis against my Conscience ; I trust, by the Help of God, I shall never put on that *Sleeve* which is a Mark of the Beast.

BISH. Will you leave your Flock for the *Surplice* ?

Axt. Nay ; Will you persecute me from my Flock for a *Surplice*? I love my Flock in Jesus Christ, and had rather have my right Arm cut off than be removed from them.

BISH. Well, I will not deprive you this Time.

Axt. I beseech you consider what you do in removing me from my Flock, seeing I am not come in at the Window, or by Simony, but according to the Institution of Jesus Christ.

On the 22d of November following Mr. *Axton* appeared again, and was examined touching Organs, Musick in Churches, and Obedience to the Queen's Laws, &c.

BISH. You in refusing the *Surplice* are disloyal to the Queen, and shew a Contempt of her Laws.

Axt. You do me great Injury in charging me with Disloyalty ; and especially when you call me and my Brethren Traitors, and say, that we are more troublesome Subjects than the Papists.

*Queen Elizabeth,* BISH. I say still, the Papists are afraid to stir,  
but you are presumptuous, and disquiet the State  
*1570.* more than they.

Axt. If I, or any that fear God, speak the Truth, doth this disquiet the State? The Papists have for 12 Years been plotting Treason against the Queen and the Gospel, and yet this doth not grieve you. But I protest in the Presence of God, and of you all, that I am a true and faithful Subject to her Majesty; also I do pray daily both publickly and privately, for her Majesty's Safety, and for her long and prosperous Reign, and for the Overthrow of all her Enemies, and especially the Papists. I do profess my self an Enemy to her Enemies, and a Friend to her Friends; therefore if you have any Conscience, cease to charge me with Disloyalty to my Prince.

BISH. In as much as you refuse to wear the Surplice, which she has commanded, you do in effect deny her to be supreme Governess in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal.

Axt. I admit her Majesty's Supremacy so far, as if there be any Error in the Governors of the Church she has Power to reform it; but I do not admit her to be an Ecclesiastical Elder, or Church Governor.

BISH. Yes; but she is, and hath full Power and Authority all manner of ways; indeed she doth not administer the Sacraments and preach, but leaveth those Things to us. *But if she were a Man, as she is a Woman, why might she not preach the Word of God as well as we?*

Axt. May she, if she were a Man, preach the Word of God? Then she may also administer the Sacraments.

BISH. This does not follow, for you know *Paul* preached and yet did not baptize.

Axt. *Paul* confesses that he did baptize, though he was sent especially to preach.

BISH. Did not *Moses* teach the People? and yet he was their Civil Governor.

Axt.

Axt. Moses's Calling was extraordinary. Remember the King of Judah, how he would have sacrificed in the Temple of God. Take heed how you confound those Offices which God has distinguished.

*Queen Elizabeth,*  
<sup>1570.</sup>  
*M S.*

BISH. You see how he runneth.

p. 55, 56.

BICKLEY. You speak very confidently and rashly.

BISH. This is his arrogant Spirit. ——

Thus the Dispute broke off, and the good Man, notwithstanding all his Supplications, was deprived of his Living, and driven to seek his Bread in another Country, though the Bishop owned he was a Divine of good Learning, a ready Memory, and well qualified for the Pulpit.

One sees here the Difficulties the Puritans laboured under in their *Ordinations*; they apprehended the Election of the People, and the Examination of Presbyters, with the Imposition of their Hands, necessary to the Call of a Minister; but this, if it were done in *England* without a Bishop, would hardly entitle them to preach in the Church, or give them a legal Title to the Profits of their Livings: Therefore after they had past the former Trials they applied to the *Bishop* for the Imposition of his Hands; but others not satisfied with the Ordination of a single Person, not rightly called (as they thought) to the Office of a *Bishop*, went beyond Sea, and were ordained by the Presbyteries of foreign Churches: For though the *English* Puritans had their Synods and Presbyteries, yet 'tis remarkable that they never ordained a single Person to the Ministry.

The Controversy with the Church, which had hitherto been chiefly confined to the *Habits*, to the <sup>wright op-</sup> *Cross in Baptism*, and *Kneeling at the Lord's Supper*, began now to open into several more considerable Branches, by the Lectures of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Cartwright, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's Professor, a courageous Man, a popular Preacher, a profound

*poses the Hierarchy of the Church.*

*Queen Elizabeth*, was in high Esteem in the University, his Lectures being frequented by vast Crouds of Scholars ; and when he preached at St. Mary's they were forced to take down the Windows. Beza says of him, that he thought there was not a more learned Man under the Sun. This Divine, in his Lectures, disputed against certain Blemishes of the English Hierarchy, and particularly against these Six, which he subscribed with his own Hand.

Strype's Ann. p. 628. (1.) "The Names and Functions of Archbishops and Archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having

" no Foundation in Scripture.

(2.) "The Offices of the lawful Ministers of the Church (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, ought to be reduced to the Apostolical Institution ; the Bishop to preach the Word of God and pray, and Deacons to take care of the Poor.

(3.) "The Government of the Church ought not to be intrusted with Bishops Chancellors, or the Officials of Archdeacons ; but every Church should be governed by its own Minister and Presbyters.

(4.) "Ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the Charge of a certain Flock.

(5.) "No body should ask, or stand as a Candidate for the Ministry.

(6.) "Bishops should not be created by civil Authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the Church."

These Propositions are said to be untrue, dangerous, and tending to the Ruin of Learning and Religion ; they were therefore sent to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the University, who advised the Vice-Chancellor to silence the Author, or oblige him to recant. Cartwright challenged Dr. Whitgift, who preached against him, to a publick Disputation, which he refused unless he had the Queen's Licence ; and Whitgift offered a private Conference by writing, which the other declined, as answering no valuable Purpose.

Other dangerous and seditious Propositions (as they were called) were collected out of *Cartwright's Lectures*, and sent to Court by Dr. *Whitgift*, to incense the Queen and Chancellor against him. As,

- (1.) " In reforming the Church 'tis necessary to *His Positions*. " reduce all Things to the apostolical Institution.
- (2.) " No Man ought to be admitted into the Ministry but who is capable of preaching.
- (3.) " None but such a Minister of the Word ought to pray publickly in the Church, or administer the Sacraments.
- (4.) " Popish Ordinations are not valid.
- (5.) " Only Canonical Scripture ought to be read publickly in the Church.
- (6.) " The publick Liturgy should be so framed, that there be no private praying or reading in the Church, but that all the People attend to the Prayers of the Minister.
- (7.) " The Care of burying the Dead does not belong more to the ministerial Office than to the rest of the Church.
- (8.) " Equal Reverence is due to all Canonical Scripture, and to all the Names of God; there is therefore no Reason why the People should stand at the Reading of the Gospel, or bow at the Name of *Jesus*.
- (9.) " 'Tis as lawful to sit at the Lord's Table as to kneel or stand.
- (10.) " The Lord's Supper ought not to be administered in private; nor should Baptism be administered by Women or Lay-Persons.
- (11.) " The Sign of the *Cross* in Baptism is superstitious.
- (12.) " 'Tis reasonable and proper, that the Parent should offer his own Child to Baptism, making a Confession of that Faith he intends to educate it in, without being obliged to answer in the Child's Name, I WILL, I WILL NOT, I BELIEVE, &c. " nor

*Queen Elizabeth,* " nor ought it to be allowed, that Women or Persons under Age should be Sponsors.

1570. (13.) " In giving Names to Children 'tis convenient to avoid *Paganism*, as well as the Names and Offices of *Christ, Angels, &c.*

(14.) " 'Tis papistical to forbid Marriages at certain Times of the Year; and to give Licences in those Times is intolerable.

(15.) " Private Marriages, that is, such as are not published before the Congregation, are highly inconvenient.

(16.) " The Observation of *Lent*, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious.

(17.) " The Observation of *Festivals* is unlawful.

(18.) " Trading, or keeping Markets on the Lord's Day, is unlawful.

(19.) " In ordaining of Ministers the pronouncing those Words, *Receive thou the Holy Ghost*, is both ridiculous and wicked.

(20.) " Kings and Bishops should not be anointed."

These were *Cartwright's* dangerous Doctrines, which he touched occasionally in his Lectures, but with no design to move Discord, as appears by a Testimonial sent to the Secretary of State in his Favour, sign'd by fifteen considerable Names in the University; in which they say, that they had heard his Lectures, and declare, that " He never touched upon the Controversy of the *Habits*; and though he had advanced some Propositions with regard to the Ministry, according to which he wished Things might be regulated, he did it with all imaginable Caution and Modesty." Other Letters were written in his Favour, signed by 200 or 25 Names, of whom some were afterwards Bishops, but it was resolved to make him an Example. *Cartwright* himself writ an elegant Latin Letter to the Secretary, in which he declares, that he waved all Occasions of speaking concerning the *Habits*, but owns he had taught that our Ministry declined from the Ministry

nistry of the apostolical Church in some Points, according to which he wish'd it might be modell'd ; Queen Elizabeth, but that he did this with all imaginable Caution, as almost the whole University would witness, if they Peirce's might be allowed. He prayed the Secretary to hear *Vindicat.* and judge the Cause himself ; which was so far from P. 77. Novelty, that it was as venerable for its Antiquity as the apostolick Age it self ; but though the Secretary was convinced, that his Behaviour was free from Arrogancy, or an Intention to move Trouble, and that only as a publick Reader in the University, he had given Notes of the Difference between the Ministry in the Times of the Apostles, and the present Ministry of the Church of *England*, yet he left him to the Mercy of his Enemies, who poured upon him all the Infamy and Disgrace their Power would admit. They first denied him his Degree of Doctor in *Divinity*, then forbid his reading publick Lectures, and at laſt deprived him of his Fellowship, and expell'd him the University. A short and compendious Way of confuting an Adversary !

Mr. Cartwright being now out of all Employment Cartwright at home travell'd beyond Sea, and settled a Correspondence with the most celebrated Divines in the goes beyond Protestant Universities of Europe. While he was Sea. abroad he was chosen Minister to the English Merchants at *Antwerp*, and afterwards at *Middleburgh*, where he continued two Years with little or no Profit to himself ; after which he returned into *England*, being earnestly sollicited thereunto by Letters from Mr. Deering, *Fulk, Wiburne, Fox and Lever*, when we shall hear more of the Sufferings of this eminent Divine for his Non-Conformity.

This Year Grindal Bishop of *London* being translated to *York*, Sandys Bishop of *Worcester* was removed to *London* ; in his primary Visitation, Jan. 10. he charged his Clergy, (1.) To keep strictly to the Book of Common-Prayer. (2.) Not to preach without a Licence. (3.) To wear the Apparel, that is,

Queen Elizabeth, is, the square Cap and Scholars Gown, and in Divine Service, the Surplice. (4.) Not to admit any of other Parishes to their Communion. He also ordered all Clerks *Tolerations* to be called in ; by which it appears that some few of the Non-Conformists had been tolerated, or dispensed with hitherto, but now this was at an end. However, the Puritans encouraged one another by Conversation and Letters to Stedfastness in their Opposition to the Corruptions of the Church, and not to fear the Resentments of their Adversaries.

There was a Spirit in the Parliament, which began April 2. to attempt something in favour of the Puritans, upon whom the Bishops bore harder every Day than other. Mr. Strickland, an ancient Gentleman, offered a Bill for a further Reformation in the Church, and introduced it with a Speech, proving, That the *Common Prayer Book, with some superstitious Remains of Popery in the Church,* might easily be altered without the Danger of changing Religion. But the Treasurer of the Queen's Household stood up and said, " All Matters of Ceremonies were to be referred to the Queen, and for them to meddle with the Royal Prerogative was not convenient." Her Majesty was so displeased with Mr. Strickland's Motion, that she sent for him before the Council, and forbid him the Parliament House, which alarmed the Members, and occasioned so many warm Speeches, that she thought fit immediately to restore him ; this was destroying the Freedom of Parliaments, and carrying the Prerogative to its utmost length. But Mr. Strickland moved further, That a Confession of Faith should be published and confirmed by Parliament, as it was in other Protestant Countries ; and that a Committee might be appointed to confer with the Bishops on this Head. The Committee drew up certain Articles, according to those which passed the Convocation of 1562. but left out others. The Archbishop asked them, Why they

1571.  
Proceedings in Parliament for Reformation.

Strype's  
*Annals,*  
p. 6.

they left out the Article for *Homilies*, and for the *Consecrating of Bishops*, and some others relating to the <sup>Queen Elizabeth,</sup> *Hierarchy*. Mr. Peter Wentworth replied, because <sup>1571.</sup> they had not yet examined how far they were agreeable to the Word of God, having confined themselves chiefly to *Doctrines*. The Archbishop replied, surely you will refer your selves wholly to us the *Bishops* in these *Things*? To which Mr. Wentworth replied warmly, No, by the *Faith I bear to God*, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were but to make you *Popes*: Make you *Popes* who list, for we will make you none. So the Articles relating to Discipline were waved, and an Act was passed, confirming all the Doctrinal Articles agreed upon in the Synod of 1562.

The Act is entitled, *For Reformation of Disorders in the Ministers of the Church*, " And enjoins all that have <sup>scribing Articles of</sup> any Ecclesiastical Livings, to declare their Assent <sup>ticles of</sup> before the Bishop of the Diocese to all the Articles <sup>Faith.</sup> <sub>13 Eliz.</sub> of Religion, WHICH ONLY CONCERN THE CONFES-<sup>cap. 12.</sup>  
SION OF THE TRUE FAITH, AND THE DOCTRINE  
OF THE SACRAMENTS, comprised in the Book im-  
printed, and intituled, *Articles*, whereupon it was  
agreed by the *Archbishops and Bishops, &c.* and the whole  
*Clergy in the Convocation of 1562.* for avoiding Diver-  
sity of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching  
true Religion; and to subscribe them; which was  
to be testified by the Bishop of the Diocese, under  
his Seal; which Testimonial he was to read publick-  
ly with the said Articles, as the *Confession of his Faith*,  
in his Church on a Sunday, in the Time of Divine  
Service, or else to be deprived. If any Clergyman  
maintained any Doctrine repugnant to the said Ar-  
ticles, the Bishop might deprive him. None were  
to be admitted to any Benefice with Cure, except  
he was a Deacon of the Age of 23 Years, and would  
subscribe, and declare his unfeigned Assent to the  
Articles above-mentioned. Nor might any admi-  
nister the Sacraments under 24 Years of Age.".

It

*Queen Elizabeth,* It appears from the Words of this Statute, that those Articles of the Church which relate to its Discipline were not designed to be the Terms of Ministerial Conformity; and if the Queen and the Bishops had governed themselves by it, the Separation had been stifled in its Infancy; for there was hardly a Puritan in England that refused Subscription to the Doctrinal Articles: If all the 39 Articles had been established there had been no need of the following Clause, *Which ONLY concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments.* And yet notwithstanding this Act, many that held Benefices and Ecclesiastical Preferments, and that offered to conform to the Statute, were deprived in the following part of this Reign; which was owing to the Bishops servile Compliance with the Prerogative, and pressing Subscription to more than the Law required.

*Strype's Ann. p 72.* It deserves further to be taken Notice of, that by a Clause in this Act the Parliament admits of *Ordination by Presbyters without a Bishop;* which was afterwards disallowed by the Bishops in this Reign, as well as at the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Church was deprived of great Numbers of learned and useful Preachers, who scrupled the Matter of *Re-Ordination*, as they would at this Time, if it had been insisted on. Many of the present Clergy had been Exiles for Religion, and had been ordained abroad, according to the Custom of foreign Churches, but would not be re-ordained, any more than those of the popish Communion; therefore to put an End to all Disputes the Statute includes both; the Words are these, "That every Person under the Degree of a Bishop, that doth, or shall pretend to be a Priest or Minister of God's Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other Form of Institution, Consecration, or Ordering, than the Form set forth in Parliament in the Time of the late King Edward VI. or now used in the Reign of our most Sovereign Lady, Queen

" Queen Elizabeth, shall before Christmas next, de- Queen  
clare his Assent, and subscribe the Articles afore- Elizabeth,  
said." The meaning of which Clause, says Mr. 1571.  
*Strype*, is undoubtedly to comprehend Papists, and likewise such as received their Orders in some of the foreign reformed Churches when they were in Exile under Queen Mary.

'Tis probable that the controverted Clause of the *Strype's* 20th Article, *The Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority, in Controversies of Faith*, was not among the Articles of 1562. as has been shewn under that Year; though it might be (according to *Laud* and *Heylin*) inserted in the Convocation Book of 1571. but what has this to do with the Act of Parliament, which refers to a Book printed nine Years before? Besides, 'tis absurd to charge the *Puritans* with striking out the Clause, as *Archbishop Laud* has done; because they had no Share in the Government of the Church at this Time, nor Interest to obtain the least Abatement in their Favour; nor does it appear that they disallowed the Clause under proper Regulations: One might rather suppose, that the Queen should take Umbrage at it as an Invasion of her Prerogative, and that therefore some zealous *Churchman*, finding the Articles defective upon this Head of the *Church's Authority*, might insert it *privately*, to avoid the Danger of a *Præmunire*.

But after all, Subscription to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church ONLY, has been reckoned a very great Grievance by many pious and learned Divines, both in the Church and out of it; for 'tis next to impossible to frame 36 Propositions in any human Words, that ten Thousand Clergymen can give their hearty Assent and Consent unto. Some that agree to the Doctrine it self may dissent from the Words and Phrases by which it is expressed; and others that agree to the capital Doctrines of Christianity may have some Doubts about the deeper and more

Queen Elizabeth, more abstruse Points of Speculation. It would be  
 hard to deprive a Man of his Living, and shut him  
 out from all Usefulness in the Church, because he  
 doubts of the local Descent of Christ into Hell; or, Whether the best Actions of Men before their Conversion have  
 the Nature of Sins; or that Every Thing in the three  
 Creeds, commonly called the Apostles, the Nicene, and  
 the Athanasian, may be proved by most certain War-  
 rants of Holy Scripture, and are therefore to be believed  
 and received. Wise and good Men may have differ-  
 ent Speculations upon the Doctrine of the Decrees,  
 which are a Depth which no Man can fathom.  
 These, and some other Things, have pinched the  
 Consciences of the Clergy, and driven them to find  
 out Evasions destructive to Morality, and the Peace  
 of their own Minds. Some have subscribed them  
 as Articles of Peace, contrary to the very Title,  
 which says, *They are for avoiding the Diversity of Op-*  
*nions.* Others have tortured the Words to a Mean-  
 ing contrary to the known Sense of the Compilers.  
 Some subscribe them with a secret Reserve, *as far*  
*as they are agreeable to the Word of God;* and so they may  
 subscribe the Council of Trent, or even Mahomet's  
 Alcoran. Others subscribe them not as Doctrines  
 which they believe, but as Doctrines that they will  
 not openly contradict and preach against; and others,  
 I am informed, put no Sense upon the Articles at all,  
 but only subscribe them as a Test of their Obedience  
 to their Superiors, who require this of them as the  
 legal Way to Preferment in the Church. How hard  
 must it be for Men of Learning and Probity to sub-  
 mit to these Shifts! when no kinds of Subscriptions  
 can be a Barrier against ignorant or dishonest Minds.  
 Of what Advantage is Uniformity of Profession with-  
 out an Agreement in Principles? If the fundamental  
 Articles of our Faith were drawn up in the Language  
 of *Holy Scriptures;* or if those who are appointed to  
 examine into the Learning, and other Qualifications  
 of Ministers, were to be Judges of their Orthodox

Con-

1571.

Art. 13.

Art. 8.

Confessions of Faith, it would answer a better Purpose, than Subscription to human *Creeds and Articles.* Queen Elizabeth,

Tho' the Commons were forbid to concern themselves with the Discipline of the Church, they ventur'd to present an Address to the Queen, com- plaining, " That for lack of true Discipline in the Church, great Numbers are admitted Ministers that are infamous in their Lives and Conversations ; and among those that are of Ability their Gifts in many Places are useles, by reason of Pluralities and Non-Residency, whereby infinite Numbers of your Majesty's Subjects are like to perish for lack of Knowledge. By means of this, together with the common blaspheming of the Lord's Name, the most wicked Licentiousness of Life, the Abuse of Excommunication, the Commutation of Penance, the great Numbers of Atheists, Schismaticks daily springing up, and the Increase of Papists, the Protestant Religion is in imminent Danger : Wherefore in regard first and principally to the Glory of God, and next in discharge of our bounden Duty to your Majesty ; besides, being moved with Pity towards so many Thousands of your Majesty's Subjects, daily in danger of being lost for want of the Food of the Word, and true Discipline, we the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, are humbly bold to open the Griefs, and to seek the salving of the Sores of our Country, and to beseech your Majesty, seeing the same is of so great Importance, if the Parliament at this Time may not be so long continued, as that by good and godly Laws Provision may be made for Supply and Reformation of these great and grievous Wants and Abuses, that yet by such other Means, as to your Majesty's Wisdom shall seem meet, a perfect Redress of the same may be had ; by which the Number of your Majesty's faithful Subjects will be increased, Popery will be destroyed, the Glory

" of

*Queen Elizabeth.* " of God will be promoted, and your Majesty's Re-  
nown will be recommended to all Posterity." But  
*1571.* the Queen broke up the Parliament without taking  
any Notice of the Supplication.

*Convoca-*  
*tion.*

*M. S.*  
*p. 92.*

*Sparrow,*  
*p. 223.*

The Convocation that began with this Parliament assembled *April 3d*, when the Reverend Mr. *Gilbert Alcock* presented a Supplication to them in behalf of the deprived Ministers, praying their Interest with the Queen for a Redress of their Grievances ; " If a godly Minister (says he) omit but the least Ceremony, for Conscience sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into Prison, and his Goods wasted and destroyed ; he is kept from his Wife and Children, and at last excommunicated. We therefore beseech your Fatherhoods to pity our Cause, and take from us these stumbling Blocks." But the Convocation were of another Spirit, for instead of removing their Burdens they encreased them ; by framing certain new Canons of Discipline, against the Puritans ; as, that the Bishops should call in all their Licences for Preaching, and give out new ones to such as were best qualified ; and among the Qualifications they insist not only upon Subscription to the Doctrines of the Church enjoined by Parliament, but upon Subscription to the Common Prayer Book, and *Ordinal* for Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God. And they declare, that all such Preachers as do not subscribe, or that disturb Peoples Minds with contrary Doctrine, shall be excommunicated. But as these Canons never had the Sanction of the Queen's Broad Seal, surely the enforcing them upon the Puritans was a Stretch of Power hardly to be justified. Bishop *Grindal* confessed they had not the Force of a Law, and might possibly involve them in a *Præmunire* ; and yet the Bishops urged them upon the Clergy of their several Dioceses. They cancell'd all the Licences of  
Preachers,

Preachers, and insisted peremptorily on the Subscription above-mentioned.

*Queen Elizabeth,*  
1571.

The Complaints of the Ministers under these Hardships reached the Ears of the Elector *Palatine* of the *Strype's Rhine*, who was pleased to order the learned *Zanchy*, *Ann. p. 97.* Professor of Divinity in the University of *Heidelberg*, to write to the Queen of *England* in their Behalf, beseeching her Majesty, not to insist upon Subscriptions, or upon wearing the Habits, which gave such Offence to great Numbers of the Clergy, and was like to make a Schism in the Church. The Letter was inclosed to Bishop *Grindal*, but when he had read it he would not so much as deliver it to the Queen, for fear of disobliging her Majesty, whose Resolution was to put an End to all Distinctions in the Church, by pressing the Act of Uniformity. Instead therefore of relaxing to the Puritans, Orders were sent to all Church-Wardens, *Not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister the Sacraments in any Churches, Chapels, or private Places, without a new Licence from the Queen or the Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese, to be dated since May last.* The more resolved Puritans were therefore reduced to the Necessity of assembling in private, or of laying down their Ministry.

Though all the Bishops were obliged to go into these Measures of the Court, yet some were so sensible of the Want of Discipline, and of preaching the Word, that they permitted their Clergy to enter into Associations for the promoting of both. The Ministers of the Town of *Northampton*, with the Consent and Approbation of Dr. *Scambler* their Bishop, the Mayor of the Town, and the Justices of the County, agreed upon the following Regulations for Worship and Discipline.

1. " That singing and playing of Organs in the *Ibid.*
- " Choir shall be put down, and Common Prayer *Rules for*
- " read in the Body of the Church, with a Psalm before and after Sermon. *Discipline,*

- Queen Elizabeth. " 2. " That every *Tuesday* and *Thursday* there shall be a Lecture from 9 to 10 in the Morning, in the chief Church of the Town, beginning with the *Confession* in the Book of Common Prayer, and ending with Prayer and a Confession of Faith.
- " 3. " Every *Sunday* and *Holiday* shall be a Sermon after Morning Prayer, with a Psalm before and after.
- " 4. " Service shall be ended in every Parish Church by nine in the Morning every Sunday and Holiday, to the end that People may resort to the Sermon in the chief Church, except they have a Sermon in their own.
- " 5. " None shall walk abroad, or sit idly in the Streets in time of Divine Service.
- " 6. " The Youth shall every Sunday Evening be examined in a Portion of *Calvin's Catechism*, which the *Reader* shall expound for an Hour.
- " 7. " There shall be a general Communion once a Quarter in every Parish Church, with a Sermon.
- " 8. " A Fortnight before each Communion, the Minister with the Church-Wardens shall go from House to Houſe, to take the Names of the *Communicants*, and examine into their Lives ; and the Party that is not in Charity with his Neighbour, shall be put from the Communion.
- " 9. " After the Communion the Minister shall visit every House, to understand who have not received the Communion, and why.
- " 10. " Every Communion-Day each Parish shall have two *Communions*, one beginning at 5 in the Morning, with a Sermon of an Hour, and ending at Eight, for Servants ; the other from 9 to 12 for Masters and Dames.
- " 11. " The Manner of the Communion shall be according to the Order of the Queen's Book, saving that the People being in their Confession upon their Knees, shall rise up from their Pews and so pass " to

" to the Communion-Table, where they shall receive Queen  
 " the Sacrament in Companies, and then return to Elizabeth,  
 " their Pews, the Minister reading in the Pulpit. 1571.

12. " The Communion Table shall stand in the Body of the Church, according to the Book, at the upper End of the middle Isle, having 3 Ministers, one in the middle to deliver the Bread, the other two at each end for the Cup, the Ministers often calling upon the People to remember the Poor. The Communion to end with a Psalm.

13. " Excessive ringing of Bells on the Lord's Day is prohibited; and carrying of the Bell before Corpses in the Streets, and *bidding Prayer's for the Dead*, which was used till within these two Years, is restrained."

Here was a Sort of Association, or voluntary Discipline set up, separate from the Queen's Injunctions, or Canons of the Church; this was what the Puritans were contending for, and would have acquiesced in, if it might have been established by a Law.

Besides these Attempts for Discipline, the Clergy, with leave of their Bishop, set up *religious Exercises* among themselves, for the Interpretation of some Text of Scripture, one speaking to it orderly after another; these were called PROPHESYINGS from the apostolical Direction, *1 Cor. xiv. 31. Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted.* They also conferred among themselves, touching sound Doctrine and good Life and Manners.

The Regulations or Orders for these *Exercises* in Northampton, were these;

1. " That every Minister, at his first Allowance Their or-  
 " to be of this Exercise, shall by Subscription declare ders.  
 " his Consent, in Christ's true Religion with his  
 " Brethren, and submit to the Discipline and Order  
 " of the same.

2. " The Names of all the Members shall be written in a Table; three of whom shall be concerned at each Exercise; the first, beginning and ending

*Queen Elizabeth,* " with Prayer, shall explain his Text, and confute foolish Interpretations, and then make a practical Reflection, but not dilate to a common Place.

*1571.* " 3. Those that speak after may add any Thing they think the other has omitted, tending to explain the Text ; but may not repeat what has been said, nor oppose their Predecessor, unless he has spoken contrary to the Scriptures.

4. " The Exercise to continue from 9 to 11 ; the first Speaker to end in 3 Quarters of an Hour, the second and third not to exceed each 1 Quarter of an Hour ; one of the Moderators always to conclude.

5. " After the Exercise is over, and the Auditors dismissed, the President shall call the learned Brethren to him to give their Judgment of the Performances, when it shall be lawful for any of the Brethren to propose their Objections against them in writing, which shall be answered before the next Exercise.

6. " If any break Orders, the President shall command him, in the Name of the Eternal God, to be silent ; and after the Exercise he shall be reprimanded.

7. " When the Exercise is finished the next Speaker shall be appointed, and his Text given him."

The Confession of Faith which the Members of these Propheſyings signed at their Admission, was to the following Purpose.

*Their Confession of Faith.*

" That they believed the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament, to be a perfect Rule of Faith and Manners ; that it ought to be read and known by all People, and that the Authority of it exceeds all Authority, not of the Pope only, but of the Church also ; and of Councils, Fathers, Men and Angels.

" They condemn as a tyrannous Yoke, whatsoever Men have set up of their own Invention, to make Articles of Faith, and the binding Mens Consciences " by

“ by their Laws and Institutes : In sum, all those Queen  
 “ Manners and Fashions of serving God, which Men Elizabeth,  
 “ have brought in without the Authority of the Word 1571.  
 “ for the Warrant thereof, though recommended by  
 “ Custom, by unwritten Traditions, or any other  
 “ Names whatsoever ; of which sort are the Pope’s  
 “ Supremacy, Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Man’s  
 “ Merits, Free-Will, Justification by Works, praying  
 “ in an unknown Tongue, and Distinctions of Meats,  
 “ Apparel, and Days, and briefly all the Ceremonies,  
 “ and whole Order of Papistry, which they call the  
 “ Hierarchy ; which are a devilish Confusion, esta-  
 “ blish’d as it were in spight of God, and to the Re-  
 “ proach of Religion.

“ And we content our selves (say they) with the  
 “ Simplicity of this pure Word of God, and Do-  
 “ ctrine thereof ; a Summary of which is in the  
 “ Apostles Creed ; resolving to try and examine, and  
 “ also to judge all other Doctrines whatsoever by  
 “ this pure Word, as by a certain Rule and perfect  
 “ Touchstone. And to this Word of God we hum-  
 “ bly submit our selves, and all our Doings, willing  
 “ and ready to be judged, reformed, or further in-  
 “ structed thereby, in all Points of Religion.”

Mr. Strype calls this *A well minded, and religiously disposed Combination of both Bishop, Magistrates, and People.* It was design’d to stir up an Emulation in the Clergy to study the Scriptures, that they might be more capable of instructing the People in Christian Knowledge ; and though Men of loose Principles censur’d it, yet the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had a special Letter from the Queen, to inquire into all Novelties, and were acquainted with the Scheme above-mentioned, gave them as yet neither Check nor Disturbance ; but when her Majesty was informed that they were Nurseries of Puritanism, and tended to promote Alterations in the Government of the Church, she quickly suppressed them, as will be seen in its proper Place.

*Queen Elizabeth, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, Author of the famous Apology for the Church of England.* He was born in Devonshire, 1522. and educated in Christ Church College, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A. 1544. In King Edward's Reign he was a zealous Promoter of the Reformation ; but not having the Courage of a Martyr, he yielded to some Things against his Conscience in the Reign of Queen Mary, for which he asked Pardon of God and the Church among the Exiles in Germany, where he continued a Confessor for the Gospel till Queen Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown, when he returned home, and was preferr'd to the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, 1559. He was one of the most learned Men among the Reformers, a Calvinist in Doctrine, but for absolute Obedience to his Sovereign in all Things of an indifferent Nature, which led him not only to comply with all the Queen's Injunctions about the *Habits*, when he did not approve them, but to bear too hard upon the Consciences of his Brethren who were not satisfied to comply. He writ several Treatises in his Life-time, and others were printed after his Death ; but that which gained him greatest Reputation, was his *Apology*, which was translated into the foreign Languages, and ordered to be chained in all the Churches of *England*. He was a truly pious Man, and died in a comfortable Frame of Mind. Some of his last Words were, *I have not so lived that I am ashamed to die ; neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness. Christ is my Righteousness. Lord, let thy Servant depart in Peace* ; which he did at Monkton Farley, Sept. 23. 1571. in the 50th Year of his Age, and lies buried in the middle of the Choir of the Cathedral of *Salisbury*.

*The Reverend Mr. Whitehead's Death.*

In the same Year died the Reverend Mr. David Whitehead, a great Scholar, and a most heavenly Professor of Divinity. He was educated in Oxford, and was Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, and one of

the

the four Divines nominated by Archbishop *Cranmer* to Bishopricks in *Ireland*. In the beginning of Queen *Mary's* Time he went into voluntary Exile, and resided at *Frankfort*, where he answered the Objections of Dr. *Horne*, concerning Church Discipline and Worship. Upon his return into *England* he was chosen one of the Disputants against the popish Bishops, and shewed himself so profound a Divine, that the Queen, out of her high Esteem for him, offered him the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*; but he refused it from puritanical Principles, and would accept of no Preferment in the Church, as it then stood: He excused himself to the Queen, by saying, he could live plentifully on preaching the Gospel without any Preferment; and accordingly did so: He went up and down like an Apostle, preaching the Word where it was wanted; and spent his Life in Cœlibacy, which gained him the greater Esteem with the Queen, who had no great Affection for married Priests. He died this <sup>Ath. Ox.</sup> Year in a good old Age; but in what Church or <sup>P. 172.</sup> Chapel he was buried I know not.

Our Arch-bishop was very busy this Summer, <sup>Abp. Parker's Zeal for Uniformity.</sup> with the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, in harassing the Puritans; for which purpose he summoned before him the principal Clergy of both Provinces that were disaffected to the Uniformity established by Law, and acquainted them, that if they intended to continue their Ministry they must take out new Licences, and subscribe certain Articles, according to a new Act of Parliament, for reforming certain Disorders in Ministers; otherwise they must resign quietly or be deprived. He took in the Bishops above-mentioned to countenance his Proceedings, but *Grindal* declared he would not be concerned, if his Grace proceeded to Suspension and Deprivation; upon which *Parker* writ back, that "He thought it high Time to set about it; and however the World might judge, he would serve God and his Prince, and put her Laws in Execution; that *Grindal* was

Queen Elizabeth, " too timorous, there being no danger of a *Præmunire*; that the Queen was content the late Book of Articles (though it had not the Broad Seal) should be prosecuted; and in case it should hereafter be repealed there was no fear of a *Præmunire*, but only of a Fine at her Pleasure, which he was persuaded her Majesty, out of love to the Church, would not levy: But *Grindal* being now at *York* wisely declined the Affair."

*MS.*

*p. 117.  
Puritans  
suspended.*

In the Month of *June* the Archbishop cited the chief Puritans about *London* to *Lambeth*, (viz.) *Mr. Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburn, Goff, Percival, Deering, Field, Browne, Johnson*, and some others. These Divines being willing to live peaceably, offered to subscribe the Articles of Religion as far as concerned the *Doctrine and Sacraments only*, and the Book of *Common Prayer*, as far as it tended to Edification, it being acknowledged on all hands, that there were some Imperfections in it; but they prayed, with respect to the *Apparel*, that neither Party might condemn the other, but that those that wore them, and those that did not, might live in Unity and Concord,

*L. of Par-* How reasonable soever this was, the Archbishop told *them peremptorily*, that they must come up to the *Standard of the Queen's Injunctions*, or be deprived.

*ker. p. 326.* *Goodman* was also required to renounce a Book that he had writ many Years ago, when he was an Exile, against the Government of *Women*; which he refused, and was therefore suspended. *Lever* quietly resign'd his Prebend in the Church of *Durham*. *Browne* being domestick Chaplain to the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Patron undertook to screen him; but the Archbishop writ him Word, that no Place within her Majesty's Dominions was exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners, and therefore if his *Grace* did not forthwith send up his Chaplain they should be forced to use other Methods. This was that *Robert Browne* who afterwards gave Name to that Denomination of Dissenters called *Brownists*; but his Family and Relations

lations covered him for the present. *Johnson* was domestic Chaplain to the Lord Keeper *Bacon* at *Gorambury*, where he used to preach and administer the Sacrament in his Family : He had also some Place at *St. Albans*, and was Fellow of *King's College, Cambridge*. He appeared before the Commissioners in *July*, but refusing to subscribe to the *Book of Common Prayer* as agreeable to the Word of God, he was suspended, though he assured them, that he used the Book, and thought for Charity sake it might be suffered, till God should grant a Time of more perfect Reformation ; that he would wear the Apparel though he judged it neither expedient nor for Edification ; and that he was willing to subscribe all the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, according to the late Act of Parliament : But the Commissioners insisting peremptorily upon an absolute Subscription, as above, he was suspended, and resigned his Prebend in the Church of *Norwich* ; but about two Years after he fell into further Troubles which cost him his Life.

The learned *Beza* writ to the Bishops not to be the Instruments of such Severities ; and being informed that a Parliament was shortly to be called, in which a Consultation was to be had concerning the Establishing of Religion, he excited the Lord Treasurer to endeavour some Reformation of Discipline ; " For I will not dissemble (says he) that not a few common plain of divers Things wanting in the Church ; and when I say not a few, I do not mean that worse sort whom nothing pleases but what is perfect, and absolute in all Respects; but I understand godly Men, learned Men, and some that are best affected to God's Church, and Lovers of their Nation. I look upon the Reformation of Discipline as of great Importance to the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, and the Strengthening of the Reformation ; and therefore there is nothing the Queen's Majesty and her Council should sooner think of than this, however great and difficult the

*Queen Elizabeth,*  
1572.

*Queen Elizabeth,* " the Work might be, especially since the *English* Nation affords so many Divines of Prudence,  
*1572.* " Learning and Judgment in these Affairs : If they  
 " together with the Bishops, to whom indeed espe-  
 " cially, but not alone, this Care belongs, would  
 " deliberate hereupon, I doubt not but such Things  
 " would follow whence other Nations would take  
 " Example."

Thus did this learned Divine intercede for the Recovery of Discipline, and the Ease of tender and scrupulous Consciences. But this was more than our Archbishop thanked him for (says Mr. *Strype*) after he had taken so much pains in pressing the Act of Uniformity.

*L. of Par-  
ker, p. 344.* *Attempts  
in Parlia-  
ment for  
Reforma-  
tion.* The Parliament met May 8. the Lord Keeper open'd it with a Speech, in which he recommended to the Houses in the Queen's Name, " To see  
 " that the Laws relating to the Discipline and Cere-  
 " monies of the Church were put in due Execution ;  
 " and that if any further Laws were wanting, they  
 " should consider of them, and so (says his Lord-  
 " ship) *Gladius Gladium juvabit, The Civil Sword will*  
 " support the Ecclesiastical, as before Time has been  
 " used." But the Parliament seeing the ill Use the Queen and Bishops made of their spiritual Power, instead of making new Laws to enforce the Ceremonies, ordered two Bills to be brought in to regulate them ; in one of which the Hardships that the Puritans complain'd of were redressed. The Bills past *L. of Par-  
ker, p. 394.* smoothly through the Commons, and were referr'd to a select Committee of both Houses, which alarm'd the Bishops, and gave the Queen such Offence, that two Days after she sent to acquaint the Commons by their Speaker, that it was her *Stop by  
the Queen.* Pleasure, that no Bills concerning Religion should henceforth be received, unless the same should be first considered and liked by the Bishops or Clergy in Convocation ; and further, her Majesty commanded them to deliver up the two Bills last read in

the House, touching *Rites and Ceremonies*. This was a high Strain of the Prerogative, and a Blow at the very Root of the Freedom of Parliaments. But the Commons sent her Majesty the Bills, with a servile Request, that she would not conceive an ill Opinion of the House if she should not like them. Her Majesty sent them Word, within a Day or two, that she utterly disliked the Bills, and never returned them. This awakened a brave Spirit of Liberty among some of the Members; many free Speeches were made upon this Occasion, and among others, Sir Peter Wentworth stood up and said, “ That it grieved him to see, how many Ways the Liberty of free Speech in Parliament had been infringed. Two Things, says he, do great Hurt among us, one is a Rumour that ran about the House, when the Bill about the *Rites of the Church* was depending ; Take heed what you do, the Queen liketh not such a Matter, she will be offended with them that prosecute it. The other is, that sometimes a Message was brought to the House, either commanding or inhibiting our Proceedings.” He added, “ That it was dangerous always to follow a Prince’s Mind, because the Prince might favour a Cause prejudicial to the Honour of God, and the Good of the State. Her Majesty has fordid us to deal in any Matter of Religion, unless we first receive it from the Bishops. This was a doleful Message ; there is then little hope of Reformation. I have heard from old Parliament Men, that the Banishment of the Pope, and the reforming true Religion, had its beginning from this House, but not from the Bishops ; few Laws for Religion had their Foundation from them ; and I do surely think (before God I speak it) that the Bishops were the Cause of that doleful Message.” But for this Speech Sir Peter was sent to the Tower.

In the mean time the late Act of the 13th Eliz. *Subscriptio-*  
*for subscribing the Articles,* was put in Execution all over England, together with the Queen’s Injunctions ; *on urged*  
*upon the Clergy.*

*Queen Elizabeth,* and according to Mr. Strype's Computation about 100 Clergymen were deprived this Year for refusing to subscribe. The University of Cambridge was a Nest of Puritans; many of the Graduates were disaffected to the Discipline of the Church, as particularly Mr. Browning, Mr. Brown of Trinity College, Mr. Millain of Christ's, Mr. Charke of Peter-house, Mr. Deering of Christ's College, and several in St. John's College, who being Men of Learning, had great Numbers of Followers; but Dr. Whitgift the Vice-Chancellor watched them narrowly, and kept them under. The Reverend Mr. Charke in one of his Sermons at St. Mary's had said, that "there ought to be a Parity among the Ministers in the Church; and that the Hierarchical Orders of Archbishops, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, &c. was introduced into the Church by Satan." For which he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and refusing to recant, was expell'd the University. Charke writ a handsome Latin Apology to Lord Burleigh their present Chancellor, in which he confesses that it was his Opinion, that the Church of England might be brought nearer to the apostolick Character or Likeness; but that this must not be said either in the Pulpit or Desk, under the severest Penalties. The Chancellor knowing him to be a good Scholar, and in Consideration that he had been hardly dealt with, interceded for him, but to no purpose. Mr. Browning, Mr. Deering, and others, met with the like Usage. Deering was a Man of good Learning, and made a chief Figure in the University; he was also Reader at St. Paul's, London, and a most popular Preacher; but being an Enemy to the superior Order of Bishops, he fell into the Hands of the Commissioners and was silenced.

*Puritans apply to Parliament.*

The Puritans finding it in vain to hope for a Reformation from the Queen or Bishops, resolved for the future to apply to Parliament, and stand by the Constitution; for this purpose they made Interest among the Members,

bers, and compiled a Treatise setting forth their chief Grievances in one View; it was drawn up by the Reverend Mr. Field, Minister of Aldermury, London, assisted by Mr. Wilcox, and was revised by several of the Brethren. It was entitled an ADMONITION TO THE PARLIAMENT; with Beza's Letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gualter's to Bishop Parkhurst for Reformation of Church Discipline, annexed. It contains the Platform of a Church; the manner of electing Ministers; their several Duties, and their Equality in Government. It then exposes the Corruptions of the Hierarchy, and the Proceedings of the Bishops, with some Severity of Language. When Mr. Pearson, the Archbishop's Chaplain, taxed the Authors with this in Prison, Mr. FIELD replied, "This concerns me; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament use such Vehemency; we have used gentle Words too long, which have done no good; the Wound grows desperate and wants a Corrosive; 'tis no Time to blanch or sew Pillars under Mens Elbows, but God knoweth we meant to touch no Man's Person, but their Places, and Abuses." The Admonition concludes with a Petition to the Houses, that a Discipline more consonant to the Word of God, and agreeing with the foreign reformed Churches, may be established by Law. The Authors themselves, viz. the Reverend Mr. Field and Wilcox, presented it to the House, for which they were sent for into Custody, and by the Influence of the Bishops committed to Newgate, October 2. Upon this the Book already printed was suffered to go Abroad, and had 3 or 4 Editions within the Compass of 2 Years, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Bishops to find out the Pres.

Queen Elizabeth,  
1572.

Their first Admonition.

The Imprisonment of the two Ministers occasioned the drawing up a second Admonition, by Mr. CARTWRIGHT, lately returned from beyond Sea, with an humble Petition to the two Houses, for Relief against the Subscription required by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which had no Foundation in

Ministers  
that pre-  
sented it  
imprison'd.

M. S.  
p. 119,  
135.

L. of Par-  
ker, p. 347.

Second Ad-  
monition.

*Queen Elizabeth*, and was against the Peace of their Consciences ; many having lost their Places and Livings for not complying ; they beseech their Honours to take a View of the Causes of their *Non-subscribing*, that it might appear they were not disobedient to the Church of God, or to their Sovereign ; and they most humbly entreat for the removal and abolishing of such Corruptions and Abuses in the Church as with-held their Compliance. “ The Matters (say they) contained in the *Admonition*, how true soever they be, have found small Favour ; the Persons that are thought to have made it are laid up in no worse Prison than *Newgate* ; the Men that set upon them are no worse than Bishops ; the Name that goeth of them is no better than *Rebels* ; and great Words there are, that their Danger will yet prove greater. Well, whatsoever is said or done against them, that is not the Matter, but the Equity of the Cause, that is the Matter ; and yet this I will say, that the State sheweth not it self upright, if it suffers them to be molested for that, which was spoken only by way of *Admonition* to the Parliament, which was to consider of it, and receive or reject it, without further Matter to the Authors, except it contained some wilful Maintenance of Treason or Rebellion, which it cannot be proved to do.” Two other Pamphlets were published on this Occasion, one entitled, *An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their Brethren*. The other, *An Exhortation to the Bishops and Clergy to answer a little Book that was published last Parliament* ; and *An Exhortation to other Brethren to judge of it by God’s Word, till they saw it answered*.

*Apology of  
the Prisoners.*

The Prisoners themselves writ an elegant *Latin Apology* to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in which they confess their writing the *Admonition*, but that they attempted not to correct or change any Thing in the Hierarchy of themselves, but referr’d all to the

*Peirce’s  
Vindic.  
p. 85.*

1572.

the Parliament, hoping by this means that all Differ- Queen Elizabeth,  
ences might be composed in a legal Way, and the Corruptions which the most learned foreign Divines complained of might be removed, to the preventing <sup>1572.</sup> strype's any Schism or Separation in the Church. But the <sup>Ann. p. 186.</sup> Treasurer had not Courage to intermeddle with an Affair which might embroil him with the Queen, or at least with her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, tho' it was well enough known he had a Good-will to the Cause. But the *Commissioners* not content with the Severity of the Law, sported themselves in an arbitrary Manner with the Miseries of their Fellow-Creatures; detained them in Prison beyond the Time limited by the Statute, as appears by their humble Supplication to the Earl of Leicester, representing " That <sup>Their supplication.</sup> they had been condemned according to the Act of Uniformity, to a Year's Imprisonment, which they had now suffered patiently in the common Goal of Newgate, besides 4 Months close Imprisonment before their Conviction, which they apprehend to be contrary to Law: That by this Means they and their poor Wives and Children were utterly impoverished; their Health very much impaired, by the unwholsome Savour of the Place, and the cold Weather; and that they were like to suffer yet greater Extremities: They therefore humbly beseech his Lordship, for the tender Mercies of God, and in Consideration of their poor Wives and Children, to be a Means to the most honourable Privy Council, that they may be enlarged; or, if that could not be obtained, that they might be confined in a more wholesome Prison." They sent another Petition of the same Nature to the Lords of the Council; and a third was sent in the Names of their Wives and Children. They also writ a Confession of their Faith, dated from Newgate, December 4. 1572. with a Preface, in which they complain of the Reproaches and Calumnies of their Adversaries; " Because (say they) we would have Bishops

*And Confession of Fa. b.*

*Queen Elizabeth,* " Bishops unlorded, according to God's Word, therefore 'tis said, We seek the Overthrow of Civil Magistrates: Because we say, all Bishops and Ministers are equal, and therefore may not exercise Sovereignty over one another; therefore they say, when we have brought this in among the Bishops, we shall be for levelling the Nobility of the Land. Because we find fault with the Regimen of the Church as drawn from the Pope, therefore they say, we design the Ruin of the State. Because we say the Ministry must not be a bare reading Ministry, but that every Minister must be learned, able to preach, to confute Gain-sayers, to comfort, to rebuke, and to do all the Duties of a Shepherd, a Watchman, and a Steward; therefore they bear the World in hand that we condemn the Reading of the Holy Scriptures in Churches. Because we are afraid of joining with the Church in all her Rites and Ceremonies, therefore we are branded with the odious Names of *Donatists, Anabaptists, Aerians, Arians, Hinck-feldians, Puritans, &c.*"

M. S  
p. 120.

The Confession it self is Orthodox, according to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and must give a general Satisfaction to them that read it; 'tis written by the Authors of the first Admonition to the Parliament, to testify their Persuasion in the Faith, against the uncharitable Surmises of Dr. Whitgift, utter'd in his Answer to their Admonition, in defence both of themselves and their Fautors; and is subscribed JOHANNES FIELDUS. I have the whole before me, but shall only transcribe a few Passages relating to the present Controversy.

" We hold and believe, That we ought to keep inviolably that Kind of Government that is left us in the Gospel.—That the Office of a Pastor is to preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments, and therefore that bare Readers, or single Service-sayers, are no more fit for Pastors, than

" Wo-

“ Women or Children that can read well ; yet we <sup>Queen</sup> deny not the Reading of the Scriptures in all Con- <sup>Elizabeth,</sup>gregations, but this is not a Part of the Minister’s <sup>1572.</sup>Office.

“ We think it unlawful to withdraw from a Church where the Word is truly preached, the Sacraments sincerely minister’d, and true Ecclesiastical Discipline exercised. We are not for an unspotted Church on Earth, and therefore, tho’ the Church of *England* has many Faults, we would not willingly withdraw from it ; and yet we believe that God’s Children, when they are threatened with Persecution, and the Church Doors are shut against them, may draw themselves into private Assemblies, separating from cursed Idolatry and pestilent Popery, though the Laws of Princes are against it ; and whosoever refuseth to be subject to these Congregations separating themselves, resisteth the Ordinance of God.

“ We affirm, that the Church of God is a Company or Congregation of the Faithful, called and gathered out of the World, by the preaching of the Gospel, united in the true Faith, and resolving to form their Lives, Government, Order and Ceremonies, according to the Word of God.

“ We hold, that there ought to be joined to the Pastors of the Church *Elders* and *Deacons*, for the bridling of Vices, and providing for the Poor : That no Pastor ought to usurp Dominion over another ; nor no Church exercise Lordship or Rule over another.

“ We believe, that the Pastor should be chosen by the Congregation, and being chosen, should be confirmed in his Vocation by the Elders, with publick Prayer and Imposition of Hands.

“ Concerning Ceremonies we hold, that they ought to be few, and such as have no shew of Evil, but manifestly tend to Decency and good Order.

Queen Elizabeth, " We reject therefore all the popish Ceremonies and Apparel.— We hold, that Churches may differ in Order and Ceremonies, and yet keep the Unity of the Faith ; and therefore we condemn not other Churches that have Ceremonies different from ours.— Concerning publick Worship ; we hold, that there ought to be Places appointed for this Purpose, and that there may be a *Præscript Form of Prayer*, and *Service* in the known Tongue, because all have not the Gift of Prayer, but we would not have it patched out of the Pope's *Portuises*: But be the Form of Prayer never so good, we affirm that Ministers may not think themselves discharged when they have said it over, for they are not sent to say *Service*, but to preach Deliverance through Christ : Preaching therefore must not be thrust out of Doors for Reading. Neither ought the Minister so to be tied to a *Præscript Form*, that at all Times he must be bound of Necessity to use it ; for who can draw a Form of Prayer, necessary for all Times, and fit for all Congregations. We deny not, but it is well that there be various Manners of Prayers, but we must take heed that they be not long and tedious ; wherefore Preaching, as it is the chief Part of a Minister's Office, so all other Things must give place to it.

" Concerning singing of Psalms, we allow of the People's joining with one Voice in a plain Tune, but not of tossing the Psalms from one side to the other, with the intermingling of Organs.

" Touching Holidays we say, That Religion is tied to no Time ; nor is one Day more Holy than another ; but because Time must be had to hear the Word of God, and to administer the holy Sacraments, therefore we keep the *Lord's Day* as we are commanded, but without all Jewish Superstition. — We think, that those Feast-Days of Christ, as of his Birth, Circumcision, Passover,

" Re-

“ Resurrection, and Ascension, &c. may by Christian Liberty be kept, because they are only devoted to Christ, to whom all Days and Times belong. But Days dedicated to Saints, with Fasts on their Eves, we utterly dislike, though we approve of the Reverend Memory of the Saints, as Examples to be propounded to the People in Sermons; and of publick and private Fasts, as the Circumstances of Nations or private Persons require.

Queen

Elizaeoth,

1572.

The Confession concludes with an Article concerning the Office of the Civil Magistrate. “ We hold, that Christians may bear Office; that Magistrates may put Offenders to Death lawfully; that they may wage War, and require a lawful Oath of the Subject; that Subjects are bound to obey all their just and lawful Commands; to pray for them, to give them all Honour; to call them by their lawful Titles, and to be ready with their Bodies and Goods, Lives, and all that they have, to serve them with bodily Service; yea, all these Things we must do though they be Infidels, and obtain their Dominion, either by Inheritance, by Election, by Conquest, or otherwise. On the other hand, ‘tis the Magistrates Duty to provide for the publick Peace and Quiet of their Subjects; and to set forth Christ’s pure Religion, by advancing the Preaching of the Gospel, and rooting out all Superstition and Idolatry.”

M. S.

131.

The Authors of this Confession lay in Prison a considerable Time; for though the Inhabitants of Aldermanry, London, presented two Supplications for the Enlargement of their valuable Pastor, and learned and faithful Preacher, as they called Mr. Field; and though some great Friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their Release. The Archbishop sent his Chaplain to confer with them in Prison, after they had been there 3 Months, for which they were thankful. The Conference began with a suitable Prayer, which Mr. Field made, and was carried

*Queen Elizabeth,* on with such Decency, as moved the Chaplain's  
*1572.* Compassion; but nothing would prevail with the inexorable Commissioners to release them, till they had suffered the Extremity of the Law, and paid their Fees, though the Keeper gave it under his hand, that they were so poor as not to have Money to pay for their Lodgings or Victuals.

To return to the ADMONITION, which consisted of Twenty three Chapters, under the following Titles.

Heads of  
the Admo-  
nition to  
the Par-  
liament.

- Chap. I. Whether Christ forbiddeth Rule or Superiority to Ministers.
- II. Of the Authority of the Church in Things indifferent.
- III. Of the Election of Ministers.
- IV. Of Ministers having no pastoral Charge and of Ceremonies used in ordering Ministers.
- V. Of the Residence of the Pastors.
- VI. Of Ministers that cannot preach, and of Licences to preach.
- VII. Of the Apparel of Ministers.
- VIII. Of Archbishops, Metropolitans, Bishops, Archdeacons, &c.
- IX. Of the Communion Book.
- X. Of Holidays.
- XI. What kind of Preaching is most effectual.
- XII. Of Preaching before the Administration of the Sacraments.
- XIII. Of reading the Scriptures.
- XIV. Of ministering and preaching by Deacons.
- XV. Of Matters touching the Communion.
- XVI. Of Matters touching Baptism.
- XVII. Of Seniors, or Government by Elders.
- XVIII. Of certain Matters concerning Discipline of the Church.
- XIX. Of Deacons and Widows.
- XX. Of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters.
- XXI. Of subscribing the Communion Book.

*Chap. XXII. Of Cathedral Churches.*

—*XXIII. Of Civil Offices in Ecclesiastical Persons.*

Queen

Elizabeth,

1572.

These were the chief Heads of Complaint, which the Puritans having laid before the World, the Bishops thought themselves obliged to answer. Dr. gift.

*John Whitgift*, Master of Trinity College, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was appointed to this Work, which he performed with great Labour and Study, and dedicated it to the Church of England. His Method was unexceptionable; the whole Text of the *Admonition* being set down in Paragraphs, and under each Paragraph the Doctor's Answer. Before it was printed it was revised and corrected by Arch-bishop Parker, Dr. Cooper Bishop of Lincoln, and Pern Bishop of Ely; so that in this Book (says Mr. Strype) may be seen all the Arguments for and against the Hierarchy, drawn to the best Advantage.

Dr. Whitgift's Book was answered by Mr. Cartwright, whose Performance was called a Master-piece in its Kind, and had the Approbation of great Numbers in the University of Cambridge, as well as foreign Divines. Whitgift replied again to Cartwright, and had the Thanks of the Bishops and of the Queen; who, as a Reward for his excellent and learned Pains, made him Dean of Lincoln, while Cartwright to avoid the Rigor of the Commissioners, was forced to abscond in Friends Houses, and at length retire into Banishment.

But it was impossible for these Divines to settle the Controversy, because they were not agreed upon one and the same Standard, or Rule of Judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained, that *The Holy Scriptures were not only a Standard of Doctrine, but of Discipline and Government*; and that *the Church of Christ in all Ages was to be regulated by them*. He was therefore for consulting his Bible only, and for reducing all Things as near as possible to the apostolical Standard. Dr. Whitgift went upon a different Principle, and maintained, *That though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect*

<sup>1572.</sup> Queen Elizabeth, Rule of Faith, they were not design'd as a Standard of Church Discipline or Government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil Government we live under; that the apostolical Government was adapted to the Church in its Infancy, and under Persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the Church grew to Maturity, and had the civil Magistrate on its side. The Doctor therefore, instead of reducing the external Policy of the Church to Scripture, takes into his Standard the four first Centuries after Christ; and those Customs that he can trace up thither, he thinks proper to be retained, because the Church was then in its mature State, and not yet under the Power of Antichrist.

**Remarks.** The Reader will judge of these Principles for himself. One is ready to think, that the nearer we can come to the apostolical Practice the better; and the less our Religion is incumber'd with Rites and Ceremonies of later Invention, the more it must resemble the Simplicity that is in Christ. If our blessed Saviour had designed that his Worship should be set off with Pomp and Grandeur, and a Multitude of Ceremonies, he would have told us so; and it may be have settled them, as he did for the Church of the Jews; but nothing of this appearing, Men should be cautious of inserting the Commandments or Traditions of Men into the Religion of Christ, lest they cast a Reflection upon his kingly Office.

**The Tember and Beba-vour of the Disputants.** The Dispute between *Whitgift* and *Cartwright* was managed with some sharpness; the latter thought he had reason to complain of the Hardships himself and his Brethren suffered; and *Whitgift* having the Government on his side, thought he stood upon higher Ground, and might assume a superior Air; when *Cartwright* and his Friends pleaded for Indulgence because they were *Brethren*, the Doctor replies, "What signifies their being *Brethren*; Anabaptists, Arians, and other Hereticks, would be accounted *Brethren*; their haughty Spirits will not suffer them

" them to see their Error; they deserve as great Punishment as Papists, because both conspire against the Church. If they are shut up in Newgate 'tis a meet Reward for their disorderly Doings; for Ignorance may not excuse Libels against a private Man, much less when they slander the whole Church." —How would the Doctor have liked this Language in the Mouth of a Papist sixteen Years before? But this has been the Method of warm and zealous Disputants; the Knots they cannot untie with their Fingers they would cut asunder with the Sword.

Thus Dr. Whitgift routed his Adversary; he had Whitgift's already deprived him of his Professor's Chair, and of his Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and being now Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he got him expell'd the University upon this Pretence: Mr. Cartwright being senior Fellow of his College, was only in Deacons Orders; the Doctor being informed of this, and that the Statute requiring such to take upon them the Order of Priesthood, might be interpreted to Priest's Orders, concluded he was perjured; upon which he summoned the Heads of Colleges together, and declared, that Mr. Cartwright had broken his Oath, and without any further Admonition, push'd his Interest among the Masters, to rid the College of a Man, whose Popularity was too great for his Ambition, insomuch that he declared he could not establish Order in the University while a Person of his Principles was among them; after this he writ to the Archbishop, Sept. 21st, 1572. and begg'd his Grace to watch at Court, that Cartwright might get no Advantage against him, for (says he) he is flatly perjur'd, and it is God's just Judgment that he should be so punished, for not being a full Minister. A pitiful Triumph!

The Queen also, and her Commissioners, brandished their Swords against Cartwright and his Followers; her Majesty by Proclamation called in the Admonition, commanding all her Subjects, that had

Queen Elizabeth,  
1572,

*Life of  
Whitgift,  
p. 64.*

*Queen Elizabeth.* any in their Possession, to bring them to the Bishop of the Diocese, and not to sell them, upon Pain of Imprisonment; upon which Mr. Stroud the Publisher brought in 34, and his Wife burnt the rest that were unsold: This Mr. Stroud was the suspended Minister of Cranbrook, an excellent Preacher, and universally beloved; but being reduced to Poverty, he was forced to condescend to the low Offices of correcting the Press, and of publishing Books for a Livelihood; when he appear'd before the Bishop of London upon this Occasion, his Lordship reproached him for laying down the Ministry, though Parker had actually deprived him, and forbid him to preach six Years before.

*M. S.* And the Bishops. The Bishops were no less careful to crush the Favourers of the *Admonition*; for when Mr. Wake of Christ Church had declared in favour of it, in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, the Bishop of London sent for him next Morning into Custody; but he made his Escape; Mr. Crick, Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, having also commended the Book in a Sermon at the same Place, the Archbishop sent a special Messenger to apprehend him; and though he escaped for the present, he afterwards fell into the Hands of the Commissioners and was deprived; the like Misfortune befel Dr. Aldrich, an eminent Divine, and Dignitary of the Church, with many others; notwithstanding which, Dr. Sandys Bishop of London, in his Letter to the Treasurer, calls for further Help; "The City  
 " (says he) will never be quiet, till these Authors of  
 " Sedition, who are now esteemed as Gods, as Field,  
 " Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed  
 " from the City; the People resort to them, as in  
 " Popery they were wont to run on Pilgrimages;  
 " if these Idols, who are honoured as Saints, were  
 " removed from hence, their Honour would fall in  
 " to the Dust, and they would be taken for Blocks as  
 " they are. A sharp Letter from her Majesty would  
 " cut the Courage of these Men. Good, my Lords,  
 " for the Love you bear to the Church of Christ,

" resist the tumultuous Enterprizes of these new Queen  
 " fangled Fellows." These were the Weapons Elizabeth,  
 with which the Doctor's Answer to the Admonition  
 were enforc'd ; so that we may fairly conclude with  
 Fuller the Historian, " That if Cartwright had the  
 " better of his Adversary in Learning, Whitgift had  
 " more Power to back his Arguments ; and by THIS he  
 " not only kept the Field, but gained the Victory."

On the other hand 'tis certain, vast Numbers of the Clergy both in London and the two Universities, had a high Opinion of Cartwright's Writings ; he had many Admirers ; and if we may believe his Adversaries, wanted not for Presents and Gratuities : Many Hands were procured in Approbation and L. of Par- Commendation of his Reply to Whitgift ; and some ker,p.427- said, they would defend it to Death. In short, tho' Whitgift's Writings might be of use to confirm those who had already conformed, they made no Converts among the Puritans, but rather confirmed them in their former Sentiments.

To pursue this Controversy to the end : In the Conclusion Year 1573. Dr. Whitgift published his Defence against Cartwright's Reply ; in which he states the Difference of the Contro-  
 between them thus, The Question is not, whether many Whitgift's  
 Things mentioned in your PLATFORM OF DISCIPLINE L. p. 56.  
 were fitly used in the Apostles Time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed Churches, this is not denied ; but whether, when there is a settled Order in Doctrine and Government established by Law, it may stand with godly and Christian Wisdom to attempt so great Alteration as this PLATFORM must needs bring in, with Disobedience to the Prince and Laws, and Unquietness of the Church, and Offence of many Consciences. If this were the whole Question, surely it might stand with the Wisdom of the Legislature in settled Times, to make some Concessions in favour of pious and devout Men ; nor can it be inconsistent with Godly and Christian Wisdom, for Subjects to attempt it by lawful and peaceable Methods.

Queen Elizabeth, lish'd a second Reply to *Whigift's Defence*; it consist-  
ed of two Parts; the first was intituled, *The second Reply of T. C. against Dr. Whitgift's second Answer touching the Church Discipline*; with these two Sentences of Scripture in the Title Page, *For Zion's sake I will not hold my Tongue; for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, till the Righteousness thereof break forth as the Light, &c.—Ye are the Lord's Remembrancers: Keep not silence, Isa. lxii. 1, 6, 7.* 'Tis dedicated to the Church of England, and all that love the Truth in it. In his Preface he answers divers personal Matters between the Doctor and himself: He remembers him of his illegal depriving him of his Fellowship, and pronouncing him perjured. He says, he never opened his Lips for the Divinity Chair, as he had falsely charged him: That he had never desired the Degree of a Doctor, but by the Advice of more than a Dozen learned Ministers, who, considering his Office of Divinity Reader, thought he ought to assume the Title. He added, that he never refused a private Conference with him [Whitgift], but that he offered it, and the other refused it, saying, he was incorrigible; indeed, he did refuse private Conference by writing, having had Experience of his Adversary's Unfaithfulness; and because he thought that the Doctrine he had taught openly should be defended openly. *Whitgift charged him, that after he was expell'd the College, he went up and down doing no good, but living at other Mens Tables.* How ungenerous was this! After the Doctor had taken away his Adversary's Bread, and stopt his Mouth, that he might not preach, to reproach him with *doing no good*, and being beholden to his Friends for a Dinner. *Cartwright own'd, that he was poor; that he had no Wife nor House of his own; and that it was with small Delight that he lived upon his Friends, but that he still did what little good he could, in instructing their Children.* *Whitgift charged his Adversary fur-*

Whitgift,  
L. p. 64.

further, with want of Learning, though he had filled the Divinity Chair with vast Reputation, and had been stiled by *Beza*, *Sol*, the very *Sun of England*: <sup>Queen Elizabeth.</sup> <sup>1572.</sup> He taxes him with making Extracts of other Mens Notes, and that he had scarce read one of the ancient Authors he had alleg'd. To which *Cartwright* modestly replied, that as to great Reading he would let it pass; for if *Whitgift* had read all the *Fathers*, and he scarce one, it would easily appear to the learned World by their Writings; but that it was sufficiently known that he had hunted him with more Hounds than one.

The Strength of his Reply lies in reducing the Policy of the Church as near as possible to the Standard of Scripture; for when Dr. *Whitgift* alleg'd some of the Fathers of the 4th and 5th Century on his side, *Cartwright* replied, "That forasmuch as the Fathers have "erred, and that Corruptions crept early into the "Church, therefore they ought to have no further "Credit than their Authority is warranted by the "Word of God and good Reason; to press their bare "Authority without relation to this, is to bring an "intolerable Tyranny into the Church of God."

The second Part of *Cartwright's* Reply was not published till 2 Years forward, when he was fled out of the *Ann.* Kingdom; it is intitled, *The rest of the second Reply of Thomas Cartwright against Master Doctor Whitgift's Answer, touching the Church Discipline, imprinted 1577.* in which he shews, that *Church-Government by an ELDERSHIP is by Divine Appointment, and of perpetual Obligation.* He then considers the Defects of the Church of *England*, and treats of the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters; of Ecclesiastical Persons bearing Civil Offices; and of the Habits. He apologizes for going through with the Controversy at such a Distance of Time, but he thought it of Importance, and that it need not be ashamed of the Light. Speaking of his own Poverty, Disgrace and Banishment, for appearing in this Cause, he says,

*Queen Elizabeth,* " It were an intolerable Delicacy, if he could not give up a little Ease and Commodity, for that whereunto his Life was due, if it had been asked ; or that he should grudge to dwell in another Corner of the World, for that Cause for which he ought to be ready altogether to depart out of it."

*Strype's Ann.* But he was sensible he strove against the Stream, and that his Work might be thought unseasonable, his Adversary being now advanced so much above him ; for this Year *Whitgift* was made a Bishop, when poor *Cartwright* was little better than a wandering Beggar.

*Remarks.* Thus ended the Controversy between these two Champions ; so that *Fuller*, *Heylin*, and *Collier*, must be mistaken, when they say, *Whitgift* kept the Field, and carried off a complete Victory, when *Cartwright* had certainly the last Word. But whoever had the better of the Argument, *Whitgift* got most by it ; and when he was advanced to the Pinacle of Church-Preferment acted an ungenerous Part towards his Adversary for many Years, prosecuting him with continual Vexations and Imprisonments, and pointing all his Church Artillery against him, not suffering him so much as to defend the common Cause of Christianity against the Papists, when he was called to it ; but at length, being wearied out with the Importunities of great Men, or growing more temperate in his old Age, he suffered him to govern a small Hospital in *Warwick*, given him by the great Earl of *Leicester*, where this great and good Man's grey Hairs came down with Sorrow to the Grave.

To return, notwithstanding all this Opposition from the Queen and her Commissioners, the Puritans gained ground ; and though the Presb. was restrained, they galled their Adversaries with Pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in City and Country. *Parker* employed all his Emissaries to discover their printing Presses, but to no purpose ; whereupon he complained to the Treasurer in these Words, " I understand

" derstand throughout all the Realm (says he) how Queen  
 " the Matter is taken ; the Puritans are justified, Elizabeth,  
 " and we judged to be *extreme Persecutors* ; I have <sup>1572.</sup>  
 " observed this for seven Years ; if the Sincerity of L. of Par-  
 " the Gospel should end in such Judgments, I feareker, p. 389.  
 " the Council will be overcome. The Puritans  
 " slander us with Books and Libels, lying they care  
 " not how deep, and yet the more they write the  
 " more they are applauded and comforted. —"

The Scholars of Cambridge were generally with the Puritans, but the Masters and Heads of Colleges were against them ; so that many who ventured to preach for the Discipline were deprived of their Fellowships, and expelled the University, or obliged to a publick Retraction.

There being no further Prospect of a publick Re- *First Pres-*  
 formation by the Legislature, some of the leading *bytery at* Wands-  
 Puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way ; *worth.* for this Purpose they erected a Presbytery at Wandsworth, a Village 4 Miles from the City, conveniently situated for the London Brethren, as standing on the Banks of the River of Thames. The Heads of the Association were, Mr. Field Lecturer of Wandsworth, Mr. Smith of Mitcham, Mr. Crane of Roehampton, Mr. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloe, and Edmonds, to whom afterwards were joined Mr. Travers, Charke, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, Egerton, and a Number of very considerable Laymen. On the 20th of November 11 Elders were chosen, and their Offices described in a Register, intitled, *The Orders of Wandsworth.* This was the first Presbyterian Church in England. All imaginable Care was taken to keep their Proceedings private, but the Bishop's Eye was upon them, who gave immediate Intelligence to the High Commission, upon which the Queen issued out a Proclamation, for putting the *Act of Uniformity* in Execution ; but though the Commissioners knew of the Presbytery, they could not discover the Members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring Counties.

While

Queen Elizabeth, 1572. While the Queen and Bishops were defending the Out-works of the Church against the Puritans, and bracing up the Building with *Articles*, *Canons*, *In-Growth of junctions*, and *penal Laws*, enforced by the Sword of *Papery*.

the Civil Magistrate, the Papists were sapping the very Foundation; for upon publishing the Pope's *Bull of Excommunication* against the Queen, great Numbers deserted the publick Worship, and resorted to private Conventicles to hear Mass, while others that kept their Stations in the Church, were secretly undermining it. "There were at this Time (says

*Strype's Ann. p. 98.* "a learned Writer) certain Ministers of the Church

"that were *Papists*, who subscribed and observed  
"the Orders of the Church, wore a side Gown, a  
"square Cap, a Cope and Surplice. They would  
"run into Corners, and say to the People, believe  
"not this new Doctrine, it is naught, it will not  
"long endure; although I use Order among them  
"outwardly, my Heart is not with them, but with  
"the Mother Church of *Rome*. No, no, we do  
"not preach, nor yet teach openly; though we  
"read their new devised Homilies for a Colour to  
"satisfy the Time for a Season." In *Yorkshire* they  
went openly to Mass, and were so numerous, that  
the Protestants stood in awe of them. In *London*  
there was a great Resort to the *Portugal Ambassador's Chapel*; and when the Sheriff, by order of the  
Bishop of *London*, sent his Officers to take some of  
them into Custody, the Queen was displeased and ordered them immediately to be released.

*Sad State of Religion.* Sad was the State of Religion (says Mr. *Strype*) at this Time; "the Substantials being lost in contending for *Externals*; the *Churchmen* heaped up many Benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none; neglecting their Cures. Many of them alienated their Lands, made unreasonable Leases, and Waste of Woods, and granted Reversions, and Advowsons to their Wives and Children. — Among the Laity there was little Devotion; the Lord's

*L. of Parker, p. 395.*

Lord's

“ Lord’s Day greatly profaned, and little observed ; Queen Elizabeth,  
 “ the Common Prayers not frequented ; some lived <sup>1572.</sup>  
 “ without any Service of God at all ; many were  
 “ mere Heathens and Atheists ; the Queen’s own  
 “ Court an Harbour for *Epicures* and Atheists, and  
 “ a kind of lawless Place, because it stood in no Pa-  
 “ rish ; which Things made good Men fear some sad  
 “ Judgments impending over the Nation.” The  
 Governors of the Church expressed no Concern for  
 suppressing of Vice, and encouraging Virtue ; there  
 were no Citations into the Commons for Immoralities : But the Bishops were every Day shutting the  
 Mouths of the most pious, useful and industrious  
 Preachers in the Nation, at a Time when the Queen  
 was sick of the small Pox, and troubled with fainting  
 Fits, and the whole Reformation depended upon the  
 single Thread of her Life.

This uncertain State of Religion was the more <sup>Parisian</sup> terrible, because of the *Parisian Massacre*, which <sup>Massacre.</sup> happen’d this very Summer on the 24th of *August*, being *Bartholomew-Day*, when great Numbers of Pro-  
 testants having been invited to *Paris*, on pretence  
 of doing Honour to the King of *Navarre’s Marriage*  
 to the King’s Sister, ten Thousand were massacred  
 in one Night, and twenty Thousand more in other  
 Parts of the Kingdom, within the Compass of a few  
 Weeks, by his Majesty’s Commission ; no distinction  
 being made between Lords, Gentlemen, Justices, <sup>Strype’s</sup> Lawyers, Scholars, Physicians, and the meanest of <sup>Ann.</sup> the People ; they spared neither Women, Maids, <sup>P. 160.</sup> Children in the Cradle, nor Infants in their Mothers Womb. Many fled to *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, and great Numbers into *England*, to save their Lives. The Protestant Princes of *Germany* were awaken’d with this Butchery ; and the Queen put the Coasts into a Posture of Defence, but made no Concessions for uniting her Protestant Subjects among themselves.

This Year died the Reverend and Learned Mr. <sup>Death of</sup> John Knox, the Apostle, and chief Reformer of the <sup>Mr. Knox’s</sup> Kirk

*Queen Elizabeth*,  
1573. Kirk of Scotland. This Divine came into *England* in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* and was appointed one of the itinerant Preachers for the Year 1552. he was afterwards offered a parochial Living in *London*, but refused it ; upon King *Edward's* Death he retired beyond Sea, and became Preacher to the *English* Exiles at *Frankfort*, till he was artfully spirited away by the Contrivance of Mr. *Cox*; now Bishop of *Ely*, for not reading the *English* Service. He afterwards preached to the *English* at *Geneva*; but upon the breaking up of that Congregation in the Year 1559, he returned to *Scotland*, and was a great Instrument in the Hand of Providence for the Reformation of that *Kirk*. He was a Son of Thunder, and feared not the Face of any Man in the Cause of Religion, which betrayed him sometimes into too coarse Treatment of his Superiors. However, he had the Respect of all the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of his Country ; and after a Life of great Service and Labour, he died comfortably in the midst of his Friends, in the 67th Year of his Age, being greatly supported in his last Hours from the 17th Chapter of St. *John*, and 1 *Cor.* 15th Chapter, which he ordered to be frequently read to him : His Body was attended to the Grave with great Solemnity and Honour.

1573. The Queen being incensed against the Puritans for their late Applications to Parliament, reprimanded the Bishops for not suppressing them, and resolved now her self to bend all the Powers of the Crown that way. Accordingly Commissioners were appointed under the great Seal, in every Shire to put in Execution the *penal Laws* by way of *Oyer and Terminer*, and the Queen published a Proclamation in the Month of *October*, declaring her Royal Pleasure, that all Offenders against the *Act of Uniformity* should be severely punished. Letters were also sent from the Lords of the Council to the Bishops, dated Nov. 7th, 1573. to enforce her Majesty's Proclamation, in which, after having reproached them with holding their

*Ibid.*  
P. 479.  
*A severe  
persecu-  
tion.*

their Courts only to get Money, or for such like Purposes, they now require them in her Majesty's Name, either by themselves, which is most fit, or by their Archdeacons, personally to visit and see that the *Habits* with all the Queen's Injunctions, be exactly and uniformly observed in every Church of their Diocese; and to punish all Refusers according to the Ecclesiastical Laws. The Lord Treasurer also made a long Speech before the Commissioners in the *Star Chamber*, in which by the Queen's Order, "He charged the Bishops with Neglect, in not enforcing her Majesty's Proclamation; he said the Queen could not satisfy her Conscience without crushing the *Puritans*, for she thought none of her Subjects worthy of her Protection that favoured Innovations, or that directly or indirectly countenanced the Alteration of any Thing established in the Church: That by too much Lenity some might be apt to think the Exceptions of these Novelties against the Ceremonies were reasonable and well founded, or but trifling Matters of Disputation; but the Queen was resolved that her Orders and Injunctions should not be contemned; that the publick Rule should be inviolable observed; and that there should be an absolute Obedience, because the Safety of her Government depended upon it." The Treasurer therefore or *L. of Par-* some other, proposed to the Council, that all Ministers throughout the Kingdom should be bound in a Bond of 200*l.* to conform in all Things to the *Act of Uniformity*, and in case of Default their Names to *Strype's* be returned into the *Exchequer* by the Bishop, and *An. p. 260.* the Bond to be sued. If this Project had taken place *L. of Grin-* it would have ruined half the Clergy of the King-*dal, p. 185.* dom.

Another Occasion of these extraordinary Proceedings of the Court, is said to arise from the accidental Madness of one Peter Birchet, of the Middle Temple, *and Death,* who had the Name of a *Puritan*, but was disordered

Queen Elizabeth, 1573. in his Senses ; this Man came out of the Temple in his Gown, Octob. 14. about 11 in the Morning, and seeing Mr. Fitz Gerard, Lieutenant of the Pensioners, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Hawkins, Officers of the Queen's Navy, riding through the Strand, with their Servants on foot, came up to them and suddenly struck Hawkins with a Dagger through the right Arm into the Body about the Arm-hole, and immediately ran into the Bell-Inn, where he was taken, and upon Examination being ask'd, Whether he knew Mr. Hawkins ? He answer'd, he took him for Mr. Hatton, Captain of the Guards, and one of the Privy Chamber, whom he was moved to kill by the Spirit of God, by which he should do God and his Country acceptable Service, Because he was an Enemy of God's Word, and a Maintainer of Papistry. In which Opinion he persevered without any Signs of Repentance, till for fear of being burnt for Heresy he recanted before Dr. Sandys Bishop of London, and the rest of the Commissioners. The Queen asked her two Chief Justices, and Attorney General, what corporal Punishment the Villain might undergo for his Offence ; it was proposed to put him to Death as a Felon, because a premeditated Attempt with an Intention of killing, had been so punished by King Edward II. though the Party wounded did not die ; but the Judges did not apprehend this to be Law. It was then moved, that the Queen by virtue of her Prerogative, should put him to Death by martial Law ; and accordingly a Warrant was made out under the great Seal for his Execution, though the Fact was committed in Time of Peace. This made some of the Council hesitate, apprehending it might prove a very bad Precedent. At length the poor Creature put an end to the Dispute himself, for on the 10th of November in the Afternoon he killed his Keeper Longworth with one Blow, striking him with a Billet on the hinder Part of the Head, as he was looking upon a Book in the Prison Window in the Tower ;

Tower; for this Crime he was next Day indicted and arraigned at the King's Bench, where he confessed the Fact, saying, that *Longworth* in his Imagination was *Hatton*: There he received Judgment for Murder, and the next Day, Nov. 12. had his right Hand first cut off at the Place in the Strand where he struck *Hawkins*, and was then immediately hanged on a Gibbet there purposely set up, between 8 and 9 of the Clock in the Morning, and continued hanging there for 3 Days. The poor Man talked very wildly, and was by fits downright mad, so that if he had been shut up in *Bedlam* after his first Attempt, as he ought to have been, all further Mischief had been prevented. However, it was very unreasonable to lay this to the Charge of the Puritans, and to take Occasion from hence, to spread a general Persecution over the whole Kingdom: But the Queen was for laying hold of all Opportunities to suppress a Number of conscientious Men, whom she would often say, *She hated more than the Papists.*

The Commissioners being thus pushed forwards from above, sent Letters to the Bishops, exhorting them to command their Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, to give it in Charge to their Clergy and *Quest-Men*, to present the Names and Surnames of all Non-Conformists in their several Parishes, before the first Week in Lent. A Letter of this sort was sent, among others, to the old Bishop of Norwich, dated from Ludlow, Jan. 30th, 1573. This was very unacceptable Work to a Man that was dropping into his Grave; but he gave Orders as he was commanded, and many Ministers of his Diocese being returned *unconformable*, were suspended from reading Common Prayer and administering the Sacraments, but allowed still to catechise Youth, and continue their Parts in the publick Exercises or *Professions*, for which the Bishop was severely reprimanded, and threaten'd by the Commissioners

Queen Elizabeth,  
1573.

*Visitation  
of the Dio-  
cese of  
Norwich.*

*Parker,*

*P. 449.*

*Queen* sioners with the Queen's high Displeasure ; where-  
*L. of Par-* Elizabeth, upon he allowed his Chancellor to silence them to-  
*cker, P. 452.* tally, though it was against his Judgment ; for in his  
*1573.* Letter to a Gentleman on this Occasion, he writes,  
 " — I was obliged to restrain them, unless I would  
 willingly procure my own Danger. — There-  
 fore let not this Matter seem strange to you, for  
 " the Matter was of Importance, and touched me  
 " so near, that I could do no less if I would avoid  
 " extreme Danger." But after all, his Lordship be-  
 ing suspected of Remissness, Parker directed a special  
 Commission to *Commissaries* of his own appointing,  
 to visit his Diocese parochially ; which they did, and  
 reported, that some Ministers were absent and so  
 could not be examined ; other Churches had no Sur-  
 plices, but the Ministers said they would wear them  
 when provided ; but that there were about 300 Non-  
 Conformists whom they had suspended ; some of  
 whom, as the good old Bishop writ, were *godly and*  
*learned, and had done much good.*

*Puritans offer a publick Disputation.* The Heads of the Puritans being debarr'd the Li-  
 berty of preaching and printing, challenged their  
 Adversaries to a publick Disputation : This had been  
 allowed the Protestants in Queen Mary's Reign, and  
 the Papists at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth ; but  
 the Queen and Council would not now admit, that what  
 was established by Law should be expos'd to Que-  
 stion, and referr'd to the Hazard of a Dispute. In-  
 stead therefore of a Conference they took a shorter  
 way, by summoning the Disputants before the Eccle-  
 siastical Commission, to answer to sundry Articles ex-  
 hibited against them, and among others to this,  
*Whether the Common Prayer Book is every part of it*  
*grounded upon Holy Scripture ?* An Honour hardly to  
 be allowed to any human Composure : And for not  
*L. of Par- ansoring to the Satisfaction of the Commis-  
 ker, P. 413. oners, Mr. Wyburne, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox,*  
*Sparrow, and King, were deprived, and the 4 last*  
*committed to Newgate, from whence 2 of them had*  
*been*

been but lately released. They were told further, <sup>Queen</sup> that if they did not comply in a short Time they <sup>Elizabeth,</sup> should be banished; though there was no Law <sup>1573.</sup> for it.

Mr. Cartwright was summon'd among the rest, but <sup>Proclama-</sup> wisely got out of the way, upon which the Commissioners <sup>on a-</sup> issued out the following Order, " To all Mayors, Bai- <sup>gainst</sup> <sup>Cart-</sup> " liffs, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all <sup>wright.</sup> " others the Queen's Officers, to be aiding and assist- " ing to the Bearer [their Messenger] with the best " Means they can devise to apprehend one THOMAS " CARTWRIGHT, Student in Divinity, wheresoever " he be within the Realm, and to bring him up to Lon- " don with a sufficient Guard, to appear before us her Majesty's Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical, " for his Misdemeanors in Matters of Religion. De- " cemb. 15th, 1573. signed by John Rivers, Mayor, " Edwin, Bishop of London, Alex. Nowell, Dean of " St. Paul's, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, " together with the Attorney General, Solicitor Gene- " ral, Recorder, Master of the Rolls, and Master of " the Requests." But Mr. Cartwright lay concealed among his Friends till he got an Opportunity to leave the Kingdom,

The Reverend Mr. Deering, Reader of St. Paul's, <sup>M.</sup> Deering was also suspended for some trifling Words spoken <sup>ing depri-</sup> against the Hierarchy in Conversation; and in order <sup>ved.</sup> to his Restoration was obliged to subscribe 4 Articles, (viz.) To the Supremacy; to the 39 Articles; to the Book of Common Prayer; and that the Word and Sacra- ments are rightly administer'd in the Church of England; which he did, with some few Exceptions. The Com- missioners then examined him upon 15 or 20 Articles more, of which these were some.

(1.) " Whether we be tied by God's Word to the " Order and Use of the Apostles and of the Primitive " Church in all Things?

(2.) " Whether nothing may be in the Church, " concerning Ceremonies or Regimen, but only

*Queen Elizabeth,* " that which Christ himself has commanded in his Word ?

1573. (3.) " Whether every particular Parish Church,  
" of Necessity, and by the Order of God's Word,  
" ought to have their Pastors, Elders, and Deacons  
" chosen by the People, and they only to have the  
" whole Government of the Church in Ecclesiastical  
" Matters ?

(4.) " Whether there should be an Equality  
" among the Ministers of this Realm, as well con-  
" cerning Government and Discipline, as the Mini-  
" stration of the Word and Sacraments ?

(5.) " Whether the Patrimony of the Church, as  
" Glebe Lands and Tithes, &c. ought to be taken  
" from them ?

(6.) " Whether the present Ministers of the Church  
" of England are true Ministers, and their Admini-  
" strations effectual ?

(7.) " Whether it be more agreeable to God's  
" Word, and more for the Profit of the Church, to  
" use a Form of Common Prayer ; or that every  
" Minister pray publickly, as his own Spirit shall  
" direct him ?

(8.) " Whether the Children of Papists ought to  
" be re-baptized ?

(9.) " Whether an Ecclesiastical Person may  
" have more Livings than one ?

(10.) " Whether a Minister of Christ may exercise  
" a Civil Function ? "

Peirce's  
*Vindic.*  
p. 82.

The rest of the Articles, making in all above 20, were about the *Obligation of the Judicial Laws of Moses, and the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters of Religion.* To all which Mr. Deering gave wise and modest Answers, yielding as much as his Principles, and the Nature of Things would admit ; but being called, as it were, before an Inquisition, as he thought himself not bound to be his own Accuser, he prayed their Honours, that what he had said might not be interpreted to his Prejudice ; but the

Com-

Commissioners took Advantage of his Answers, and Queen Elizabeth,  
deprived him of his Lecture.

Mr. Deering appealed from the Commissioners to the Council, who were pleased to restore him, which galled the Archbishop, as appears by his Letter <sup>1573.</sup> He is restored. to one of the Commissioners, dated July 6th, 1573. in which are these Words, “ We have sent you “ certain Articles taken out of *Cartwright's Book*, “ by the Council propounded to Mr. Deering, “ with his Answers to the same ; and also a Copy “ of the Council's Letter to Mr. Deering, to restore “ him to his former Reading and Preaching, notwithstanding our Advices never required thereunto. These Proceedings puff them up with Pride, make the People hate us, and magnify them with great Triumphing, that her Majesty and her Privy Council have good liking of this new Building — but we are persuaded her Majesty has no liking thereof, howsoever the Matter be favoured by others.”

Mr. Deering was a learned, pious, and peaceable Non-Conformist ; his printed Sermons are polite and nervous. In his Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh on this Occasion, he offered to shew before any Body of learned Men, the Difference between Bishops of the primitive Church, and those of the present Church of England, in the following Particulars :

1. Bishops and Ministers then were in one Degree, now they are divers.
2. There were then many Bishops in one Town, now there is but one in a whole Country.
3. No Bishop's Authority was more than in one City, now it is in many Shires.
4. Bishops then used no bodily Punishments, now they imprison, fine, &c.
5. The primitive Bishops could not excommunicate, or absolve, meerly by their own Authority, now they may.
6. Then,

*Queen Elizabeth,* 6. Then, without Consent of Presbyters, they could make no Ministers, now they do.  
1573.

7. They could confirm no Children in other Parishes, they do now in many Shires.

8. They had then but one Living, now they have divers.

9. They had neither Officials, Commissaries nor Chancellors.

*Collier's Ch. History,* 10. They dealt in no Civil Government by any established Authority.  
p. 543.

11. They had no Right to alienate any Parsonage, or let it in Lease.

12. Then they had a Church where they served the Cure, as those we call *Parish Priests*, though they were Metropolitans or Archbishops; so that *Ambrose*, *St. Austin*, and others, who lived as late as the 4th or 5th Century, and were called Bishops, had very little Agreement with ours. But for this our Archbishop never left him till he was silenced again and deprived.

*Other Ministers depriv'd.* On the 29th of Jan. 1573. the Reverend Mr. Arthur Wake Parson of Great Willing, value 100 l. a Year; Eusebius Paget Parson of Owld, 100 l. a Year; Thurston Moseley Parson of Hardington, 40 l. a Year; George Gilderd Parson of Collingtrowge, and William Dawson Parson of Weston Favel, 100 Marks, all in the Diocese of Peterborough, of which Dr. Scambler was Bishop, and James Ellis Doctor of the Civil Law Chancellor, were first suspended for three Weeks, and then deprived of their Livings. They were all Preachers; four of them were licensed by the University as learned and religious Divines, and three of them had been Moderators in the Exercises. The Reasons of their Deprivation were not for Errors in Doctrine, or Depravity of Life, but for not subscribing two Forms of the Commissioner's devising, one called *Forma Promissionis*, the other *Forma Objurationis*. In the *Forma Promissionis* they swear and subscribe, "To use the Service and Common Prayer Book, and the publick Form of Administration of Sacra-

“ Sacraments, and no other ; that they will serve in Queen  
 “ their Cures according to the Rites, Orders, Forms Elizabeth,  
 “ and Ceremonies prescribed ; and that they will 1573.  
 “ not hereafter preach or speak any Thing tending  
 “ to the Derogation of the said Book, or any Part  
 “ thereof, remaining authorized by the Laws and  
 “ Statutes of this Realm.” In the *Forma Objurationis* they subscribe and protest upon Oath, “ That  
 “ the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bi-  
 “ shops, and of the ordering of Deacons, set forth  
 “ in the Time of King Edward VI. and confirmed  
 “ by Authority of Parliament, doth contain in it  
 “ all Things necessary for such Consecration and Or-  
 “ dering, having in it nothing that is either super-  
 “ stitious or ungodly, according to their Judgment ;  
 “ and therefore that they which be consecrated and  
 “ ordered according to the same Book, be duly,  
 “ orderly, and lawfully ordained and consecrated,  
 “ and that they do acknowledge their Duty and  
 “ Obedience to their Ordinary and Diocesan as to a  
 “ lawful Magistrate under the Queen’s Majesty, so  
 “ far forth as the Laws and Statutes do require ; *M. S.*  
 “ which Obedience they do promise, according as p. 198.  
 “ the Laws shall bind them to perform. In Testi-  
 “ mony whereof they do hereunto subscribe their  
 “ Names.”

The Ministers offered to use the Book of Common Prayer and no other ; and not to preach against the same before the Meeting of the next Parliament ; but they apprehended the *Oath and Subscription* to be contrary to the Laws of God and the Realm, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; but their *Ibid.* Appeal was denied. They presented a Supplication p. 202. to the Queen, and another to the Parliament, but could not be heard, though their Case was most compassionate, for they had Wives and large Families of Children, which were now reduced to Poverty and Want, so that (as they say in their Supplication) if God in his Providence does not help they must beg.

In

*Queen Elizabeth, 1573.* In the Room of the deprived Ministers certain *Outlandish Men* succeeded that could hardly read so as to be understood; the People were left untaught; instead of having two Sermons every Lord's Day, there was now but one in a Quarter of a Year, and for the most part not that. The Parishioners sign'd Petitions to the Bishop for their former Preachers, but to no purpose; they must swear and subscribe, or be buried in silence.

*Mr. John ferings.* On the 20th of September the Reverend Mr. Robert Johnson, already mentioned, sometime domestick Chaplain to the Lord-keeper Bacon, now Parson of St. Clements near Temple-Bar, was tried at Westminster-Hall for Non-Conformity; it was alleg'd against him, That he had married without the Ring; and that he had baptized without the Cross. Mr. Peirce says, he was also accused of a Misdemeanor, because when once he was administering the Sacrament, the Wine falling short, he sent for more, but did not consecrate it afresh, accounting the former Consecration sufficient for what was to be applied to the same Use; but nothing of this kind appears in his two Indictments which are now before me, with the Names of all the Witnesses; but for the other Offences (*viz.*) for omitting these Words in the Office of Baptism, *I receive this Child into the Congregation of Christ's Flock, and do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token, &c.* And for omitting these Words in the Marrying of Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles, *With this Ring I thee wed, with my Body I thee worship, and with all my worldly Goods I thee endow, in the Name of the Father, &c.* and for refusing to subscribe, he was shut up in close Prison for seven Weeks, till he died in great Poverty and Want.

*Form of Subscription for the Clergy.*  
M. S. p. 200.

The Forms of Subscription varied in the several Dioceses, but the usual Subscription and Protestation for such Clergymen as were cited before the Commissioners for Non-Conformity, was this, "I promise unfeignedly by these Presents, and subscribe with my Hand,

“ Hand, that I will teach the Word of God soberly,  
 “ sincerely and truly, according to the Doctrine Queen  
 “ established by Law, without moving unnecessary Elizabeth,  
 “ Contentions ; and that I will never suffer any Per- 1573.  
 “ son to use my Licence of preaching, by rasing  
 “ out the Name, or abusing the Seal ; and that I  
 “ will deliver up my Licence, being so required by  
 “ that Authority from whence I had it.”

1. “ I acknowledge the Book of Articles agreed on  
 “ in the Synod of 1563. and confirmed by the Queen  
 “ to be found, and agreeable to the Word of God.

2. “ That the Queen’s Majesty is supreme Go-  
 “ vernor of the Church of *England* next under  
 “ Christ, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil Causes.

3. “ That in the Book of Common Prayer there  
 “ is nothing evil, or repugnant to the Word of  
 “ God, and that it may be well used in this our  
 “ Christian Church of *England*.

4. “ That as the publick preaching of the Word  
 “ in the Church of *England*, is found and sincere, so  
 “ the publick Order of Administration of Sacra-  
 “ ments, is consonant to the Word of God.

“ And whereas I have in publick Prayer, and  
 “ Administration of Sacraments, neglected and omit-  
 “ ted the Order by publick Authority set down, fol-  
 “ lowing my own Fancy in altering, adding, or  
 “ omitting of the same, not using such Rites as by  
 “ Law and Order are appointed; I acknowledge  
 “ my fault therein, and am sorry for it, and humbly  
 “ pray pardon for that Disorder. And here I do  
 “ submit my self to the Order and Rites set down;  
 “ and I do promise that I will from henceforth in  
 “ publick Prayer, and Administration of the Sa-  
 “ craments, use and observe the same. The which  
 “ I do presently and willingly testify with the Sub-  
 “ scription of mine own Hand.”

But this not reaching the LAITY, many of whom  
 deserted their own Parish Churches, and went to hear  
 the Non-Conformists, the Commissioners framed the  
 fol-

*Queen Elizabeth*, following Subscription for such of them as should be presented as Defaulters.

*1573.* *Form of Subscription for the Laity.* 1. "I acknowledge the Queen's Majesty to be chief Governor of the Church of *England* under Christ.

2.—"That in the Book of Common Prayer there is nothing repugnant to the Word of God.

3.—"That as the publick Preaching in this Church of *England* is found, so the publick Administration of the Sacraments is consonant to the Word of God.

"And whereas I have absented my self from my Parish Church, and have refused to join with the Congregation in publick Prayer, and in receiving the Sacrament, according to the publick Order set down, and my Duty in that behalf, I am right sorry for it, and pray that this my Fault may be pardoned; and do promise, that from henceforth I will frequent my Parish Church, and join with the Congregation there, as well in Prayer as in the Administration of the Sacraments, according to such Order as by publick Authority is set down and established; and to witness this my Promise I do hereunto willingly subscribe my Name."

The Officers of the Spiritual Courts planted their Spies in all suspected Parishes, to make Observation of those who came not to Church, and cause them to be summoned into the *Commons*, where they were punished at Pleasure. The Keepers were charged to take Notice of such as came to visit the Prisoners, or bring them Relief; and upon Notice given, Spies were set upon them to bring them into trouble. Complaints have been made of their rude Language to the Bishops, and the rest of the Commissioners; and 'tis possible that their lordly Behaviour, and arbitrary Proceedings, might sometimes make their Passions overflow. *Oppression will make a wise Man mad.* But I have the Examinations of several before me, in which nothing of this kind ap-

pears. On the other hand, 'tis certain the Conduct of the Commissioners was high and imperious ; their Officers were ravenous, and greedy of Gain ; the Fees of the Court were exorbitant, so that if an honest Puritan fell into their Hands he was sure to be half ruin'd before he got out, tho' he was clear'd of the Charge. In short, the Commissioners treated those that came before them neither like Men nor Christians, as will appear, among many others, by the following Examination of Mr. White, a substantial Citizen of London, Jan. 18, 1573. who had been fined, and tossed from one Prison to another, contrary to Law and Justice, only for not frequenting his Parish Church. His Examiners were the Lord Chief Justice ; the Master of the Rolls ; the Master of the Requests ; Mr. Gerard ; the Dean of Westminster ; the Sheriff of London, and the Clerk of the Peace. After sundry others had been dispatch'd Mr. White was brought before them, whom his Lordship accosted after this manner ;

L. C. J. Who is this ?

White. White, an't please your Honour.

L. C. J. White, as black as the Devil.

White. Not so my Lord ; one of God's Children.

L. C. J. Why will you not come to your Parish Church ?

White. My Lord, I did use to frequent my Parish Church before my Troubles, and procured several godly Men to preach there, as well as in other Places of Preaching and Prayer ; and since my Troubles I have not frequented any private Assemblies, but as I have had leave and liberty have gone to my Parish Church ; and therefore those that presented me have done it out of Malice ; for if any of these Things can be proved against me simply, or that I hold all Things in common, your Lordship may dismiss me from hence to the Gallows.

Mr. Ger. You have not usually frequented your own Parish Church.

Mr.  
White's  
Examina-  
tion.

White.

*Queen Elizabeth.* I allow I have more used other Places, where I was better edified.

1573. Mr. Ger. Then your Presentment is in part true?  
*White.* Not, an't please you, for I am presented for not coming at all to my Parish Church.

Ger. Will you then come to Prayers when there is no Sermon?

*White.* I would avoid those Things that are an Offence to me and others, and disturb the Peace of the Church; however, I crave the Liberty of a Subject, and if I do not publickly frequent both Preaching, Prayer, and the Sacraments, deal with me accordingly.

*Dean West.* What fault find you in the Common Prayer?

*White.* Let them answer to whom it appertains; for being in Prison almost a Year about these Matters, I was upon a Statute relating to that Book indicted, and before I came to liberty almost out-lawed, as your Worship, Mr. Gerard, knows.

*Mast. Req.* What Scripture have you to ground your Conscience against these Garments?

*White.* The whole Scriptures are for destroying Idolatry, and every Thing that belongs to it.

*Mast. Req.* These Things never served to Idolatry.

*White.* Shough; they are the same which heretofore were used to that purpose.

*Mast. Req.* Where is the Place where these are forbidden?

*White.* In *Deuteronomy*, and other Places, the *Israelites* are commanded, not only to destroy the Altars, Groves, and Images, with all thereto belonging, but also to abolish the very Names; and God by *Isaiah* commandeth not to pollute our selves with the Garments of the Image, but to cast it away as a menstrual Clout.

*Mast. Rolls.* These are no Part of Idolatry, but are commanded by the Prince for Civil Order, and if you will not be ordered you shew your self disobedient to the Laws.

*White.*

*White.* I would not willingly disobey any Law, <sup>Queen</sup> only I would avoid those Things that are war- Elizabeth, ranted by the Word of God. <sup>1573.</sup>

*Mast. Req.* These Things are commanded by Act of Parliament, and in disobeying the Laws of your Country you disobey God.

*White.* I do it not of Contempt but of Conscience; in all other Things I am an obedient Subject.

*L. C. J.* Thou art a contemptuous Fellow, and wilt obey no Laws.

*White.* Not so, my Lord, I do and will obey Laws, and therefore refusing but a Ceremony out of Conscience, and not refusing the Penalty for the same, I rest still a true Subject.

*L. C. J.* The Queen's Majesty was over-seen not to make you of her Council, to make Laws and Orders for Religion.

*White.* Not so, my Lord, I am to obey Laws warranted by God's Word.

*L. C. J.* Do the Queen's Laws command any Thing against God's Word?

*White.* I do not so say, my Lord.

*L. C. J.* Yes, marry do you, and there I will hold you.

*White.* Only God and his Laws are absolutely perfect: All Men and their Laws may err.

*L. C. J.* This is one of *Shaw's* Darlings; I tell thee what, I will not say any thing of Affection, for I know thee not, saving by this Occasion; thou art the wickedest, and most contemptuous Person, that has come before me, since I sat in this Commission.

*White.* Not so, my Lord, my Conscience witnesseth otherwife.

*Mast. Req.* What if the Queen should command to wear a grey Frize Gown, would you come to Church then?

*White.* That were more tolerable, than that God's Ministers should wear the Habit of his Enemies.

*Queen Elizabeth.* L. C. J. How, if she should command to wear a Fool's Coat and a Cock's Comb?

*White.* That were very unseemly, my Lord, for God's Ministers.

*Dean West.* You will not then be obedient to the Queen's Commands.

*White.* I would only avoid those Things that have no Warrant in the Word of God; that are neither decent nor edifying, but flatly the contrary, and are condemned by the foreign Reformed Churches.

*L. C. J.* You would have no Laws.

*White.* If there were no Laws I would live a Christian and do no wrong; if I received any, so it were.

*L. C. J.* Thou art a Rebel.

*White.* Not so, my Lord, a true Subject.

*L. C. J.* Yea, I swear by God, thou art a very Rebel; for thou wouldest draw thy Sword, and lift up thy Hand against thy Prince if Time served.

*White.* My Lord, I thank God, my Heart standeth right towards God and my Prince; and God will not condemn, though your Honour hath so judged.

*L. C. J.* Take him away.

*White.* I would speak a Word which I am sure will offend, and yet I must speak it; I heard the Name of God taken in vain; if I had done it, it had been a greater Offence than that which I stand here for.

*Ger. White, White,* you don't behave your self well.

*White.* I pray your Worship, shew me wherein, and I will beg pardon and amend it.

*L. C. J.* I may swear in a Matter of Charity.

*White.* There is no such Occasion; but because it is bruited, that at my last being before you, I denied the Supremacy of my Prince, I desire your Honours and Worships, with all that be present, to bear Witness, that I acknowledge her Majesty the chief Governor, next under Christ, over all Persons and Causes within her Dominions, and to this I will subscribe. I acknowledge the Book of Articles, and the

the Book of Common Prayer, as far as they agree with the Word of God. I acknowledge the Substance of the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church to be found and sincere; and so I do of Rites and Orders, as far as they agree with the Word of God.

Queen Elizabeth,  
1573.

*Dean of West.* You will not then allow, that all Things in the Book of Common Prayer are taken out of the Word of God?

*White.* Though they should be so, yet being done by Man, I cannot give them the same Warrant as to the Writings of the Holy Ghost.

*L. C. J.* Take him away.

*White.* I would to the Lord Jesus, that my two Years Imprisonment might be a Means of having these Matters fairly decided by the Word of God, and the Judgment of other Reformed Churches.

*L. C. J.* You shall be committed, I warrant you.

*White.* Pray, my Lord, let me have Justice; I am unjustly committed; I desire a Copy of my Presentment.

*L. C. J.* You shall have your Head from your Shoulders; have him to the *Gate-house*.

*White.* I pray you commit me to some Prison in London, that I may be near my House.

*L. C. J.* No, Sir, you shall go thither.

*White.* I have paid Fines and Fees in other Prisons; send me not where I shall pay them over again.

*L. C. J.* Yes, marry shall you: This is your Glory.

*White.* I desire no such Glory.

*L. C. J.* It will cost you 20 — I warrant you, before you come out.

*White.* God's Will be done.

These Severities against zealous Protestants, of pious and sober Lives, raised the Compassion of the common People, and brought them over to their Interests. “It was a great Grief to the Archbi-  
“shop (says Mr. Strype) and to other good Bishops, to

*Queen Elizabeth,* “ see Persons going off from the first Establishment  
 1573. “ of the Protestant Religion among us, making  
 “ as if the Service Book was unlawful, and the Ec-  
 “ clesiastical State Antichristian ; and labouring to  
 “ set up another Government and Discipline—”

But who drove them to these Extremities? Why  
 were not a few Amendments in the Liturgy yielded  
 to at first, whereby conscientious Men might have  
 been made easy; or liberty given them to worship  
 God in their own Way?

*Puritan Ministers* “ Notwithstanding the Dangers already mentioned,  
*caress'd ly the People.* “ People resorted to the suffering Puritans in Prison,  
 “ as in Popery they were wont to run on Pilgri-  
 mage: (They are the Bishop of London's Words.)  
*L. of Parker, p. 227.* “ Some Aldermen, and several wealthy Citizens,  
 “ gave them great and stout Countenances, and  
 “ persuaded others to do the like.”

*Separate Communions.* Separate Communions were established, where  
 the Sacrament was administer'd privately after the  
 Manner of the foreign Reformed Churches; and  
 those that join'd with them, according to Arch-  
 bishop Parker, sign'd the following Protestation.

*Protestation of the Members. L. of Parker, p. 435.* “ BEING thoroughly persuaded in my Consci-  
 ence, by the Working and by the Word of the  
 Almighty, that these Relicks of Antichrist are abo-  
 minable before the Lord our God; and also, for  
 that by the Power, Mercy, Strength, and Good-  
 ness of the Lord our God only, I am escaped from  
 the Filthiness and Pollution of these detestable  
 Traditions, through the Knowledge of our Lord  
 and Saviour Jesus Christ: And last of all, in as  
 much as by the working also of the Lord Jesus his  
 Holy Spirit, I have joined in Prayer and Hearing  
 God's Word, with those that have not yielded  
 to this idolatrous *Traſh*, notwithstanding the Dan-  
 ger for not coming to my Parish Church, &c.  
 Therefore I come not back again to the Preach-  
 ing of them that have received these Marks of the  
 Romish Beast,

i. “ Be-

1. " Because of God's Commandment to go forward to Perfection, *Heb. vi. 1. 2. Cor. vii. 1. Psalm Elizabeth, lxxxiv. 1. Ephes. iv. 15.* Also to avoid them, *1573. Rom. xvi. 17. Ephes. v. 11. 1 Theff. v. 22.*

2. " Because they are an Abomination before the Lord our God, *Deut. xxvii. 25, 26. and xiii. 17. Ezek. xiv. 6.*

3. " I will not beautify with my Presence those filthy Rags, which bring the heavenly Word of the ETERNAL our Lord God into Bondage, Subjection and Slavery.

4. " Because I would not communicate with other Mens Sins, *John. ii. 9, 10, 11. 1 Cor. vi. 17. Touch no unclean Thing, &c. Sirach xiii. 1,*

5. " They give Offence both to Preacher and Hearers, *Rom. xvi. 17. Luke xvii. 1.*

6. " They glad and strengthen the Papists in their Errors, and grieve the Godly, *Ezek. xiii. 21, 22. Note this 21st Verse.*

7. " They do persecute our Saviour Jesus Christ in his Members, *Acts ix. 4, 5. 2 Cor. i. 5.* Also they reject and despise our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *Luke x. 16.* Moreover, those Labourers, who at the Prayer of the Faithful, the Lord hath sent forth into his Harvest, they refuse and also reject, *Matth. ix. 38.*

8. " These Popish Garments are now become very Idols indeed, because they are exalted above the Word of the Almighty.

9. " I come not to them because they should be ashamed, and so leave their idolatrous Garments, &c. *2 Theff. iii. 14. If any Man obey not our Sayings, note him.*

" Moreover, I have now joined my self to the Church of Christ, wherein I have yielded my self subject to the Discipline of God's Word, as I promised at my Baptism, which if I should now again forsake, and join my self with their Traditions, I should forsake the Union wherein I am knit to the

*Queen Elizabeth,* " Body of Christ, and join my self to the Discipline of Antichrist; for in the Church of the Traditionaries there is no other Discipline than that which has been maintained by the Antichristian Pope of Rome, whereby the Church of God has always been afflicted, and is until this Day, for the which Cause I refuse them.

" God give us Grace still to strive in suffering under the Cross, that the blessed Word of our God may only rule, and have the highest Place, to cast down strong Holds, to destroy or overthrow Policy, or Imaginations, and every high Thing that is exalted against the Knowledge of God, and to bring into Captivity or Subjection, every Thought to the Obedience of Christ, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. That the Name and Word of the ETERNAL our Lord God may be exalted, and magnified above all Things, Psalm. viii. 2. Finis.

To this Protestation the Congregation singularly did swear, and then received the Communion for the Ratification of their Assent; if we may believe the Relation of Archbishop Parker, who writ this last Paragraph with his own Hand; though his Grace had not always the best Information, nor was sufficiently careful to distinguish between subscribing and swearing.

Dutch and French Churches forbade to receive Puritans to their Communion. Sundry Non-Conformists who were willing to be at ease, and avoid the Hazard of Persecution, took shelter in the French and Dutch Churches, and joined themselves to their Communion: There were not many of this Sort, because they understood not their Language. But the Queen and Council had their Eye upon them, and resolved to drive them from this Shelter; for this Purpose a Letter was writ from the Council Board, to the Ministers and Elders of the Dutch Church in London, bearing Date April 1573. in which they say, " That they were not ignorant, that from the beginning of the Christian Religion various Churches had various and divers Rites and Ceremonies;

“ remonies; that in their Service and Devotions some stood, some kneeled, and others lay prostrate, and yet the Piety and Religion was the same, if they directed their Prayers to the true God, without Impiety and Superstition. They added further, That they contemned not their Rites; nay, that they approved their Ceremonies as fit and convenient for them, and that State whence they sprang. They expected therefore, that their Congregation should not despise the Customs of the English Church, nor do any Thing that might create a Suspicion of disturbing its Peace; and in particular, that they should not receive into their Communion any of this Realm that offered to join with them, and leave the Customs and Practice of their native Country, least the Queen should be moved to banish them out of the Kingdom.”

Endeavours had been used to bring these Churches under the Jurisdiction or Superintendency of the Bishop of the Diocese for the Time being; but they pleaded their Charter, and that Grindal, while Bishop of London, was their Superintendent only by their own Consent; but there happening a Quarrel sometime after in the Dutch Church at Norwich, the Queen’s Commissioners interposed; and because the Elders refused to own their Jurisdiction, they banished all their three Ministers; which struck such a Terror into those of London, that when they received the Strype’s Council’s Letter they were perfectly submissive, and after returning Thanks for their own Liberties, they promised to expel all such out of their Church; and for the future not to receive any English, who from such Principles should separate themselves from the Customs of their own Country,

Gualter, Bullinger, and other foreign Divines, writ again this Year to the Bishops their Correspondents for Moderation, but nothing could be obtained; only Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, lamented the Case, and wished to God, that all the English People would

Queen Elizabeth,  
1573.

L. of Par-  
ker p. 3; 4.

An. p. 284.

*Queen Elizabeth, Pattern.* follow the Church of Zurich, as the most absolute  
 1574. " The Papists (says he) lift up their  
 Crests, while Protestants walk about the Streets  
 " dejected and sorrowful ; for at this Time there are  
 " not a few Preachers that have laid down their  
 " Cures of Souls and left them to Fools and Idiots,  
 " and that for this Reason, because they would not  
 " use the Linen Garment called a Surplice. New  
 " and severe Edicts are lately published here against  
 " such as refuse to observe our Ceremonies : Pray  
 " God give a good Issue, and have Mercy upon all  
 " the Churches of Christ."

1574. The *Propheſyings* of the Clergy, begun in the Year  
*Propheſyings of th-* 1571. had by this Time spread into the Dioceses  
*Clergy in-* of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely ; the Bishop of  
*crease.* London set them up in several Parts of his Diocese ;  
 as did most of the other Bishops. The Clergy were  
 divided into *Classes*, or *Associations*, under a Modera-  
 tor appointed by the Bishop ; their Meetings were  
 once a Fortnight ; the People were present at the  
 Sermon ; and after they were dismissed, the Members  
 of the Association whose Names were subscribed in  
 a Book, censured the Performance. These *Exercises*  
 were of great Service to expose the Errors of Popery,  
 and spread the Knowledge of the Scriptures among  
 the People.

*Suppreſſ'd in the Dio- ceſe of Norwich.* But the Queen was told by the Archbishop, that  
 they were no better than Seminaries of Puritanism ;  
 that the more averse the People were to Popery, the  
 more they were in danger of Non-Conformity : That  
 these Exercises tended to Popularity, and made the  
 People so inquisitive, that they would not submit to  
 the Orders of their Superiors, as they ought. It was  
 said further, that some of the *Ministers* difused the  
 Habits, and discoursed on Church Discipline ; and  
 that others were too forward to shew their Abilities,  
 to the Discouragement of honest Men of lower Capa-  
 cities ; and that all this was notorious in the Diocese  
 of Norwich. Upon this the Queen gave the Arch-  
 bishop

bishop. private Orders to put them down every where, and to begin with *Norwich*; his Grace accordingly writ to *Matchet*, one of his Chaplains in that Diocese, requiring him to repair to his *Ordinary*, and shew him, how the Queen had willed him to suppress those *vain Propheſyings*; and that thereupon he should require the said *Ordinary*, in her Majesty's Name, immediately to discharge them from any further such Doings.

This was very unacceptable News to the good old Bishop, who taking hold of the Word *Vain*, writ to the Archbishop, desiring to be resolved, whether he meant thereby the *Abuse*, or some *vain Speeches* used in ſome of these Conferences; or in general, the whole Order of those *Exercises*? Of which he freely declared his own Approbation, ſaying, “ That they had, and still did bring singular Benefit to the Church of God, as well in the Clergy as in the Laity, and were right necessary Exercises to be continued, ſo the same were not abused, as indeed they had not been, unless in one or two Places at the moſt; whereof after he had Knowledge he writ an earnest Letter to his Chancellor, that ſuch Persons as were over busy Speakers ſhould be put to silence, unless they would ſubſcribe to the Articles of Conformity in Religion, or else promise not to intermeddle with any Matter established and commanded by her Majesty; which was performed accordingly, ſince which Time he had not heard, but all Things had ſucceeded quietly without Offence to any.”

The Archbishop was vexed at this Letter, and writ back to his Chaplain, “ That it was one of his old Grieſs, that this Bishop had ſhewn his Letter to his Friends, who had eluded its true Meaning, by ſtanding upon the Word *Vain*. It is pity, ſays he, That we ſhould ſhew any Vanity in our Obedience.” In the mean Time the Bishop of *Norwich* writ to the Privy Council, who knew nothing of this Af-

Queen Elizabeth, fair; but were surprized at the Archbishop's Order, and gave his Lordship Instructions to uphold the *Propheſyings*. Their Letter was as follows:

*Council's Letter to continue them.*

*Life of Parker,*  
P. 460,  
461.

" **S**alutem in Christo. Whereas we understand that there are certain good Exercises of *Propheſyings*, and expounding of Scriptures in Norfolk, as namely, at Holt Town, and other Places, whereby both Speakers and Hearers do profit much in the Knowledge of the Word of God. And whereas some not well minded towards true Religion, and the Knowledge of God, speak evil and slanderously of these Exercises, as commonly they used to do against the sincere Preaching of God's holy Word: These are to require your Lordship, that so long as the Truth is godly and reverently uttered in their *Propheſyings*, and that no seditious, heretical, or schismatical Doctrine, tending to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Church, can be proved to be taught or maintained in the same; that so good an Help and Means to further true Religion may not be hinder'd and stayed, but may proceed and go forward to God's Glory, and the edifying of the People. Thus not doubting of your Forwardness herein, your Office and Calling dutifully requiring the same at your Hands, we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell."

Your Lordship's loving Friends,

From London, this  
6th of May,  
1574.

T. Smith, Edwin Bp. London,  
Wa. Mildmay, Fran. Knollys.

*The Abp. prevails.*

The Archbishop was surprized to see his Orders countermanded by the Privy Council; but his Grace took no Notice of it to them, but acquainted the Queen with it; by whose Direction he writ again to the Bishop; that

that whereas he understood he had received Letters from the Council to continue the *Prophesyings*, contrary to the Queen's express Command, he desired to know, what Warrant they had given him for their Proceedings: Upon this the Bishop of *Norwich* writ back to the Bishop of *London*, who was one of those that had signed the Letter, for Advice; but his Lordship and the Council were afraid to meddle any further.

Parker being thus supported by the Queen writ again to *Norwich*, commanding the Bishop peremptorily to obey the Queen's Orders, upon pain of her Majesty's high Displeasure; and advised him not to be led by fantastical Folk, nor take such young Men into his Counsels, who when they had brought him into Danger could not bring him out of it. *Of my Care Life of I have for you and the Diocese* (says the Archbishop) *I Parker,*  
write thus much. p. 462.

Upon this the good old Bishop submitted, and writ to his Chancellor from *Ludlam*, June the seventh,  
 " — Whereas by the Receipt of my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Letter I am commanded by him, in the Queen her Majesty's Name, that the *Prophesyings* throughout my Diocese should be suppressed, these are therefore to will you, that as conveniently as you may, you give Notice to every of my Commissaries, that they in their several Circuits may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God." Thus were these religious *Exercises* suppressed in one Diocese, which was but the Prologue to their Downfall over the whole Kingdom.

But his Lordship did not long survive this distinguishing Mark of the Archbishop's Displeasure, for towards the latter End of the Year he departed this Life, to the great Loss of his Diocese, and of the whole Church of *England*. *John Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*, was born at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, 1511. and educated in *Merton College, Oxon.* He had been domestick Chaplain to Queen *Katherine Parr*, Tutor to Bishop

Queen

Elizabeth;

1574.

*Queen Elizabeth,* Bishop *Jewel*, and Rector of the rich Parsonage of *Clive*; all which he forsook in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and was an Exile at Zurich in Switzerland all her Reign: He was so delighted with the Order and Discipline of that Church, that he would often wish the Church of *England* was modell'd according to it. He was an open Favourer of the *Puritans*, and never enter'd willingly into any Methods of Severity against them.

*Strype's Ann. p. 343* "I find (says he, in one of his Letters to Arch-bishop *Parker*) that rough and severe Methods do "the least good, and that the contrary has won over "divers; and therefore I choose to go in this Way, "rather than with others, to over-rule by Rigor "and Extremity." He would willingly have allowed a Liberty of officiating in the Church, to such as could not conform to the *Ceremonies*; but upon Command from above, he was forced sometimes to obey his Superiors, contrary to his Judgment. The Bishop was a zealous Protestant, and a great Enemy to Popery; a learned Divine, a faithful Pastor, a diligent and constant Preacher, and an Example to his Flock, in *Righteousness*, in *Faith*, in *Love*, in *Peace*, in *Word*, and in *Purity*. He was exceeding hospitable, and kept a Table for the Poor; and was universally beloved, honoured, and esteemed by his whole Diocese. This Character is given him (says Mr. *Strype*) by one that knew him well, *Thomas Becon*, a Native of *Norfolk*, and of known Eminency in those Days. He was made Bishop of *Norwich* 1560. and died of the Stone this Year, in the 63d Year of his Age.

*Religious Assemblies broke up.* Sundry well disposed People in the Parishes of *Balsall* in *Cambridgeshire*, and of *Stretball* in *Essex*, met together on Holidays, and at other Times, after they had done work, to read the Scriptures, and to confirm one another in the Christian Faith and Practice; but as soon as the *Commissioners* were informed of these Assemblies, the Parsons of the Parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them; though

Queen

Elizabeth;

1574.

though the honest People declared themselves conformable to the Orders of the Church, and that they only met together after Dinner, or after Supper, upon *Holidays only*, for their own and their Families Instruction; for the Reformation of Vice, and for a further Acquaintance with the Word of God: The Occasion of their Assemblies we have in their own Words, " For that heretofore ( say they ) we have at divers Times spent and consumed our Holidays vainly, in drinking at the Ale-House, and playing at Cards, Tables, Dice, and other vain Pastimes, not meet for us, and such of our Calling and Degree, for the which we have been often blamed of our Parson ; we thought it better to bestow the Time in soberly and godly reading the Scriptures, only for the Purposes aforesaid, and no other. We do not favour or maintain any of the Opinions of the *Anabaptists*, *Puritans*, *Patists* or *Libertines*, but would be glad to learn our Duty towards God, our Prince, and Magistrates, towards our Neighbours and our Families, in such sort as becomes good and faithful, and obedient Subjects, and it is our greatest and only Desire, to live, follow, and perform the same accordingly; as God shall give us Grace." But our Archbishop <sup>L. of Par-</sup> had rather these poor People should be drinking and <sup>ker, p. 473.</sup> carding at an Ale-House, than at a religious Assembly not appointed by publick Authority.

The Reverend Mr. Sampson, late Dean of *Christ Church*, *Oxon*, was this Year struck with the dead <sup>replies his</sup> <sup>Leisure.</sup> Palsy on one Side, which made him resign his Lecture in the Church at *Whittington College*, which he had held to this Time, and for which he had 10*l.* a Year : It was in the Gift of the *Cloth Workers* Company, to whom he recommended Mr. Deering for his Successor; but *Deering* being silenced for Non-Conformity, the Archbishop utterly refused him, which *SAMPSON* complained of in a Letter to the Treasurer, saying, " That though my Lord of *Canterbury* liked " not

*Queen Elizabeth,* “not to take Pains in the Congregation himself, yet  
*1574.* “should he not forbid others that were both able  
*Life of Parker,* “and willing ; that he could find no fault with Mr.  
*P. 478.* “Deering’s Doctrine or Manner of Life ; and that  
“it is was no great Promotion.” He therefore humbly desired, that if the *Cloth-Workers* chose him, that his Lordship would use his Interest with the Archbishop not to refuse him ; but his Grace was inflexible, and so the Business miscarried.

*Writes to Grindal in favour of Puritanism.*

This Mr. Sampson was a most exact Man in his Principles and Morals ; and having suffered the Loss of all Things for a good Conscience, he took the Liberty to write freely to his Superiors upon proper Occasions ; and among others to *Grindal* Archbishop of *York*, who had been his Companion in Exile, but was now advanced to the Dignity of a *Lord Archbishop*. Sampson in one of his Letters put him in mind of his former low Condition, and cautioned him against being too much exalted with his high Title. *Grindal* told him, he did not value the Title of a *Lord*, but that his great Care was, to discharge his Function faithfully until the great Day of the Lord. Sampson replied, “That if he whom worldly Policy had made a *Lord*, kept the Humility of an humble Brother and Minister of the Gospel, he was a *Phænix* ; but his Port, his Train of Waiting-Men in the Streets, his Gentlemen-Ushers going before him with bare Heads, and his Family full of idle serving Men, looked very *lordly*.” He adds, “That his own and his Brethren’s Revenues should not be laid out in maintaining a Parcel of lazy idle Servants, but rather upon those who were Labourers in the Harvest of the Lord Jesus. That whereas the Archbishop had called them *Puritans*, it was a Name unjustly imposed on Brethren with whose Doctrine and Life none could find fault : If by *Puritans* such were meant as following *Novatus*, dissembled themselves to be Teachers, and wished the Ceremonies might be observed,

“ observed, while they hated the *Custom* of the an- Queen  
 “ tient Church, then might a Number of Church Eliz. beths,  
 “ Men be called *Puritans*; and he prayed God to 1574-  
 “ purge them and make them more pure—” And L. of Par-  
 whereas the Archbishop in his Letter had pitied his ker, p. 469.  
 Complaints of *Poverty* and *Lameness*, he said, “ He  
 “ complained of nothing; if he should complain of  
 “ the former it would be before he had need; but  
 “ when he had need he would complain to those to  
 “ whom he might complain. Concerning his *Lame- ness*, he was so far from complaining of that, that  
 “ he humbly thanked God for it; and these Chains  
 “ he would chuse to carry before the Clogs and Cares  
 “ of a Bishoprick.” Such was the Plain-dealing of  
 this *Confessor* to one of the highest Dignitaries in the  
 Church.

Parker’s Zeal against the Puritans betrayed him sometimes into great Inconveniences; like a true <sup>father’d.</sup> *Inquisitor*, he listned to every idle Story of his Scouts, <sup>on the</sup> Puritans, and sent it presently to the Queen or Council; and the older he grew the more did his Jealousies prevail. In the Month of June one of his Servants acquainted him, That there was a Design of the Puritans against the Life of the Lord Treasurer and his own; and that the chief Conspirator was one *Undertree*, encouraged by the great Earl of Leicester: The old Archbishop was almost frighted out of his Wits at the News, as appears by the following Passage in his Letter to the Treasurer; “ This horrible Conspiracy (says he) has so asto- nished me, that my Will and Memory are quite gone; I would I were dead before I see with my corporal Eyes that which is now brought to a full Ripeness.” He then prays, that the Detector of this Conspiracy may be protected and honourably considered, and the Conspirators punished with the utmost Severity, otherwise the End would be worse than the Beginning. And that he might not seem to express all this Concern for his own Safety,

*Queen Elizabeth*, he tells the Treasurer, That it was for his sake and  
*1574.* the Queen's that he was so jealous, " for he feared,  
 " that when Rogues attempted to destroy those that  
 " were so near her Majesty's Person, they would at  
 " last make the same Attempt upon her too ; and  
 " that even some that lay in her Bosom [Leicester]  
 " when Opportunity served, woud sting her." The  
 Archbishop sent out his Scouts to apprehend the Con-  
 spirators that his Steward had named, who pretended  
 a secret Correspondence with *Undertree* ; and among  
 others that were taken into Custody, were the Re-  
 verend Mr. Bonham, Brown, and Stonden, Divines of  
 great Name among the Puritans : Stonden had been  
 one of the Preachers to the Queen's Army, when  
 the Earl of Warwick was sent against the Northern  
 Rebels. Many Persons of Honour were also accu-  
 sed, as the Earl of Bedford, Leicester, and others.  
 But when *Undertree* came to be examined before the  
 Council, the whole appeared to be a Sham, between  
*Undertree* and the Archbishop's Steward, to disgrace  
 the Puritans, and punish them as Enemies to the  
 State as well as the Church. So early was the vile Pra-  
 ctice of fathering sham Plots upon the Puritans begun,  
 which was repeated so often in the next Age. *Undertree*  
 had forged Letters in the Names of Bonham, Stonden,  
 and others ; as appeared to a Demonstration when  
 they were produced before the Council, for they were  
 all written with one Hand. When he was examined  
*L. of Par-*  
*ker, p. 466.* about his Accomplices he would accuse no body, but  
 took the whole upon himself ; so that their Honours  
 writ immediately to the Archbishop to discharge his  
 Prisoners. But, which is a little unaccountable, neith-  
 er *Undertree* nor the Archbishop's Steward received  
 any Punishment.

*Parker defends his Conduct in the Plot.* His Grace's Reputation suffered by this Plot ; all  
 impartial Men cried out against him, for shutting up  
 Men of Character and Reputation in Prison upon such  
 idle Reports. The Puritans reflected upon his Ho-  
 nour and Honesty ; and in particular the Bishop of

London, and Dr. Chatterton Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, whom in his Wrath he called a Chat-<sup>Queen Elizabeth;</sup> terer; and in his Letter to Grindal Archbishop of York, said, " That he cared not three Chips for " ought that could be proved as to his Allegiance ; " he doing it so secretly, faithfully and prudently as " he did ; and would do the same again, if he knew " no more than he did at that Time." The Earl of Leicester could not but resent his ill Usage of him, which he had an Opportunity to repay had he been so minded ; the Archbishop having executed an A&t of Justice [as he called it] upon a Person in the late Plot, after he had received a Letter from Court forbidding him to do it ; which was not very consistent with his Allegiance. But the Archbishop braved out his Conduct against every Body, after his own Brethren the Bishops, and all the World had abandon'd him. He told the Lord Treasur&t, " That he cared not for Leicester, though he was in-<sup>L. of Par-</sup> formed he took Counsel with the *Precisions* to undo <sup>ker, p. 471.</sup> him : That though he had writ to the Earl, and to another Puritan Courtier, it was not in way of Submission, as some of the Crew reported and took it. — That the Earl had peaceably writ again to him, dissembling his Malice like a right Courtier ; but he notwithstanding understood what was purposed against him, for Religion sake he took it." This was the Spirit and Language of our Archbishop !

One of the last publick Acts in which his Grace <sup>1575.</sup> was employed, was visiting the Diocese of Winchester, <sup>He visits</sup> and in particular the Isle of Wight ; and here he made <sup>the Isle of</sup> use of such Methods of Severity (says Mr. Strype) as made him talked against all over the Country. This Island was a Place of Resort for foreign Protestants, and Sea-faring Men of all Countries, which occasioned the Habits and Ceremonies not to be so strictly observed as in other Places, their Trade and Commerce requiring a Latitude : When our Arch-  
bishop

Queen Elizabeth, <sup>1575.</sup> L. of Par- ker, p. 491. No XCIX. Reforma- tion of Guernsey and Jersey. Inha-  
 bishop came thither with his Retinue he gave himself no trouble about the Welfare of the Island, but turned out all those Ministers that refused the Habits, and shut up their Churches. This was so great a Concern to the Inhabitants, that they sent up their Complaints to the Earl of *Leicester*, who made such a Report to the Queen of the Archbishop's Proceedings, that her Majesty immediately gave Order, that Things should return to their former Channel ; and when his *Grace* came to Court after his Visitation, her Majesty received him but coldly, and declared her Displeasure against his unseasonable Severities. The Bishop of *Winchester* also complained, that the Clergy of his Diocese had been sifted in an unmerciful Manner ; all which instead of softning our Prelate drew from him the following angry Letter to the Lord Treasurer, wherein he complains, " Of the strong Interest the Puritans had at Court; and of the Inconstancy of some of the Bishops; that several of that Order lay by and did little, while others endeavoured to undermine him. That the Queen was almost the only Person that stood firm to the Church; but if the *Precisions* had the Advantage, her Majesty would be undone. That he was not so much concerned for the *Cap, Tippet, Surplice, Wafer Bread*, and such like Ceremonies, as for the Authority of the Laws that enjoined them. The Queen indeed had told him, that he had the supreme Government Ecclesiastical, but upon Experiment he found it very much hamper'd and embarrassed. Before God (says he) I fear that her Highnes's Authority is not regarded; and if publick Laws are once disregarded the Government must sink at once."

There was but one Corner of the British Dominions that our Archbishop's Arm could not reach, (*viz.*) the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*; these had been a Receptacle for the French Refugees from the *Parisian Massacre*; and lying upon the Coasts of France, the

Inhabitants were chiefly of that Nation, and were allowed the Use of the Geneva or French Discipline, by the Lords of the Council. An Order of the States of France had been formerly obtained, to separate them from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance in Normandy, but no Form of Discipline having been settled by Law since the Reformation, Mr. Cartwright and Snape were invited to assist the Ministers in framing a proper Discipline for their Churches: This fell out happily for Cartwright, who being forced to abandon his native Country, made this the Place of his Retreat. The two Divines being arrived, one was made titular Pastor of Mount Orgueil, in the Isle of Jersey; and the other of Castle Cornet in Guernsey. The Representatives of the several Churches being assembled at St. Peter's Port, in Guernsey, they communicated to them a Draught of Discipline, which was debated, and accommodated to the Use of those Islands, and finally settled the Year following, as appears by the Title of it, which is this; *The Ecclesiastical Discipline observed and practised by the Churches of Jersey and Guernsey, after the Reformation of the same, by the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, Sark, and Alderney, confirmed by the Authority, and in the Presence of the Governors of the same Isles, in a Synod holden in Guernsey, June 28, 1576. and afterwards revived by the said Ministers and Elders, and confirmed by the said Governors in a Synod, holden in Jersey the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th Days of October, 1577.* The Book consists of 20 Chapters, and each Chapter of several Articles, which were constantly observed in these Aerius Islands till the latter end of the Reign of King James the First, when the Liturgy of the Church of England took place.

Though the Papists were the Queen's most dangerous Enemies, her Majesty had a peculiar Tenderness for them; she frequently released them out of Prison,

*Queen Elizabeth, 1575.*

*Queen Elizabeth, 1575.* Prison, and connived at their Religious Assemblies, of which there were above 500 in England at this Time: Many of the Queen's Subjects resorted to the Portugal Ambassador's House in Charter-house Yard, where Mass was publickly said; and because the Sheriff's and Recorder of London disturbed them, they were committed to the Fleet by the Queen's express Command. At the same Time they were practising against the Queen's Life: And that their Religion might not die with the present Age, Seminaries were erected and endowed, in several Parts of Europe, for the Education of English Youth, and for providing a Succession of Missionaries to be sent into England for the Propagation of their Faith. The first of these was erected when the Kingdom was excommunicated; after which many others were founded, to the unspeakable Prejudice of the Protestant Religion. To set them before the Reader in one View: Colleges were erected at the following Places;

- The 1st at Douay, 1569. by Philip King of Spain.
- 2d at Rome, 1579. by Pope Gregory 13th.
- 3d at Valladolid, 1589. by the King of Spain.
- 4th at Seville, 1593. by the same.
- 5th at St. Omers, 1596. by the same.
- 6th at Madrid, 1606. by Joseph Creswel, Jesuit.
- 7th at Louvaine, 1606. by Philip III. of Spain.
- 8th at Leige, 1616. by the Abp. of that Country.
- 9th at Ghent, 1624. by Philip IV.

Faller,  
B. IX.  
P. 92.

The popish Nobility and Gentry sent over their Children to these Colleges for Education; and 'tis incredible what a Mass of Money was collected in England for their Maintenance, by their Provincials, Sub-Provincials, Assistants, Agents, Coadjutors, Familiars, &c. out of the Estates of such Catholicks as were possessed of Abbey Lands; the Pope dispensing with their holding them on these Considerations. The Oath taken by every Student at his Admission was this;

“ Having

Queen

Elizabeth,

1575.

Having resolved to offer my self wholly up to Divine Service, as much as I may, to fulfil the End for which this our College was founded, I promise and swear in the Presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine Heart, with the Assistance of Divine Grace, in due Time to receive *holy Orders*, and to return into *England*, to convert the Souls of my Country-Men and Kindred, when, and as often as it shall seem good to the Superior of this College.

The Number of Students educated in these Colleges<sup>De Schis-</sup> may be collected from hence; that whereas according to *Saunders* an eminent popish Writer, there were but 30 old Priests remaining in *England*, this Year [1575], the two Colleges of *Douay* and *Rome* alone, in a very few Years, sent over 300; and 'tis not to be doubted, but there was a like Proportion from the rest.

About this Time began to appear the *Family of Love*, <sup>Family of</sup> which derived its Pedigree from one *Henry Nicolas*, a <sup>Love.</sup> *Dutchman*. By their Confession of Faith published this Year, it appears that they were high Enthusiasts; that they allegorized the Doctrines of Revelation, and under a Pretence of attaining to spiritual Perfection, adopted some odd and whimsical Opinions, while they grew too lax in their Morals, being in their Principles something akin to the *Quietists* in the Church of *Rome*, and the *Quakers* among our selves. They had their private Assemblies for Devotion, for which they tasted of the Severities of the Government.

But the Weight of the penal Laws fell heaviest upon some of the *German Anabaptists*, who refused to join with the *Dutch* or *English* Churches: There were two Sorts of *Anabaptists* that sprung up with the Reformation in *Germany*; one was of those who differ'd only about the Subject and Mode of Baptism, whether it should be administer'd to Infants, or in any other

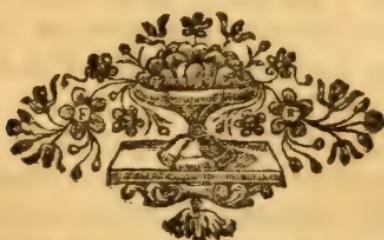
*Queen Elizabeth, 1575. Anabaptists burnt.* manner than by Dipping the whole Body under Water.) But others, who carried that Name, were meer Enthusiasts, Men of fierce and barbarous Tempers, who broke out into a general Revolt, and raised the War called the *Rustick War*. They had an unintelligible Way of talking of Religion, which they usually turned into Allegory; and these being joined in the common Name of *Anabaptists*, brought the other under an ill Character. Twenty seven of them were apprehended in a private House without Aldersgate-Bars, on *Easter Day*, 1575. where they were assembled for Worship: Of these, four recanted the following Errors, (1.) That Christ took not Flesh of the Substance of the Virgin. (2.) That Infants born of faithful Parents ought to be rebaptized. (3.) That no Christian Man ought to be a Magistrate. (4.) That it is not lawful for a Christian Man to take an Oath. But others refusing to abjure, 11 of them all Dutchmen, were condemned in the Consistory of St. Paul's to be burnt, 9 of whom were banished, and 2 suffered the Extremity of the Fire in Smithfield, July 22, 1575. (viz.) John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort. Thus the *Writ de Hæretico comburendo*, which had hung up only in *Terrorem* for 17 Years, was taken down and put in Execution upon these unhappy Men. The Dutch Congregation interceded earnestly for their Lives; as did Mr. Fox the Martyrologist, in an elegant Latin Letter to the Queen, but she was immovable; so distant was her Majesty from the tender Spirit of her Brother King Edward.

*Death of Abp. Parker.*

A little before the burning of these Hereticks MATTHEW PARKER, Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this Life: He was born at Norwich, 1504. and educated in Bennet College, Cambridge. In the Reign of King Edward VI. he married, and was therefore obliged to live privately under Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession he was advanced to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; and how he managed in that high Station may be collected from the foregoing History. He writ a Book entitled,

tled, *Antiquitates Britannicae*, which shows him to have had some Skill in Ecclesiastical Antiquity ; but he was a severe Churchman ; of a rough and uncourtly Temper, and of high and arbitrary Principles both in Church and State ; a Slave to the Prerogative and the Supremacy ; and a bitter Enemy to the Puritans, whom he persecuted to the Length of his Power, and beyond the Limits of the Law. His Religion consisted in a servile Obedience to the Queen's Injunctions, and in regulating the *publick Service* of the Church : But his Grace had too little Regard for publick Virtue ; his Entertainments and Feastings being chiefly on the Lord's Day : Nor do we read among his Episcopal Qualities, of his diligent Preaching or pious Example. *Fuller* calls him a *Parker* indeed, careful to keep the Fences, and shut the Gates of Discipline, against all such Nigh-Stealers as would invade the same ; and indeed this was his chief Excellency. He was a considerable Benefactor to *Bennet College*, the Place of his Education, where he ordered his MS. Papers to be deposited, which have been of considerable Service to the Writers of the *English Reformation*. He died of the Stone on the 17th of May, 1575. in the 72d Year of his Age, and was interr'd in *Lambeth Chapel* the 6th of June following ; where his Body rested till it was removed at the End of the Civil Wars by a private Gentleman, who purchased that Palace for a Mansion House.

Queen Elizabeth,  
1575.



## C H A P. VI.

*From the Death of Archbishop PARKER to  
the Death of Archbishop GRINDAL.*

*Queen Elizabeth, 1576.* DR. EDMUND GRINDAL, Archbishop of York, succeeded Parker in the See of Canterbury, and was confirmed Feb. 15th, 1576. He was a Divine of moderate Principles, and moved no faster in Courses of Severity against the Puritans than his Superiors obliged him, being a Friend to their Preaching and Prophecies. Sandys was translated from London to York, and Aylmer was advanced to the See of London. This last was one of the Exiles, and had been a Favourer of Puritanism; for in his Book against Knox, entitled, *An Harbour for faithful Subjects*, he declaims against the Wealth and Splendor of the Bishops, and speaks with Vehemence against their Lordly Dignities and Civil Authority. In the Convocation of 1562. when the Question about the Habits was debated, he withdrew, and would not be concerned in the Affair; but upon his Advancement to the Episcopal Order he became a new Convert, and a cruel Persecutor of the Puritans. He was a little Man, of a quick Spirit, and of no extraordinary Character in Life.

*Proceedings of Parliament,* The Parliament being now sitting, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, to tax such as did not come to Church and receive the Sacrament with certain Sums of Money; but it was thought proper to drop it for the present.

*And Convocation.* The Convocation was busy in framing Articles touching the admitting able and fit Persons to the Ministry, and establishing good Order in the Church. L. of Grindal, p. 194. Thirteen of them were published with the Queen's Licence, though they had not the Broad Seal; but the other two, *For marrying at all Times of the Year,* and

and for private Baptism by a lawful Minister, in Cases of Necessity, her Majesty would not countenance. One of the Articles makes void all Licences for Preaching dated before the 8th of Feb. 1575. but provides, That such as should be thought meet for that Office should be ces made re-admitted without Difficulty or Charge. This had been practised once and again in Parker's Time, and was now renewed, that by disqualifying the whole Body of the Clergy, they might clear the Church of all the Non-Conformists at once; and if all the Bishops had been equally severe in renewing their Licences, the Church would have been destitute of all Preaching; for the Body of the Conforming Clergy were so ignorant and illiterate, that many who had Cure of Souls were incapable of Preaching, or even of Reading to the Edification of the Hearers; being obliged by Law only to read the Service, and administer the Sacrament in Person once in half a Year, on forfeiture of 5 Pounds to the Poor,

The Non-Conformist Ministers, under the Charter of Curates or Lecturers, supplied the Defects of these idle Drones, for a small Recompence from the Incumbent with the voluntary Assistance of the Parish; and by their warm and affectionate Preaching gained the Hearts of the People: They resided upon their Curacies, and went from House to House visiting their Parishioners, and instructing their Children; they also inspected their Lives and Manners, and according to the apostolical Direction, reproved, rebuked, and exhorted them, with all Long-suffering and Doctrine, as long as they could keep their Licences. Thus most of the Puritan Ministers remained as yet within the Church, and their Followers attended upon the Word and Sacrament in such Places where there were sober and orthodox Preachers.

But still they continued their Associations and private Assemblies, for recovering the Discipline of the Church to a more primitive Standard: This was a Grievance to the Queen and Court Bishops, who

Queen Elizabeth,  
1576.  
A 1 Licens-

*Queen Elizabeth, 1576.* were determined against all Innovations of this kind. Strange ! That Men should confess in their publick Service every first Day of Lent, That there was a godly Discipline in the primitive Church ; that this Discipline is not exercised at present in the Church of England, but that it is much to be wished that it were restor'd ; and yet never attempt to restore it, but set themselves with Violence and Oppression to crush all Endeavours that way ! for the Reader will observe, that this was one chief Occasion of the Sufferings of the Puritans in the following Part of this Reign.

*Associations for this shire, L. of Grindal, p. 215.* Some of the Ministers of Northampton and Warwick, in one of their associated Meetings, agreed upon certain Rules of Discipline in their several Parishes ; but as soon as they began to practise them, the Court took the alarm, and sent Letters to the new Archbishop to suppress them. His Grace accordingly sent to the Bishops of those Dioceses, to see Things reduced to their former Channel ; and if need were, to send for Assistance from himself or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners : Accordingly Mr. Paget and Mr. Oxenbridge, the two Heads of the Association, were taken into Custody and sent up to London.

*Fuller, B. IX. p. 135.* Some Time after there was another Assembly at Mr. Knewstubs's Church, at Cockfield in Suffolk, where 60 Clergymen of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, met together to confer of the Common Prayer Book, and come to some Agreement as to what might be tolerated, and what was necessary to be refused. They consulted also about Apparel, Holidays, Fastings, Injunctions, &c. From thence they adjourned to Cambridge, at the Time of the next Commencement, and from thence to London, where they hoped to be concealed by the general Resort of the People to Parliament : In these Assemblies they came to the following Conclusions, which were drawn up in an elegant Latin Stile by Mr. Cartwright and Travers, and given to the Ministers for their Direction in their several Parishes.

Con-

## Concerning Ministers.

" LET no Man, though he be an University <sup>1576.</sup>  
 " Man, offer himself to the Ministry ; nor let any Man take upon him an uncertain and vague <sup>Conclusions of the Puritans in their Synods.</sup>  
 " Ministry, though it be offered unto him.

" But such as are called by some Church, let them <sup>their Synods.</sup>  
 " impart it to the *Classis* or *Conference*, of which they  
 " are Members, or to some greater Church Assem-  
 " blies ; and if the *Called* be approved, let them be  
 " commended by Letters to the Bishop, that they  
 " may be ordained Ministers by him.

" Those Ceremonies in the Book of Common  
 " Prayer, which being taken from Popery are in  
 " Controversy, ought to be omitted, if it may be  
 " done without Danger of being put from the Mi-  
 " nistry ; but if there be imminent Danger of being  
 " deprived, then let the Matter be communicated  
 " to the *Classis* in which that Church is, to be deter-  
 " mined by them.

" If Subscription to the Articles and Book of  
 " Common Prayer shall be again urged, it is thought  
 " that the Book of Articles may be subscribed, ac-  
 " cording to the Stat. 13 Eliz. that is, *To such only*  
 " *as contain the Sum of the Christian Faith and the*  
 " *Doctrine of the Sacraments.* But neither the Com-  
 " mon Prayer Book, nor the rest of the Articles  
 " may be allowed ; no, though a Man should be  
 " deprived of his Ministry for refusing it."

## Concerning Church-Wardens.

" It seems that Church-Wardens, and Collectors  
 " for the Poor, may be thus turn'd into Elders and  
 " Deacons.

" Let the Church have Warning of the Time of  
 " Election, and of the Ordinance of the Realm,  
 " 15 Days before-hand ; but especially of *Christ's*  
 " *Ordinance*, touching appointing of Watchmen and  
 " Overseers in his Church, who are to take care  
 " that

*Queen Elizabeth,* " that no Offence or Scandal arise in the Church ; and if any such happen, that it be duly abolished." 1576.

*Of Collectors for the Poor, or Deacons.*

" Touching Deacons of both Sorts, (*viz.*) Men and Women, the Church shall be monish'd what is required by the Apostle ; and that they are not to choose Men of Custom or Course, or for their Riches, but for their Faith, Zeal and Integrity ; and that the Church is to pray in the mean Time, to be so directed, that they may choose them that are meet.

" Let the Names of those that are thus chosen, be publish'd the next Lord's Day, and after that, their Duties to the Church, and the Church's Duty towards them ; then let them be received into their Office with the general Prayers of the whole Church."

*Of Classes.*

" The Brethren are to be requested to ordain a Distribution of all Churches, according to the Rules set down in the Synodical Discipline, touching *Classical, Provincial, Comitital, and Assemblies for the whole Kingdom.*

" The Classes are to be required to keep Acts of memorable Matters, and to deliver them to the *Comitital Assembly*, and from thence to the *Provincial Assembly*.

" They are to deal earnestly with Patrons, to present fit Men whosoever any Church falls void in their Classis.

" The *Comitital Assemblies* are to be admonished to make Collections for the Relief of the Poor, and of Scholars, but especially for the Relief of such Ministers as are deprived for not subscribing the Articles tender'd by the Bishops ; also for the Relief of *Scots Ministers*, and others ; and for other profitable and necessary Uses.

" Provincial Synods must continually foresee in due Time to appoint the keeping of their next Provincial Synods; and for the sending of chosen Persons with certain Instructions to the National Synod, to be holden whensoever the Parliament for the Kingdom shall be called, at some certain Time every Year."

Queen Elizabeth,  
1576.

The Design of these *Conclusions* was to introduce a <sup>Remarks.</sup> Reformation into the Church without separating from it. The chief Debate in their Assemblies was, *How far this or the other Conclusion might consist with the Peace of the Church, and be moulded into a Consistency with Episcopacy.* They ordained no Ministers; and tho' they maintained the Choice of the People to be the *essential Call* to the pastoral Charge, yet most of them admitted of Ordination and Induction by the Bishop only, as the Officer appointed by Law, that the Minister might be enabled to demand his legal Dues from the Parish.

In the Room of that pacifick Prelate *Parkhurst*, <sup>Ministers</sup> <sup>depriv'd.</sup> Bishop of *Norwich*, the Queen nominated Dr. *Freke*, a Divine of a quite different Spirit, who in his primary Visitation made sad Havock among the Puritan Ministers. Among others that were suspended in that Diocese, were, Mr. *John More*, Mr. *Richard Crick*, Mr. *George Leeds*, Mr. *Thomas Roberts*, and Mr. *Richard Dowe*, all Ministers in or near the City of *Norwich*: They addressed the Queen and Council for Relief; but were told, that her Majesty was fully bent to remove all those that would not be persuaded to conform to all Orders established. The Reverend Mr. <sup>M. S.</sup> *Gawton*, Minister of *Goring*, in the same Diocese, p. 253. being charged with not wearing the *Surplice*, nor observing <sup>Strype's</sup> the Order of the Queen's Book, he confessed <sup>An. p. 448.</sup> the former, but said that in other Things he was conformable, though he did not keep exactly to the Rubrick. When the Bishop charged him with holding divers Errors, he answered, We are here not above

*Queen Elizabeth, 1576.* above half a Dozen unconformable Ministers in this City [Norwich]; and if you will confer with us by Learning, we will yield up our very Lives if we are not able to prove the Doctrines we hold to be consonant to the Word of God. After his Suspension he sent his Lordship a bold Letter, in which he maintained, that Christ was the only Lawgiver in his Church. " If any King or Prince in the World or  
 " dain or allow other Officers than Christ has allow-  
 " ed, we will (says he) rather lay down our Necks  
 " on the Block than consent thereunto; wherefore  
 " do not object to us so often the Name of our  
 " Prince, for you use it as a Cloak to cover your  
 " cursed Enterprizes. Have you not thrust out  
 " those who preached the lively Word faithfully and  
 " sincerely? Have you not plucked out those  
 " Preachers where God set them in? And do you  
 " think that this Plea will excuse you before the  
 " high Judge, *I did but execute the Law?*"

*Mr. Harvey.* Mr. Harvey, another Minister of the same City, was cited before the Bishop May 13. for preaching against the Hierarchy of Bishops and their Ecclesiastical Officers; and at a Court held at St. George's Church he was suspended from his Ministry, with Mr. Vincent Goodwin and John Mapes.

*Mr. Rockrey. M. S. p. 285.* Mr. Rockrey, B. D. of Queen's College, Cambridge, a Person of great Learning and Merit, was expell'd the University for Non-Conformity to the Habits. Lord Burleigh the Chancellor got him restored, and dispensed with for a Year, at the End of which the Master of his College admonished him 3 Times to compose himself to the Custom of the University in the Habits, which he refusing, was finally discharged, as an Example to keep others to their Duty.

*Mr. Greenham. Peirce's Vindic. p. 97.* About the same Time Mr. Richard Greenham, Minister of Drayton, was suspended, a Man of a most excellent Spirit, who though he would not subscribe or conform to the Habits, avoided speaking of them, that he might not give Offence; and whoever reads his

his Letter to Cox, Bishop of Ely, will wonder what sort of Men they must be, that could bear hard on so peaceable a Divine.

Queen

Elizabeth,

1576.

Some Time before the Death of Parker Mr. Stroud, <sup>Mr.</sup> the suspended Minister of Cranbrook, returned to his Parish Church, but being represented to the present Archbishop as a Disturber of the Peace, he was forbid to continue his accustomed Exercises in the Church, and commanded to leave the Country ; but the good Man was so universally beloved, that the whole County of Kent almost sign'd Petitions to the Archbishop for his Continuance among them.

“ **W**E know, most Reverend Father (say they) that Mr. Stroud has been several Times beaten and whipt with the untrue Reports of slanderous Tongues, and accused of Crimes whereof he has most clearly acquitted himself to the Satisfaction of others. Every one of us, for the most part, Most gracious Lord, hath heard him preach Christ truly, and rebuke Sin boldly, and have seen him hitherto apply to his Calling faithfully, and live among us peaceably ; so that not only by his diligent Doctrine our Youth has been informed, and our selves confirmed in true Religion and Learning ; but also by his honest Conversation and Example we are daily allured to a Christian Life, and the Exercises of Charity ; and no one of us, Reverend Father, hath hitherto heard from his own Mouth, or by credible Relation from others, that he has publickly in his Sermons, or privately in Conversation, taught unsound Doctrine, or opposed the Discipline, about which great Controversy (alas !) is now maintained ; yea, he has given faithful Promise to forbear the handling any Questions concerning the Policy of the Church, and we think in our Consciences he has hitherto performed it. In Consideration whereof, and that our Country may not be deprived of so diligent a Labourer

*Queen Elizabeth, 1576.* “ bouri in the Lord’s Harvest ; nor that the Enemies of God’s Truth, the Papists, may find Master of Joy and Comfort ; nor the Man himself in receiving a kind of Condemnation without Examination, be thus wounded at the Heart and discouraged : We most humbly beseech your Grace, for the poor Man’s sake, for your own sake, and the Lord’s sake, either to take judicial Knowledge of his Cause, to the end he may be confronted with his Adversaries ; or else of your great Wisdom and Goodness, to restore him to his liberty of preaching the Gospel among us. *And we as in Duty bound shall ever pray, &c.*”

M. S.  
p. 196.

This Petition was signed by 19 or 20 Hands ; another was signed by 24 Ministers ; and a third by George Ely Vicar of Tenterden, and 21 Parishioners ; Tho. Bathurst, sen. Minister of Staplehurst, and 9 Parishioners ; William Walter of Frittenden, and 14 of his Parishioners ; Antony Francis Minister of Lamberhurst, and 4 Parishioners ; Alexander Love Minister of Rolenden, and 18 Parishioners ; Christopher Vinebrook Minister of Helcorne, and 9 Parishioners ; William Vicar of Tytherst, and 10 Parishioners ; Matthew Wolton Curate of Benenden, and 11 Parishioners ; William Cocks Minister of Marden, and 13 Parishioners ; William Hopkinson Minister of Salehurst, and 8 Parishioners.

Such a Reputation had this good Man among all that had any Taste for true Piety, or the Protestant Religion ! He was a peaceable Divine, and by the Threatning of Aylmer, Bishop of London, had been prevailed with to subscribe with some Reserve, for the Support of a starving Family ; and yet he was continually molested and vexed in the Spiritual Courts.

Death of  
Bishop Pil-  
kington.

Two eminent Divines of Puritan Principles died this Year ; one was James Pilkington, B. D. and Bishop of Durham ; he was born of a knightly Family near Bolton in Lancashire, and was educated in St.

*John's College, Cambridge*, of which he was Master. In the Reign of Queen Mary he was an Exile, and Confessor of the Gospel; upon the Accession of Queen Elizabeth he was nominated to the See of Durham, being esteemed a learned Man and a profound Divine; but could hardly be prevailed with to accept it on the Account of the *Habits*, to which he expressed a very great Dislike; he was always a very great Friend and Favourer of the Non-Conformists, as appears by his Letters, and a truly Pious and Christian Bishop. He died in Peace at his House at *Bishops Aycland*, Jan. 23, 1576. in the 56th Year of his Age; Dr. Humphreys, and Mr. Fox the Martyrologist, adorning his Tomb with their funeral Verses.

The other was Mr. Edward Deering, a Non-Conformist Divine, of whom mention has been made already; he was born of an ancient and worthy Family in Kent, and bred Fellow of Christ College, Cantab. a pious and painful Preacher (says Fuller) but disaffected to Bishops and Ceremonies; he was a learned Man and a fine Orator, but in one of his Sermons before the Queen he took the Liberty to say, That when her Majesty was under Persecution her Motto was *Tanquam Ovis*; but now it might be, *Tanquam indomita Juvencia, As an untamed Heifer*: For which he was forbid preaching at Court for the future, and lost all his Preferments in the Church.

Abp. GRINDAL had endeavoured to regulate the Prophesyings, and cover them from the Objections of the Court, by enjoining the Ministers to observe Decency and Order, by forbidding them to meddle with Politicks and Church Government, and by prohibiting all Non-Conformist Ministers and Laymen from being Speakers. The other Bishops also in their several Dioceses, publish'd the following Regulations.

1. That the Exercises should be only in such Churches, as the Bishop under his Hand and Seal should appoint,

2. That

*Queen Elizabeth, 1577.* 2. That the Archdeacon, or some other grave Divine, appointed and allowed by the Bishop, should be Moderator.

3. That a List of the Names of those that are thought fit to be Speakers in Course, be made and allowed of by the Bishop; and the Bishop to appoint such Parts of Scripture they shall treat of.

4. That those Ministers that are judged not fit to speak publickly, be assign'd some other Task by the Moderator, for the Encrease of their Learning.

5. *Ante omnia,* That no Lay-Person be admitted to speak publickly in the Exercises.

6. That if any Man glance at Affairs of State, the Moderator shall immediately silence him, and give Notice to the Bishop.

7. If any Man inveighs against the Laws concerning Rites and Ceremonies, and Discipline established, he shall immediately be silenced, and not be admitted to speak any more, till he has given Satisfaction to the Auditory, and obtained a new Admission and Approbation of the Bishop.

*Lastly,* No suspended or deprived Ministers shall be suffered to be Speakers, except they shall first conform to publick Order and Discipline of the Church, by Subscription and daily Practice.

*Queen's Reasons for putting them down. M. S. p. 203.*

But the Queen was resolved to put *them* down; and having sent for the Archbishop told him, She was informed that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church were not duly observed in these *Prophefyings*; that Persons not lawfully called to be Ministers exercised in them; that the Assemblies themselves were illegal, not being allowed by publick Authority; that the Laity neglected their secular Affairs by repairing to these Meetings, which filled their Heads with Notions, and might occasion Disputes and Seditions in the State; that it was good for the Church to have but few Preachers, 3 or 4 in a County being sufficient. She further declared her dislike of the Number of these Exercises, and therefore commanded

him peremptorily to put them down. Letters of this <sup>Queen</sup> Tenor were sent to all the Bishops in *England*: The <sup>Elizabeth,</sup> Copy of her Majesty's Letter to the Bishop of *London*, with his Lordship's Order thereupon, being before me, I shall impart it to the Reader.

*Salutem in Christo;*

" **H**aving received from the Queen's Majesty  
 " Letters of strait Commandment, touching  
 " the Reformation of certain Disorders and Innovations  
 " within my Diocese; the Tenor whereof I  
 " have inserted, as followeth:

*ELIZABETH.*

*Right Reverend Father in God,*

" **W**E greet you well. We hear to our great <sup>Her Letter</sup> Grief, that in sundry Parts of our Realm <sup>for that</sup> there are no small Number of Persons presuming <sup>purpose,</sup> to be Preachers and Teachers in the Church, tho' neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet meet for the same; who contrary to our Laws established, for the publick Divine Service of Almighty God, and the Administration of his Holy Sacraments within this Church of *England*, do daily devise, imagine, propound, and put in Execution, sundry new Rites and Forms in the Church, as well by the inordinate Preaching, Reading, and Ministring the Sacraments, as by procuring unlawfully of Assemblies, and great Numbers of our People, out of their ordinary Parishes, and from Places far distant; and that also of some of our Subjects of good Callings (though therein not well advised) to be Hearers of their Disputations, and new devised Opinions upon Points of Divinity, far unmeet for vulgar People; which manner of Ministrations they in some Places term PROPHESYINGS, and in some other Places EXERCISES; by means of which Assemblies

A a

" great

*Queen Elizabeth,* " great Numbers of our People, especially of the  
*1577.* " vulgar Sort (meet to be otherwise occupied with  
 " some honest Labour for their Living) are brought  
 " to Idleness, seduced, and in manners schismatically  
 " divided among themselves into variety of danger-  
 " ous Opinions, not only in Towns and Parishes;  
 " but even some Families are manifestly thereby en-  
 " couraged to the Violation of our Laws, and to  
 " the Breach of common Orders, and not smally to  
 " the Offence of all our quiet Subjects, that desire  
 " to live and serve God according to the uniform  
 " Orders established in the Church, whereby these  
 " [Exercises] cannot but be dangerous to be suffer-  
 " ed. Wherefore considering it should be the Duty  
 " of Bishops, being the principal ordinary Officers  
 " in the Church of God (as you are one) to see these  
 " Disorders against the Honour of God, and the  
 " Quietness of the Church reformed, and that by  
 " the Encrease of these through Sufferance, great  
 " Danger may arise, even to the Decrease of Chri-  
 " stian Faith, whereof we are by God appointed  
 " the Defender; besides the other Inconveniencies,  
 " to the Disturbance of our peaceable Govern-  
 " ment.

" We therefore, according to the Authority  
 " which we have, do charge and command you, as  
 " Bishop of that Diocese, with all manner of Dili-  
 " gence to take Order throughout your Diocese, as  
 " well in all Places exempt, or otherwise, that no  
 " manner of Publick and Divine Service, nor other  
 " Form of Ministration of the Holy Sacraments,  
 " or any other Rites and Ceremonies be in any sort  
 " used in the Church, but directly according to the  
 " Order established by our Laws: Neither that any  
 " manner of Person be suffered in your Diocese to  
 " teach, preach, read, or exercise any Function in  
 " the Church, but such as shall be lawfully ap-  
 " proved and licensed, as Persons able by their  
 " Knowledge, and conformable to the Ministrati-

" ons,

“ ons, in the Rites and Ceremonies of this Church  
 “ of England. And where there shall not be suffici-  
 “ ent able Persons for Learning in any Cure, to  
 “ preach and instruct their Cures, as are requisite,  
 “ then shall you limit the Curates to read the pub-  
 “ lick Homilies, according to the Injunctions here-  
 “ tofore by us given for like Cause.

“ And furthermore, considering the great Abu-  
 “ ses that have been in sundry Places of our Realm,  
 “ by reason of the aforesaid Assemblies called Ex-  
 “ERCISES ; and for that these are not, nor have been  
 “ appointed or warranted by us or our Laws ; we  
 “ will and straitly charge you, that you do cause  
 “ the same forthwith to cease, and not to be used ;  
 “ but if any shall attempt to continue or renew the  
 “ same, we will you not only to commit them to  
 “ Prison, as Maintainers of Disorders, but also to  
 “ advertise us or our Council of the Names and Qua-  
 “lities of them, and of their Maintainers and Abet-  
 “ters ; that thereupon for better Example their Pu-  
 “ nishment may be made more sharp, for their Re-  
 “formation. And *in these Things we charge you to be*  
*“ so careful and vigilant, as by your Negligence (if we*  
*“ shall hear of any Person attempting to offend in*  
*“ the Premises without your Correction or Informa-*  
*“ tion to us) we be not forced to make some Example in*  
*“ reforming of you according to your Deserts. Given*  
*“ under our Signet at our Manor of Greenwich, the*  
*“ 7th of May, 1577. and in the 19th Year of our*  
*“ Reign.”*

“ Therefore I will and straitly charge you, in her M S.  
 “ Majesty’s Name, that immediately upon the Re-p. 283.  
 “ ceipt hereof, you do diligently and carefully put  
 “ in Execution in every Point, all such Things as  
 “ therein be contained, throughout and in every  
 “ Place within your whole Archdeaconry ; so that  
 “ at my Visitation, which God willing shall be  
 “ shortly, sufficient Account may be given of that

Queen  
Elizabeth,  
1577.

*Queen* " your Doing and Diligence in that behalf accord-  
 Elizabeth, " ingly. Fail you not so to do, as you will answer  
 1577. " the contrary at your Peril.

Your loving Brother,  
 JOHN LONDON.

Most of the Bishops complied readily with the Queen's Letter, and put down the *Prophesyings*; but some did it with Reluctance, and purely in Obedience to the Royal Command; as appears by the following Letter of the Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, to his Archdeacon.

*Salutem in Christo,*

Bp. of Lich. " WHereas the Queen has been informed of  
 and Cov. " some Matters handled and abused in the  
 Letter. " *Exercise* at *Coventry*, and thereupon hath written  
 M. S. " to me a strait Charge to inhibit the said *Exercise*;  
 p. 284. " these are therefore to will and require you, and  
 " nevertheless in her Majesty's Name to charge you  
 " to forbear and stay your selves from that *Exercise*,  
 " till it shall please God we may either by earnest  
 " Prayer, or humble Petition, obtain the full Use  
 " thereof with her good Pleasure and full Authori-  
 " ty; and in the mean Time so to use the heavenly  
 " and most comfortable Gift of Preaching, that you  
 " may seek and set forth Jesus Christ and his King-  
 " dom without Contempt and Controulment of the  
 " State and Laws under which we ought to live in  
 " Unity and Peace; which I beseech God grant unto  
 " you and me, and all that look for the Coming of  
 " our Saviour Christ, to whose Direction I commit  
 " you, this 18th of June, 1577."

Your loving Friend and Brother in Christ,  
 THOMAS COV. and LICHF.

To my very loving Friend and  
 Brother in Christ, Thomas  
 Lever, Archdeacon of Cov. or  
 in his Absence to the Censors  
 of the Exercise there.

But

But our Archbishop could not go this length ; he that had complied with all the Queen's Injunctions, and with the Severities of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners against the Puritans hitherto, is now distressed in Conscience, and forced to disobey the Commands of his Royal Mistress in an Affair of much less consequence than others that he had complied with. Instead therefore of giving Directions to his Archdeacons to execute the Queen's Commands, he writes a long and earnest Letter to her Majesty, dated Dec. 10, 1576. to inform her of the Necessity and Usefulness of Preaching, and of the Subserviency of the *Exercises* to this purpose.

" With regard to Preaching nothing is more evident from Scripture (says his Grace) than that it was a great Blessing to have the Gospel preached, and to have plenty of Labourers sent into the Lord's Harvest. That this was the ordinary Means of Salvation, and that hereby Men were taught their Duty to God and their Civil Governors. That though reading the Homilies was good, yet it was not comparable to preaching, which might be suited to the Diversity of Times, Places, and Hearers ; and be delivered with more Efficacy and Affection. That Homilies were devised only to supply the Want of Preachers, and were by the Statute of King Edward VI. to give Place to Sermons whensoever they might be had : He hoped therefore her Majesty would not discountenance an Ordinance so useful, and of Divine Appointment.

" For the second Point, concerning the EXERCISES, he apprehended them profitable to the Church; and it was not his Judgment only but that of most of the Bishops, as London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, and St. David's, who had signified to him by Letter, that by means of these Exercises the Clergy were now better versed in the Scripture than heretofore ; that they had

*Queen Elizabeth,*  
1577.

*Grindal refuses to comply.*

Queen Elizabeth, " made them studious and diligent; and that nothing had beat down Popery like them. He affirms that they are *legal*, for as much as by the Canons and Constitutions of the Church now in force, every Bishop has Authority to appoint such Exercises for inferior Ministers to encrease their Knowledge in the Scriptures, as to him shall seem most expedient." Towards the Close of this Letter his Grace declares himself willing to resign his Bishoprick; if it should be her Majesty's Pleasure, and then makes these two Requests, "(1.) That your Majesty would refer Ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops and Divines of the Realm, according to the Practice of the first Christian Emperors. And, (2.) That when your Majesty deals in Matters of Faith and Religion, you would not pronounce so peremptorily as you may do in Civil Matters; but remember that in God's Cause, *his Will, and not the Will of any earthly Creature, is to take place.* 'Tis the Antichristian Voice of the Pope, *Sic volo sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.*" He then puts her in mind, that though she was a great and mighty Princess, she was nevertheless a mortal Creature, and accountable to God; and concludes with a Declaration, That whereas before there were not 3 able Preachers, now there were 30 fit to preach at *Paul's Cross*, and 40 or 50 besides able to instruct their own Cures. That therefore he could not without Offence of the Majesty of God send out Injunctions for suppressing the *Exercises*.

*He is sequestered  
and confined.*

The Queen was so inflamed with this Letter, that she determined to make an Example of the honest *Archbishop*, as a Terror to the whole Bench: She would not suffer her Commands to be disputed by the *Primate of all England*, but by an Order from the *Star Chamber* confined him immediately to his House, and sequester'd him from his Archiepiscopal Function for 6 Months. This was a high Display of the Supremacy, when the Head of the Church, being

a Woman, without consulting the Bishops, or any of the Clergy in Convocation assembled, shall pronounce so peremptorily in a Matter purely respecting Religion; and for Non-compliance tie up the Hands of her *Archbishop*, who is the first Mover under the Prince in all Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Queen

Elizabeth,

1577.

Before the Expiration of the 6 Months, which was in December, Grindal was advised to make his Submission, which he did so far as to acknowledge the Queen's Mildness and Gentleness in his Restraint, and to promise Obedience for the future; but he could not be persuaded to retract his Opinion, and confess his Sorrow for what was past; there was therefore some talk of depriving him, but that being thought too severe, his Sequestration was continued till about a Year before his Death; but his Grace never recovered the Queen's Favour. Thus ended the *Propheſings*, or *religious Exercises* of the Clergy, an useful Institution for promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety, at a Time when both were at a very low Ebb in the Nation. The Queen put them down for no other Reason, but because they enlighten'd the Peoples Minds in the Scripture, and encourag'd their Enquiries after Truth; her Majesty being always of Opinion, that Knowledge and Learning in the Laity would only endanger their peaceable Submission to her absolute Will and Pleasure.

This Year put an End to the Life of that eminent *Death of Mr. Lever.* Divine Mr. Thomas Lever, a great Favourite of Queen Elizabeth till he refused the *Habits*. He was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the Reign of King Edward VI. and was reckon'd one of the most eloquent Preachers in those Times. He had a true Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and was an Exile for it all the Reign of Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession, he might have had the highest Preferment in the Church, but could not accept it upon the Terms of *Subscription and swearing the Habits*;

<sup>Queen Elizabeth, 1577.</sup> *Habits*; he was therefore suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but his great Name and singular Merits, reflecting an Odium upon those who had deprived the Church of his Labours, and exposed him a second Time to Poverty and Want after his Exile, he was at length dispensed with, and made Archdeacon of *Coe*, and Master of *Sherburne Hospital* near *Durham*, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in great Reputation and Usefulness: He was a resolute Non-Conformist, and writ Letters to encourage the deprived Ministers to stand by their Principles, and wait patiently for a further Reformation. He was buried in the Chapel of his own Hospital, having this plain Inscription on a flat Marble Stone over his Grave, *Thomas Lever, Preacher to King Edward VI.* Had he lived a little longer he had been persecuted by the new Bishop as his Brother *Whittingham* was; but God took him away from the Evil to come. He died in *July, 1577.* and was succeeded in the Hospital by his Brother, *Ralph Lever.*

<sup>Puritans  
ordained at  
Antwerp.</sup> Mr. *Cartwright*, upon his return from the Isle of *Guernsey*, was chosen Preacher to one of the *English Factories* at *Antwerp*: These Factories submitted to the Discipline of the *Dutch* Churches among whom they lived, and their Ministers became Members of their Consistories. While *Cartwright* was here many of the *English*, who were not satisfied with the Terms of Conformity, or the *English* manner of giving Orders, went over thither, and were ordained by the Presbyters of those Churches; nay, some that had received *Deacons Orders* in the Church of *England*, chose to be made full Ministers by the foreign Consistories; among these were Mr. *Cartwright*, *Fenner*, *Aiston* and *Travers*. *Travers* was Bachelor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge* before he left *England*, and was ordained at *Antwerp*, May 14th, 1578. The Copy of his Testimonials is to this Effect:

“ **F**orasmuch as it is just and reasonable, that such Elizabeth,  
 “ **F**as are received into the Number of the Mini- 1578.  
 “ sters of God’s Word, should have a Testimonial <sup>Traver’s</sup>  
 “ of their Vocation; we declare, That having cal- <sup>Testimo-</sup>  
 “ led together a Synod of 12 Ministers of God’s <sup>nials.</sup>  
 “ Word, and almost the same Number of Elders at Fuller,  
 “ Antwerp on May 8th, 1578. our very learned, B. IX.  
 “ pious, and excellent Brother, the Reverend Doctor <sup>P. 214.</sup>  
 “ Gualter Travers, was by the unanimous Votes and  
 “ ardent Desires of all present, received and institu-  
 “ ted into the Ministry of God’s Holy Word, and  
 “ confirmed according to our accustomed Manner,  
 “ with Prayer and Imposition of Hands; and the  
 “ next Day after the Sabbath, having preached be-  
 “ fore a full Congregation of *English*, at the Request  
 “ of the Ministers, he was acknowledged and re-  
 “ ceived most affectionately by the whole Church.  
 “ That Almighty God would prosper the Ministry  
 “ of this our Reverend Brother among the *English*,  
 “ and attend it with great Success, is our most ear-  
 “ nest Prayer, through Jesus Christ. Amen. Given  
 “ at Antwerp, May 14, 1578. and sign’d,

*Joannes Taffinus, V.D.M.*  
*Logelerius Vilerius, V.D.M.*  
*Joannes Hocheleus, V.D.M.*

Pilkington late Bishop of Durham was succeeded by <sup>Dean</sup> Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, a Prelate of severer <sup>Whitting-</sup> Principles than his Predecessor; who having in vain <sup>ham’s</sup> attempted to reduce the Clergy of his Diocese to an <sup>Troubles.</sup> absolute Conformity, complained to his Metropolitan of the lax Government of his Predecessor, and of the Numbers of Non-Conformists whom he could not reduce to the established Orders of the Church. Upon this Sandys, the new Archbishop of York, resolved to visit his whole Province, and to begin with Durham, where Dean Whittingham was the principal Man

*Queen Elizabeth,* Man under the Bishop ; he was a Divine of great Learning, and of long standing in the Church, but not ordained according to the Form of the *English Service Book*. The Accusation against him was  
*Strype's Ann. p. 481.* branched out into 35 Articles, and 49 Interrogatories, but the chief was his *Geneva Ordination*.

The Dean, instead of answering the Charge, stood by the Rights of the Church of *Durham*, and denied the Archbishop's Power of Visitation, upon which his Grace was pleased to excommunicate him ; but *Whittingham* appealed to the Queen, who directed a Commission to the Archbishop, to the Lord President of the Council in the North, and to the Dean of *York*, to hear and determine the Validity of his Ordination, and to enquire into the other Misdemeanors contained in the Articles. The President of the North was a Favourer of the Puritans, and Dr. *Hutton* Dean of *York*, was of *Whittingham's* Principles, and boldly averr'd, *That the Dean was ordained in a better Sort than even the Archbishop himself* ; so that the Commission came to nothing. But *Sandys* vexed at the Disappointment, and at the calling in Question his Right of Visitation, obtained another Commission directed to himself, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and some others whom he could depend upon, to visit

*The validity of his Ordination disputed.* the Church of *Durham*. The chief Design was to deprive *Whittingham* for a Layman ; when the Dean appeared before the Commissioners, he produced a Certificate under the Hands of eight Persons, for the Manner of his *Ordination*, in these Words ; “ It

*Strype's Ann. p. 523.* “ pleased God, by the Suffrages of the whole Congregation [at *Geneva*] orderly to choose Mr. *W. Whittingham*, unto the Office of Preaching the Word of God and ministering the Sacraments ; and he was admitted Minister, and so published, with such other Ceremonies as here are used and accustomed.” It was objected, that there was no mention of a *Bishop* or *Superintendent*, nor of any external Solem-

Solemnities, nor so much as of *Imposition of Hands*; Queen Elizabeth, 1578.  
the Dean replied, There was mention in general of the Ceremonies of that Church, and that he was able to prove his Vocation to be the same that all the Ministers of Geneva had; upon which the Lord President rose up and said, that he could not in Conscience agree to deprive him for that Cause only, for (says he) it will be ill taken by all the Godly and Learned both at home and abroad, that we should allow of the popish Massing Priests in our Ministry, and disallow of Ministers made in a reformed Church; whereupon the Commission was adjourn'd *sine die*. These Proceedings of the Archbishop against the Dean were invidious, and lost him his Esteem both in City and Country. The calling his Ordination in question was expressly contrary to the Statute 13 Eliz. by which (says Mr. Strype) *The Ordinations of foreign p. 524. reformed Churches were declared valid; and those that had no other Orders were made of like Capacity with others, to enjoy any Place of Ministry within England.*

But the Death of Mr. Whittingham, which happened *His Death.* about 6 Months after, put an end to this and all his other Troubles: He was born in the City of Chester, 1524. and educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon; he was afterwards translated to Christ Church, when it was founded by King Henry VIII. being reckon'd one of the best Scholars in the University; in the Year 1550. he travell'd into France, Germany, and Italy, and returned about the latter end of King Edward VI. In the Reign of Queen Mary he was with the Exiles at Franckfort, and upon the Division there went with part of the Congregation to Geneva, and became their Minister. He had a great Share in translating the Geneva Bible, and the Psalms in Metre, as appears by the first Letter of his Name [W] over many of them. Upon his return home he was preferr'd to the Deanry of Durham, 1563. by the Interest of the Earl of Leicester, where he spent the Remainder of his Life. He did good Service, says the Oxford Hi-Ath. Ox. Storian, p. 195.

~~Queen~~ storian, against the popish Rebels in the North, and Elizabeth, in repelling the Archbishop of York from visiting the <sup>1578.</sup> Church of Durham; but he was at best but a luke-warm Conformist, an Enemy to the Habits, and a Promoter of the Geneva Doctrine and Discipline. However, he was a truly pious and religious Man, an excellent Preacher, and an Ornament to Religion. He died while the Cause of his Deprivation, for not being ordained according to the Rites of the English Church, was depending, June 10, 1579. in the 56th Year of his Age.

**Strype's Ann. p. 284.** We have mentioned the Bishop of Norwich's Severity in his primary Visitation; his Lordship went on still in the same Method, not without some Marks of unfair Designs; for the Incumbent of Sprowton being suspected to be of the Family of Love, his Lordship deprived him, and immediately begg'd the Living for his Son-in-law Mr. Maplesdon, who was already Archdeacon of Suffolk. He shewed no Mercy to his suspended Clergy, though they offered to subscribe as far as the Laws of the Realm required. At length they petition'd their Metropolitan Grindal, who tho' in Disgrace, licensed them to preach throughout the whole Diocese of Norwich, *durante beneplacito*, provided they did not preach against the established Orders of the Church, nor move Contentions about Ceremonies; but still they were deprived of their Livings.

**Mr. Lawrence depriv'd.** The Reverend Mr. Lawrence, an admired Preacher, and Incumbent of a Parish in Suffolk, was suspended by the same Bishop, for not complying with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. Mr. Calthorp a Gentleman of Quality in the County, applied to the Lord Treasurer in his behalf; and the Treasurer writ to the Bishop, requesting him to take off his Sequestration; but his Lordship replied, that what he had done was by virtue of the Queen's Letter to him, requiring him to allow of no Ministers, but such as were perfectly conformable.

Mr.

**Strype's Ann. p. 585.**

Mr. Calthrop writ again, and urged the great Want the Church had of such good Men as Mr. Lawrence, for whose fitness for his Work he would undertake the chief Gentlemen of Credit in the County should certify ; but his Sequestration was still continued. The like Severities were used in most other Dioceses.

The Bishop of London came not behind the chief of his Brethren the Bishops, in his persecuting Zeal against the Puritans ; he gave out Orders for Apparitors and other Officers to go from Church to Church in Time of Divine Service, to observe the Conformity of the Minister, and to make Report to her Majesty's Commissioners. As this Prelate had no Compassion in his Nature, he had little or no regard to the Laws of his Country, or the Cries of the People after the Word of God.

Great was the Scarcity of Preachers about Eng-Scarcity of land at this Time ; in the large and populous Town Preachers of Northampton there was not one, nor had been for in divers a considerable Time, though the People applied parts of to the Bishop of the Diocese, by most humble England. Supplication for the Bread of Life. In the County of Cornwall there were 140 Clergymen, not one of which was capable of preaching a Sermon, and most of them were Pluralists and Non-Residents. Even in Lon-

the City of London was in a lamentable Case, as appears by their Petition to the Parliament which met this Winter, in which are these Words.

“ — May it please you therefore, for the tender Mercies of God, to understand the woful Estate of many Thousands of Souls dwelling in deep Darkness, and in the Shadow of Death, in this famous and populous City of London ; a Place, in respect of others, accounted as the Morning Star, or rather as the Sun in its Brightnes, because of the Gospel, supposed to shine gloriously and abundantly in the same ; but being near looked into, will be found sorely eclipsed and darken'd through

*Queen Elizabeth,*  
1578.

*Queen Elizabeth,* " the dim Clouds of unlearned Ministers, whereof there be no small Number. There are in this <sup>1578.</sup> City a great Number of Churches, but the one half of them at the least are utterly unfurnished of preaching Ministers, and are pester'd with Candlesticks not of Gold but of Clay, unworthy to have the Lord's Lights set in them, with Watchmen that have no Eyes, and Clouds that have no Water; — In the other half, partly by means of Non-Residents, which are very many; partly through the Poverty of many meanly qualified, there is scarce the tenth Man that makes Conscience to wait upon his Charge, whereby the Lord's Sabbath is oft-times wholly neglected, and for the most part miserably mangled; Ignorance increaseth, and Wickedness comes upon us like an armed Man. — As Sheep therefore going astray, we humbly on our Knees, beseech this honourable Assembly, in the Bowels and Blood of Jesus Christ, to become humble Suitors to her Majesty, that we may have Guides; as hungry Men bound to abide by our empty Rack-Staves, we do beg of you to be Means, that the Bread of Life may be brought home to us; that the Sower may come into the Fallow Ground; that the Pipes of Water may be brought into our Assemblies; that there may be Food and Refreshing for us, our poor Wives and forlorn Children: So shall the Lord have his due Honour; you shall discharge good Duty to her Majesty; many languishing Souls shall be comforted; Atheism and Heresy banished; her Majesty have more faithful Subjects; and you more hearty Prayers for your Prosperity in this Life, and full Happiness in the Life to come, through Jesus Christ our alone Saviour. *Amen.*"

*In Cornwall.*  
M.S.  
p. 300.

In the Supplication of the People of Cornwall it is said, " We are above the Number of Fourscore and ten Thousand Souls, which for want of the Word

“ of God are in extreme Misery and ready to perish,  
“ and this neither for want of Maintenance nor Place ; for besides the Impropropriations in our Shire, we allow yearly above nine Thousand two Hundred Pounds, and have about 160 Churches, the greatest part of which are supplied by Men who are guilty of the grossest Sins ; some Fornicators, some Adulterers, some Felons, bearing the Marks in their Hands for the said Offence ; some Drunkards, Gamesters on the Sabbath Day, &c. We have many Non-Residents, who preach but once a Quarter ; so that between Meal and Meal the silly Sheep may starve. We have some Ministers who labour painfully and faithfully in the Lord’s Husbandry ; but these Men are not suffer’d to attend their Callings, because the Mouths of Papists, Infidels, and filthy Livers, are open against them, and the Ears of those who are called *Lords* over them, are sooner open to their Accusations, tho’ it be but for Ceremonies, than to the others Answers. Nor is it safe for us to go and hear them ; for tho’ our own Fountains are dried up, yet if we seek for the Waters of Life elsewhere, we are cited into the Spiritual Courts, reviled, and threaten’d with Ex-communication. Therefore from far we come, beseeching this honourable House to dispossess these *dumb Dogs and ravenous Wolves*, and appoint us faithful Ministers, who may peaceably preach the Word of God, and not be disquieted by every Apparitor, Register, Official, Commissioner, Chancellor, &c. upon every light Occasion —”

The Ground of this Scarcity was no other but the *Reasons of Severity* of the High Commission, and the narrow <sup>it.</sup> Terms of Conformity. Most of the old Incumbents, *L. of Aylm.* says Dr. Kelridge, are disguised Papists, fitter to <sup>P. 32.</sup> sport with the Timbrel and Pipe, than to take into their Hands the Book of the Lord ; and yet there was a rising Generation of valuable Preachers ready for the Ministry, if they might have been encouraged ;

Queen Elizabeth, of Cambridge to the Parliament about this Time, they acknowledge, that there were Plenty of able and well furnished Men among them, but that they could not get into Places upon equal Conditions ; but unlearned Men, nay the Scum of the People were prefer'd before them ; so that in this great Want of Labourers, we (say they) stand idle in the Market-Place all the Day, being urged with Subscriptions before the Bishops, to approve the Romish Hierarchy, and all the Effects of that Government to be agreeable to the Word of God, which with no Safety of Conscience we can accord unto. They then offer a Conference or Disputation, as the Queen and Parliament shall agree, to put an amicable End to these Differences, that the Church may recover some Discipline, that Simony and Perjury may be banished, and that all that are willing to promote the Salvation of Souls may be employed ; but the Queen and Bishops were against it.

All the publick Conversation at this Time ran upon the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of Anjou, a French Papist, which was thought to be as good as concluded ; the Protestant part of the Nation were displeased with it, and some warm Divines expressed their dark Apprehensions in the Pulpit. The Puritans in general made a loud Protest against the Match, as dreading the Consequences of a Protestant Body Mr. Stubb's being under a Popish Head. Mr. John Stubbs, a Student of Lincolns Inn, whose Sister Mr. Cartwright had cut off. married, a Gentleman of excellent Parts, published a Treatise this Summer entitled, the Gaping GULPH wherein England will be swallowed up with the French Marriage ; with which the Queen was so incensed, that she immediately issued out a Proclamation to suppress the Book, and to apprehend the Author and Printer. At the same Time the Lords of the Council writ circular Letters to the Clergy, to remove all Surmises about the Danger of the Reformation,

Queen  
Elizabeth,  
1580.

formation, in case the Match should take place; assuring them the Queen would suffer no Alterations in Religion by any Treaty with the Duke, and forbidding them in their Sermons or Discourses to meddle with such high Matters. Mr. Stubbs the Author, Singleton the Printer, and Page the Disperser of the above-mentioned Book, were apprehended, and sentenced to have their right Hands cut off, by virtue of a Law made in Queen Mary's Reign, against the Authors and Dispersers of seditious Writings: The Printer was pardoned, but Mr. Stubbs and Page were brought to a Scaffold, erected in the Market Place at Westminster, where with a terrible Formality their right Hands were cut off, by driving a Cleaver through the Wrist with a Mallet; but I remember (says Cambden) being present, that as soon as Stubbs's right Hand was cut off, he pulled off his Hat with his left, and said with a loud Voice, *God save the Queen*; to the Amazement of the Spectators, who stood silent, either out of Horror of the Punishment, or Pity to the Man, or Hatred of the Match. Mr. Stubbs proved afterwards a faithful Subject to her Majesty, and a valiant Commander in the Wars of Ireland.

At the beginning of the next Sessions of Parliament, which was Jan. 10. the Commons voted, *That as Heylin, many of their Members as conveniently could, should on the p. 187. Sunday fortnight, assemble and meet together in the Temple Church, there to have Preaching, and to join together in Prayer, with Humiliation and Fasting, for the Assistance of God's Spirit in all their Consultations, during this Parliament; and for the Preservation of the Queen's Majesty and her Realms.* The House was so cautious as not to name their Preachers, for fear they might be thought Puritanical, but referr'd it to such of her Majesty's Privy Council as were Members of the House. There was nothing in this Vote contrary to Law or Equity, but the Queen was no sooner acquainted with it, but she sent Word by Sir Christopher

~~Queen Elizabeth, 1580.~~ *Queen Hatton*, her Vice-Chamberlain, that *She did much admire at so great a Rashness in that House, as to put in Execution such an Innovation without her Privity and Queen for- bids it.* Pleasure first made known to them. Upon which it was moved by the Courtiers, that the House should acknowledge their Offence and Contempt, and humbly crave Forgiveness, with a full Purpose to forbear committing the like for the future; which they did accordingly. A mean and abject Spirit in the representative Body of the Nation!

*Private Fastings of the Clergy put down.* Her Majesty having forbid her Parliament to appoint Times for Fasting and Prayer, took hold of the Opportunity, and gave the like Injunctions to her Clergy; some of whom, after the putting down of the PROPHESYINGS, had ventur'd to agree upon Days of private Fasting and Prayer for the Queen and Church; and for exhorting the People to Repentance and Reformation of Life, at such Times and Places where they could get a Pulpit. All the Puritans, and the more devout part of the conforming Clergy, fell in with these Appointments; sometimes there was one at Leicester; sometimes at Coventry and at Stamford, and in other Places; where six or seven neighbouring Ministers join'd together in these Exercises; but as soon as the Queen was acquainted with them, she sent a warm Message to the Archbishop to suppress them, as being set up by private Persons, without Authority, in defiance of the Laws, and of her Prerogative.

Heylin's Aerius Redivivus, p. 286.

Mr. Prowd the Puritan Minister of Burton upon Dunmore, complains in a melancholy Letter to Lord Burleigh, of the sad State of Religion by putting down the Exercises; and by forbidding the Meeting of a few Ministers and Christians to pray for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion in this dangerous Crisis of the Queen's marrying with a Papist. He doubted whether his Lordship dealt so plainly with her Majesty as his Knowledge of these Things required, and begs him to interpose. But the Queen

was

was determined against all Prayers but what her self  
should appoint.

Queen  
Elizabeth,  
1580.

We have already taken Notice of the Petitions and Supplications to Parliament from *London, Cornwall,* and some other Places, for Redress of Grievances ; but the House was so intimidated by the Queen's harsh Behaviour, that they durst not interpose, any further than in Conjunction with some of the Bishops, to petition her Majesty as *Head of the Church* to redress them. The Queen promised to take Order about it with all convenient speed ; putting them in mind at the same Time, that *all Motions for Reformation in Religion ought to arise from none but her self.*

But her Majesty's Sentiments differed from the Queen re:  
Parliament's ; her greatest Grief was the Increase quires full  
of Puritans and Non-Conformists, and therefore instead Conformity,  
of easing them, she girt the Laws closer about them, in order to bring them to an exact Conformity. Information being given, that some that had Livings in the Church, and preached weekly, did not administer the Sacrament to their Parishioners in their own Persons, her Majesty commanded her Bishops in their Visitations, to enquire after such HALF CONFORMISTS, as disjoined one part of their Function from the other, and to compel them by Ecclesiastical Censures to perform the whole, at least twice a Year. The Puritan Ministers being dissatisfied with the promiscuous Access of all Persons to the Communion, and with several Passages in the *Office for the Lord's Supper*, some of them used to provide qualified Clergymen to administer the *Ordinance* in their room ; but this was now made a handle for their Ejection : Inquisition was made, and those that after Admonition would not conform to the Queen's Pleasure were sent for before the Commissioners and deprived.

Though the Springs of Discipline moved but slowly in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, because the *Metropolitan*, who is the first Mover in Ecclesiastical Causes under the Queen was suspended and in disgrace ;

Queen Elizabeth, yet the Sufferings of the Puritans were not lessen'd; because the other Bishops that were in the High Commission, doubled their Diligence; the Reverend Mr. Nash was in the Marshalsea; Mr. Drewet in Newgate, and several others were shut up in the Prisons in and about London. Those that were at liberty had nothing to do, for they might not preach in publick without full Conformity; nor assemble in private to mourn over their own and the Nation's Sins, without the Danger of a Prison:

This exasperated their Spirits, and put them upon writing satirical Pamphlets against their Adversaries; in some of which there are severe Expressions against the unpreaching Clergy, calling them in the Language of Scripture *Dumb Dogs*, because they took no pains for the Instruction of their Parishioners; the Authors glanced at the Severity of the Laws; at the Pride and Ambition of the Bishops; at the illegal Proceedings of the High Commission, and at the unjustifiable Rigors of the Queen's Government; which her Majesty being informed of, procured a Statute this very Parliament, by

*Seditious Libellers to suffer Death.* 23 Eliz. cap. 2. which it is enacted, that " If any Person or Persons, forty Days after the End of this Session, shall devise, or write, or print, or set forth any manner of Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter, or Writing, containing any false, seditious, or scandalous Matter, to the Defamation of the Queen's Majesty, or to the encouraging, stirring, or moving of any Insurrection or Rebellion within this Realm, or any of the Dominions to the same belonging: Or if any Person or Persons shall procure such Books, Rhimes or Ballads, to be written, printed, or published, the said Offence not being within the Compass of Treason, by virtue of any former Statute) that then the said Offenders, upon sufficient Proof by two Witnesses, shall suffer Death and Loss of Goods, as in case of Felony." The Statute was made with Limitation to the Life of the

the present Queen; but within that Compass of Time Queen Elizabeth, sundry of the Puritans were put to Death by virtue of it. 1580.

In the same Session of Parliament another severe Law was made, which like a two-edged Sword cut down both Papists and Puritans; it was entitled, *An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience*:  
 "By which it is made Treason for any Priest or Jesuit to seduce any of the Queen's Subjects from the Popery.  
*Established to the Romish Religion.* If any shall reconcile themselves to that Religion they shall be guilty of Treason: And to harbour such above 20 Days is Misprision of Treason. If any one shall say Mass, he shall forfeit 200 Marks and suffer a Year's Imprisonment; and they that are present at hearing Mass shall forfeit 100 Marks and a Year's Imprisonment." But that the Act might be more extensive, and comprehend Protestant Non-Conformists, as well as Papists, it is further enacted, "That all Persons that do not come to Church or Chapel, or other Place where Common Prayer is said, according to the Act of Uniformity, shall forfeit 20l. a Month to the Queen, being thereof lawfully convicted, and suffer Imprisoament till paid. Those that are absent for 12 Moaths shall, upon Certificate made thereof into the King's Bench, besides their former Fine, be bound with two sufficient Sureties in a Bond of 200l. for their good Behaviour. Every School-Master that does not come to Common-Prayer shall forfeit 10l. a Month, be disabled from teaching School, and suffer a Year's Imprisonment." This was making Merchandise Fuller, of the Souls of Men (says a Reverend Author) for B. IX. 'tis a sad Case, to sell Men a Licence to do that which the Receivers of their Money conceive to be unlawful. Besides, the Fine was unmerciful; by the Act of Uniformity, it was 12 d. a Sunday for not coming to Church, but now 20l. a Month; so that the meaner People had nothing to expect but to rot in Prison; which made the Officers unwilling to apprehend

*Queen Elizabeth.* them. Thus the Queen and her Parliament tacked the Puritans to the Papists, and subjected them to the same Penal Laws, as if they had been equal Enemies to her Person and Government, and to the Protestant Religion. A Practice followed by several Parliaments in the succeeding Reigns.

The Convocation did nothing but present an humble Petition to the Queen, to take off the Archbishop's Sequestration, which her Majesty was not pleased to grant.

*1581.  
Visitation  
in Lon-  
don.*

This Summer *Aylmer* Bishop of *London* held a Visitation of his Clergy at the *Convocation House* of *St. Paul's*, and obliged them to subscribe the following Articles; 1. Exactly to keep to the Book of *Common Prayer* and *Sacraments*. 2. To wear the Surplice in all their Ministrations. 3. Not to add or diminish any Thing in reading Divine Service. He then made the following Enquiries, 1. Whether all that had Cure of Souls administer'd the Sacraments in Person? 2. Whether they observed the Ceremonies to be used in Baptism and Marriage? 3. Whether the Youth were catechised? 4. Whether their Ministers read the Homilies? 5. Whether any of them called others that did not preach by ill Names, as *Dumb Dogs*? Those that did not subscribe and answer the Interragatories to his Lordship's Satisfaction, were immediately suspended and silenced.

*Rise of the  
Brownists.* But these violent Measures, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Church, drove them further from it. Men that act upon Principles will not easily be beaten from them with the Artillery of Canons, Injunctions, Subscriptions, Fines, Imprisonments, &c. much less will they be in love with a Church that fights with such Weapons. Multitudes were by these Methods carried off to a total Separation, and so far prejudic'd as not to allow the Church of *England* to be a true Church, nor her Ministers true Ministers; they renounced all Communion with her, not only in the Ceremonies, but in hearing the Word and

and the Sacraments. These were the People called BROWNISTS, from one *Robert Brown*, a Preacher in the Diocese of Norwich, descended of an ancient and honourable Family in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Cecil; he was educated in *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, and preached sometimes in *Bennet Church*, where the Vehemence of his Delivery gained him Reputation with the People. He was first a School-Master, then a Lecturer at *Islington*; but being a fiery, hot-headed young Man, he could not settle, but went about the Countries inveighing against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the People by no means to comply with them. He was first taken Notice of by the Bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the Custody of the Sheriff of the County in the Year 1580. but upon acknowledgment of his Offence he was released. In the Year 1582. he published a Book called *the Life and Manners of true Christians*; to which is prefix'd, *A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the Wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform themselves and their Charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them.* For this he was sent for again into Custody, and upon Examination confessed himself the Author, but denied that he was acquainted with the Publication of the Book; whereupon he was dismissed a second Time at the Intercession of the Lord Treasurer, and sent home to his Father with whom he continued 4 Years; after this he travell'd up and down the Countries in Company with his Assistant *Richard Harrison*, preaching against *Bishops, Ceremonies, Ecclesiastical Courts, ordaining of Ministers, &c.* for which, as he afterwards boasted, he had been committed to 32 Prisons, in some of which he could not see his Hand at Noon-day. At length he gathered a separate Congregation of his own Principles; but the Queen and her Bishops watched them so narrowly, that they were

Queen Elizabeth,  
1581.

*History of  
Robert Brown.*

*Queen Elizabeth 1581.* quickly forced to leave the Kingdom. Several of his Friends shipt off themselves and their Effects for Holland; and having obtained leave of the Magistrates to worship God in their own Way, settled at Middleburgh in Zealand. Here Mr. Brown formed a Church according to his own Model; but when this handful of People were deliver'd from the Bishops, their Oppressors, they crumbled into Parties among themselves, insomuch that Brown being weary of his Office, return'd into England in the Year 1589. and having renounced his Principles of Separation, became Rector of A-Church in Northamptonshire: Here he lived an idle and dissolute Life (according to Fuller) far from that Sabbatarian Strictness that his Followers aspired after. He had a Wife, with whom he did not live for many Years, and a Church in which he never preached; at length being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the Constable of his Parish, for demanding a Rate of him; and being beloved by no body, the Officer summoned him before S'r Rowland St. John, a neighbouring Justice of Peace, who committed him to Northampton Gaol; the decrepid old Man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a Feather-Bed in a Cart, where he fell sick and died, in the Year 1630. and 81st Year of his Age.

The Revolt of Mr. Brown broke up his Congregation at Middleburgh, but was far from destroying the Seeds of Separation that he had sown in several Parts of England; his Followers encreased, and made a considerable Figure towards the latter End of this Reign; and because some of his Principles were adopted and improved by a considerable Body of Puritans in the next Age; I shall here give an Account of them.

*Principles of the Brownists.* The BROWNISTS did not differ from the Church of England in any Articles of Faith; but were very rigid and narrow in Points of Discipline. They denied the Church of England to be a true Church,

Church, and her Ministers to be rightly ordained. They maintained the Discipline of the Church of England to be Popish and Antichristian, and all her Ordinances and Sacraments invalid. Hence they forbade their People to join with them in Prayer, in Hearing, or in any part of publick Worship; nay they not only renounced Communion with the Church of England, but with all other reformed Churches, except such as should be of their own Model.

Queen  
Elizabeth,  
1581.

They apprehended, according to Scripture, that every Church ought to be confined within the Limits of a single Congregation; and that the Government should be DEMOCRATICAL. When a Church was to be gathered, such as desired to be Members made a Confession of their Faith in the Presence of each other, and signed a COVENANT, obliging themselves to walk together in the Order of the Gospel, according to certain Rules and Agreements therein contained. The whole Power of admitting and excluding Members, with the deciding of all Controversies, was in the *Brotherhood*. Their *Church Officers* for preaching the Word, and taking Care of the Poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their several Offices by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of the Hands of some of the *Bretbren*. They did not allow the *Priesthood* to be a distinct Order, or to give a Man an indelible Character; but as the Vote of the Brotherhood made him an Officer, and gave him Authority to preach and administer the Sacraments among them; so the same Power could discharge him from his Office, and reduce him to the State of a private Brother.

When the Number of Communicants was larger than could meet in one Place, the Church divided and chose new Officers from among themselves as before, living together as Sister Churches, and giving each other the right Hand of Fellowship. One Church might not exercise Jurisdiction or Authority over another,

*Queen Elizabeth, 1581.* another, but each might give the other Counsel, Advice, or Admonition, if they walked disorderly, or abandoned the capital Truths of Religion ; and if the offending Church did not receive the Admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publickly disown them as a Church of Christ. The Powers of their Church Officers were confined within the narrow Limits of their own Society ; the Pastor of one Church might not administer the Sacrament of Baptism or the Lord's Supper, to any but those of his own Communion and their immediate Children. They declared against all prescribed Forms of Prayer. Any Lay-Brother had the liberty of Prophesying, or giving a Word of Exhortation in their Church Assemblies ; and it was usual after Sermon, for some of the Brotherhood to ask Questions, and confer with each other upon the Doctrines that had been delivered ; but as for Church Censures, they were for an entire Separation of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Sword. In short, every Church or Society of Christians meeting in one Place, was, according to the BROWNISTS, a *Body corporate*, having full Power within it self to admit and exclude Members, to choose and ordain Officers ; and when the Good of the Society required it, to depose them, without being accountable to Classes, Convocations, Synods, Councils, or any Jurisdiction whatsoever.

*Reasons of their Separation.* Some of their Reasons for withdrawing from the Church are not easily answered : They alleg'd, That the Laws of the Realm, and the Queen's Injunctions, had made several unwarrantable Additions to the Institutions of Christ. That there were several gross Errors in the *Church Service*. That these Additions and Errors were imposed and made necessary to Communion. That if Persecution for Conscience sake was the Mark of a false Church, they could not believe the Church of *England* to be a true one. They apprehended further, that the Constitution of the Hierarchy was too bad to be mended ; that the very Pillars

Pillars of it were rotten, and that the Structure must be begun anew. Since therefore all Christians are obliged to preserve the Ordinances of Christ pure and undefiled, they resolved to lay a new Foundation, and keep as near as they could to the primitive Pattern, though it were with the Hazard of all that was dear to them in the World.

Queen  
Elizabeth,  
1581.

This Scheme of the *Brownists* seems to be formed Remarks. upon the Practice of the Apostolical Churches before the Gifts of *Inspiration* and *Prophecy* were ceased, and is therefore hardly practicable in these latter Ages, wherein the Infirmities and Passions of private Church Members too often take place of their Gifts and Graces. This exposed them to frequent Quarrels and Divisions; but their chief Crime was their *Uncharitableness*, in Unchurching the whole Christian World, and breaking off all manner of Communion in hearing the Word, in publick Prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacraments, not only with the Church of *England*, but with all foreign Reformed Churches, which though less pure ought certainly to be owned as Churches of Christ.

The Heads of the *Brownists* were Mr. *Brown* himself and his Companion Mr. *Harrison*, together with against Mr. *Tyler*, *Copping*, *Thacker*, and others, who were them- now in Prison for spreading his Books; the two last being afterwards put to Death for it. The Bishop of *Norwich* used them cruelly, and was highly displeased with those that shewed them any Countenance. When the Prisoners above-mentioned, with Mr. *Handson* and some others, complained to the Justices at their Quarter Sessions, of their long and illegal Imprisonment, their *Worships* were pleased to move the Bishop in their Favour; with which his Lord-Strype's Ship was so dissatisfied, that he drew up 12 Articles of An. p. 21. Impeachment against the *Justices themselves*, and caused them to be summoned before the Queen and Council to answer for their Misdemeanors. In the Articles they are charged with countenancing *Copping*, *Tyler*,

Queen Tyler, and other disorderly Clergymen. They are Elizabeth, accused of Contempt of his Lordship's Jurisdiction, 1581. in refusing to admit divers Ministers which he had ordained, because they were ignorant, and could only read ; and for removing one *Wood* from his Living on the same Account. Sir Robert *Jermin* and Sir John *Higham*, Knights, and Robert *Ashfield* and Thomas *Badley*, Esquires, Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, and of the Number of the aforesaid Justices, gave in their Answer to the Bishop's Articles in the Name of the rest; in which, after asserting their own Conformity to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, they very justly tax his Lordship with Cruelty, in keeping Men so many Years in Prison without bringing them to a Trial, according to Law; and are ashamed that a Bishop of the Church of *England* should be a Patron of Ignorance, and an Enemy to the Preaching the Word of God. Upon this the Justices were dismissed. But though the *Lord Treasurer*, *Lord North*, Sir Robert *Jermin* and others, writ to the Bishop, that Mr. *Handson* who was a learned and useful Preacher, might have a Licence, the angry Prelate declared peremptorily, that he never should have one, unless he would acknowledge his fault, and enter into Bonds for his good Behaviour for the future.

Puritans received into Gentlemen's Families.

While the Bishops were driving the *Puritans* out of the Pulpits, the Nobility and Gentry received them into their Houses as Chaplains and Tutors to their Children; not merely out of Compassion, but from a Sense of their real Worth and Usefulness; for they were Men of undissembled Piety and Devotion; mighty in the Scriptures; zealous for the Protestant Religion; of exemplary Lives; far remote from the Liberties and fashionable Vices of the Times; and indefatigably diligent in instructing those committed to their Care. Here they were covered from their Oppressors; they preached in the Family and catechised the Children; which without all question had a considerable Influence upon the next Generation.

The

The Papists were now very active all over the Queen Country ; Swarms of Jesuits came over from the Seminaries abroad, in defiance of the Laws, and spread their Books of Devotion and Controversy among the common People ; they had their private Convents almost in every Market Town in England ; in the Northern Counties they were more numerous than the Protestants. This put the Government upon enquiring after their Priests ; many of whom were apprehended, and 3 were put to Death (viz.) Edmund Campion, a learned and subtle Jesuit educated in Cambridge, where he continued till the Year 1569. when he travel'd to Rome, and enter'd himself into the Society of Jesus, 1573. Some Years after he came into England, and travel'd the Countries to propagate the Catholick Faith. Being apprehended he was put on the Rack to discover the Gentlemen that harboured him, and afterwards was hanged, drawn, and quarter'd, when he was but 41 Years of Age. The other 2 that suffered with him were Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Bryant. These were executed for an Example, but the rest were spared because the Queen's Match with the Duke of Anjou was still depending. However, the Protestants in the Nether-lands being in Distress, the Queen assisted them with Men and Money, for which they delivered into her Majesty's Hands the most important Fortresses of their Country, which she garrison'd with English. She also sent Relief to the French Protestants, who were at war with their natural Prince ; and ordered a Collection all over England for the Relief of the City of Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy : All which was hardly consistent with her own Principles of Government ; but as Rapin observes, Queen Elizabeth's Vol. VIII. Zeal for the Protestant Religion was always subordinate to her private Interest.

About this Time the Queen granted a Commission of Concealments to some of her hungry Courtiers, by which they were empowered to enquire into the titles.

*Queen Elizabeth, 1582.* Titles of Church Lands and Livings; all Forfeitures, Concealments, or Lands for which the Parish could not produce a legal Title were given to them: The Articles of Enquiry seem to be levell'd against the Puritans, but through their Sides they must have made sad Havock with the Patrimony of the Church.

*Strype's An. p. 114.* They were such as these, What Right have you to your Parsonage? How came you into it? Who ordained you? And at what Age were you ordained? Have you a Licence? Were you married under the Hands of two Justices of the Peace? Do you read the whole Service? Do you use all the Rites, Ceremonies and Ornaments appointed by the Queen's Injunctions? Have you publickly read the Articles and subscribed them? The Church Wardens of every Parish had also 24 Interrogatories minister'd to them upon Oath, concerning their Parson and their Church Lands; all with a Design to sequester them into the Hands of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners. This awaken'd the Bishops, who fell upon their Knees before the Queen, and begg'd her Majesty, if she had any regard for the Church, to supersede the Commission; which she did, though it is well enough known, the Queen had no scruple of Conscience about plundring the Church of its Revenues.

*Ibid.**p. 123.**Mr.**Wright's sufferings.*

To return to the Puritans; the Reverend Mr. *Robert Wright*, domestick Chaplain to the late Lord *Rich*, of *Rochford* in *Essex*, fell into the Hands of the Bishop of London last Year; he was a learned Man, and had lived 14 Years in the University of *Cambridge*; but being dissatisfied with Episcopal Ordination, went over to *Antwerp*, and was ordained by the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery of that Place. Upon his return home Lord *Rich* took him into his Family at *Rochford* in the *Hundreds of Essex*, where he preached constantly in his Lordship's Chapel, and no where else, because he could obtain no Licence from the Bishop. He was an admired Preacher, and universally beloved by the Clergy of the County for his

great

great Seriousness and Piety. While his Lordship was alive he protected him from Danger, but his noble Patron was no sooner dead but the Bishop of London laid Hands on him, and confined in the Gate-House, for saying, that to keep the Queen's Birth Day as an HOLIDAY was to make her an Idol. When the good Man had been shut up from his Family and Friends several Months, he petition'd the Bishop to be brought to his Trial, or admitted to Bail. But all the Answer his Lordship gave was, that he deserved to lie in Prison 7 Years. This Usage, together with Mr. Wright's open and undisguised Honesty and Piety, mov'd the Compassion of his Keeper, in so much that his poor Wife being in Childbed and Distress, he gave him leave with the private Allowance of the Secretary of State, to make her a Visit at Rockford upon his Parole; but it happen'd that Dr. Ford the Civilian meeting him upon the Road, acquainted the Bishop with his Escape, who thereupon fell into a violent Passion, and sending immediately for the Keeper, demanded his Prisoner. The Keeper pleaded the great Compassion of the Case; but the Bishop threaten'd to complain of him to the Queen, and have him turn'd out. Mr. Wright being informed of his Keeper's Danger, return'd immediately to his Prison, and writ to the Lord Treasurer on his behalf. "Oh! my Lord (says he) I  
" most humbly crave your Lordship's Favour, that  
" I may be delivered from such unpitiful Minds;  
" and especially that your Lordship will stand a  
" good Lord to my Keeper, that he may not be dis-  
" couraged from favouring those that profess true  
" Religion." Upon this the Keeper was pardoned.

But the Bishop resolved to take full Satisfaction of the Prisoner; accordingly he sent for him before the Commissioners, and examined him upon Articles concerning the Book of Common Prayer; concerning Rites and Ceremonies; concerning praying for the Queen and the Church; and concerning the established Form

*Queen* of ordaining Ministers. He was charged with *Elizabeth*, preaching without a Licence ; and with being no better than a mere *Layman*. To which he made the following Answers ; That he thought the Book of Common Prayer, in the main, good and godly, but could not answer for every Particular. That as to Rites and Ceremonies, he thought his resorting to Churches where they were used, was a sufficient Proof that he allowed them. That he prayed for the Queen, and for all Ministers of God's Word, and consequently for Archbishops and Bishops, &c. That he was but a private Chaplain, and knew no Law that required a Licence for such a Place. But he could not yield himself to be a mere *Layman*, having preached 7 Years in the University with Licence ; and since that Time having been regularly ordained by the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbyters at *Antwerp*. The Bishop having charged him with saying, That the Election of Ministers ought to be by their Flocks, he own'd it, and supposed it not to be an Error ; and added further, That in his Opinion, every Minister was a *Bishop*, though not a *Lord Bishop* ; and that his Lordship of *London* must be of the same Opinion, because when he rebuked Mr. *White* for striking one of his Parishioners, he alleged that Text, *That a Bishop must be no Striker* : Which had been impertinent, if Mr. *White*, being only a Minister, had not been a *Bishop*. When his Lordship charged him with saying, There were no lawful Ministers in the Church of England, he replied, " I will be content to be condemned, if I bring not 200 Witnesses for my Dis-

*Strype's Ann.*

*Appendix, N° 23, 24* " charge of this Accusation. I do as certainly believe,

" That there are lawful Ministers in England, as that

" there is a Sun in the Sky. In *Essex* I can bring 20

" godly Ministers, all Preachers, who will testify

" that they love me, and have Cause to think that I

" love and reverence them. I preached 7 Years in

" the University of Cambridge with A. propositio.

" and have a Testimonial to produce under the Queen  
 " Hands and Seals of the Master and Fellows of Elizabeth,  
 " Christ College, being all Ministers at that Time,  
 " of my good Behaviour." But all he could say His Ordination  
 was to no purpose, the Bishop would not allow his nation de-  
 Orders, and therefore pronounced him a Layman, n*ied*.  
 and uncapable of holding any Living in the Church.

The Lord Rich and other honourable Knights and Gentlemen in Essex, had petition'd the Bishop of London for a Licence, that Mr. Wright might preach publickly in any Place within his Diocese; but his Lordship always refused it, because he was no Minister, that is, had only been ordained among the foreign Churches. But this was certainly contrary to Law; for the Statute of 13 Eliz. cap. 12. admits the Ministraions of those who had only been ordained according to the manner of the Scots, or other foreign Churches: There were some Scores, if not Hundreds of them now in the Church; and the Arc bishop of Canterbury at this very Time commanded Dr. Aubrey, his Vicar General, to license Mr. John Morrison, a Scots Divine, who had had no other Ordination than what he received from a Scots Presbytery, to preach over his whole Province. The Words of the Licence are as follow; " Since you the foresaid John Morrison, about 5 Years past in the Town of Garret, in the County of Lothian, of the Kingdom of Scotland, were admitted and ordained to sacred Orders and the holy Ministry, by the Imposition of Hands, according to the laudable Form and Rite of the reformed Church of Scotland: And since the Congregation of that County of Lothian is conformable to the Orthodox Faith, and sincere Religion now received in this Realm of England, and established by publick Authority: We therefore as much as lies in us, and as by Right we may, APPROVING AND RATIFYING THE FORM OF YOUR ORDINATION AND PREFERMENT DONE IN SUCH MANNER AFORE-

Queen Elizabeth, " SAID, grant unto you a Licence and Faculty, with the Consent and express Command of the most Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord EDMUND by the Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, That in such Orders by you taken, you may, and have Power in any convenient Places in and throughout the whole Province of Canterbury, to celebrate Divine Offices, to minister the Sacraments, &c. as much as in us lies ; and we may de jure, and as far as the Laws of the Kingdom do allow." This was dated April 6, 1582. and is as full a Testimonial to the Validity of Presbyterial Ordination as can be desired. But the other Notion was growing into Fashion ; all Orders of Men are for assuming some peculiar Characters and Powers above their Neighbours ; the Bishops will be a distinct and superior Order from Priests, and no Man must be a Minister of Christ but on whom they lay their Hands.

*Complaints of Bp. Aylmer's Severities.* The Behaviour of the Bishop of London towards the Puritans moved the Compassion of some of the conforming Clergy ; the Reverend Mr. Wilkin Rector of Danbury in Essex, in a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, writes thus, —— " As some might be thought over earnest about Trifles, so on the other hand, there had been too severe and sharp Punishment for the same. Though I my self think reverently of the Book of Common Prayer, yet surely it is a Reverence due only to the sacred Writings of Holy Scripture, to say The Authors of them erred in nothing, and to none o' her Books of Men, of what Learning soever. I have seen the Letters of the Bishops to Bullinger and Gualter, when I was at Zurich in the Year 1567. in which they declare, That they had no hand in passing the Book, and had no other Choice, but to leave their Places to Papists, or accept them as they were ; but they professed and promised never to urge their Brethren to those Things ; and also, when Opportunity

" opportunity should serve, to seek Reformation." Queen Elizabeth,  
But how different was the Practice of these Prelates from their former Professions ! 1583

But not only the Clergy, but the whole Country <sup>Justices of</sup> exclaimed against the Bishops for their high Pro-<sup>the Peace</sup> ceedings ; the Justices of Peace of the County of <sup>Supplica-</sup> Suffolk were so moved, that notwithstanding his Lord-<sup>tion.</sup> ship's late Citation of them before the Council, they writ again to *their Honours*, praying them to interpose in behalf of the Injuries that were offered to divers godly Ministers. The Words of their Supplication are worth remembering, because they discover the Cruelty of the Commissioners, who made no Distinction between the vilest of Criminals and conscientious Ministers. " The painful Ministers of the <sup>Strype's</sup> Word (say they) are marshall'd with the worst <sup>Ann.</sup> Malefactors, presented, indicted, arraigned, and <sup>P. 184.</sup> condemned, for Matters, as we presume, of very slender Moment : Some for leaving the Holidays unbidden ; some for singing the Psalm *Nunc Di- mittis* in the Morning ; some for turning the Questions in Baptism concerning Faith, from the Infants to the God-fathers, which is but *You* for *Thou* ; some for leaving out the *Cross* in *Baptism* ; some for leaving out the *Ring* in *Marriage*. A most pitiful Thing it is, to see the Back of the Law turned to the Adversary [the Papists] and the Edge with all the Sharpneſs laid upon the sound and true hearted Subject —

" We grant *Order* to be the Rule of the Spirit of God, and desire Uniformity in all the Duties of the Church, according to the Proportion of Faith ; but if these weak Ceremonies are so indifferent, as to be left to the Discretion of Ministers, we think it (under Correction) very hard to have them go under so hard handling, to the utter Discredit of their whole Ministry, and the Profession of Truth."

*Queen Elizabeth,* " We serve her Majesty and the Country [as Magistrates and Justices of Peace] according to Law ;  
*1583.* " we reverence the Law and Law-maker ; when the  
 " Law speaks we keep silence ; when it commandeth  
 " we obey. By Law we proceed against all Offenders ; we touch none that the Law spareth, and  
 " spare none that the Law toucheth ; we allow not  
 " of Papists ; of the Family of Love ; of Anabaptists  
 " or Brownists. No, we punish all these.

" And yet we are christen'd with the odious Name  
 " of Puritans ; a Term compounded of the Heresies  
 " above-mentioned, which we disclaim. The Pa-  
 " pists pretend to be pure and immaculate ; the Fa-  
 " mily of Love cannot sin, they being deified (as they  
 " say) in God. But we groan under the Burden of  
 " our Sins, and confess them to God ; and at the  
 " same Time we labour to keep our selves and our  
 " Profession unblameable ; this is our Puritanism ;  
 " a Name given to such Magistrates and Ministers,  
 " and others that have a strict Eye upon their jug-  
 " ling.

" We think our selves bound in Duty to unfold  
 " these Matters to your Lordships, and if you shall  
 " please to call us to the Proof of them it is the Thing  
 " we most desire."

*Effects of it.* This Supplication produced a Letter from the Council to the Judges of the Assizes, commanding them not to give Ear to malicious Informers against peaceful and faithful Ministers, nor to match them at the Bar with Rogues, Felons, or Papists, but to put a Difference in the Face of the World, between those of another Faith, and they who differ only about Ceremonies, and yet diligently and soundly preach true Religion. The Judges were struck with this Letter ; and the Bishop of London with his Attendants returned from his Visitation full of Discontent. Indeed his Lordship had made himself so many Enemies, that he grew weary of his Bishoprick, and petition'd the Queen to exchange it for that of Ely, that he

he might retire and be out of the way; or rather, Queen Elizabeth,  
that he might kindle a new Flame in those Parts; 1583.  
but her Majesty refused his Request.

Notwithstanding these little Appearances in favour of the Puritans, two Ministers of the Brownist <sup>Mr. Cop-</sup> ping and Persuasion were condemned, and put to Death this Summer for Non-Conformity, (viz.) Mr. Elias Thacker <sup>Ministers,</sup> executed. hanged at St. Edmundsbury, June 4th. and Mr. John Copping two Days after, June 6th. Their Indictment was for spreading certain Books sediously penned by Robert Brown against the Book of Common Prayer, established by the Laws of this Realm. The Seditious <sup>An. p. 186.</sup> charge upon Brown's Book was, that it subverted the Constitution of the Church, and acknowledged her Majesty's Supremacy Civilly, but not otherwise, as appears by the Report which the Judges sent to Court (viz.) That the Prisoners instead of acknowledging her Majesty's Supremacy in all Causes, would allow it only in Civil. This the Judges took hold of to aggravate their Offence to the Queen, after they had past Sentence upon them upon the late Statute of the 23d Eliz. against spreading seditious Libels, and for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. Mr. Copping had suffered a long and illegal Imprisonment from the Bishop of his Diocese; his Wife being brought to Bed while he was under Confinement, he was charged with not suffering his Child to be baptised; to which he answered, that his Conscience could not admit it to be done with God-fathers and God-mothers, and he could get no Preacher to do it without. He was accused further with saying, The Queen was perjured, because she had sworn to set forth God's Glory directly, as by the Scriptures are appointed, and did not; but these were only Circumstances to support the grand Charge of Sedition in spreading Brown's Book. However, it seemed a little hard to hang Men for spreading a seditious Book, at a Time when the Author of that very Book [Brown] was pardoned and set at liberty. Both

*Queen Elizabeth.* the Prisoners died by their Principles ; for though Dr. Still the Archbishop's Chaplain, and others, traveil'd and conferr'd with them, yet at the very Hour of their Death they remained unmoveable : They were both found in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and of unblemish'd Lives. One *Wiford* a Layman should have suffer'd with them, but upon Conference with Secretary *Wilson*, who told him the Queen's Supremacy might be understood only of her Majesty's Civil Power over Ecclesiastical Persons, he took the Oath and was discharged.

*Low State  
of Pra-i-  
cal Reli-  
gion.*

While the Bishops were thus harrassing honest and conscientious Ministers for scrupling the Ceremonies of the Church, Practical Religion was at a very low Ebb ; the fashionable Vices of the Time were, profane Swearing, Drunkennels, Revelling, Gaming, and Prophanation of the Lord's Day ; but there was no Discipline for these Offenders, nor do I find any such cited into the Spiritual Courts, or shut up in Prisons. If Men came to their Parish Churches, and approved of the Habits and Ceremonies, other Offences were overlook'd, and the Court was easy. At *Paris Gardens* in Southwark there were publick Sports on the Lord's Day for the Entertainment of great Numbers of People that resorted thither ; but on the 13th of January being Sunday, it happened that one of the Scaffolds being crowded with People fell down, by which Accident some were killed and a great many wounded. This was thought to be a Judgment from Heaven ; for the Lord Mayor in the Account he gives of it to the Treasurer says, " That it gives great Occasion to acknowledge the Hand of God for such Abuse of his Sabbath Day, and moveth me in Conscience to give Order for Redress of such Contempt of God's Service ; adding, that for this Purpose he had treated with some Justices of Peace in Surrey, who expressed a very good Zeal, but alledged want of Commission, which he referr'd to the Consideration of his Lordship." But the Court paid

*Strype's  
Ann.  
p. 140.*

paid no Regard to such Remonstrances ; and the Queen had her Ends in encouraging the Sports, Pastimes and Revellings of the People on Sundays and Holidays.

This Year died the famous Northern Apostle Mr. *Bernard Gilpin*, Minister of *Houghton* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*. He was born at *Kentmire* in *Westmorland*, 1517. of an ancient and honourable Family, and was enter'd into *Queen's College, Oxford*, in the Year 1533. He continued a Papist all the Reign of King *Henry VIII.* but was converted by the Lectures of *Peter Martyr*, in the beginning of the Reign of *Edward VI.* He was remarkably honest, and open to Conviction, but did not separate from the Romish Communion till he was perswaded the Pope was Antichrist. *Cuthbert Tonstal* Bishop of *Durham*, was his Uncle by the Mother's side, by whose Encouragement he travell'd to *Paris*, *Lovain*, and other Parts, being still for the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, though not for Transubstantiation. Returning home in the Days of Queen *Mary*, his Uncle placed him first in the Rectory of *Essingdon*, and afterwards at *Houghton*, a large Parish containing 14 Villages ; here he laboured in the Work of the Ministry, and was often exposed to Danger, but constantly preserved by his Uncle Bishop *Tonstal*, who was averse to burning Men for Religion. Miserable and heathenish was the Condition of these Northern Counties at this Time with respect to Religion ! Mr. *Gilpin* beheld it with Tears of Compassion, and resolved at his own Expence to visit the desolate Churches of *Northumberland*, and the Parts adjoining, called *Riddesdale* and *Tindale*, once every Year to preach the Gospel, and distribute to the Necessities of the Poor, which he continued to his Death ; this gained him the Veneration of all Ranks of People in those Parts ; but though he had such a powerful Skreen as Bishop *Tonstal*, yet the Fame of his Doctrine, which was *Lutheran*, reaching

Queen the Ears of Bonner, he sent for him to London ; the Elizabeth, Reverend Man ordered his Servant to prepare him a long Shirt, expecting to be burnt, but before he came to London Queen Mary died. Upon the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Gilpin having a fair Estate of his own, erected a Grammar School, and allowed Maintenance for a Master and Usher ; himself choosing out of the School such as he liked best for his own private Instruction. Many learned Men who afterwards adorned the Church by their Labours and Uprightness of Life, were educated by him in his domettick Academy. Many Gentlemens Sons resorted to him, some of whom were boarded in the Town, and others in his own House ; besides, he took many poor Mens Sons under his Care, giving them Meat, Drink, Clothes and Education.

In the Year 1560. he was offered the Bishoprick of Carlisle, and was urged to accept it by the Earl of Bedford, Bishop Sandys, and others, with the most powerful Motives ; but he desired to be excused, and in that Resolution remained unmoveable : His Reasons were taken from the Largeness of the Dioceses, which were too great for the Inspection of one Person ; for he was so strongly possessed of the Duty of Bishops, and of the Charge of Souls that was committed to them, that he could never be perswaded to keep two Livings, over both of which he could not have a personal Inspection, and perform all the Offices of a Pastor ; he added farther, that he had so many Friends and Relations in those Parts to gratify or connive at, that he could not continue an honest Man and be their Bishop. But though Mr. Gilpin would not be a Bishop, he supplied the Place of one, by Preaching, by Hospitality, by erecting Schools, by taking Care of the Poor, and providing for destitute Churches ; in all which he was countenanced and encouraged by the Learned and Reverend James Pilkington, then Bishop of Durham, by whom he was excused from Subscriptions, Habits, and a strict Observance

vance of Ceremonies, it being his fixed Opinion, that *no Human Invention should take Place in the Church, instead of a Divine Institution.* After Bishop Pilkington's Death Dr. Barnes was chosen his Successor, who was disgusted at Mr. Gilpin's Popularity, and gave him Trouble: Once when he was setting out upon his annual Visitation to *Riddesdale* and *Tindale*, the Bishop summoned him to preach before him, which he excused in the handsomest manner he could, and went his Progress; but upon his return he found himself suspended for Contempt, from all Ecclesiastical Employments. The Bishop afterwards sent for him again on a sudden, and commanded him to preach, but then he pleaded his Suspension, and his not being provided; the Bishop immediately took off his Suspension, and would not excuse his Preaching, upon which he went into the Pulpit, and discoursed upon the high Charge of a Christian Bishop; and having exposed the Corruptions of the Clergy, he boldly addressed himself to his Lordsh:p in thele Words; "Let not your Lordship say, these Crimes have been committed without my Knowledge, for whatsoever you your self do in Person, or suffer through your Connivance to be done by others, is wholly your own; therefore in the Presence of God, Angels and Men, I pronounce your *Fatherhood* to be the Author of all these Evils; and I and this whole Congregation will be a Witness in the Day of Judgment, that these Things have come to your Ears." All Men thought the Bishop would have deprived Mr. Gilpin for this Freedom, as soon as he came out of the Pulpit, but by the good Providence of God it had a quite different Effect, the Bishop thanked him for his faithful Reproof; and after this suffered him to go on with his annual Progress, giving him no further Disturbance. At length his lean Body being quite worn out with Labour and Travail, and feeling the Approaches of Death, he commanded the Poor to be called together, and took a solemn Leave of them;

Queen Elizabeth,  
1583.

*Queen Elizabeth,* them ; afterwards he did the like by his Relations and Friends ; then giving himself up to God, he took his Bed about the End of February, and died March 4, 1583. in the 66th Year of his Age. He was a heavenly Man, endued with a large and generous Soul, of a tall Stature of Body with a Roman Nose ; his Clothes were neat and plain ; for he was always frugal in his own Dress though very bountiful to others. His Doors were always open for the Entertainment of Strangers. He boarded in his own House 24 Scholars, most of whom were upon Charity. He kept a Table for the Poor every Lord's Day, from Michaelmas to Easter, and expended 500 Pounds for a Free School for their Children. Upon the whole, he was a pious, devout, and open hearted Divine ; a conscientious Non-Conformist, but against Separation. He was accounted a Saint by his very Enemies, if he had any such, being full of Faith and good Works ; and was at last put into his Grave as a Shock of Corn fully ripe.

*Death of Abp. Grindal.* The same Year died EDMUND GRINDAL, Archbishop of Canterbury, born at Copland in the County of Cumberland in the Year 1519. and educated in Cambridge. He was a famous Preacher in King Edward's Days, and was nominated by him to a Bishoprick, when he was but 33 Years of Age ; but that King dying soon after he went into Exile, and imbibed the Principles of a further Reformation than had as yet obtained in England. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession he returned to England, and was advanced first to the See of London, and then to York and Canterbury, though he could hardly persuade himself for some Time to wear the Habits and comply with the Ceremonies of the Church ; nor did he ever heartily approve them, but thought it better to support the Reformation on that foot, than hazard it back into the Hands of the Papists. He was of a mild and moderate Temper, easy of Access, and affable even in his highest Exaltation. He is

*Grindal's Life, p. 235.*

blamed by some for his gentle Usage of the Puritans, though he used them worse than he would have done if he had been left to himself. About a Year or two after his Exaltation to the See of Canterbury he lost the Queen's Favour on the Account of the Propheſyings, and was suspended for some Years, during which Time many Puritan Ministers took shelter in the Counties of Kent and Surrey, &c. which made more work for his Successor. The good old Archbishop being blind and broken-hearted, the Queen took off his Sequestration about a Year before his Death, and sent to acquaint him, That if he would resign he should have her Favour and an honourable Pension; which he promised to accept within 6 Months; but Whitgift who was designed for his Successor, refusing to enter upon the See while Grindal lived, he made a shift to hold it till his Death, which happen'd July 6th, 1583. in the 63d Year of his Age. Camden calls him a religious and grave Divine. Hollingshead says he was so studious, that his Book was his Bride, and his Study his Bride-Chamber, in which he spent his Eye-sight, his Strength and his Health. He was certainly a learned and venerable Prelate, and had a high Esteem for the Name and Doctrines of Calvin, with whom, and with the German Divines, he held a constant Correspondence. His high Stations did not make him proud; but if we may believe his Successor in the See of York, Archbishop Sandys, he must be tainted with Avarice (as most of the Queen's Bishops were) because within 2 Months after he was translated to Canterbury, he gave to his Kinsmen and Servants, and sold for round Sums of Money to himself, six score Leases and Patents, even then when they were thought not to be good in Law. But upon the whole, he was one of the best of Queen Elizabeth's Bishops. He lies buried in the Chancel of Croydon Church, where his Effigies is to be seen at length in his Doctor's Robes, and in a praying Posture.

## C H A P. VII.

*From the Death of Archbishop GRINDAL, to  
the Spanish Invasion in 1588.*

*Queen Elizabeth,* *1583.* *Whitgift Archbp.* **U**PON the Death of GRINDAL, Dr. JOHN WHITGIFT Bishop of Worcester, was translated to the See of Canterbury, and confirmed Sept. 23d. 1583. He had distinguished himself in the Controversy against the Puritans, and was therefore thought the most proper Person to reduce their Numbers. Upon his Advancement the Queen charged him "To restore the Discipline of the Church, " and the Uniformity established by Law, which " (says her Majesty) through the Connivance of " some Prelates, the Obsturacy of the Puritans, " and the Power of some Noblemen, is run out " of square." Accordingly the very first Week his Grace published the following Articles, and sent them to the Bishops of his Province, for their Direction in the Government of their several Dioceses.

*His Articles.* *Lo. of Whitgift, p. 118.* **A**rt. 1. " That all preaching, catechising, and praying in any private Family, where any are present besides the Family, be utterly extinguished.

**2.** " That none do preach or catechize except also he will read the whole Service, and administer the Sacraments four Times a Year.

**3.** " That all Preachers, and others in Ecclesiastical Orders, do at all Times wear the *Habits* prescribed.

**4.** " That none be admitted to preach unless he be ordained according to the Manner of the Church of England.

**5.** " That

5. "That none be admitted to preach, or execute Queen  
any part of the Ecclesiastical Function, unless he Elizabeth,  
subscribe the three following Articles. 1583.

First, "To the Queen's SUPREMACY over all Persons, and in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil within her Majesty's Dominions.

Secondly, "To the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that they will use it in all their publick Ministrations and no other.

Thirdly, "To the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England, agreed upon in the Synod of 1562. and afterwards confirmed by Parliament." And with what Severity his Grace enforced these Articles will be seen presently.

'Tis easy to observe, that they were all levell'd at the Puritans; but the most disinterested Civil Lawyers of these Times were of Opinion, that his Grace had no legal Authority to impose those, or any other <sup>Examina-</sup><sub>his Power of imposing them.</sub> Articles upon the Clergy without the Broad Seas; and that all his Proceedings upon them were an Abuse of the Royal Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and consequently so many Acts of Oppression upon the Subjects. Their Reasons were;

1. Because the Statute of the 25th Henry VIII<sup>th, M. S.</sup> Chap. 20. expressly prohibits "the whole Body of the P. 429. Clergy, or any one of them, to put in Use any Constitutions, or Canons already made, or hereafter to be made, except they be made in Convocation assembled by the King's Writ, his Royal Assent being also had thereunto, on pain of Fine and Imprisonment.

2. Because by the Statute of first Eliz. cap. 3. "All such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, Preeminencies, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power and Authority, which hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be executed or used for the Visitation of " the

*Queen Elizabeth,* “ the Ecclesiastical State and Persons, and for Reformation of the same, and of all Manner of Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Contempts, and Enormities, are for ever united to the Imperial Crown of these Realms.” From whence it follows, that all Power is taken from the Bishops, except that of governing their Dioceses according to the Laws of the Land, or according to any further Injunctions they may receive from the Crown under the Broad Seal.

3. Because some of the *Archbishop's Articles* were directly contrary to the Statute Laws of the Realm, which the Queen her self has not Power to alter or dispense with. By the 13 Eliz. Chap. 12. the Subscription of the Clergy is limited to those Articles of the Church which relate to the Doctrines of Faith, and Administration of the Sacraments ONLY ; whereas the Bishop enjoined them to subscribe the whole Thirty nine. And by the Preamble of the same Statute, all Ordinations in the Times of Popery, or after the Manner of foreign Reformed Churches, are admitted to be valid, so that such may enjoy any Ecclesiastical Preferment in the Church : But the Archbishop says [Artic. 4th.] That none shall be admitted to preach, unless he be ordained according to the Manner of the Church of England. Upon these Accounts, if the Queen had fallen out with him, he might have been found guilty of a *Præmunire*.

To these Arguments it was reply'd by his Grace's Lawyers.

1. That by the Canon Law the *Archbishop has Power to make Laws for the well Government of the Church, so far as they do not encounter the Peace of the Church, and Quietness of the Realm.* To which it was answered, this might be true in Times of Popery, but the Case was very much alter'd by the Reformation, because now the Archbishops and Bishops Authority is derived from the Person of the Queen only ; for the late Queen Mary having surrendered back all Ecclesiastical

cal Jurisdiction into the Hands of the Pope, the present Queen upon her Accession, had no Jurisdiction resident in her Person till the Statute of Recognition *primo Eliz.* by which the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm, being exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Pope are made subject to the Queen, to govern her People in Ecclesiastical Causes, as her other Subjects govern the same (according to their Places) in *M. S.* Civil Causes; so that the Clergy are no more to be <sup>P. 661.</sup> called the *Archbishops or Bishops Children*, but the Queen's liege People, and are to be governed by them according to the Laws, which Laws are such *Canons, Constitutions, and Synodals Provincial*, as were in force before 25 Hen. VIII. and are not contrary, nor repugnant to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, nor derogatory to her Majesty's Prerogative Royal; and therefore all *Canons* made before 25 Hen. VIII. giving to the Archbishops or Bishops an unlimited Power over the Clergy, as derived from the *See of Rome*, are utterly void, because such *Canons* are directly against the Laws and Customs of the Realm, which do not admit of any Subject executing a Law but by Authority from the Prince; and they are derogatory to her Majesty's *Prerogative Royal*, because hereby some of her Subjects might claim an unlimited Power over her other Subjects, independent from the Crown, and by their private Authority command or forbid what they please. Since then the Archbishop's Articles were framed by his own private Authority, they cannot be justified by any of the Canons now in force. And as for the *Peace of the Church and Quiet of the Realm*, they were so far from promoting them, that they were like to throw both into Confusion.

2. It was said that the Queen as Head of the Church had Power to publish Articles and Injunctions for reducing the Clergy to Uniformity; and that the Archbishop had the Queen's Licence and Consent for what he did. But the Queen her self had no Authority to publish Articles

Queen Elizabeth;

1583.

~~Queen Elizabeth,~~ ticles and Injunctions in defiance of the Laws ; and as for her Majesty's *Permission and Consent*, it could be no Warrant to the Archbishop, except it had been under the *Great Seal*. And if the Archbishop had no legal Authority to command, the Clergy were not obliged to obey ; the Oath of Canonical Obedience does not bind in this Case, because 'tis limited to *Licitis & Honestis, Things lawful and honest* ; whereas the present Articles were against Law, they were enforced by no legal Authority, and were such as the Ministers could not *honestly* consent to.

~~Abp's primary Visitation.~~ But notwithstanding these Objections, the Archbishop in his primary metropolitical Visitation insisted peremptorily, that all who enjoyed any Office or Benefice in the Church, should subscribe the *three Articles* above-mentioned ; the second of which he knew the Puritans would refuse : Accordingly there were suspended for not subscribing ;

| <del>Numbers suspended.</del> | <i>Minist.</i>                            |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
|                               | In the County of <i>Norfolk</i> —————— 64 |
|                               | <i>Suffolk</i> —————— 60                  |
|                               | <i>Sussex</i> , about —————— 30           |
|                               | <i>Eſſex</i> —————— 38                    |
|                               | <i>Kent</i> —————— 19 or 20               |
|                               | <i>Lincolnſhire</i> —————— 21             |
|                               | —————                                     |
|                               | In all 233                                |
|                               | —————                                     |

*M. S.*  
p. 436. All whose Names are now before me ; besides great Numbers in the Diocese of *Peterborough*, in the City of *London*, and proportionable in other Counties ; some of whom were Dignitaries in the Church, and most of them Graduates in the University ; of these some were allowed Time, but 49 were absolutely deprived at once.

Among the suspended Ministers his Grace shewed some particular Favour to those of *Sussex*, at the Inter-

Intercession of some great Persons ; for after a long Dispute and many Arguments before himself at Lambeth, he accepted of the Subscription of six or seven, with their own Explication of the Rubricks, and with a Declaration that their Subscription was not to be understood in any other Sense, than as far as the Books were agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Substance of Religion established in the Church of England, and to the Analogy of Faith ; and that it did not extend to any Thing not expressed in the said Books. Of all which the Archbishop allowed them an authentick Copy in writing, dated December 6th, 1583. and ordered his Chancellor to send Letters to Chichester, that the rest of the suspended Ministers in that County might be indulged the same Favour.

Many good and pious Men strained their Consciences on this Occasion ; some subscribed the Articles with this Protestation in open Court, *As far as they are agreeable to the Word of God* ; and others *dempto secundo*, that is, taking away the second. Many upon better Consideration repented their subscribing in this Manner, and would have rased out their Names, but it was not permitted. Some that were allured to subscribe, with the Promises of Favour and better Preferment, were neglected and forgotten, and troubled in the *Commissaries Court* as much as before. The Court took no Notice of their *Protestations or Reserves* ; they wanted nothing but their Hands, and when they had got them they were all listed under the same Colours, and published to the World as *absolute Subscribers*.

The Body of the inferior Clergy wished and prayed for some Amendments in the *Service Book* to make their Brethren easy. " I am sure (says a learned Divine of these Times) that this Good would come of it, (1.) It would please Almighty God. (2.) The learned Ministers would be more firmly united against the Papists. (3.) The good Ministers and good Subjects, whereof many are

Queen Elizabeth,  
1583.

P. 323.  
405.

L of Whit-

gift, p. 129.

Their  
Hardships.

Fenner's  
Answer to  
Dr. Brid-

ges, p. 119,

120.

Motives for  
Amend-  
ments in  
the Service  
Book.

Queen " now at *Weeping Cross* would be cheared ; and  
 Elizabeth, " many able Students encouraged to take upon them  
 1583. " the Ministry. And, (4.) Hereby the *Papists*, and  
 " more careless Sort of Professors, would be more  
 " easily won to Religion. If any object, that excel-  
 " lent Men were Publishers of the *BOOK OF PRAYER*,  
 " and that it would be some Disgrace to the Church  
 " to alter it. I answer, (1.) That though worthy  
 " Men are to be accounted of, yet their *Oversights*  
 " in Matters of Religion are not to be honoured by  
 " Subscription. (2.) The Reformation of the *Service*  
 " *Book* can be no Disgrace to us nor them, for Mens  
 " second Thoughts are wiser than their first ; and the  
 " Papists in the late Times of *Pius V.* reformed our  
 M. S. " *Lady's Psalter*. To conclude, If Amendments to  
 P. 156. " the Book be inconvenient, it must be either in  
 " regard of Protestants or Papists ; it cannot be in  
 " regard of Protestants, for very great Numbers of  
 " them pray heartily to God for it. And if it be in  
 " regard of the *Papists*, we are not to mind them ;  
 " for they whose *Captains* say, that we have nei-  
 " ther Church, nor Sacraments, nor Ministers, nor  
 " Queen in *England*, are not greatly to be regarded  
 " of us."

*Abp's Reasons for Subscription.* But *Whitgift* was influenced by none of these Arguments ; he was against all Alterations in the Liturgy, for this general Reason, *Lest the Church should be thought to have maintained an Error* : Which is surprising to come from the Mouth of a Protestant Bishop, who had so lately separated from the *infallible Church of Rome*. His Grace's Arguments for Subscription to his Articles are no less remarkable. (1.) If you do not subscribe to the *Book of Common Prayer*, you do in effect say there is no true Service of God, nor Administration of Sacraments in the Land. (2.) If you do not subscribe the *Book of Ordination of Priests*, &c. then our Calling must be unlawful, and we have no true Ministry, nor Church in *England*. (3.) If you do not subscribe the *Book of the Thirty nine Articles*, you

Queen  
Elizabeth;  
1583.

you deny true Doctrine to be established among us, which is the main Note of a true Church. Could an honest Man, and a great Scholar be in earnest with this Reasoning? Might not the Puritans dislike some Things in the Service Book without invalidating the whole? Did not his Grace know, that they offered to subscribe to the Use of the *Service Book*, as far as they could apprehend it consonant to Truth, though they could not give it under their Hands, that *there was nothing in it contrary to the Word of God*, nor promise to use the whole without the least Variation in their publick Ministry? But according to the Archbishop's Logick, the Church must be infallible or no Church at all. The Liturgy must be perfect in every Phrase and Sentence, or 'tis no true Service of God; and every Article of the Church must be agreeable to Scripture, or they contain no true Doctrine at all. He told the Ministers, that all that did not subscribe his Articles were Schismatics; that they had separated themselves from the Church; and declared peremptorily, that they should be turned out of it.

This Conduct of the Archbishop was exposed in a *Life of* Pamphlet, entitled the *Practice of Prelates*; which Whitgift says, That none ever used good Ministers so severely since the Reformation as he; that his severe Proceedings were against the Judgment of many of his Brethren the Bishops, and that the Devil the common Enemy of Mankind, had certainly a Hand in it. For who of the Ministers (says he) have been tumultuous or unpeaceable? Have they not striven for Peace in their Ministry, in their Writings, and by their Example; and sought for their Discipline only by lawful and dutiful Means? Why then should the Archbishop tyrannize over his fellow Ministers, and starve many Thousand Souls, by depriving all that refuse Subscription? Why should he lay such Stress upon popish Opinions, and upon an Hierarchy that never obtained till the Approach of Antichrist?

*Queen Elizabeth,* their distressed Families to *Heaven* for Mercy, as well as to their *Superiors on Earth!* Their Temptations were strong, for as Men they were moved with Compassion for their *Wives and little Ones*; and as faithful Ministers of Christ they were desirous to be useful, and to preserve the *Testimony of a good Conscience.* Some through Frailty were overcome and submitted, but most of them cast themselves and Families upon the Providence of God; having writ to the Queen, to the Archbishop, and to the Lords of the Council; and after some Time to the Parliament, for a friendly Conference, or a publick Disputation, when and where, and before whom they pleased; but without Success.

*1584.* The Supplication of the *Norfolk Ministers* to the Lords of the Council, sign'd with 20 Hands; the Supplication of the *Lincolnshire Ministers* with 21 Hands; the Supplication of the *Essex Ministers* with 27 Hands; the Supplication of the *Oxfordshire Ministers* with — Hands; the Supplication of the *Ministers of Kent* with 17 Hands, are now before me; besides the Supplication of the *London Ministers*, and of those of the *Diocese of Ely and Cambridgeshire*; representing in most moving Language their unhappy Circumstances, “ We commend, say they, to your Honours Compassion our poor Families, but much more do we commend our doubtful, fearful, and distressed Consciences, together with the Cries of our poor People, who are hungring after the Word, and are now as Sheep having no Shepherd. We have applied to the Archbishop but can get no Relief, we therefore humbly beg it at your Honour's Hands — ” They declare their Readiness to subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, according to the Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 12. and to the other Articles, as far as they are not repugnant to the Word of God. And they promise further, If they may be dispensed with as to Subscription, that they

*Their Supplications to the Council.*

*M. S.*  
p. 328,  
330, &c.

they will make no Disturbance in the Church, nor separate from it.

Queen Elizabeth,

1584.

The Kentish Ministers in their Supplication to the Lords of the Council, professed their Reverence for the Established Church, and their Esteem for the Book of Common Prayer, so far as that they saw no Necessity of separating from the Unity of the Church on that Account: That they believed the Word preached, and the Sacraments administer'd according to Authority, touching the Substance, to be lawful. They promised to shew themselves obedient to the Queen in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil; but then they added, that there were many Things that M. S. needed Reformation, which therefore they could not ho. p. 326. neatly set their Hands to. They conclude with praying for Indulgence, and subscribe themselves Their Honours daily and faithful Orators, the Ministers of Kent suspended from the Execution of their Ministry.

The London Ministers applied to the Convocation, Petition of and 15 of them offered to subscribe to the Queen's London Supremacy, to the Use of the Common Prayer Book, Ministers and to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church if they to Convoca- might be restor'd; but then add, "We dare not say tion.  
 " there is nothing in the three Books repugnant to the Word  
 " of God till we are otherwise enlightened; and there-  
 " fore humbly pray our Brethren in Convocation,  
 " to be a Means to the Queen and Parliament, that  
 " we may not be pressed to an absolute Subscription,  
 " but be suffered to go on in the quiet Discharge of  
 " the Duties of our Calling, as we have done here-  
 " tofore, to the Honour of Almighty God, and the  
 " Edification of his Church. We protest before  
 " God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that if by any  
 " Means, by doing that which is not wicked, we  
 " might continue still our Labours in the Gospel, we  
 " would gladly and willingly do any Thing that  
 " might procure that Blessing, esteeming it more  
 " than all the Riches in the World; but if we can-  
 " not be suffered to continue in our Places and Cal-

Queen Elizabeth, " lings, we beseech the Lord to shew greater Mercy to those by whom this Affliction shall be brought upon us, and upon the People committed to our Charge, for whom we will not cease to pray, that the good Work which the Lord has begun by our Labours may still be advanced, to that Day when the Lord shall give them and us Comfort one in another, and in his Presence everlasting Happiness and eternal Glory." This Petition was presented to the Convocation in the first Sessions of the next Parliament, in the Name of the Ministers of London that had refused to subscribe the Articles lately enforced upon them; with an humble Request to have their Doubts satisfied by Conference, or any other way.

*Mr. Barber,  
Field  
and Egerton  
suspended.*  
*M. S.  
p. 460,  
568, &c.*

Among the suspended Ministers of London was the learned and virtuous Mr. Barber, who preach'd 4 Times a Week at Bow Church: His Parishioners to the Number of 120, signed a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen for his Release, but that Court could not obtain it. March 4th the learned Mr. Field and Mr. Egerton were suspended. Mr. Field had been often in Bonds for Non-Conformity; he was Minister of Aldermury, and had admitted an Assembly of Ministers at his House, among whom were some Scots Divines, who being disaffected to the Hierarchy, the Assembly was declared an unlawful Conventicle, and Mr. Field was suspended from his Ministry for entertaining them; but the rest were deprived for not subscribing.

*Petitions of  
Gentlemen  
and Par-  
ticipators  
for their  
Ministers.*

Many Gentlemen of Reputation both in City and Country appeared for the suspended Ministers, as well out of Regard to their poor Families, as for the sake of Religion, it being impossible to fill up so many Vacancies as were made in the Church upon this Occasion. The Gentlemen of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Kent, interceded with the Archbishop, alleging that it was very hard to deal with Men so severely for a few Rites and Ceremonies, when they were neither

Here-

Hereticks nor Schismaticks, and when the Country wanted their useful Preaching. The Parishioners of the several Places from whence the Ministers were ejected, signed Petitions to the Lord Treasurer, and others of the Queen's Council, beseeching them in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that their Ministers being of an upright and holy Conversation, and diligent Preachers of the Word of God might be restored, or otherwise (their Livings being but of small Value) their Souls would be in danger of perishing for lack of Knowledge.

Queen Elizabeth,  
1584.

The Inhabitants of Malden in Essex sent up a Complaint to the Council, " That since their Ministers had been taken from them for not subscribing to certain Articles neither confirmed by the Law of God, nor of the Land ; they had none left but such as they could prove unfit for that Office, being altogether ignorant, having been either popish Priests or shiftless Men, thrust in upon the Ministry when they knew not else how to live ; Men of Occupation, serving Men, and the basest of all Sorts ; and which is most lamentable, as they are Men of no Gifts, so they are of no common Honesty, but Rioters, Dicers, Drunkards, &c. and of offensive Lives. These are the Men (say they) that are supported, whose Reports and Suggestions against others are readily received and admitted ; by reason of which Multitudes of Papists, Hereticks, and other Enemies to God and the Queen are encreased, and we our selves in danger of being insulted. We therefore humbly beseech your Honours in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, to be a Means of restoring our godly and faithful Ministers ; so shall we and many Thousands of her Majesty's Subjects, continue our daily Supplications to Almighty God, &c."

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Norwich, signed with 176 Hands, and many Letters and Supplications from the most populous Towns in England, to

*Queen Elizabeth, Appeals of the Puritans and their Friends did them no Service;* for the watchful Archbishop, whose Eyes were about him, writ to the Council to put them in mind, “ That the Cause of the Puritans did not lie before them : That he wonder’d at the Presumption of the Ministers, to bring his Doings in question before their Lordships ; and at their proud Spirit, to dare to offer to dispute before so great a Body against the Religion established by Law, and against a Book so painfully penned, and confirmed by the highest Authority.” He then adds, “ That it was not for him to sit in his Place, if every Curate in his Diocese must dispute with him ; nor could he do his Duty to the Queen, if he might not proceed without Interruption ; but if they would help him he should soon bring them to comply.” As to the Gentlemen that petitioned for their Ministers, he told them to their Faces, That he would not suffer their factious Ministers, unless they would subscribe : That no Church ought to suffer its laudable Rites to be neglected : That tho’ the Ministers were not Hereticks, they were Schismatics, because they raised a Contention in the Church about Things not necessary to Salvation. And as for lack of Preaching, if the Gentlemen or Parliamenters would let him dispose of their Livings, he would take care to provide them with able Men. Thus this great Prelate, who had complied with the popish Religion, and kept his Place in the University throughout all the Reign of Queen Mary, was resolved to bear down all Opposition, and to display his sovereign Power against all whose Consciences were not as flexible as his own.

*He petitions the Queen for a new Ecclesiastical Commission,* and gave her Majesty these weighty Reasons for it, among others. (1.) Because the Puritans contemn the Ecclesiastical Censures.

(2.) Because the Commission may order a Search for Queen Elizabeth,  
seditious Books, and examine the Writers or Publishers upon Oath, which a Bishop cannot. (3.) Because the Ecclesiastical Commission can punish by Fines, which are very commodious to the Government; or by Imprisonment, which will strike more Terror into the Puritans. (4.) Because a notorious Fault cannot be notoriously punished but by the Commission. (5.) Because the whole Ecclesiastical Law is but a Carcase without a Soul, unless it be quicken'd by the Commission.

The Queen, who was already disposed to Methods Queen grants it.  
of Severity, easily gave way to the Archbishop's Arguments, and ordered a new High Commission to be drawn up, which she put the Great Seal to, in the Month of December, 1583. and the 26th Year of her Reign. There had been five High Commissions before this, in most of which the Powers of the Commissioners had been enlarged; but forasmuch as the Court was now almost at its height, I will give the Reader an Abstract of their Commission from an attested Copy, under the Hand and Seal of Abrahamus Hartwell, Notarius Publicus, at the special Request and Command of the Archbishop himself, dated January 7th, 1584.

The Preamble recites the Act of the first of the Queen, commonly called the Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction of the State Ecclesiastical and Civil, and the abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the same: And another of the same Year, For Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service of the Church and Administration of the Sacraments: And a third of the 5th of the Queen, entitled An Act of Assurance of the Queen's Powers over all States, &c. And a fourth of the 13 Eliz. entitled An Act for reforming certain Disorders touching Ministers of the Church: As the Foundation of her Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Power. Her Majesty then names 44 Commissioners, whereof 12 were Bishops; some were Privy Counsellors, Lawyers, and Officers

Queen  
Elizabeth  
1584.

Officers of State, as Sir *Francis Knollys* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary of State, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadleir* Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, Sir *Gilbert Gerard* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Robert Manhood* Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir *Owen Hopton* Lieutenant of the Tower of London, *John Popham*, Esq; Attorney General, *Thomas Egerton*, Esq; Solicitor General; the rest were Deans, Archdeacons and Civilians. Her Majesty then proceeds;

*COPY of the Commission*

WE earnestly minding to have the above-mentioned Laws put in Execution, and putting special Trust and Confidence in your Wifdoms and Discretions, have authorized and appointed you to be our Commissioners; and do give full Power and Authority to you, or three of you, whereof the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, or one of the Bishops mentioned in the Commission, or Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, or some of the Civilians to be one, to enquire from Time to Time during our Pleasure, as well by the Oaths of 12 good and lawful Men, as also by Witnesses, and all other Means and Ways you can devise; of all Offences, Contempts, Misdemeanors, &c. done and committed contrary to the Tenor of the said several Acts and Statutes; and also to enquire of all heretical Opinions, seditious Books, Contempts, Conspiracies, false Rumours or Talks, slanderous Words and Sayings, &c. contrary to the aforesaid Laws, or any others ordained for the Maintenance of Religion in this Realm, together with their Abettors, Counsellors, or Coadjutors.

And further we do give full Power to you, or any three of you, whereof the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, or one of the Bishops mentioned in the Commission to be one, to hear and determine concerning the Premises, and to order, correct, reform,

and

“ and punish all Persons dwelling in Places exempt  
 “ or not exempt, that wilfully and obstinately absent  
 “ from Church, or Divine Service established by  
 “ Law, by the Censures of the Church, or any other  
 “ lawful Ways and Means, by the Act of Uniformi-  
 “ ty, or any Laws Ecclesiastical of this Realm limi-  
 “ ted and appointed; and to take Order, of your  
 “ Discretions, that the Penalties and Forfeitures li-  
 “ mited by the said Act of Uniformity against the  
 “ Offenders in that behalf may be duly levied, ac-  
 “ cording to the Forms prescribed in the said Act, to the  
 “ Use of us and the Poor, upon the Goods, Lands  
 “ and Tenements of such Offenders, by way of Di-  
 “ stress, according to the true Meaning and Limi-  
 “ tation of the Statute.

“ And we do further empower you, or any three  
 “ of you, during our Pleasure, to visit and reform  
 “ all Errors, Heresies, Schisms, &c. which may  
 “ lawfully be reformed or restrained by Censures Ec-  
 “ clesiastical, Deprivation or otherwise, according to  
 “ the Power and Authority limited and appointed by the  
 “ Laws, Ordinances and Statutes of this Realm.

“ And we do hereby further empower you, or  
 “ any three of you, to call before you such Persons  
 “ as have Ecclesiastical Livings, and to deprive such  
 “ of them as wilfully and advisedly maintain any  
 “ Doctrine contrary to such Articles of Religion of  
 “ the Synod of 1562. which only concern the Confession  
 “ of the true Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, and  
 “ will not revoke the same.

“ And we do further empower you, or any three  
 “ of you, to punish all Incests, Adulteries, Fornica-  
 “ tions, Outrages, Misbehaviours and Disorders in  
 “ Marriage; and all grievous Offences punishable  
 “ by the Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Tenor  
 “ of the Laws in that behalf, and according to your Wis-  
 “ doms, Consciences, and Discretions, commanding you,  
 “ or any three of you, to devise all such lawful Ways and  
 “ Means for the searching out the Premises, as by you  
 “ shall

Queen

Elizabeth,

1584.

Queen Elizabeth, " shall be thought necessary: And upon due Proof thereof had, by Confession of the Party, or lawful Witnesses, or by any other due Means; to order and award such Punishment by Fine, Imprisonment, Censures of the Church, or by all or any of the said Ways, as to your Wisdom and Discretions shall appear most meet and convenient.

" And further we do empower you, or any three of you, to call before you all Persons suspected of any of the Premises, and to proceed against them, as the Quality of the Offence and Suspicion shall require, to examine them on their corporal Oaths, for the better Trial and opening of the Truth; and if any Persons are obstinate and disobedient, either in not appearing at your Command, or not obeying your Orders and Decrees, then to punish them by Excommunication, or other Censures Ecclesiastical, or by Fine according to your Discretions; or to commit the said Offenders to ward, there to remain, till he or they shall be by you, or three of you, enlarged or delivered; and shall pay such Costs and Expences of Suit as the Cause shall require, and you in Justice shall think reasonable.

" And further we give full Power and Authority to you, or three of you as aforesaid, to command all our Sheriffs, Justices, and other Officers, by your Letters, to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such Persons as you shall think meet to be convened before you; and to take such Bond as you shall think fit, for their personal Appearance, and in case of refusal to commit them to safe Custody, till you shall give Order for their Enlargement: And further, to take such Securities for their Performance of your Decrees as you shall think reasonable. And further, you shall keep a Register of your Decrees, and of your Fines, and appoint Receivers, Messengers, and other Officers, with such Salaries as you shall think fit; the Receiver to certify into the Exchequer, every Easter and

" and Michaelmas Term, an Account of the Fines Queen  
 " taxed and received, under the Hands of three of Elizabeth,  
 " the Commissioners. 1584

" And we do further empower you, or any six of  
 " you, whereof some to be Bishops, to examine, alter,  
 " review and amend the Statutes of Colleges, Cathedrals,  
 " Grammar Schools, and other publick Foundations,  
 " and to present them to us to be confirmed.

" And we do further empower you, to tender the  
 " Oath of Supremacy to all Ministers, and others  
 " compellable by Act of Parliament, and to certify  
 " the Names of such as refuse it into the King's  
 " Bench.

" And lastly, we do appoint a Seal for your Office, M. S.  
 " having a Crown and a Rose over it, and the Letter P. 524  
 " E before, and R after the same; and round about  
 " the Seal these Words, Sigill. Commiss. Regiae Maj.  
 " ad Causas Ecclesiasticas."

The Court of HIGH COMMISSION was so called, because it claimed a larger Jurisdiction, and higher Powers than the ordinary Courts of the Bishops; its Jurisdiction reached over the whole Kingdom, and was the same in a manner with that which was lodged in the single Person of Lord Cromwel, Vicar General to King Henry VIII. but now put into Commission. The Court was erected upon the Authority of the Acts mentioned in the Preamble, and therefore its Powers must be limited by those Statutes; though the Council for Mr. Cawdrey, whose Case was argued before all the Judges in Trinity Term, 1591. question'd whether the Court had any Foundation at all in Law; because it was doubtful whether the Queen could delegate her Ecclesiastical Authority, or the Commissioners act by virtue of such Delegation.

But admitting the Court to be legal, it will appear that both the Queen and her Commissioners exceeded the Powers granted them by Law; for it was not

*Queen Elizabeth*, not the Intendment of the Act of Supremacy, to vest any new Powers in the Crown, but only to restore it to what was supposed to be its ancient and natural Right. Nor do the *Acts* above recited authorize the Queen to dispense with the Laws of the Realm, or act contrary to them; or to set aside the ordinary legal Methods of Proceeding in other Courts of Judicature by Indictments, by Witnesses, and Jury of 12 Men; nor do they empower her to levy Fines, and inflict what corporal Punishments she pleases upon Offenders; but in all criminal Cases, where the precise Punishment is not determined by the Statute, her Commissioners were to be directed and governed by the Laws of the Land.

*Power of  
the Com-  
mission  
debated.*

But contrary to the Proceedings in other Courts, the Queen empowered her Commissioners to enquire into all Misdemeanors, not only by the Oaths of 12 Men, and Witnesses, but by ALL OTHER MEANS AND WAYS THEY COULD DEVISE; that is, by Inquisition, by the Rack, by Torture, or by any Ways and Means that 44 sovereign Judges shall invent. Surely this should have been limited to LAWFUL WAYS AND MEANS.

*Of the  
Oath ex  
Officio.*

Further, her Majesty empowers her Commissioners to examine such Persons as they suspected upon their CORPORAL OATHS, for the better Trial and Opening of the Truth, and to punish those that refused the Oath by Fine or Imprisonment, ACCORDING TO THEIR DISCRETION. This refers to the Oath ex Officio mero, and was not in the five first Commissions.

It was said in behalf of this Oath by Dr. Aubrey the Civilian, that though it was not warrantable by the Letter of the Statute of 1st Elizabeth, yet the *Law Ecclesiastical* being in force before the making of that Statute, and the Commission warranting the Commissioners to proceed according to the *Law Ecclesiastical*, they might lawfully administer it according to ancient Custom. To which it was answered, That such an Oath was never allowed by any Canon of the Church

*L. of Whit-  
gift, p. 340.*

Church or General Council, for a Thousand Years after Christ ; that when it was used against the Primitive Christians, the *Pagan Emperors* countermanded it ; that it was against the Pope's Law in the Decretals, which admits of such an Inquisition ONLY in Cases of Heresy ; nor was it ever used in *England* till the Reign of King *Henry IV.* and then it was enforced as Law only by a haughty Archbishop without consent of the Commons of *England*, till the 25th of *Henry VIII.* when it was utterly abrogated. This pretended Law was again revived by Queen *Mary*, *Whitgift*, but repealed again by 1st of Queen *Elizabeth*, and so remains. Besides, as this purging Men by Oath has no Foundation in the Law of the Land, 'tis undoubtedly contrary to the Laws of Nature and of Nations, where this is a received Maxim, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*: No Man is bound to accuse himself. The Queen therefore had no Power to authorize her Commissioners to set up an *Inquisition*, and administer an Oath for the suspected Person, to answer all Questions the Court should put to him, and to convict him upon those Answers ; or if they could confront his Evidence to punish him as perjured.

If any Persons disobeyed the Orders and Decrees of their Pow-  
Court, by not appearing at their Summons, &c. the Com-  
missioners were empowered to punish them by FINE OR  
IMPRISONMENT AT THEIR DISCRETIONS.  
This also was contrary to Law, for the Body of a Subject is to be justiced, secundum Legem terræ, as *Magna Charta* and the Law saith. The Clerk Felon in the Bishop's Prison is the King's Prisoner, and not the Bishop's, and therefore by the 1st *Henry VII.* cap. 4.  
 " The Bishop of the Diocese is empowered to im-  
 " prison such Priests, or other religious Persons  
 " within his Jurisdiction, as shall by Examination,  
 " and other lawful Proofs requisite by the Law of  
 " the Church, be convicted of *Fornication*, *Incest*,  
 " or any *fleshy Incontinency*, and there to detain L. of Ayl.  
 " them for such Time, as shall be thought by their p. 145.

Queen Elizabeth,  
1584.

Queen Elizabeth, 1584. " Discretions convenient, according to the Quality of the Offence ; and that none of the said Arch-bishops or Bishops shall be chargeable with an Action of false Imprisonment for so doing." Which plainly implies, that a Bishop cannot by Law commit a Man to Prison, except in the Cases above-mentioned ; and that in all others the Law remains in force as before. If then the Queen by her Ecclesiastical Commission could not dispense with the Laws of the Land, it is evident that the long and arbitrary Imprisonments of the Puritan Clergy, before they had been legally convicted, and all their Confinements afterwards beyond the Time limited by the Statutes were so many Acts of Oppression ; and every acting Bishop or Commissioner was liable to be sued in an Action of *false Imprisonment*.

Of their Fines :

The Law says, No Man shall be fined *ultra Tene-  
mentum*, beyond his Estate or Ability. But the Fines raised by this Court in the two next Reigns were so exorbitant, that no Man was secure in his Property or Estate ; tho' according to Lord Clarendon, their Power of levying any Fines at all was very doubtful. Some for speaking an unmannerly Word, or writing what the Court was pleased to call a *Libel*, were fined from five Hundred to ten Thousand Pounds, and perpetual Imprisonment ; some had their Ears cut off and their Noses slit, after they had been exposed several Days in the Pillory ; and many Families were driven into Banishment ; till in Process of Time the Court became such a general Nuisance, that it was dissolved by Parliament, with a Clause that no such Court should be erected for the future.

Of their Power to frame Articles for the Clergy.

Further, the *Commission* gives no Authority to the Court to *frame Articles*, and oblige the Clergy to subscribe them. It empowers them to reform all Errors, Heresies and Schisms, which may lawfully be reformed, according to the Power and Authority limited and appointed by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm. But there never

never was a Clause in any of the Commissions, empowering them to offer Subscription to Articles of their own devising. Therefore their doing this without a special Ratification under the Great Seal, was no doubt an Usurpation of the Supremacy, and brought them within the Compacts of a *Præmunire*, according to the Statutes of 25 Henry VIII. chap. 20. and 1 Eliz. chap. 3.

Lastly, Though all Spiritual Courts (and consequently the High Commission) are and ought to be subject to Prohibitions from the supreme Courts of Law, yet the Commissioners would seldom or never admit them, and at length terrified the Judges from granting them: So that upon the whole, their Proceedings were for the most part contrary to the Act of *Submission of the Clergy*, contrary to the *Statute Laws of the Realm*, and no better than a *spiritual Inquisition*.

If a Clergyman omitted any of the Ceremonies of the Church in his publick Ministrations; or if a Parishioner bore an Ill-will to his Minister, he might inform the Commissioners by Letter, that he was a suspected Person; upon which a Pursuivant or Messenger was sent to his House with a Citation, to the following Effect:

“ WE will and command you, and every of you, in her Majesty’s Name, by virtue of her high Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical, to us and others directed, that you, and every of you, do make your personal Appearance before us, or others her Majesty’s Commissioners in that behalf appointed, in the Consistory within the Cathedral Church of St. Paul’s, London, [or at Lambeth] the 7th Day next after the sight hereof, if we or other our Collegues shall then happen to sit in Commission, or else at our next sitting there, then next immediately following: And that after your Appearance there made, you, and every of you, shall attend, and not depart without our special Licence;

Queen Elizabeth, " Licence ; willing and commanding you, to whom  
 1584. " these our Letters shall first be delivered, to shew  
 " the same, and give Intimation and Knowledge  
 " thereof to the others nominated upon the Indorse-  
 " ment hereof, as you, and every of you, will an-  
 " swer to the contrary at your Perils. Given at  
 " London the 16th of May, 1584.

*John Cant.*  
*Gabriel Goodman.* *John London.*

*Indorsed,*  
 To Ezekias Morley,  
 Rob. Pamnet, and }  
 W<sup>m</sup>. Bigge, } of Ridgwell in Essex.

The Pursuivant that brought them up had 33 s. and 4 d. for 41 Miles, being about 9 or 10 d. a Mile. Upon their appearing before the Commissioners they were committed Prisoners to the Clink seven Weeks, before they were called to their Trial. When the Prisoners were brought to the Bar the Court immediately tender'd them the Oath, to answer all Questions to the best of their Knowledge ; by which they were obliged not only to accuse themselves, but frequently to bring their Relations and Acquaintance into Trouble. The Party to be examined was not to be acquainted with the Interrogatories before-hand, nor to have a Copy of his Answers, which were lodged with the Secretary of the Court against the Day of his Trial. If the Commissioners could not convict him upon his own Confession, then they examined their Witnesses, but never cleared him upon his own Oath. If they could not reach the Prisoner by their ordinary Jurisdiction as Bishops, they would then sit as Ecclesiastical Commissioners. If they could not convict him upon any Statute, then they had recourse to their old obsolete Law Ecclesiastical ; so that the Prisoner seldom knew by what Law he was to be tried, nor how to defend himself. Sometimes Men were obliged to a long Attendance, and at other Times condemned in haste

haste without any Trial. The Reverend Mr. Brayne, Queen a Cambridge Minister, being sent for to Lambeth, Elizabeth; made his Appearance before the Archbishop and two <sup>1584.</sup> of the Commissioners on Saturday in the Afternoon, L. of Whit- and being commanded to answer the Interrogatories gift, p. 163. of the Court upon Oath, he refused unless he might first see them, and write down his Answers with his own Hand ; which his Grace refusing, immediately gave him his Canonical Admonitions once, twice, and thrice ; and caused him to be register'd for Contempt, and suspended.

But let the Reader carefully peruse the 24 Articles themselves, which the Archbishop framed for the Service of the Court ; and then judge whether it were possible for an honest Man to answer them upon Oath, without exposing himself to the Mercy of his Adversaries. They were these that follow :

1. IMPRIMIS, " **O**bijicimus, ponimus, & articu- Whitgift's  
" lamur, i.e. We object, put, <sup>24 Arti-</sup>  
" and article to you, That you are a Deacon or Mi- cles.  
" nister, and Priest admitted ; declare by whom, <sup>Apud Lam-</sup>  
" and what Time you were ordered ; and likewise, <sup>hith, May,</sup>  
" that your Ordering was according to the Book in <sup>1584.</sup>  
" that behalf by the Law of this Land provided. *Et*  
" objicimus conjunctim de omni & divisim de quolibet, i. e.  
" And we object to you the whole of this Article conjunctly,  
" and every Branch of it separately.

2. Item, " *Objicimus, ponimus, & articulamur,*  
" That you deem and judge such your Ordering,  
" Admission and Calling into your Ministry to  
" be lawful, and not repugnant to the Word of  
" God. *Et objicimus ut supra*, i. e. And we object as  
" before.

3. Item, " *Objicimus, ponimus, &c.* That you have  
" sworn, as well at the Time of your Ordering as  
" Institution, Duty and Allegiance to the Queen's  
" Majesty, and Canonical Obedience to your Ordin-  
" ary and his Successors, and to the Metropolitan and

Queen " his Successors, or to some of them. *Et objicimus*  
 Elizabeth, " *ut supra.*

1584. 4. Item, " *Objicimus, &c.* That by a Statute or  
 ~~~~~ " Act of Parliament made in the 1st Year of  
 " the Queen's Majesty that now is, one virtuous
 " and godly Book, entitled, *The Book of Common*
 " *Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c.* was
 " authorized and established to stand and be from
 " and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John
 " *Baptist* then next ensuing, in full Force and Effect,
 " according to the said Statute, and so yet remain-
 " eth. *Et obj. ut supra.*

5. Item, " *Obj.* That by the said Statute all Mi-
 " nisters within her Majesty's Dominions ever since
 " the said Feast have been, and are bound to say
 " and use, a certain Form of Morning and Evening
 " *Prayer*, called in the *A&ct Mattins, Even Song, Ce-*
lebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of
 " *each of the Sacraments;* and all other common and
 " open Prayer in such Order and Form as is men-
 " tioned in the same Book, and none other, nor
 " otherwise. *Et obj. ut supra.*

6. Item, " *Obj.* That in the said Statute her Ma-
 " jesty, the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons
 " in that Parliament assembled, do in God's Name
 " earnestly charge and require all the Archbishops,
 " Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall
 " endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their
 " Knowledge, that the due and true Execution of
 " the said *A&t* might be had throughout their Dio-
 " cese and Charge, as they would answer it before
 " Almighty God. *Et obj. ut supra.*

7. Item, " *Obj. penitus, &c.* That you deem and
 " judge the said whole Book to be a godly and a vir-
 " tuous Book, agreeable, or at the least not repug-
 " nant to the Word of God; if not, we require and
 " command you to declare, wherein, and in what Points.
 " *Et objicimus ut supra.*

8. Item, "Obj. That for the Space of these three Years, two Years, one Year, half a Year; three, two, or one Month last past, you have at the Time of Communion, and at all, or some other Times in your Ministrations, used and worn only your ordinary Apparel, and not the Surplice, as is required; declare how long, how often, and for what Cause, Consideration, or Intent, you have so done, or refused so to do. Et obj. ut supra.

9. Item, "Obj. That within the Time aforesaid you have baptized divers, or at least one Infant, and have not used the Sign of the Cross in the Fore-head, with the Words prescribed to be used in the said Book of Common Prayer; declare how many you have so baptized, and for what Cause, Consideration, and Intent. Et obj. ut supra.

10. Item, "Obj. That within the Time aforesaid you have been sent unto, and required divers Times, or at least once, to baptize Children; or some one Child being weak, and have refused, neglected, or at least so long deferr'd the same, till the Child or Children died without the Sacrament of Baptism; declare whose Child, when, and for what Consideration. Et obj. ut supra.

11. Item, "Obj. &c. That within the Time aforesaid you have celebrated Matrimony otherwise than the Book prescribes, and without a Ring, and have refused at such Times to call for the Ring, and to use such Words in that behalf as the Book appoints, and particularly those Words, That by Matrimony is signified the Spiritual Marriage and Unity between Christ and his Church. Declare the Circumstances of Time, Person, and Place, and for what Cause, Intent, and Consideration. Et obj. ut supra.

12. Item, "Obj. &c. That you have within the Time aforesaid neglected, or refused to use the Form of Thanksgiving for Women, or some one Woman after Child-birth, according to the said

Queen " Book. Declare the like Circumstances thereof, and
 Elizabeth, " for what Intent, Cause, or Consideration you have so
 1584. " done, or refused so to do. Et obj. ut supra.

13. Item, " Objicimus, &c. That you within the
 " Time aforesaid baptised divers Infants, or at the
 " least one, otherwise and in other Manner than the
 " said Book prescribeth, and not used the Interroga-
 " tories to the Godfathers and Godmothers in the
 " Name of the Infant, as the said Book requireth,
 " Declare the like Circumstances thereof, or for what
 " Cause, Intent, or Consideration, you have so done, or
 " refused so to do. Et objicimus ut supra.

14. Item, " We do object, That you have within
 " the Time aforesaid used any other Form of Litany,
 " in divers or some Points, from the said Book; or
 " that you have often, or once, wholly refused to
 " use the said Litany. Declare the like Circumstances
 " thereof, or for what Cause, Intent, or Consideration,
 " you have so done, or refused so to do.

15. Item, " We do object, &c. That you have
 " within the Time aforesaid, refused and omitted to
 " read divers Lessons prescribed by the said Book,
 " and have divers Times either not read any Lessons
 " at all, or read others in their Places. Declare the
 " like Circumstances thereof, and for what Intent, Cause,
 " or Consideration, you have so done, or refused. Et
 " obj. ut supra.

16. Item, " Objicimus, That within the Time
 " aforesaid you have either not used at all, or else
 " used another manner of Common Prayer or Service
 " at Burial, from that which the said Book prescri-
 " beth, and have refused there to use these Words, We
 " commit Earth to Earth in sure and certain Hope of Resur-
 " rection to eternal Life. Declare the like Circumstances
 " thereof, and for what Intent, Cause, or Consideration,
 " you have so done, or refused so to do. Et objic. ut supra.

17. Item, " Objicimus, &c. That within the
 " Time aforesaid you have advisedly, and of set
 " Purpose, not only omitted and refused to use the
 " afore-

“ aforesaid Parts, or some of them, of the said Book, but also some other Parts of the said Book of Common Prayer, as being persuaded that in such Points it is repugnant to the Word of God. Declare what other Parts of the said Book you have refused to use, for what Intent, Cause, or Consideration. Et objic. ut supra.

18. Item, “ Objic. &c. That within the Time aforesaid you have at the Communion, and in other Parts of your Ministrations, advisedly added unto, diminished, and taken from, altered and transposed manifoldly at your own Pleasure, sundry Parts of the said Book of Common Prayer. Declare the Circumstances of Time and Place, and for what Intent, Cause, and Consideration. Et objic. ut supra.

19. Item, “ Objic. That within the Time aforesaid you have advisedly, and of set Purpose preached, taught, declared, set down, or published by Writing, publick or private Speech, Matter against the said Book of Common Prayer, or of some Thing therein contained, as being repugnant to the Word of God, or not convenient to be used in the Church; or some Thing have written or uttered, tending to the depraving, despising, or defacing, of some Things contained in the said Book. Declare what, and the like Circumstances thereof, and for what Cause, or Consideration, you have so done. Et objic. ut supra.

20. Item, “ Objicimus, &c. That you at this present do continue all, or some of your former Opinions against the said Book, and have a settled Purpose to continue hereafter such Additions, Diminutions, Alterations, and Transpositions, or some of them, as you heretofore unlawfully have used in your publick Ministrations: And that you have used private Conferences, and assembled, or been present at Conventicles, for the Maintenance of their Doings herein, and for the animating and encouraging of others to continue in the like Dispo-

Queen Elizabeth, 1584. " sition in this behalf that you are of. Declare the like Circumstances, and for what Intent, Cause, and Consideration. *Et objic. ut supra.*

21. Item, " *Objicimus, &c.* That you have been heretofore noted, defamed, presented, or detected publickly, to have been faulty in all and singular the Premises, and of every, or some of them; and that you have been divers and sundry Times, or once at the least, admonished by your Ordinary, or other Ecclesiastical Magistrate, to reform the same, and to observe the Form and Order of the Book of *Common Prayer*, which you have refused, or defer to do. Declare the like Circumstances thereof. *Et objic. ut supra.*

22. Item, " That for the Testification hereafter of your Unity with the Church of *England*, and your Conformity to Laws established, you have been required simply and absolutely, to subscribe with your Hand, (1.) That her Majesty under God hath and ought to have, the Sovereignty and Rule over all Manner of Persons born within her Realm, Dominions, and Countries, of what Estate either Ecclesiastical or Temporal soever they be; and that none other foreign Power, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within her Majesty's said Realms, Dominions, or Countries. (2.) That the Book of *Common Prayer*, and of ordering Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that the same may be lawfully used; and that you who do subscribe will use the Form in the said Book prescribed, in publick Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other. (3.) That you allow the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at *London* in the Year of our Lord God 1562,

" and

“ and set forth by her Majesty’s Authority ; and do Queen
 “ believe all the Articles therein contained to be Elizabeth,
 “ agreeable to the Word of God. Declare by whom, 1584.
 “ and how often, which hitherto you have advisedly Life of
 “ refused to perform, and so yet do persist. Et objic. Whitgift,
 “ &c. B. III.

23. Item, “ That you have taken upon you to Rec. N° 4.
 “ preach, read, or expound the Scriptures, as well
 “ in publick Places as in private Houses, not being
 “ licensed by your Ordinary, nor any other Magi-
 “ strate having Authority by the Laws of this Land
 “ so to license you. Declare the like Circumstances
 “ hereof. Et objic. ut supra.

24. Item, “ Quod præmissa omnia & singula, &c.
 “ i. e. That all and singular the Premises, &c.”

Could the Wit of Man invent any Thing more like an Inquisition ! Here are Interrogatories enough to entangle all the honest Men in the Kingdom, and bring them into Danger. When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh had read them over, and seen the Execution they had done upon the Clergy, he writ his Grace the following Letter.

It may please your Grace,

“ I AM sorry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I The Treas-
 “ am more troubled my self, not only with ma- surer’s Re-
 “ ny private Petitions of sundry Ministers, recom- marks up-
 “ mended for Persons of Credit, and peaceable in on them.
 “ their Ministry, who are greatly troubled by Life of
 “ your Grace, and your Colleagues in Commission; B. IV.
 “ but I am also daily charged by Counsellors and Rec. N° 9:
 “ publick Persons, with neglect of my Duty, in not
 “ staying your Grace’s vehement Proceedings against
 “ Ministers, whereby Papists are greatly encour-
 “ aged, and the Queen’s Safety endangered. — I
 “ have read over your 24 Articles, found in a Ro-
 “ mish Stile, of great Length and Curiosity, to exa-
 “ mine all manner of Ministers in this Time, with-
 “ out

Queen Elizabeth, " out distinction of Persons, to be executed *ex Officio*
 1584. " mero. —— And I find them so curiously penned,
 " so full of Branches and Circumstances, that I think
 " the Inquisition of Spain used not so many Questi-
 " ons to comprehend and to trap their Priests. I
 " know your *Canonists* can defend these with all their
 " Particles; but surely, under Correction, this judi-
 " cial and canonical Sifting poor Ministers, is not to
 " edify or reform. And in Charity I think they
 " ought not to answer to all these nice Points, ex-
 " cept they were notorious Papists or Hereticks. I
 " write with the Testimony of a good Conscience. I
 " desire the Peace and Unity of the Church. I favour
 " no sensual and wilful Recusant; but I conclude,
 " according to my simple Judgment, *This kind of*
 " *Proceeding is too much favouring of the Romish Inqui-*
sition; and is a Device rather to seek for Offenders
 " than to reform any. — It is not charitable to
 " send poor Ministers to your common *Register*, to
 " answer upon so many Articles at one instant, with-
 " out a Copy of the Articles or their Answers. — I
 " pray your Grace bear with this one (perchance)
 " Fault, that I have willed the *Ministers* not to an-
 " swer these Articles except their Consciences may
 " suffer them.

July 15. 1584.

W. Cecil.

But this excellent Letter was so far from softning the Archbishop, that two Days after he writ his Lordship a long Answer, vindicating his *Interrogatories*, from the Practice of the Star-Chamber, the *Court of Marches*, and other Places. The Treasurer found it was to no purpose to contend, and therefore writ him a short but smart Letter, in which he tells him, " That after reading his *Grace's* long An-
 " swer, he was not satisfied in the Point of seeking
 " by Examination to have Ministers accuse them-
 " selves, and then punish them for their own Con-
 " fessions;

"fessions: That he would not call his Proceedings Queen
 "captious, but they were scarcely charitable; his Elizabeth,
 "Grace might therefore deal with his Friend Mr. ^{1584.}
 "Brayne as he thought fit,—but when by exami- ^{L.of Whit-}
 "ning him it was meant only to sift him with ^{L.of Whit-}
 "Articles, he had cause to pity the poor Man."

The Archbishop being desirous to give Satisfaction ^{The Abp.} to the Treasurer, sent him two Papers of Reasons, ^{justifies his} one to justify the *Articles*, and the other the Manner ^{Articles.} of Proceeding *ex mero Officio*. In the former he says, That by the Ecclesiastical [or Canon] Laws, Articles of Enquiry may be administer'd, and have been ever since the Reformation; and that they ought ^{L.of Whit-} not to be compared with the Inquisition, because the ^{Gift, p. 162.} Inquisition punished with Death, whereas they only punished obstinate Offenders with Deprivation. In the latter his Lordship gives the following Reasons among others for proceeding *ex Officio mero*. (1.) If ^{His Rea-} we proceed only by Presentment and Witnesses, then ^{sions for} *Papists*, *Brownists*, and *Family Men*, would expect ^{proceeding} ^{by the Oath} the like Measure. (2.) 'Tis hard to get Witnesses *ex Officio*, against the *Puritans*, because most of the Parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them, nor appear against them. (3.) There is great Trouble and Charge in examining Witnesses, and sending for them from distant Parts. (4.) If Archbishops and Bishops should be driven to use Proofs by *Witnesses only*, the Execution of the Law would be partial, their Charges in procuring and producing Witnesses would be intollerable; and they should not be able to make quick Dispatch enough with the *Secularies*. These were the Arguments of a Protestant Archbishop! I don't wonder that they gave no Satisfaction to the wise Treasurer; for surely, all that have any Regard for the Laws of their Country, or the Civil and Religious Rights of Mankind, must be ashamed of them.

The Treasurer having given up the Archbishop, ^{Lords of} the Lords of the Council took the Cause in hand, ^{the Council} and ^{and dissatisfied.}

Queen Elizabeth, and writ to his Grace and the Bishop of London in favour of the deprived Ministers, Sept. 20th. In their Letter they tell their Lordships, " That they had heard of sundry Complaints out of divers Councils, p. 166. ties, of Proceedings against a great Number of Ecclesiastical Persons, some Parsons, some Vicars, some Curates, but all Preachers; some deprived, and some suspended by their Lordships Officers, Chancellors, &c. but that they had taken no Notice of these Things, hoping their Lordships would have staid their hasty Proceedings, especially against such as did earnestly instruct the People against Popery. But now of late hearing of great Numbers of zealous and learned Preachers suspended from their Cures in the County of Essex, and that there is no Preaching, Prayers, or Sacraments in most of the vacant Places; that in some few of them, Persons neither of Learning nor good Name are appointed; and that in other Places of the Country great Numbers of Persons that occupy Cures, are notoriously unfit; most for lack of Learning; many chargeable with great and enormous Faults, as Drunkenness, Filthiness of Life, Gaming at Cards, Haunting of Ale-houses, &c. against whom they [the Council] heard of no Proceedings, but that they were quietly suffered." To fix this Charge home on the Bishops, they sent with their Letter a Catalogue of Names; one Column of learned Ministers deprived; a second of unlearned and vicious Persons continued; " a Matter very lamentable (say they) for this Time!" And a third of Pluralists and Non-Residents; " against these latter we [the Council] have heard of no Inquisition; but of great Diligence, and extreme Usage against those that were known to be diligent Preachers; we therefore pray your Lordships, to have some charitable Consideration of their Causes, that People may not be deprived of their diligent, learned and zealous Pastors, for a few Points ceremonial

" which entangled their Consciences." This Letter was dated from Oatlands, Sept. 20th. 1584. and signed by Lord Burleigh, the Earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury and Leicester; the Lord Charles Howard, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton; and Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State.

But this excellent Remonstrance had no manner of Mr. Beale Influence upon our Archbishop. After this Mr. Beale, Clerk of the Queen's Council, a Man of great Learning and Piety, writ a Treatise shewing the Injustice and Unlawfulness of the Bishop's Proceedings; and delivered it in Manuscript into the Archbishop's own p. 137. Hands, which together with some Freedom of Speech, inflamed his Grace to that Degree, that he complained of him to the Queen and Council, and used all his Interest to have him tried in the Star-Chamber, and turned out of his Place. Among his *Ibid.* Misdemeanors, drawn up by the Archbishop's own p. 212: Hand were these, 1. That he had printed a Book *The Abp's Complaint of him in the Star-Chamber.* against Ecclesiastical Oaths. 2. That in the House of Commons he had spoke of Ecclesiastical Matters, contrary to the Queen's Command. 3. That he had defended his Book against the Practice of the Ecclesiastical Courts. 4. That he had disputed against the Queen's having Authority by virtue of the Statute 1 Eliz. to grant Power to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to *imprison* whom they please; to impose *Fines* upon Offenders; and to administer the Oath *ex officio*, saying they are within the Statute of *Præmunire*. 5. That he had condemned Racking for grievous Offenders, as contrary to Law, and the Liberty of the Subject; and advised those in the Marches of Wales, that execute Torture by virtue of Instructions under her Majesty's Hands, to look to it, that their Doings are well warranted; but the Court would not prosecute upon this Charge.

All that the Puritans could obtain was a kind of Conference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester on the one part, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers at Lambeth.

Travers

Queen Elizabeth, honourable the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The Conference was at Lambeth, concerning Things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Archbishop open'd it with declaring, " That my Lord of Leicester having requested for his Satisfaction, to hear what the Ministers could reprove, and how their Objections were to be answered, he had granted my Lord to procure such to come for that purpose, as might seem best to his good Lordship; and now I perceive (said he) you are the Men, of whom one I never saw or knew before [Dr. Sparke]; the other I know well. Let us hear what Things in the *Book of Common Prayer* you think ought to be mended: You appear not now judicially before me, nor as called in question by Authority for these Things, but by way of Conference; for which Cause it shall be free for you (speaking in Duty) to charge the Book with such Matters as you suppose to be blame-worthy in it.

Dr. Sparke replied; " We give most humble and hearty Thanks to Almighty God, and to this Honourable Presence, that after so many Years, wherein our Cause could never be admitted to an indifferent hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious Goodness so to dispose Things, that we have now that Equity and Favour shewed us, that before such honourable Personages, as may be a worthy Means to her most excellent Majesty for Reformation of such Things as are to be redressed, it is now lawful for us to declare with Freedom, what Points ought to be reviewed and reformed, which our Endeavours, because it concerns the Service of God, and the Satisfaction of such as are in Authority; and for that the good Issue depends on the Favour of God, I desire, that before we enter any further, we may first seek for the gracious Direction

“*rection and Blessing of God by Prayer.*” At ^{Queen} which Words, framing himself to begin to pray, the ^{Elizabeth,} Archbishop interrupted him, saying, He should ^{1584.} make no Prayers there, nor turn that Place into a Conventicle.

Mr. *Travers* joined with Dr. *Sparke*, and desired that it might be lawful for them to pray before they proceeded any further; but the Archbishop not yielding thereunto, terming it a Conventicle if any such Prayer should be offered to be made, my Lord of *Leicester* and Sir *Francis Walsingham* willed Dr. *Sparke* to content himself, seeing they doubted not but that he had prayed already before his coming thither. Dr. *Sparke* therefore omitting to use such Prayer as he had proposed, made a short Address to God in very few Words, though the Archbishop continued to interrupt him all the while.

The Heads that the Ministers insisted upon were, *Heads of*
 1. Putting the Apocryphal Writings (in which were ^{the Conf-} several Errors and false Doctrines) upon a Level with ^{rence.} the Holy Scripture, by reading them publickly in the Church, when several Parts of the Canon were utterly omitted. This they said had been forbidden by *Councils*, and particularly *Laodicea* 3. The Archbishop denied any Errors to be found in the Apocrypha; which led the Ministers into a long detail of Particulars, to the Satisfaction (says my Author) of the Noblemen. 2. The second Head was upon *Baptism*; and here they objected, (1.) Against its being done in *private*. (2.) Against its being done by *Laymen* or *Women*. And, 3. Against the Doctrine from whence this Practice arises (*viz.*) That *Children not baptized are in danger of Damnation*; and that the outward *Baptism of Water saveth the Child that is baptized*. 4. Against the *Interrogatories* in the Name of the Child, which Mr. *Travers* charged with arising from a false Principle (*viz.*) that *Faith* was necessary in all Persons to be baptized. He added, that the *Interrogatories crept into the Church but lately,*

Queen Elizabeth, lately, and took their Rise from the *Baptism of those*
that were of Age; from whence very ignorantly they
1584. were transferred to Infants. 5. Against the *Cross*, as
 a mystical Rite and Ceremony, and an Addition to
 the Sacrament, of human Invention. Here they argu-
 ed, that though the foreign Divines did not condemn
 the Use of the Cross, yet all agreed it ought to be abo-
 lish'd, and *Beza* gives Counsel to the Ministers, rather
 to forego their Ministry than subscribe to the Allow-
 ance of it. After many Words upon this Head, my
 Lord of *Leicester* said it was a pitiful Thing, that so
 many of the best Ministers, and painful in their Preach-
 ing, should be deprived for these Things. 6. They
 objected to *private Communion*. 7. To the *Apparel*.
 And here they produced the Judgment of Bishop
Ridley at his Degradation, as reported by Mr. *Fox*,
 M.S. who said, *It was too bad to be put upon a Fool in a Play.*
 p. 502, &c. 8. They objected to the Books allowing of an insuff-
 cient Ministry, Non-Residence and Pluralities.

The Issue of it. The Conference continued two Days, at the Close
 of which neither Party being satisfied, the Noblemen
 L. of Whit- requested some Favour for the Ministers. Mr. *Strype*
 gift, p. 170. says the Ministers were convinced and confirmed;
 but 'tis evident he knew not the Disputants, nor had
 seen the Debate; a Copy of which is before me.
Travers was a Non-Conformist to his Death, and
Sparke appeared at their Head at the *Hampton Court*
 Conference the beginning of the next Reign. Nor
 was the Archbishop softned, but rather confirmed
 in his former Resolution. ,

Bp. Aylmer's Se- verities a- gainst the Puritans. *Aylmer* Bishop of *London* came not behind his Me-
 tropolitan in Acts of Severity. Mr. *Strype* says, he
 was the chief Mover in the Ecclesiastical Commission,
 and had as high a Spirit as the greatest Lord in the
 Land. During *Grindal's* Disgrace he harrassed the
London Clergy with new Interrogatories and Articles
 3 or 4 Times a Year. He advised the Heads of the
 University of *Cambridge* (with which he had nothing
 to do) to call in all their Licences, and expel every
 Man

Man that would not wear the Apparel, saying, That Queen Elizabeth, expell'd with the Rod of Discipline. In his Visitation ^{1584.} this Summer he suspended the following Clergymen in L. of Ayl. Essex, &c. Mr. Whiteing of Panfield, Mr. Wyresdale and p. 84, 94. Gifford of Malden, Mr. Hawkdon Vicar of Fryan, Ministers Mr. Carre of Rain, Mr. Tonstal of Much Tottam, Mr. suspended Huckle of Atrop Rooding, Mr. Pigot of Tilly, Mr. Corn-^{by the Bp,} wal of Markstay, Mr. Negus of Leigh, Mr. Carew of Hatfield, Mr. Ward of Writtle, Mr. Dyke afterwards of St. Albans, Mr. Rogers of Weathersfield, Mr. Northy of Colchester, Mr. Newman of Coxall, Mr. Taye of Peldon, Mr. Parker of Dedbam, Mr. Morly of Ridswel, Mr. Nix [or Knight] of Hampstead, Mr. Winkfield of Wicks, Mr. Wilton of Aldham, Mr. Dent of South Souberry, Mr. Pain of Tolbury, Mr. Larking of Little Waltham, Mr. Camillus Rusticus Pastor of Tange, Mr. Serridge of East Havingfield, Mr. Howel of Pagelsam, Mr. Chadwick of Danbury, Mr. Farrar of Langham, Mr. Serls of London, Mr. Lewis of St. Peter's Colchester, Mr. Cock of St. Gyles's Colchester, Mr. Beaumont of East Thorp, Mr. Redridge of Hutton, Mr. Chaplain of Hempstead, Mr. Culverwel of Felstra^t, Mr. D. Chapman Preacher of Dedbam, and Mr. Kurvit of Mile End Colchester, in all about 38. These (says my Author) ^{M. S.} are the painful Ministers of Essex, whom the Bishop ^{P. 524.} threatens to deprive for the Surplice, saying, We shall ^{741.} be White with him, or he will be Black with us.

Mr. Carew of Hatfield Peveril was a zealous Promoter of the Welfare of Souls, and mourned over the Want of a learned and preaching Ministry: He was ordained by the Bishop of Worcester, and licensed by Archbishop Grindal and the Bishop of London himself, who commended his Preaching; but being too forward in acquainting his Diocesan by Letter, that in Essex, within the Compass of 16 Miles, there were 22 Non-Residents, 30 insufficient Ministers; and at the same Time 19 Preachers silenced for not Subscribing; his Lordship instead of being pleased

^{1584.} Queen Elizabeth with the Information, sent for Carew before the Commissioners, and charged him falsely without the least Evidence, with setting up a Presbytery, and with contemning Ecclesiastical Censures. It was alleged against him further, that he was chosen by the People; that he had defaced the Book of Common Prayer, and had put several from the Communion, when there was more need to allure them to it, &c. But to make short Work, the Bishop tender'd him the Oath *ex Officio*, which Carew refusing, he was committed to the Fleet, and another Clergyman sent down to fill up his Place. Mr. Alen the Patron, in whom the Right of Presentation was by Inheritance, refusing to admit the Bishop's Reader, was summoned before his Lordship and committed to Prison; because (as the Warrant expresses it) he behaved seditiously in notwithstanding the Authority of the Court: Nay, the very Sexton was reprimanded, and ordered not to meddle with the Church any more; and because he asked his Lordship simply, whether his meaning was, that he should not come to Church any more, he committed him for ridiculous Behaviour.

L. of Ayl. Both Alen and Carew offered Bail, which was refused, unless they would admit his Lordship's Clergyman. After eight Weeks Imprisonment they appealed to the Privy Council and were released; with which his Lordship was so displeased, that he writ to the Council a very angry Letter, calling the Prisoners Knaves, Rebels, Rascals, Fools, Petty Gentlemen, Precisians, &c. And told their Honours, that if such Men were countenanced, he must yield up his Authority: But the Bishop never left him till he had hunted him out of the Diocese.

Mr. Knight and Mr. Negus's Sufferings. Mr. Knight suffered six Months Imprisonment for not wearing the Apparel, and was fined 100 Marks. Mr. Negus was suspended on the same Account: 28 of his Parishioners, who subscribed themselves his hungry Sheep that had no Shepherd, sign'd a Letter, beseeching him to conform; but he protested he could not

not do it with a good Conscience, and so was deprived. *Queen Elizabeth,*
1584.

The Reverend Mr. Gifford of Malden was a modest Minⁱ, and irreprovable in his Life, a great and diligent Preacher (says Mr. Strype) and citizen^{m.s.} of Malden, Mr. Gifford by many of good Rank. He had writ learned^{p. 410} for his sufferings^{420.} against the Brownists, and by his Diligence had wrought a wonderful Reformation in the Town ; but being informed against for preaching up a limited Obedience to the Magistrate, he was suspended and imprisoned. After some Time he was brought upon his Trial, and his Accuser failing in his Evidence he was released. But the Bishop of London setting his Spies upon him, he was imprison'd again for Non-Conformity. Upon this he applied to the Lord Treasurer, who writ to the Archbishop in his Favour ; but his Grace having consulted his Brother of London, told his Lordship that he was a Ring-leader of the Non-Conformists ; that he himself had received Complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the High Commission. The Parishioners of Malden presented a Petition in behalf of their Minister sign'd with 52 Hands, whereof two were Bailiffs of the Town, two Justices of the Peace, four Aldermen, fifteen Head Burgesses, and the Vicar : But to put an end to all further Application, the Archbishop writ to the Treasurer, " that Fuller, he had rather die, or live in Prison all Days of his Life, than relax the Rigor of his Proceedings,^{B. III. p. 258.}" by shewing Favour to one, which might give Occasion to others to expect the same, and undo all that he had been doing ; he therefore beseeches his Lordship not to animate this foward People by writing in their Favour." Sir Francis Knollys the Queen's Kinsman, and Treasurer of her Chamber, seconded the Treasurer, beseeching his Grace to open the Mouths of zealous Preachers that were found in Doctrine, though they refused to subscribe to any Traditions of Men, *not compellible by Law :* But all was to no Purpose, for (as Fuller observes)

Queen Elizabeth, “ This was the constant Custom of *Whitgift*; If any
1584. “ Lord or Lady sued for Favour to any Non-Con-
B. IX. “ formists, he would profess how glad he was to
p. 218. “ serve them, and gratify their Desires, assuring
“ them for his Part, that all possible Kindness
“ should be indulged to them, but at the same
“ Time he would remit nothing of his Rigor. Thus
“ he never denied any Man’s Desire, and yet never
“ granted it, pleasing them for the present with ge-
“ neral Promises, but still kept to his own Resolu-
“ tion; whereupon the Nobility in a little Time
“ ceas’d making any further Applications to him, as
“ knowing them to be ineffectual.” Some of the
Ministers were indicted at the Assizes, as Mr. Beau-
mont of *East Thorp*, Mr. Wilton of *Aldham*, Mr. Hawk-
don of *Fryan*, Mr. Seredge of *East Havingfield*, for
omitting the Cross in Baptism, and for not wearing
the Surplice once every Month, and at every Com-
munion. Most of them were deprived, or to avoid it
forced to quit their Livings and depart the Country.

Mr. Dyke suspended. Among these was the excellent Mr. Dyke, Preacher
first at *Coxal* in *Essex*, and afterwards at *St. Albans* in
Hertfordshire, whose Character was without Blemish,
and whose practical Writings discover him to be a
Divine of considerable Learning and Piety; he was
suspended, and at last deprived, because he continued
but a Deacon, and did not enter into *Priest’s Orders*,
which (as the Bishop supposed) he accounted Popish.
He also refused to wear the Surplice, and troubled his
Auditory with Notions that thwarted the established

His Parishioners petition for him. Religien. The Parishioners being concerned for the
Loss of their Minister, petitioned the Lord Burleigh
to intercede for them, setting forth, “ That they had
lived without any ordinary Preaching till within
these 4 or 5 Years, by the Want of which they
were unacquainted with their Duty to God, their
Sovereign, and their Neighbours; but that of
late it had pleased the Lord to visit them with the
Means of Salvation, the ordinary Ministry of the
Word,

L. of Ayl.

p. 303.

“ Word, in the Person of Mr. Dyke, an authorized
 “ Minister, who according to his Function had b^en Queen
 “ painful and profitable, and both in Life and Do- Elizabeth,
 “ctrine had carried himself peaceably and dutifullly 1584.
 “ among them, so as no Man could justly find Fault
 “ with him, except of Malice. There were some
 “ indeed that could not abide to hear their Faults
 “ reproved, but through his Preaching many had
 “ been brought from their Ignorance and evil Ways
 “ to a better Life, to be frequent Hearers of God’s
 “ Word, and their Servants were in better Order
 “ than heretofore.

“ They then give his Lordship to understand, that
 “ their Minister was suspended, and that they were
 “ as Sheep without a Shepherd, exposed to manifold
 “ Dangers, even to return to their former Ignorance
 “ and cursed Vanities: That the Lord had spoken
 “ it, and therefore it must be true, that where there
 “ is no Vision the People perish. They therefore
 “ pray his Lordship, in the Bowels of his Compa-
 “ sion, to pity them in their present Misery, and be-
 “ come a Means that they may enjoy their Preacher
 “ again.”

Upon this Letter Lord Burleigh writ to the Bishop And the
 to restore him, promising that if he troubled the Lord Treas-
 Congregation with Innovations any more, he would surer, but
 join with the Bishop against him; but his Lordship in vain.
 excused himself, insinuating that he was charged with
 Incontinency; this occasioned a further Enquiry into
 Dyke’s Character, which was cleared up by the Wo-
 man her self that accused him, who confessed her
 wicked Contrivance, and asked him openly Forgive-
 ness. His Lordship therefore insisted upon his being
 restored, forasmuch as the best Clergyman in the
 World might be thus slandered; besides, the People
 at St. Albans had no Teaching, having no Curate but
 an insufficient doting old Man. For this Favour
 (says the Treasurer) I shall thank your Lordship,
 and will not solicit you any more, if hereafter he

^{154.} Queen Elizabeth should give just Cause of publick Offence against the Orders of the Church established. But all that the Treasurer could say was ineffectual; the Bishop of London was as inexorable as his Brother of Canterbury.

The Inhabitants of *Essex* had a vast Esteem for their Ministers; they could not part with them without Tears: When they could do nothing with the Bishop they applied to the Parliament, and to the Lords of the Privy Council. I have before me two or three Petitions from the Hundreds of *Essex*, and one from the County, sign'd by *Francis Barrington*, Esq; at the Head of above 200 Gentlemen and Tradesmen, House-Keepers; complaining in the strongest Terms, that the greatest Number of their present Ministers were unlearned, idle, or otherwise of scandalous Lives; and that those few from whom they reaped Knowledge and Comfort were molested, threaten'd, and put to silence for small Matters in the *Common Prayer*, though they are Men of godly Lives and Conversations.

Mr. Benison's sufferings. The Bishop was equally severe in other Parts of his Diocese. The Reverend Mr. *Barnaby Benison*, a *London* Divine of good Learning, had been suspended and kept in Prison several Years, on pretence of some Irregularity in his Marriage: The Bishop charged him with being married in an Afternoon, and in the Presence of 2 or 300 People by Mr. *Field* a Nonconformist; for this he was committed to the *Gate-House*, where he had lain ever since the Year 1579. At length he applied to the Queen and Council, and in the State of his Case he declares, that he had invited but 40 Persons to the Solemnity, and that of them there were but 20 present; that he was married in a Morning, and according to Law; that when the Bishop sent for him and charged him with *Sedition*, he cleared himself to his Satisfaction; but that after he was gone home he gave private Orders under his own Hand for his being apprehended and

and sent to the *Gate-House*; that he was shut up there in a Dungeon eight Days, without knowing the Cause of his Imprisonment, though good Dr. *Hammond*, and his faithful Father *Fox*, who were both at the Wedding, and saw the whole Proceeding, went to the Bishop and assured him, that he was without Wickedness or Fault in that Way he went about to charge him; but his Lordship would not release him without such Bonds for his good Behaviour and Appearance as the Prisoner could not procure. "Thus I continue, says Mr. *Benison*, separated from my Wife before I had been married to her two Weeks, to the great Trouble of her Friends and Relations, and to the staggering of the patient Obedience of my Wife; for since my Imprisonment his Lordship has been endeavouring to separate us whom God has joined together in the open Presence of his People. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your godly Honours, for the everlasting Love of God, and for the Pity you take upon God's true Protestants and his poor People, to be a Means that my pitiful Cry may be heard, and my just Cause with some Credit be cleared, to God's Honour and her Majesty's, whose Favour I esteem more than all the Bishop's Blessings or bitter Curse-sings; and that I now being half Dead may recover again to get a poor Living with the little Learning that God has sent me, to his Glory, to the discharging some Part of my Duty, and to the Profit of the Land."

The Council were so moved with *Benison's* Case, that they sent his Lordship the following Letter.

" Whereas *Barneby Benison* Minister, has given ^{The Coun-}
 " us to understand, the great Hindrance he ^{al's Letter} _{in his fa-}
 " has received by your hard Dealing with him, and _{your}
 " his long Imprisonment, for which if he should
 " bring his Action of false Imprisonment he should
 " recover Damages, which would touch your Lord-

Queen Elizabeth,
1584.

Queen Elizabeth, " ship's Credit ; we therefore have thought fit to require your Lordship to use some Consideration towards him, in giving him some Sum of Money to repay the Wrong you have done him, and in respect of the Hindrance he hath incurred by your hard Dealing towards him — Therefore praying your Lordship to deal with the poor Man, that he may have Occasion to turn his Complaint into giving to us a good Report of your charitable Dealing, we bid you heartily farewell. Hampton Court, Nov. 14th, 1584. Sign'd,

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Ambrose Warwicke,</i> | <i>Fr. Bedford,</i> |
| <i>Fr. Knollys,</i> | <i>Rob. Leicester,</i> |
| <i>Walter Mildmay,</i> | <i>Charles Howard,</i> |
| <i>Fr. Walsingham,</i> | <i>James Crofts,</i> |
| <i>Wm. Burghley,</i> | <i>Cbr. Hatton.</i> |
| <i>Bromley, Chan.</i> | |

After some Time the Bishop returned this Answere ;

The Bi-
shop's An-
swere.

" **I** Beseech your Lordships to consider, that 'tis a rare Example thus to press a Bishop for his zealous Service to the Queen and the Peace of the Church, especially the Man being found worthy to be committed for *Non-Conformity*, to say nothing of his contemptuous Using of me ; nevertheless, since it pleaseth your Lordships to require some reasonable Sum of Money, I pray you to consider my poor Estate and great Charges otherwise, together with the great Vaunt the Man will make of his Conquest over a Bishop. I hope therefore your Lordships will be favourable to me, and refer it to my self, either to bestow upon him some small Benefice, or otherwise to help him as Opportunity offers. Or if this shall not satisfy the Man, or content your Lordships, leave him to the Trial of the Law, which I hope will not be so plain for him as he taketh it. Surely, my Lords,

" Lords, this and the like must greatly discourage Queen
 " me in this poor Service of mine in the Commis- Eliz. & eth,
 " sion—"

1584.

What Recompence the poor Man had for his long Imprisonment I can't find. But he was too wise to go to Law with a Bishop of the Court of High Commission, who had but little Conscience or Honour, and who notwithstanding his poor Estate and great Charges left behind him above 16000*l.* in Money, an immense Sum for those Times.

His Lordship complained that he was hated like a *L. of Ayl.*
 Dog, and commonly stiled the *Oppressor of the Chil-* p. 96.
dren of God; that he was in danger of being mob'd in his Progress at *Malden*, and other Places; which is not strange, considering his mean Appearance, being a very little Man, and his high and insulting Behaviour towards those that were brought before him, attended with ill Language and a cruel Spirit. This appears in numberless Instances: When Mr. *Merbury*, one of the Ministers of *Northampton*, was brought before him, he spake thus; —

B. Thou speakest of making Ministers; the Bi- Mr. Mer-
 shop of Peterborough was never more over-seen in his bury's Ex-
 Life, than when he admitted thee to be a Preacher am nation
 in Northampton. and Im-
 prisonment.

MERBURY. Like enough so, (in some Sense) I pray God these Scales may fall from his Eyes.

B. Thou art a very Ass; thou art Mad; thou Couragious! Nay, thou art Impudent; by my Troth I think he is Mad; he careth for no body..

M. Sir, I take exception at swearing Judges; I praise God I am not Mad, but sorry to see you so out of Temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more Impudent?

M. 'Tis not, I trust, Impudence to answer for my self.

B. Nay, I know thou art Couragious; thou art Fool-hardy.

M. Tho'

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584

M. Tho' I fear not you, I fear the Lord.

Recorder of London. Is he learned?

B. He hath an arrogant Spirit; he can scarce construe *Cato*, I think.

M. Sir, You do not punish me because I am unlearned; howbeit I understand both the *Greek* and *Latin Tongues*; assay me to prove your Disgrace.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a Preacher, but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very Ass, an Ideot, and a Fool.

M. I humbly beseech you, Sir, have Patience; give this People better Example; I am that I am through the Lord; I submit the Trial of my Sufficiency to the Judgment of the Learned; but this wandring Speech is not logical.

Part of a
Register,
p. 382.
Peirce's
 vindic.
 p. 97.

There is a great deal more of the same Language in this Examination; one Thing is remarkable, that he insults poor *Merbury*, because he was for having a Minister in every Parish. At parting he gave him the Salutation of an *Overtbwart*, proud, Puritan *Knave*; and sent him to the *Marshalsea*, though he had been twice in Prison before.

Remarks: How different was this from the Apostolical Character of a Bishop; *A Bishop* (saith St. Paul) *should be blameless, of good Behaviour, no Brawler, nor Striker, nor greedy of filthy Lucre.* —— *The Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all Men, patient, in Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, that they may recover them out of the Snare of the Devil.* Nay, how different was this Bishop from himself before he put on *Lawn Sleeves!* For in this Book, entitled the *Harbour for faithful Subjects*, published soon after the Queen's Accession, are these Words.

“ Come off ye Bishops, away with your Super-
 “ fluities, yield up your Thousands; be content
 “ with Hundreds, as they be in other reformed
 “ Churches where be as great learned Men as you
 “ are. Let your Portion be Priest-like and not
 “ Prince-like; let the Queen have the rest of your

“ Tem-

“ Temporalities and other Lands, to maintain these Queen Elizabeth,
 “ Wars which you procured, and your Mistress left 1584.
 “ her; and with the rest to build and found Schools
 “ throughout the Realm; That every Parish may have
 “ his Preacher, every City his Superintendent, to live
 “ honestly and not pompously, which will never be,
 “ unless your Lands be dispersed and bestowed upon
 “ many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one;
 “ remember that *Abimelech*, when *David* in his Ba-
 “ nishment would have dined with him, kept such
 “ Hospitality that he had no Bread in his House to
 “ give him but the *Shew-Bread*. Where was all his
 “ Superfluity to keep your pretended Hospitality?
 “ For that is the Cause you pretend why you must
 “ have Thousands, as though you were commanded
 “ to keep Hospitality rather with a Thousand than
 “ with a Hundred. I would our Countryman *Wick-L. of AyL*
 “ *Vff's Book de Ecclesia* were in print, there should p. 269.
 “ you see that your Wrinches and Cavillations be
 “ nothing worth.” When the Bishop was put in
 mind of this Passage, he made no other Reply
 than that of *St. Paul*, *When I was a Child I spake as a
 Child, I thought as a Child.*

The Case of those Clergymen who were sent for up *Hardships* to Lambeth from the remotest Parts of the Kingdom of the was yet harder. Mr. *Elliston* Vicar of Preston, made *Country Clergy*. seven Journies to Peterborough, which was 36 Miles from his House, and ten to London, within the Compass of two Years, besides several to Leicester and Northampton at his own Cost and Charge; and after all, was deprived for not subscribing. To whom might be added, Mr. *Stephen Turner*, Mr. *William Fleming* of Beccles, Mr. *Holden* of Biddlestone, and others.

Among these, the Case of the Reverend Mr. *Eusebius Paget*, Minister of the Parish Church of *Sufferings*, Kilkhampton, in the Diocese of Exon, was very moving; M. S. this Divine, at the Time of his *Presentation*, acquainted his Patron and Ordinary, that he could not with Quietness of Conscience use some Rites, Ceremo- P. 582. nies,

Queen Elizabeth. 1584. nies, and Orders appointed in the *Service Book*; who promised, that if he would take the Charge of the said Cure, he should not be urged to the precise Observation of them; upon which Condition he accepted the Charge, and was admitted and regularly inducted. Mr. *Paget* was a lame Man, but in the Opinion of Mr. *Strype* a learned, peaceable, and quiet Divine, who had complied with the Customs and Devotions of the Church, and was indefatigable in his Work, travelling up and down the neighbouring Country to preach the plain Principles of Religion; but Mr. *Farmer*, Curate of *Barnstaple*, envying his Popularity, complain'd of him to the *High Commission*, (1.) Because he did not mention in his Prayers the Queen's Supremacy over both Estates. (2.) Because he had said that the Sacraments were but dumb Elements, and did not avail without the Word preached. (3.) Because he had preached that Christ did not descend into Hell both Body and Soul. (4.) That the Pope might set up the Feast of *Jubilee* as well as the Feasts of *Easter* and *Pentecost*. (5.) That Holy Days and Fasting Days were but the Traditions of Men, which we were not obliged to follow. (6.) That he disallowed the Use of Organs in Divine Service. (7.) That he called Ministers that don't preach dumb Dogs; and those that have two Benefices Knaves. (8.) That he preached that the late Queen *Mary* was a detestable Woman and a wicked Jezebel.

*Articles
against
E.M.*

But when Mr. *Paget* appeared before the Commissioners, Jan. 11th. 1584. he was only articled according to the common Form, for not observing the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. To which he made the following Answer:

*And his
Answer.
M. S.
p. 570.*

I. " I Do acknowledge, that by the Statute of the 1st of *Eliz.* I am bound to use the said *Common Prayer Book* in such Manner and Form as is
" pre-

" prescribed, or else to abide such Pains as by the Law is imposed upon me.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

2. " I have not refused to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments in such Order as the Book appoints, though I have not used all the Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders set forth in the said Book, (1.) Partly because to my Knowledge there is no Common Prayer Book in the Church. (2.) Because I am informed that You before whom I stand, and mine Ordinary, and the most part of the other Bishops and Ministers, do use greater Liberty in omitting and altering the said Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders. (3.) And especially for that I am not fully resolved in Conscience, I may use diverse of them. (4.) Because when I took the Charge of that Church I was promised by my Ordinary, that I should not be urged to such Ceremonies; which I am informed he might do by Law.

3. " In these Things which I have omitted I have done nothing obstinately; neither have I used any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or Manner of Administration of the Sacraments, or open Prayers, than is mentioned in the said Book; although there be some Things which I doubt whether I may use or practise.

" Wherefore I humbly pray, that I may have the Liberty allowed by the said Book, to have in some convenient Time a favourable Conference either with mine Ordinary, or with some other by you to be assigned; which I seek not for any desire I have to keep the said Living, but only for the better Resolution and Satisfaction of my own Conscience, as God knoweth." Subscribed thus—By me

Lame Eusebius Paget, Minister.

This Answer not proving satisfactory he was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach after his

Queen Elizabeth, his Suspension he was deprived; the principal Causes of his Deprivation were these two;

1584.

1. Omission of part of the publick Prayers; the Cross Causes of in Baptism, and the Surplice.

his Deprivation ar- 2. Irregularities incur'd by dealing in the Ministry after Suspension.

gued.

M. S.

P. 572.

But in the Opinion of the Civilians neither of these Things could warrant the Proceedings of the Court, (1.) Because Mr. Paget had not Time, nor a Conference, as he craved, and as the Statute in doubtful Matters warranteth. (2.) Because he had not three several Admonitions, nor so much as one to do that in Time, which the Law requires. If this had been done, and upon such Respite and Admonition he had not conformed, then the Law would have took him for a Recusant, but not otherwise. (3.) If this Course had been taken, yet Mr. Paget's Omissions had so many favourable Circumstances (as the Parish's not having provided a Book, and his Ordinary's promising not to urge him with the precise Observance of all the Ceremonies (that it was hardly consistent with the advised Consideration and Charity of a Judge to deprive him at once.

As to his Irregularity, by dealing in the Ministry after Suspension, the Suspension was thought to be void, because it is founded upon a Method not within the Cognisance of those that gave Sentence; for the Ground is refusing to subscribe to Articles tender'd by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had no Warrant to offer any such Articles at all; for their Authority reaches no further than to reform and correct Facts done contrary to certain Statutes express'd in their Commission, and contrary to other Ecclesiastical Laws; but there was never yet any Clause in their Commission to offer Subscription to Articles of their own Devising. But suppose the Suspension was good, the Irregularity was taken away by the Queen's Pardon long before his Deprivation. Besides. Mr. Paget did not deal in the Ministry after his Suspension, till he had obtained from

from the Archbishop of Canterbury a Release from that Suspension, which if it was not sufficient, it was apprehended by him to be so, the Archbishop being chief in the Commission; and all the *Cananists* allow, that Simplicity, and ignorant mistaking of Things, being void of wilful Contempt, is a lawful Excuse to discharge Irregularity. But the Commissioners avowed their own Act, and the Patron disposed of the Living to another.

Mr. *Paget* having a numerous Family set up a little School, but the Arms of the Commissioners reached him there; for being required to take out a Licence, they tender'd him the *Articles* to subscribe, which he refusing, they shut up his School and sent him a begging. Let us hear his own Relation of his Case in a Letter that he sent to that great Sea Captain Sir *John Hawkins*, who had a great Esteem for this good Man.

“ I was never present at any separate Assembly from L of Whit-
“ the Church (says he) but abhorred them. I al-gift, p. 377.
“ ways resorted to my Parish Church, and was pre-
“ sent at Service and Preaching; and received the
“ Sacrament accord'ng to the Book. I thought it my
“ Duty not to forsake a Church because of some Ble-
“ mishes in it; but while I have endeavoured to live
“ in Peace others have prepared themselves for War.
“ I am turn'd out of my Living by Commandment.
“ I afterwards preached without Living or a Penny
“ Stipend; and when I was forbid I ceased. I then
“ taught a few Children, to get a little Bread for my
“ self and mine to eat; some disliked this, and wished
“ me to forbear, which I have done, and am now to
“ go as an idle Rogue and Vagabond from Door to
“ Door to beg my Bread, though I am able in a
“ lawful Calling to get it.” Thus this learned and
useful Divine was laid aside till the Death of *Whitgift*,
after which he was instituted to the Living of *St. Anne*,
alias *Agnes*, within *Aldergate*.

The Reverend Mr. *Walter Travers*, B. D. some-
time Fellow of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, already
vers' s
men-

Queen Elizabeth, mentioned, came into Trouble this Year. He had been ordained at *Antwerp*, and being an admired Preacher, a fine Gentleman, and of great Learning, he became domestick Chaplain to Secretary *Cecil*, and Lecturer at the Temple. Dr. *Alvey* the Master dying about this Time, *Travers* was recommended to succeed him by the Doctor on his Death-Bed, and by the *Benchers* of the House, in a Petition to the Treasurer on his behalf; but the Archbishop interposed, and declared peremptorily, that unless he would be re-ordained according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, and would subscribe to his Articles, he would not admit him.. Upon which he was set aside, and Mr. *Hooker* was prefer'd. *Travers* continued Lecturer about two Years longer, and was then deprived of his Lectureship and deposed from the Ministry. The Treasurer and other of *Travers's* Friends, advised him for Peace sake to be re-ordained; but he replied in a Letter to his Lordship, that this would be to invalidate his former Orders; and not only so, but as far as in him lies, to invalidate the Ordinations of all the foreign Churches. "As for my self (says he) I had a sufficient title to the Ministerial Office, having been ordained according to God's holy Word, with Prayers and Imposition of Hands, and according to the Order of a Church of the same Faith and Profession with the Church of *England*, as appears by my Testimonials." He prayed his Lordship to consider further, whether his subscribing the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Profession of the true Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, as agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562. which most willingly, and with all his Heart he assented to according to the Statute, did not qualify him for a Minister in the Church, as much as if he had been ordained according to the English Form. But the Archbishop was determined to have a strict Eye upon the Sons of Court, and to bring them to the publick Standard; and the rather, because some of them pretended to be

be exempt from his Jurisdiction ; for though in all other Places the Sacrament was received in the Posture of Kneeling, the Templers received it to this very Time sitting. Travers would have introduced the Posture of Standing at the Side of the Table, but the Benchers insisted upon their Privilege, and would receive it in no other Posture but Sitting. The Archbishop, in order to put an End to this Practice; would admit none but an *High Conformist*, that they might be obliged to receive it *Kneeling*, or not at all.

The harder the Church pressed upon the Puritans, *Book of Discipline*: the more were they disaffected to the National Establishment, and the more resolute in their Attempts for a *Reformation of Discipline*. There was a Book in high Esteem among them at this Time, entitled, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei verbo descripta*; that is, *The Holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God*. It was drawn up in Latin by Mr. Travers, and printed at Geneva, about the Year 1574. but since that Time had been diligently reviewed, corrected; and perfected by Mr. Cartwright, and other learned Ministers at their Synods. It was translated into English this Year, with a Preface by Mr. Cartwright, and design'd to be published for more general Use; but as it was printing at Cambridge it was seized at the Press: The Archbishop advised that all the Copies should be burnt as factious and seditious, but one was found in Mr. Cartwright's Study after his Death, and reprinted in the Year 1644. under this new Title, *A Directory of Government anciently contended for, and as far as the Time would suffer, practised by the first Non-Conformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth; found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Tho. Cartwright, after his Decease, and reserved to be published for such a Time as this. Published by Authority*. It contains the Substance of those Alterations in Discipline, that the Puritans of these Times contended for, and was subscribed by the Brethren hereafter named,

Queen Elizabeth, ^{1584.} agreeable to the Word of God, and to be promoted by all lawful Means, that it may be established by the Authority of the Magistrate and of the Church; and in the mean Time to be observed, as far as lawfully they may, consistently with the Laws of the Land and Peace of the Church. I have therefore given it a Place in the Appendix, and desire the Reader to turn to it.

Appendix, N^o. II.

The Abstract.

*Strype's
An. p. 233,
283.*

Another Treatise, writ and dispersed privately about this Time, against the Discipline of the Church, was entitled, *An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament, and of certain of her Majesty's Injunctions and Canons, &c.* printed by H. Denham, 1584. The Author's Design was to shew, That the Bishops in their Ecclesiastical Courts had exceeded their Power, and broke through the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; which was so notorious, that the Answerer, instead of confuting the Abstract, blames him for exposing their Father's Nakedness, to the thrusting through of Religion by the Sides of the Bishops. But who was in fault? Shall the Liberties and Properties of Mankind be under an arbitrary Direction, and the poor Sufferers not be allowed to hold up the Laws and Statutes of the Land to their Oppressors, because of their great Names or religious Characters?

*Puritans
apply to the
Parliament.*

p. 173.

*Life of
Whitgift,
p. 167,
177.*

The Affairs of the Church were in this Ferment when the Parliament met Nov. 23. in which the Puritans, despairing of all other Relief, resolved to make their utmost Efforts for a further Reformation of Church Discipline. Fuller says, their Agents were soliciting at the Door of the House of Commons all Day, and making Interest in the Evening at the Chambers of Parliament Men; and if the Queen would have taken the Advice of her two Houses they had been made easy. December 14th three Petitions were offered to the House; one touching Liberty for godly Preachers; a second to exercise and continue their Ministry; and a third for a speedy Supply of able Men for destitute Places. The first was brought in by

by Sir Thomas Lucy ; the second by Sir Edward Dy-mock ; and the third by Mr. Gates. Soon after this Dr. Turner stood up, and put the House in Remem-brance of a Bill and Book which he had heretofore offered to the House ; the Bill was entitled, *An Bill Act concerning the Subscription of Ministers, and pro-*^{brought in;} proposes, “ That no other Subscription but what is en-^{M. S.} joined by the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, be required ^{p. 466.} “ of any Minister or Preacher in the Church of Eng-“ land ; and that the refusing to subscribe any other “ Articles, shall not be any Cause for the Arch-“ bishops or Bishops, or any other Persons having “ Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to refuse any of the “ said Ministers to any Ecclesiastical Office, Fun-“ ction or Dignity ; but that the said Archbishops, “ Bishops, &c. shall institute, induct, admit and “ invest, or cause to be instituted, &c. such Per-“ sons as shall be presented by the lawful Patrons, “ notwithstanding their refusal to subscribe any other “ Articles not set down in the Statute 13 Eliz. And “ that no Minister for the future shall be suspended, “ deprived, or otherwise molested in Body or Goods, “ by virtue of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, but “ only in the Cases of obstinately and wilfully de-“ fending any Heresies, condemned by the express “ Word of God, or for their dissolute Lives, which “ shall be proved by two credible Witnesses, or by “ their own voluntary Confession.” The Book consisted of 34 Articles of Complaint, but by Ad-vice of the House it was reduced by the Ministers into a Petition consisting of 16 Articles, which he desired might be imparted to the House of Lords, and they be requested to join with the Commons in exhibiting them by way of humble Suit to the Queen. The five first were against insufficient Mi-nisters ; then followed,

6. That all Pastors to be admitted to Cures might be tried and allowed by the Parishes.

Their Proposals for Reformation.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.
M. S.

p. 466.
Fuller,
B. IX.
p. 190.

7. That no Oath or Subscription might be tendered to any at their Entrance into the Ministry, but such as is expressly prescrib'd by the Statutes of this Realm, except the Oath against corrupt entring.

8. That Ministers may not be troubled for Omis-
sion of some Rites or Portions prescrib'd in the Book
of *Common Prayer*.

9. That they may not be called and urged to an-
swer before the *Officials* and *Commissaries*, but before
the Bishops themselves.

10. That such as had been suspended or deprived
for no other Offence, but only for not *subscribing*,
might be restored.

11. That the Bishops would forbear their Excom-
munication *ex officio merito* of godly and learned
Preachers, not detected for open Offence of Life, or
apparent Error in Doctrine; and that they might
not be called before the High Commission, or out of
the Diocese where they lived, except for some notable
Offence.

12. That it might be permitted to them in every
Archdeaconry, to have some common *Exercises* and
Conferences among themselves, to be limited and pre-
scribed by the *Ordinaries*.

13. That the high Censure of *Excommunication*
may not be denounced or executed for small Mat-
ters.

14. Nor by Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries or
Officials, but by the Bishops themselves, with the
Assistance of grave Persons.

15, 16. That *Non-Residency* and *Pluralities* may
be quite removed out of the Church, or at least that
according to the Queen's Injunctions (*Article 44.*)
no Non-Resident having already a Licence or Facul-
ty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate,
that may weekly preach and catechize, as is required
in her Majesty's Injunctions.

This Bill and Petition was attended with a mo-
ving Supplication to the Queen and Parliament, in
the

the Name of Thousands of the poor untaught People Queen of England, drawn up by Mr. Sampson, in which they Elizabeth, complain, that in many of their Congregations they 1584. had none to break the Bread of Life, nor the comfortable Preaching of God's holy Word: That the Bi-Strype's shops in their Ordinations had no regard to such as Amals, were qualified to preach, provided they could but p. 223. read, and did but conform to the Ceremonies: That they deprived such as were capable of Preaching on the account of Ceremonies that do not edify, but are rather unprofitable Burdens to the Church; and that they molest the People that go from their own Parish Churches to seek the Bread of Life, when they have no Preaching at home. They complain, that there are Thousands of Parishes destitute of the necessary Means of Salvation, and therefore pray the Queen and Parliament to provide a Remedy.

In answer to the Petition last mentioned the Bishop Answer of of Winchester, in the Name of his Brethren, drew up the Bishop. the following Reply.

The five first Petitions tend to one Thing, that is the Reformation of an unlearned and insufficient Ministry; to which we answer, that though there are many such in the Church, yet that there was never less Reason to complain of them than at present, and that Things were mending every Day.

To the 6th Article they answered, That it favour'd of popular Elections long since abrogated; that it would breed Divisions in Parishes, and prejudice the Patron's Right.

To the 7th Article and the four following they L. of Whit- reply, That if they are granted the whole Hierarchy gift, p. 183 will be unbraced; for the 7th Article shakes the Ground of all Ecclesiastical Government, as subverting the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Bishop in omnibus licitis & honestis. The 8th Article requires a Dispensation from the civil Magistrate, to the subverting the Act for Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. and Confirmation of the Rites and Ceremo-

Queen Elizabeth, 1584. nies of the Church. The 9th desires a Dispensation from the Jurisdiction of our Ecclesiastical Courts, as Chancellors, Officials, &c. which will in the end suovert all Episcopal Authority. To the 10th they say, That the Ministers that have been suspended are heady, rash and contentious; and 'tis a perilous Example, to have Sentences revoked that have been given according to Law, except they would yield. The 11th Petition cutteth off another considerable Branch of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, viz. the Oath *ex officio*, which is very necessary in some Cases, where the Parishioners are so perverse, that though the Minister varies the Service of the Church as by Law appointed, they will not complain, much less be Witnesses against him.

The Exercises mentioned in the 12th Article are by the Queen's Majesty suppressed.

To the 13th and 14th they answer, That they are willing to petition the Queen, that the Sentence of Excommunication may be pronounced by the Bishop, with such Assistance as he shall call in, or by some Ecclesiastical Person commission'd by him.

Life of Whitgift, p. 193. To the 15th and 16th Articles they answer, That the small Value of many Ecclesiastical Livings, made Pluralities and Non-Residencies in a manner necessary.

Bill against Pluralities. The Debates upon this last Head running very high, a Bill was ordered to be brought in immediately against Pluralities and Non-Residencies, and for Appeals out of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It was said in favour of the Bill, that Non-Residencies and Pluralities were *malum in se*, Evil in their own Nature; that they answered no valuable Purpose, but hindered the Industry of the Clergy, and were a Means to keep the Country in Ignorance, at a Time when there was but 3000 Preachers to supply 9000 Parishes. The Archbishop drew up his Reasons against the Bill, and prevailed with the Convocation to present them in an Addres to the Queen, wherein they

The Convocation flies to the Queen.

stile themselves her Majesty's poor distressed Supplicants, now in danger from the Bill depending in the House of Commons against *Pluralities* and *Non-Residencies*; which (say they) impeacheth your Majesty's Prerogative; lessenneth the Revenues of the Crown; overthrows the Study of Divinity in both Universities; will deprive Men of the Livings they lawfully possess; will beggar the Clergy; will bring in a base and unlearned Ministry; lessen the Hospitality of Cathedrals; be an Encouragement to Students to go over to foreign Seminaries, where they may be better provided for; and in a Word, will make way for Anarchy and Confusion."

And to give some Satisfaction to the Publick they *Bishops* presented six Articles to the Queen, as the Sum of *Proposals*. all that needed Amendment. The first was, that *L. of Whit-*
none should be admitted into Holy Orders under *24 gift, p. 209.* Years of Age; that they should have Presentation to a Cure; that they should bring Testimonials of their good Life; and that the Bishop might refuse whom he thought fit, without the Danger of a *Quare impedit*. The second was, to restrain the Commutation of Penance, except upon great Consideration, of which the Bishop to be Judge. The third was to restrain Licences to marry without *Banes*. The fourth to moderate some Excesses about Excommunication. The fifth for restraining Pluralities of Benefices. The sixth concerning Fees to Ecclesiastical Officers and their Servants. But even these Articles lay by till the Year 1597. when they were confirmed in Convocation, and afterwards incorporated among the Canons.

In the mean Time, the Bill against Pluralities passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the *Lords*, where the *Archbishop of Canterbury* and *York*, and *Bishop of Winchester* made long Speeches, shewing, That neither the Cathedrals, nor Professors in the Universities could subsist without them. To prove this,

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Elizabeth.
1584.

they produced a List of the small Value of many Ecclesiastical Livings, according to the Queen's Books, To which it was replied, That there were many suspended Preachers would be glad of the smalleſt of those Livings, if they might have them without Moleſtation; however, that it were more proper to go upon Ways and Means for the Augmentation of ſmaller Livings, than to ſuffer the poor People to perish for lack of Knowledge, while the Incumbents were indulged in Idleness and Sloth; but the Weight of the Bench of Bishops, with the Court Interest, threw out the Bill.

*Other Bills
for Rejor-
mation
brought in.*

This exasperated the Commons to that Degree, that after the Holidays they resumed the Debate of the *Bill of Petitions*, and ordered several other Bills to be brought in to clip the Wings of the Bishops, and lessen the Power of the Spiritual Courts. One was for swearing Bishops in the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, that they ſhould act nothing againſt the Common Law of the Land. Another to reduce their Fees. A third for Liberty to marry at all Times of the Year. A fourth for the Qualification of Ministers. And a fifth for Restoring of Discipline. The Act for qualifying Ministers annuls all popiſh Ordinations; and disqualifies ſuch as were not capable of Preaching, as well as thoſe that were convicted of Profaneness, or any kind of Immorality; but obliges the Successor to allow the deprived Minister a ſufficient Maintenance at the Discretion of the Justices of the Quarter Sessions; and if the Living be not ſufficient 'tis to be done by a Parish Rate. It insists upon a careful Examination and Trial of the Qualifications of Candidates for the Ministry by the Bishop, assisted by 12 of the Laity; and makes the Election, or Consent of the People, neceſſary to his Induction to the Pastoral Charge. The Bill for Discipline is for abolishing the Canon Law and all the Spiritual Courts; and for bringing the Probates of Testaments, and all Civil Business into the Courts

of Westminster Hall ; it appoints a Presbytery or Eldership in each Parish, which together with the Minister, shall determine the Spiritual Business of the Parish, with an Appeal to higher Judicatories in cases of Complaint.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

Mr. Strype says, the Bill for the Qualification of Ministers past the Commons, which put the Archbishop into such a Fright, that the very next Day he writ the following Letter to the Queen.

May it please your Majesty to be advertised,

" **T**HAT notwithstanding the Charge of late given by your Highness to the lower House of Parliament, for dealing in Causes of the Church ; albeit also, according to your Majesty's good liking, we have sent down Order for the admitting of meet Men in the Ministry hereafter ; yet have they pass'd a Bill in that House yesterday touching that Matter ; which beside other Inconveniencies (as namely the Trial of the Ministers Sufficiency by 12 Laymen, and such like) hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what Necessity soever shall urge thereunto : Which I am perswaded in a short Time will appear, considering the Multitudes of Livings, not fit for Men so qualified, by reason of the Smallness thereof ; whereas if it is but as a Canon from us by your Majesty's Authority, it may be observ'd or alter'd at Pleasure.

" They have also pass'd a Bill, giving Liberty to marry at all Times of the Year without restraint, contrary to the old Canons continually observed among us ; and containing Matter which tendeth to the Slander of this Church, AS HAVING HITHERTO MAINTAIN'D AN ERROR.

" There is likewise now in hand in the same House, a Bill concerning Ecclesiastical Courts, and Visitation by Bishops ; which may reach to " the

Queen Elizabeth, " the Overthrow of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and
1584. " Study of the Civil Laws. The Pretence of the
 " Bill is against excessive Fees and Exactions in Ec-
 " clesiastical Courts ; which Fees are none other
 " than have been of long Time accustom'd to be
 " taken ; the Law already establish'd providing a
 " sharp and severe Punishment for such as shall ex-
 " act the same ; besides an Order also which we
 " have at this Time for the better Performance
 " thereof.

" I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty,
 " to continue your gracious Goodnets towards us,
 " who with all Humility submit our selves to your
 " Highness, and cease not daily to pray for your
 " happy State, and long and prosperous Reign over
 " us. From Lambeth, the 24th of March, 1584.

Your Majesty's Chaplain,
and daily Orator most bound,

JO. CANTUAR.

*Her Ma-
jesty puts a
Stop to
them.* The Queen was pleased with the Archbishop's Advice of making Alterations by *Canon* and not by *Statute*, that she might reserve the Power in her own Hands ; and immediately sent a Message to the Commons by the Lord Treasurer, to reprimand them " for encroaching upon her Supremacy, and for at-
 " tempting what she had forbidden, with which she
 " was highly offended ; and to command the Speaker
 " in her Majesty's Name, to see that no Bills touch-
 " ing Reformation in Causes Ecclesiastical should be
 " exhibited ; and if any such were exhibited, she
 " commands him upon his Allegiance not to read
Remarks. " them." The Commons now saw their Mistake, in vesting the whole Power of reforming the Policy of the Church in the single Person of the Queen, who knew how to act the Sovereign, and display her Prerogative as well as her Father. If it had been re-
 served

served to the whole Legislature, Queen, Lords and Commons, with Advice of the representative Body of the Clergy, it had been more equitable ; but now if the whole Nation were dissatisfied, not an insignificant Rite or Ceremony must be changed, nor a Bill be brought into either House of Parliament for that purpose : No Lay-Person in the Kingdom must meddle with Religion but the Queen ; the Hands of Lords and Commons are tied up, her Majesty is absolute, and no Motion for Reformation must arise from any but her self.

The Archbishop's Reasons against the Bill for Marrying at any Time of the Year are very extraordinary ; 'tis contrary (says his Grace) to the old Canons. But many of these are contrary to the Canon of Scripture ; and this in particular seems a little to resemble the Character which the Apostle gives of an Apostate from the Faith, 1 Tim. iv. 3. *Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats.* He adds, *It tendeth to the Slander of the Church, AS HAVING HITHERTO MAINTAINED AN ERROR.* Is it then a Slander to the Church of England, or to any Protestant Church, to say she is *Fallible* and may have maintained an Error ? Have not *Fathers and Councils* erred ? Nay, in the very Church of Rome, which alone lays Claim to INFALLIBILITY, have we not read of one Pope and Council reversing the Decrees of another ? The 21st Article of the Church of England says, that *General Councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in Things pertaining to God.* And if a general Council may err, even in Things of Importance to Salvation, surely it can be no Slander to say a Convocation, a Parliament, or a single Person may mistake in commanding to abstain from Meats, and forbidding to marry at certain Times of the Year.

While the Puritans were attending the Parliament, they did not neglect the Convocation : A Petition was presented to them in the Name of the Ministers that

Puritans apply to
Convoca-
tion.

refused

Queen Elizabeth, wherein they desire to be satisfied in their Scruples, which the Law admits, but had not hitherto been attempted. The Convocation rejecting their Petition, the Ministers printed their *Apology to the Church, and humble Suit to the High Court of Parliament*, in which they mention several Things in the publick Service as repugnant to the Word of God, as, Requiring Faith in an Infant to be baptized; Confounding Baptism and Regeneration; Adding to the pure and perfect Institutions of Christ the Cross in Baptism and the Ring in Marriage; Advancing the Writings of the *Apocrypha* to a Level with *Holy Scripture* by reading them in the Church; with many others. They conclude with an earnest Supplication to their Superiors, to be continued in their Callings, considering their being set apart to the Ministry, and the Obligations they were under to God and their People; they protest they will do any Thing they can without Sin, and the rather, because they are apprehensive that the *Shepherds being stricken their Flocks will be scattered.*

And to the Archbisshop. The Puritans last Refort was to the Archbisshop, who had a prevailing Interest in the Queen; a Paper was therefore published, entitled, *Means how to settle a godly and charitable Quietness in the Church*; humbly addressed to the Archbisshop, and containing the following Proposals.

Their Proposals. 1. That it would please his Grace not to press such Subscription as had been of late required, seeing in the Parliament that established the Articles, the Subscription was misliked and put out.

2. That he would not oblige Men to accuse themselves by the Oath *ex Officio*, it being contrary to Law, and the Liberty of the Subject.

3. That those Ministers who have been of late suspended, may be restored, upon giving a Bond and Security not to preach against the Dignities of Archbisshops, Bishops, &c. nor to disturb the Order of

the Church, but to maintain it as far as they can ; and soberly to teach Jesus Christ crucified.

Queen Elizabeth,
1584

4. That Ministers may not be exposed to the malicious Prosecution of their Enemies, upon their Omission of any TITTLE in the *Service Book*.

5. That they may not be obliged to read the *Apocrypha*, seeing in the first Book printed in her Majesty's Reign the same was left out, and was afterwards inserted without Warrant of Law, and contrary to the Statute, which allows but three Alterations.

6. That the *Cross in Baptism* may not be enforced, seeing in King Edward's 2d Book there was a Note which left that, and some other Rites indifferent ; which Note ought to have been in the Queen's Book, it not being among the Alterations appointed by Statute.

7. They further desire, that in Baptism the *Godfathers* may answer in their own Names, and not in the Child's.

8. That Midwives and Women may not baptize.

9. That the Words upon Delivery of the *Ring* in Marriage may be left indifferent.

10. That his Grace would not urge the precise wearing of the *Gown, Cap, Tippet* and *Surplice*, but only that Ministers be obliged to wear Apparel meet and decent for their Callings.

11. That *Lecturers* that have not *Cure of Souls*, but are licensed to preach, behaving themselves well, be not enforced to minister the Sacraments, unless they be content so to do.

But the Archbishop would abate nothing, nor admit of the least Latitude from the National Establishment. He writ an Answer to the Proposals, in which he insists upon a full Conformity, telling the Petitioners, that it was none of his Business to alter the Ecclesiastical Laws, or dispense with them ; which was all they were to expect from him. What could wise

they are rejected.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1585.

wife and good Men do more in a peaceable way for the Liberty of their Consciences, or a further Reformation in the Church? They petition'd the Queen, applied to both Houses of Parliament, and addressed the Convocation and Bishops; they moved no Seditions nor Riots, but fasted and prayed for the Queen and Church as long as they were allowed; and when they could serve them no longer, they patiently submitted to Suspensions and Deprivations, Fines and Imprisonments, till it should please God, of his infinite Mercy, to open a Door for their further Usefulness.

1585.
State of
Popery.

Strype's
An. p. 249.

The Papists made their Advantages of these Divisions; a Plot was discovered this very Year against the Queen's Life, for which Lord Paget and others fled their Country; and one Parry was executed, who was to have killed her Majesty, as she was riding Abroad; to which (it is said) the Pope encouraged him, by granting him his Blessing, and a plenary Indulgence and Remission of all his Sins; assuring him that besides the Merit of the Action in Heaven, his Holiness would make himself his Debtor in the best Manner he could, and therefore exhorted him to put his *most holy and honourable Purposes* in Execution; this was written from Rome, Jan. 30, 1584. and signed by the Cardinal of Como. MARY Queen of Scots was big with Expectation of the Crown of England at this Time, from the Preparations of foreign popish Princes, who were determined to make the strongest Efforts to set her upon the Throne, and to restore the Catholick Religion in England; but they could not get ready before her Head was laid down upon the Block.

Proceed-
ings of
Parlia-
ment.

Ibid.

P. 293.

The Parliament that met again in November being sensible of the Importance of the Queen's Life, enter'd into a voluntary Association to revenge her Death, if that should happen by any Violence. They also made a severe Statute against Jesuits and Seminary Priests, or others that engaged in any Plots, by virtue

virtue of the Bull of Excommunication of Pope *Pius V.* and against any Subject of *England* that should go abroad for Education in any of the popish Seminaries. But none of these Things could move the Queen or Bishops to take any Steps towards uniting Protestants among themselves.

Queen Elizabeth, 1585.

But to put an effectual Stop to the Pens of the Church's Adversaries, his Grace applied to the Queen^{strained.} for a further Restraint of the Press, which he obtained *Life of Whitgift,* and published by *Authority of the Star-Chamber* (says Mr. Strype) June 23, 28 Eliz. It was framed by the ^{p. 223.} Archbishop's Head, who writ a Preface to it: The Decree was to this Purpose, " That there should be no Printing Presses in private Places, nor any where but in *London* and the two Universities. No new Presses were to be set up but by Licence from the Archbishop, and Bishop of *London* for the Time being; They to signify the same to the Wardens of the *Stationers Company*, who should present such as they chose to be Masters of Printing Presses before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for their Approbation. No Person to print any Book unless first allowed according to the Queen's Injunctions, and to be seen and perused by the Archbishop or Bishop of *London*, or their Chaplain. No Book to be printed against any of the Laws in being, nor any of the Queen's Injunctions. Persons that should sell or bind up such Books to suffer 3 Months Imprisonment. And it shall be lawful for the Wardens of the *Stationers Company* to make search after them, and seize them to her Majesty's Use; and the Printers shall be disabled from exercising their Trade for the future, and suffer 6 Months Imprisonment, and their Presses be broken." But notwithstanding this Edict, the Archbishop was far from enjoying a peaceable Triumph, for the Puritans found Ways and Means from Abroad to propagate their Writings, and expose the Severity of their Adversaries.

Some

Queen Elizabeth, 1585. Some faint Attempts were made this Summer for reviving the Exercises called *Propheſyings*, in the Diocese of *Cheſter*, where the Clergy were very ignorant: Bishop *Chadderton* drew up proper Regulations, in Imitation of those already mentioned; but the Design came to nothing. The Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* also published some Articles for his Visitation which favoured of Puritanism, as against Non-Residents, for making a more strict Enquiry into the Qualifications of Ministers, and for restraining unworthy Communicants. He also erected a kind of Judicatory, consisting of four learned Divines with himself, to examine such as should be presented for Ordination. When the Archbishop had read them over he called them the *Well-spring of a pernicious Plat-form*, and represented them to the Queen as contrary to Law, and to the settled State of the Church; the Bishop writ a Defence of his Articles to the Archbishop, shewing their Consistency with Law, and the great Advantage that might arise from them; but *Whitgift* would hear of nothing that look'd like a Puritannical Reformation.

Bill for the Observation of the Sabbath rejected by the Queen.

Strype's Ann. p. 341.

Ibid.
P. 295.

The Lord's Day [or Sunday] was now very much profaned, by the encouraging of Plays and Sports on the Evenings of those Days, and sometimes in the Afternoons. The Reverend Mr. *Smith*, M. A. in his Sermon before the University of *Cambridge*, the first Sunday in *Lent*, maintained the Unlawfulness of these Plays; for which he was summon'd before the Vice-Chancellor, and upon Examination offered to prove, that the Christian Sabbath ought to be observed by an Abstinence from all worldly Business, and spent in Works of Piety and Charity; though he did not apprehend we were bound to the Strictness of the Jewish Precepts. The Parliament had taken this Matter into Consideration, and passed a Bill for the better and more reverent Observation of the Sabbath, which the Speaker recommended to the Queen in an elegant Speech, but her Majesty refused to pass it, under pretence of

not suffering the Parliament to meddle with Matters of Religion, which was her Prerogative. However, the Thing appeared so reasonable, that without the Assistance of a Law, the religious Observation of the Sabbath grew into Esteem with all sober Persons, and after a few Years became the distinguishing Mark of a Puritan.

Queen Elizabeth,
1585.

This Summer Mr. Cartwright returned from Abroad, having spent 5 Years in preaching to the English Congregation at Antwerp; he had been sick of an Ague, which ended in an Hectick, for which the Physicians advised him to try his native Air. Upon this he writ to the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer for leave to come home; these Noblemen made an honourable mention of him in Parliament, but he could not obtain their Mediation with the Queen for his Pardon, so that as soon as it was known he was landed, though in a weak and languishing Condition, he was apprehended and cast into Prison; when he appeared before the Archbishop, he behaved with that Modesty and Respect as softned the Heart of his great Adversary, who upon Promise of his peaceable and quiet Behaviour, suffered him to go at large; for which the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Cartwright returned his Grace Thanks; but all the Interest they could make could not obtain a Licence to preach. "Mr. Cartwright (says the Archbishop to the Earl) shall be welcome to me at all Times, but to grant him a Licence to preach till I am better satisfied of his Conformity, is not consistent with my Duty or Conscience." However, the Earl made him Governor of an Hospital of Warwick, where he was confined at for a Time, and preached without a Licence; his Salary was an House, and 100*l.* *¶ Ann.* And settles at Warwick.

Mr. Fenner and Wood, two other suspended Ministers were released after 12 Months Imprisonment, upon a general Subscription to the Articles, as far as the Abi-

Queen Elizabeth, 1585. *the Law required,* and a Promise to use the Book of *Common Prayer,* and no other ; but such was the Clamour on all hands, by reason of the 3 Articles to be subscribed by all who had Livings already, as well as those that should hereafter take Orders, that Secretary *Walsingham* went over to *Lambeth*, and told his Grace, that it would stop in a great Measure the Complaints that were brought to Court, if he would require Subscription only of such as were hereafter to enter into Holy Orders, and suffer those that were already in Places to proceed in the Discharge of their Duty, upon Condition of their giving Bond to read the *Common Prayer* according to the Usages and Laws prescribing the same ; which the Archbishop promised to comply with.

Life of Whitgift, p. 222.

School-Masters restrained. But the *Non-subscribing Divines* that were out of Place might not so much as teach School for a Livelihood, for the Archbishop would grant no Licence without *subscribing* ; and from this Time his Licences to teach Grammar, and even Reading and Writing, were granted but from Year to Year : The School-Masters were to be full Conformists ; they were limited to a particular Diocese, and were not authorized to teach elsewhere ; they were to instruct their Scholars in nothing but what was agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm ; and all this only during the *Bishop's Pleasure*. Such was the Severity of these Times !

Ibid. p. 246.

Mr. Travers suspended. Mr. *Travers* had been Lecturer at the *Temple* with Mr. *Hooker* the new *Master* about two Years, but with very little Harmony or Agreement, one being a strict *Calvinist*, the other a Person of larger Principles ; the Sermon in the Morning was very often confuted in the Afternoon, and vindicated again the next *Lord's Day*. The Writer of *Hooker's Life* reports, that the Morning Sermon spoke the Language of *Canterbury*, and the Afternoon that of *Geneva*. *Hooker* complaining of this Usage, the Archbishop took the

Op-

Opportunity to suspend Mr. Travers at once, without any Warning ; for as he was going up into the Pulpit to preach on the *Lord's Day Afternoon* the Officer served him with a Prohibition upon the Pulpit Stairs ; upon which, instead of a Sermon, he acquainted the Congregation with his Suspension, and dismissed them. The Reasons given for it were, (1.) That he was not ordained according to the Rites of the Church of *England*. (2.) That he had broken the Orders of the 7th of the Queen, *That Disputes should not be brought into the Pulpit*.

Mr. Travers in answer drew up a Petition, or *Sup- His Suppli- cation to the Council*, in which he complains of being judged and condemned before he was heard ; and then goes on to answer the Objections alleged against him in the Prohibition.

First it is said, that *I am not lawfully called to exercise the Office of a Minister, nor allowed to preach, according to the Laws of the Church of England*.

To which I answer, That my Call was by such Methods as are appointed in the National Synods of the foreign reformed Churches ; Testimonials of which I have shewn to my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* ; so that if any Man be lawfully called to the Ministry in those Countries I am.

But *I am not qualified to be a Minister in England, because I am not ordained according to the Laws of this Country*.

I beseech your Lordships to weigh my Answer, (1.) Such is the Communion of Saints, as that what solemn Acts are done in one true Church of Christ, according to his Word, are held lawful in all others. (2.) The constituting or making of a Minister being once lawfully done ought not to be repeated. (3.) *Whitgift's Pastors and Teachers in the New Testament hold Life.* the same Manner of Calling as I had. (4.) The repeating Ordination makes void the former Ordination, and consequently all such Acts as were done by virtue of it, as *Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, &c.*

Queen Elizabeth, 1586. (5.) By the same Rule People ought to be rebaptized and married over again, when they come into this Country from a foreign.

Besides by the Statute 13 Elizabeth, those who have been ordained in foreign Protestant Churches, upon their subscribing the Articles therein mentioned, are qualified to enjoy any Benefice in the Kingdom, equally with them who are ordained according to the Laws now in being ; which comprehending all that are Priests according to the Order of the Church of Rome, must certainly be as favourable to Ministers ordained among foreign Protestants. In consequence of this Law many Scots Divines are now in Possession of Benefices in the Church, as was Mr. Whittingham, tho' he was the first that was called in Question in this case.

But it is said *I preached without Presentation or Licence.*

To which I answer, That the Place where I exercised my Ministry required no Presentation, nor had I a Title, or reaped any Benefit by Law, but only received a voluntary Contribution, and was employed in preaching only ; and as to a Licence, I was recommended to be a Minister of that Place by two several Letters of the Bishop of London to the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, without which Letters that Society would not have permitted me to officiate.

Secondly, *I am charged with Indiscretion, and Want of Duty to Mr. Hooker, Master of the Temple ; and with breaking the Order of the 7th of the Queen, about bringing Disputes into the Pulpit.*

As to *Want of Duty* I answer, Though some have suspected my want of good Will to Mr. Hooker, because he succeeded Dr. Alvey in the Place I desired to have my self ; this is a Mistake, for I declined the Place because I could not subscribe to my Lord of Canterbury's late Articles, which I would not do for the Mastership of the Temple, or any other Place in

the Church. I was glad the Place was given Mr. ^{Queen} Hooker, as well for the sake of old Acquaintance, as ^{Elizabeth,} some kind of Affinity that is between us, hoping we ^{1586.} should live peaceably and amicably together, as becomes Brethren ; but when I heard him preach against the Doctrine of *Affiance*, and for *Salvation in the Church of Rome, with all their Errors and Idolatry*, I thought my self obliged to oppose him ; but when I found it occasioned a Pulpit War I declared publickly that I would concern my self no further in that Manner, though Mr. Hooker went on with the Dispute.

But it is said, *I should then have complained of him to the High Commission.*

To which I answer, It was not out of Contempt or Neglect of lawful Authority, but because I was against all Methods of Severity, and had declared my Resolution to trouble the Pulpit with those Debates no more.

Upon the whole, I hope it will appear to your Lordships, that my Behaviour has not deserved so severe a Punishment as has been inflicted upon me ; and therefore I humbly pray, that your Lordships would please to restore me to my Ministry, by such Means as your *Wisdoms* shall think fit ; which will lay me under farther Obligations to pray for your temporal and eternal Happiness. But if your Lordships cannot procure me this Favour, I recommend my self to your Lordships Protection, under her Majesty, in a private Life, and the Church to Almighty God, who in Justice will punish the Wicked, and in Mercy reward the Righteous with an happy Immortality.

Mr. Hooker writ an Answer to Mr. Traver's ^{Mr.} Suppli-
cation, in a Letter to his Patron the Archbishop of ^{Hooker's} Canterbury, in which he takes no Notice of Travers's ^{Answer.} Ordination, but confines himself to his Objections against his Doctrine ; some of which he undertakes

Queen Elizabeth, 1586. to answer, and in other Places complains of Misrepresentations. But let all be granted that he would have (says Mr. Hooker) what will it advantage him? He ought to have complained to the *High Commissioners*, and not have confuted me in the Pulpit; for Schisms and Disturbances will arise in the Church, if all Men may be tolerated to think as they please, and publickly speak what they think. Therefore by a Decree agreed upon by the Bishops, and confirmed by her Majesty, it was ordered that if erroneous Doctrine should be taught publickly, it should not be publickly refuted, but complained of to such Persons as her Majesty should appoint to hear and determine such Causes; for Breach of which Order he is charged with want of Duty, and all the Faults he alleges against me can signify nothing in his own Defence. Mr. Hooker concludes with his unfeigned Desires, that both Mr. Travers's and his Papers may be burnt, and all Animosities buried in Oblivion, and that there may be no Strife among them but this, who shall pursue Peace, Unity and Piety with the greatest Vigor and Diligence.

*Mr. Travers silent
for Life.*

But the Council did nothing in the Affair, *Travers* was left to the Mercy of the Archbishop, who could never be prevail'd with to take off his Suspension, or license him to preach in any part of *England*; upon which he accepted an Invitation into *Ireland*, and became Provost of *Trinity College* in the University of *Dublin*; here he was Tutor to the famous Dr. *Usher*, afterwards Archbishop of *Armagh*, who always had him in high Esteem; but being driven from thence by the Wars, he returned after some Years into *England*, and spent the Remainder of his Days in Silence, Obscurity, and great Poverty; he was a learned Man, a polite Preacher, an admirable Orator, and one of the worthiest Divines of his Age. But all these Qualifications put together could not atone for the single Crime of Non-Conformity.

Mr.

Mr. Cartwright being forbid Preaching, had been encouraged by the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham to answer the *Rhemist Translation of the New Testament*, published with Annotations in favour of Popery ; divers Doctors and Heads of Houses of the University of Cambridge solicited him to the same Work, as appears by their Epistle printed before the Book ; the like Encouragement he received from sundry Ministers in London and Suffolk, none being thought so equal to the Task as himself ; and because Cartwright was poor, the Secretary of State sent him 100*l.* with Assurance of such further Assistance as should be necessary ; this was about the Year 1583 ; Cartwright accordingly applied himself to the Work, but the Archbishop by his sovereign Authority forbid him to proceed, being afraid that his Writings would do the Hierarchy more Damage than they would do Service to the Protestant Cause : The Book therefore was left unfinished, and not published till the Year 1618. to the great Regret of the learned World, and Reproach of the Archbishop.

The Sufferings of Mr. Gardiner, the deprived Minister of Malden in Essex, would have moved Compassion in any but the Bishop of London. I will give it the Reader in his own Words, as it was sent to him in form of a Supplication, dated Sept. 7th. 1586.

To the right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London.

My Duty in humble-wise remember'd, my Lord,
 " I AM cast into Prison by your Lordship, for a
 " Matter which about 7 Years past was slander-
 " ously raised up against me ; I was by Course of
 " Law cleared, and the Lord God which searcheth
 " the Hearts, before whom both you and I shall
 " shortly appear, doth know, and him I call to
 " witness, that I was, and am falsely accused. I have
 " been extremely sick in Prison ; I thank God I am

Queen Elizabeth, " amended, but yet so that the Physicians say my
 1586. " Infection from the Prison will be very dangerous.
 " I have a poor Wife and five Children which are in
 " lamentable Case : I had six Children at the begin-
 " ning of my Imprisonment ; but by Reason of my
 " Sickness in Prison, my Wife being constrained to
 " attend upon me, one of my Children for want
 " of somebody to oversee them, was drowned in a
 " Tub of Wort, being two Years and half old. If
 " your Lordship have no Compassion on me, yet
 " take Pity upon the Widow and Fatherless (for in
 " that State are now my Wife and p^r Infants)
 " whose Tears are before the Lord. I crave no more
 " but this, to be bailed ; and if I am found guilty of
 " any Breach of Law let me have Extremity with-
 " out any Favour."

Your Lordship's to command in Christ,

John Gardiner,

*And Mr.
Wiggin-
ton's.*

Mr. Giles Wigginton, M. A. Minister of Sedbrugh, having been deprived at Lambeth for Non-Conformity, and another put into his Living, went home and being denied Entrance into the Church, preached a kind of farewell Sermon to his Parishioners in the Church-yard, and administer'd the Sacrament, having no Peace in his Mind till he had done it, though his Brethren in the Ministry would have dissuaded him ; after this he retired with his Wife and Children to Burrough Briggs, but was arrested in his Journey by a Pursuivant from the Archbishop of York, and sent to Lancaster Gaol 50 Miles distant from the Place where he was arrested, in a hard and cold Winter ; there he was shut up among Felons and condemned Prisoners, and worse used than they, or than the Recusant Papists. From hence he sent up his Case to Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the Privy Coun-

Council, but with little Success ; for he was a warm Non-Conformist, and a bold Preacher against the lordly Proceedings of the Bishops, for which, and for refusing the Oath *ex Officio*, he suffered a long Imprisonment. He was afterwards apprehended again, upon Suspicion of his being one of the Authors of *Martin Mar Prelate*, which he denied, but confessed he did not dislike the Book, and was therefore confined in the Compter and the Gate-House, till (I believe) he consented to leave the Realm.

In the Parliament that met this Year, Octob. 29th. and 28 Eliz. the Puritan Ministers made another Effort for Parliamentary Relief, for which purpose they presented an humble Supplication to the House of Commons ; in which they say, " It pierces our Hearts with Grief to hear the Cries of the Country People for the Word of God. The Bishops either preach not at all, or very seldom ; neither can they for their manifold Business, their Dioceses being too large for their personal Inspection ; besides they are incumber'd with Civil Affairs, not only in their own Ecclesiastical Courts, in Causes Testamentary, &c. but as Lord Barons, Justices of Peace, Members of the Star-Chamber, Council Table, and Ecclesiastical Commission ; all which is contrary to the Words of Christ, who says, His Kingdom is not of this World ; and contrary to the Practice of all other reformed Churches. And whereas the Scriptures say, that Ministers of the Gospel should be such as are able to teach sound Doctrine and convince Gain-sayers, yet the Bishops have made Priests of the basest of the People, not only for their Occupations and Trades whence they have taken them, as Shoemakers, Barbers, Taylors, Water-Bearers, Shepherds, and Horse-Keepers ; but also for their want of good Learning and Honesty. How true this our Complaint is, may appear by the SURVEY

" of

Queen Elizabeth, " of some Shires and Counties hereunto annexed, even
 1586. " some of the best, whereby the rest may be esti-
 mated.

" We do acknowledge, that there are a Number
 " of Men within the Ministry, who have good and
 " acceptable Gifts, and are able to preach the
 " Word of God to Edification; of which Number
 " there are two Sorts: There are a great Number
 " that live not upon the Place where they are bene-
 ficed, but abandon their Flocks, directly contra-
 ry to the Charge of Christ to Peter, saying, *Feed*
 " *my Sheep;* and of the Apostle Paul to the Elders
 " at Ephesus, *Take heed to your selves, and the Flock*
 " *over which the Holy Ghost has made you Overseers,*
 " *to feed the Church of God.* Of this Sort are sun-
 dry Bishops, who have Benefices in Commendam;
 University Men, and Chaplains at Court; Others
 get 2 or 3 Benefices into their Hands, to serve
 them for Winter and Summer Houses; which Plu-
 ralities and Non-Residencies are the more grievous
 because they are tolerated by Law. There are
 indeed several that reside upon their Benefices,
 but content themselves with just satisfying the
 Law; that is, to have Divine Service read, and
 four Sermons a Year.

" But great Numbers of the best qualified for
 Preaching, and of the greatest Industry and Ap-
 plication to their Spiritual Functions, are not suf-
 fered quietly to discharge their Duties, but are
 followed with innumerable Vexations, notwith-
 standing they are neither Hereticks nor Schismaticks,
 but keep within the Pale of the Church, and per-
 suade others to do so, who would otherwise have
 departed from it. They fast and pray for the
 Queen and the Church, though they have been
 rebuked for it, and diversly punished by Officers
 both Civil and Ecclesiastical. They are suspended
 and deprived of their Ministry, and the Fruits of
 " their

" their Livings are sequester'd for the Payment of
" such a Chaplain as their Superiors think fit to em- ^{Queens} Elizabeth,
" ploy : This has continued for many Months and ^{1586.} 

" Years, notwithstanding the Intercession of their
" People, of their Friends, and sometimes of great
" Personages for their Release. *Last of all,* Many
" of them are committed to Prison, whereof some
" have been chained with Irons, and continued in
" hard Durance for a long Time.

" To bring about these Severities, they [the Bi-
" shops] tender to the suspected Persons an Oath *ex*
" *Officio*, to answer all Interrogatories that shall be
" put to them, though it be to accuse themselves ;
" and when they have gotten a Confession they pro-
" ceed upon it to punish them with all Rigor, con-
" trary to the Laws of God and of this Land, and
" of all Nations in Christendom, except it be in Spain
" by the *Inquisition*. Those that have refused the
" Oath have been cast into Prison, and commanded
" there to lie without Bail till they yield to it.

" The Grounds of these Troubles are, not *Im-*
" *piety, Immorality, Want of Learning or Diligence* in
" their Ministerial Work, but for not being satisfied
" in the Use of certain Ceremonies and Orders of
" the Church of *Rome*, and for not being able to
" declare, that *every Thing in the Common Prayer*
" Book is agreeable to the Word of God. Alas ! that
" for those Things good Preachers should be so mo-
" lested, and the People deprived of the Food of
" their Souls, and that by *Fathers* of the same Faith
" with our selves.

" We therefore most humbly, and for the Lord's M. S.
" sake, crave of this high and honourable Court of P. 672.
" Parliament, that it may please you to hear and
" read this our Supplication, and take such Order
" for it as to your godly Wisdom shall be thought
" necessary. Nov. 1586."

Queen Elizabeth, were these,

1586. *Grievances annexed.* (1.) The absolute Power of the Bishop to give and take away Licences to preach at his Pleasure.

(2.) The Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners according to their own Discretions, without regard to Law.

(3.) The small Number of Commissioners (*viz.*) THREE, who may decide the most weighty Causes.

(4.) The not allowing an Appeal to any other Court.

(5.) The double Character of the Bishops, who sit on the Bench both as *Bishops* and as *Commissioners*.

(6.) The Oath *ex Officio*, in which this is always one of their Interrogatories, *Do you wholly keep, observe, and read in your Church, all the Parts of the Book of Common Prayer; and wear the Habits?*

Survey of the State of Religion in several Counties.
M. S. p. 684, & seq.

The SURVEY mentioned in the Supplication, by which the miserable State of the Church for want of an able and sufficient Ministry appears, is too large to be inserted; it was taken in the Years 1585 and 1586, by some Persons employed for that Purpose against the Meeting of the Parliament; 'tis divided into eight Columns:

The first contains the Name of the Benefice.

The second the yearly Value.

The third the Number of Souls.

The fourth the Name of the Incumbent, and whether a Preacher or not.

The fifth what other Benefices he has, and what Curates do serve him.

The sixth his Character and Conversation.

The seventh who made him Minister. And,

The eighth the Patron of the Living; according to the following Plan.

The

The County of CORNWALL. Deanry of PENDOR, &c.

| Name of the Benefice. | Number of Yearly Value. | Name of the Incumbent, and whether a Preacher. | What Benefices he has more, & what Curates do serve them. | His Conversation. | Who ordained, or made him Minister. | The Patron. |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|---|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| V. Lan-Leverie. | 30 | Mr. Batten,
no Preacher. | No more. | He liveth as a Pot Companion. | Bp. Alley. | Walter Kendal. |
| V. Tre-wordeth. | 100 | Mr. Kendal,
no Preacher. | No more. | A simple Man. | Bp. Bradbridge. | Ld. Chancellor. |
| V. Efey. | 1. | J ^m . Bernard,
no Preacher. | No more. | A common Dicer, burnt in the Hand for Felony, & full of all Iniquity. | Bp. Bradbridge. | Canons of Exon. |
| R. de Breage. | 120 | Fitz Jeffery
a Preacher,
but Non-Resident. | He hath Buckenock, | Covetous; his Curate Rob. Doway, an ignorant Man. | Bp. Bradbridge. | The Queen. |

Upon casting up the SURVEY the State of the following Counties stands thus:

| <i>Churches
or Livings.</i> | <i>Preachers.
Preachers.</i> | <i>No Preachers
but Readers,</i> | <i>Double Beneficed
and Non-Residents.</i> |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| In Cornwall are about — | — | 29 | 25 |
| In Lincolnshire | 160 | 140 | 154 |
| In Oxfordshire | 590 | 455 | 20 |
| In Birmingham, Parsonages, Vicarages, and Curates serving — | 127 | 95 | 160 |
| In Berkshire | 210 | 120 | 51 |
| In Surrey | — | 29 | of which 43 |
| In sixteen of the Hundreds of Essex | 140 | 24 | 8 |
| In Warwickshire | — | 125 | 71 |
| In Middlesex about — | — | 173 | 27 |
| In London, within and without the Walls, about | — | 41 | 16 |
| | — | 14 | 41 |
| | — | 60 | 48 |
| | — | 97 | 46 |
| | — | 123 | |

It must be uncommon Diligence and Application, ^{Queen Elizabeth,} as well as a very great Expence, to collect so many Names and Characters of Men; the exact Valuation ^{1586.} of so many *Livings*; the Number of *Non-Resident Ministers*, ^{Remarks.} of such as had been *Mas-Priests*; and of *Mechanicks* and *Tradefsmen*: But such was the Zeal of these pious Men! The Survey of *Lincolnshire* was signed by the Justices of the Peace of that County, and the others are attested by some of the principal Clergymen of those Parts; and are so particular in all Circumstances, as leave little room to doubt of their Truth in general, though there may be some few Mistakes in Characters and Numbers. Upon the whole the SURVEY takes Notice, that after 28 ^{M. S.} Years Establishment of the Church of *England*, there ^{p. 206.} were but 2000 Preachers to serve near 10000 Parish Churches, so that there were almost 8000 Parishes without preaching Ministers. To this Account ^{Answer 20} agrees that of Mr. Fanner who lived in these Times, ^{Dr. Brid-} and says, that a third Part of the Ministers of *England* ^{ges, p. 48.} were covered with a Cloud of Suspensions; that if Persons would hear a Sermon they must go in some Places, 5, 7, 12, yea in some Counties 20 Miles, and at the same Time be fined 12 d. a Sabbath for being absent from their own Parish Church, tho' it be proved they were hearing a Sermon elsewhere, because they had none at home. Nor is it at all strange it should be thus in the Country, when the Bishop of *London* enjoined his Clergy in his Visitation this very Year, 1. That every Parson should have a Bible in *L. of Ayl.* Latin and *Englisb.* 2. That they should have *Bullin-p. 128.* ger's *Decads.* 3. That they should have a Paper-Book, and write in it the Quantity of a Sermon every Week. 4. That such as could not preach themselves should be taxed at four purchased Sermons a Year. What a miserable State of Things was this! when many Hundreds of pious and conscientious Preachers were shut out of the Church, and starving with their Families for want of Employment.

With

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.
Bill for
further
Reforma-
tion.

With the *Supplication* and *Survey* above-mentioned, a Bill was offered to the House of Commons for a further Reformation of the Church; wherein after a Recital of their Grievances, they pray that the Book hereunto annexed, entitled, *a Book of the Form of Common Prayer, &c.* and every Thing therein contained, may be from henceforth authorized and put in Use and Practice throughout all her Majesty's Dominions, any former Law, Custom or Statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. The Book L. of Whit-^{gift, p. 258.} contained Prayers before and after Sermon, but left a liberty for *Variation* if it was thought proper. The Minister was to pray and give Thanks in the Words there prescribed, *or such like*. In the Creed it leaves the Article of *Christ's Descent into Hell* more at large. It omits three of the Thirty nine Articles (*viz.*) the 34th, 35th and 36th. It takes the Jurisdiction of the Church out of the Hands of the Spiritual Courts and places it in an Assembly of Ministers and Elders in every Shire, who shall have Power to examine, approve, and present Ministers to the several Parishes for their Election, and even to depose them with the Consent of the Bishop, upon their Misbehaviour.

Request a- At the same Time a Pamphlet was dispersed without Doors, entitled, *A Request of all true Christians to the Honourable House of Parliament*. It prays, "That "every Parish Church may have its Preacher, and "every City its Superintendent to live honestly but "not pompously." And to provide for this, it prays, "That all Cathedral Churches may be put down, "where the Service of God is grievously abused by piping with Organs, singing, ringing and trowling of Psalms "from one side of the Choir to another, with the Squeaking of chanting Choristers, disguised (as are all the rest) "in white Surplices; some in corner Caps and fit by Copes, "imitating the Fashion and Manner of Antichrist the Pope, "that Man of Sin, and Child of Perdition, with his other "Rabble of Miscreants and Shavclinz. These unpro- "itable

M. S.
p. 814.

“ fitable Drones, or rather Caterpillars of the Queen
 “ World, consume yearly some 2500*l.* some 3000*l.* Elizabeth,
 “ some more, some less, whereof no Profit cometh
 “ to the Church of God. They are the Dens of
 “ idle loitering Lubbards; the Harbours of Time-
 “ serving Hypocrites, whose Prebends and Livings
 “ belong some to Gentlemen, some to Boys, and
 “ some to Serving-Men and others. If the Reve-
 “ nues of these Houses were applied to augment the
 “ Maintenance of poor, diligent, preaching Parish-
 “ Ministers, or erecting Schools, Religion would
 “ then flourish in the Land.”

Some bold Speeches were made in Parliament ^{stop by} against the arbitrary Proceedings of the Bishops, by ^{the Queen;} Mr. Wentworth and others, for which those Members were sent to the Tower; at which the House was so intimidated, that they would not suffer the Bill to be read. Besides, the Queen sent both for the Bill and Petition out of the House, and ordered the Speaker to acquaint them, “ That she was already settled ^{Life of} in her Religion, and would not begin again; that Whitgift; Changes in Religion were dangerous; that it was ^{P. 259.} not reasonable for them to call in question the establish'd Religion, while others were endeavouring to overthrow it; that she had considered the Objections, and look'd upon them as frivolous; and that the Platform it self was most prejudicial to her Crown, and to the Peace of her Government.” Nay, so incensed was the Queen with these Attempts of the Puritans, that in drawing up a general Pardon to be passed in Parliament, she ordered an Exception to be made of such as committed any Offence against the Act of Uniformity, or were Publishers of seditious Books or Pamphlets.

The Convocation, contrary to all Custom and Usage, continued sitting after the Parliament, and gave the Queen a Subsidy or Benevolence. This Precedent ^{on fit after} Archbishop Laud made use of in the Year 1640. ^{the Parliament.}

Queen
Elizabeth,
1580.

to prove the Lawfulness of a Convocation sitting without a Parliament. All they did further was to address the Queen with an Offer to maintain by Disputation, that the Platform of the Puritans was absurd in Divinity, and dangerous to the State; which the Non-Conformists would willingly have debated, but the other knew the Queen and Council would not admit it.

Writings of the Puritans suppressed, and popish Books licensed. The Press was in the Hands of the Archbishop, who took all possible Care to stifle the Writings of the Puritans, while he gave Licence to Ascanio an Italian Merchant, and Bookseller in London, to import what popish Books he thought fit, upon this very odd Pretence, *That the Adversaries Arguments being better known by learned Men might be more easily confuted.* But was it not a shorter way to confute them in the High Commission? Or might not the same Reason have served for licensing the Books of the Puritans? But his Grace seems to have been in no fear of Popery, tho' this very Year another Assassination Plot was discovered, for which Ballard a Priest, and about 12 or 14 more were executed. Remarkable were the Words of this Ballard, who declared upon Examination to Sir Francis Knollys Treasurer of the Queen's Household, and

Ballard a Popish Priest, his Judgment of the Puritans. a Privy Counsellor, "That he would desire no better Books to prove his Doctrine of Popery, than the Archbishop's Writings against Cartwright, and his Injunctions set forth in her Majesty's Name. "That if any Men among the Protestants lived virtuously they were the Puritans, who renounced their Ceremonies, and would not be corrupted with Pluralities. That unlearned and reading Ministers were rather a Furtherance than a Hindrance to the Catholick Cause. That though the Bishops owned her Majesty to be supreme Governor in Causes Ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their Courts in her Majesty's Name: And that though the Names and Authority of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. were in use in the Primitive Church, they forgot that they were then Lords or Magistrates

“ strates of Order only, made by the Prince, and not
 “ Lords of absolute Power ruling without Appeal.” Queen Elizabeth,
 This was written by Mr. Treasurer himself, October 15. 1586.
 upon which Sir Francis advised in Council,
 “ That special Care should be taken of popish Recu-
 “ fants; and that the absolute Authority of private
 “ Bishops without Appeal should be restrained; that
 “ they might not condemn zealous Preachers against
 “ the Pope’s Supremacy, for refusing to subscribe
 “ unlawful Articles, nor without the Assembly of a
 “ synodical Council of Preachers, forasmuch as the
 “ absolute Authority of the Bishops, and their Am-
 “ bition and Covetousness had a Tendency to lead
 “ People back to Popery.” But how much Truth
 soever there was in these Observations, the Queen
 and Archbishop were of another mind.

The Puritans being wearied out with repeated Applications to their Superiors for Relief began to de-
 spair, and in one of their Assemblies came to this Conclusion; That since the Magistrate could not be induced to reform the Discipline of the Church, by so many Petitions and Supplications (which we all confess in the Liturgy is to be wished) that therefore after so many Years waiting it was lawful to act without him, and introduce a Reformation in the best manner they could. We have mentioned their private Classes in Essex, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and other Parts, in which their Book, entitled, *The holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God*, being revised, was subscribed by the several Members in these Words, according to Mr. Strype, which are something different from the Form at the End of the Book in the Appendix.

“ We acknowledge and confess the same, agreeable their Form
 “ to God’s most holy Word, so far as we are able to of sub-
 “ judge or discern of it, excepting some few Points, scription to
 “ [which they sent to their Reverend Brethren in the Bo^t of Discipline,
 “ some Assembly of them for their further Resolution]
 “ and we affirm it to be the same which we desire to be established in this Church, by daily Prayer

Queen Elizabeth, " Prayer to God, which we profess (as God shall offer Opportunity, and give us to discern it so expedient) by humble Suit to her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council and Parliament, and by all other lawful Means to further and advance, so far as the Law, and Peace of the present State of our Church will suffer it, and not to enforce the contrary. We promise to guide our selves according to it, and follow the Directions set down in the Chapter Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word. We promise to frequent our appointed Assemblies, that is, every six Weeks Classical Conferences, every half Year Provincial Assemblies, and General Assemblies every Year." Among those that subscribed or declared their Approbation of the Book of Discipline, were the Reverend

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Mr. Cartwright, | Dr. Sparkes, | Mr. Perkins, |
| Mr. Travers, | Mr. Ward, | Mr. Allen, |
| Dr. Knewstubs, | Mr. Stone, | Mr. Edmunds, |
| Mr. Charke, | Mr. Warkton, | Mr. Gellibrand, |
| Mr. Edgerton, | Mr. Larke, | Mr. Bradshaw, |
| Mr. Reynolds, | Mr. Fletcher, | Mr. Harrison, |
| Mr. Gardiner, | Mr. Lord, | Mr. Massie, |
| Mr. Gifford, | Mr. Farmer, | Mr. Hildersham, |
| Mr. Barber, | Mr. Rushbrook, | Mr. Dod, |
| Mr. Spieer, | Mr. Littleton, | Mr. Brightman, |
| Mr. Greenham, | Mr. Oxenbridge, | Mr. Cawdery, |
| Mr. Payne, | Mr. Seyntclere, | Mr. Rogers, |
| Mr. Fenner, | Mr. Standen, | Mr. Udall, |
| Mr. Field, | Mr. Wilcox, | Mr. Dyke, |
| Mr. Snape, | Dr. Whitaker, | Mr. Wight, |
| Mr. Johnson, | Mr. Chadderton, | Mr. Paget, |
| Mr. Nichols, | | |

and others, to the Number of above 500, all beneficed in the Church of England, useful Preachers, of unspotted Lives and Characters, and many of them of the University of Cambridge, where they had a strong and powerful Interest.

Besides

Besides the Puritans already mentioned as suffering this Year, the learned Dr. John Walward, Divinity Professor at Oxford, was enjoined a publick Recantation, and suspended till he had done it, for teaching, that *The Order of the Jewish Synagogue and Proceedings Eldership was adopted by Christ and his Apostles into the of the High Christian Church, and designed as a perpetual Model of Church Government.* He was also bound in a Recognition of 100*l.* for his good Behaviour. — Mr. Harsnet of Pembroke Hall was imprison'd at the same Time for not wearing the Surplice. — Mr. Edward Gillibrand, Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was forbid preaching, and bound in a Recognition of 100*l.* to revoke his Errors in such Words as the Commissioners should appoint. His Crime was speaking against the *Hierarchy*, and against the swelling Titles of Archbishops and Bishops; for which Whitgift told him, he deserved not only to be imprisoned and suspended, but to be banished the University. — Mr. Farrar, Minister of Langham in Essex, was charged with Rebellion against the Queen's Ecclesiastical Laws, and suspended for not wearing the Habits. Bishop Aylmer told him, that except he and his Companions would be conformable, in good Faith he and his Brethren the Bishops would in one Quarter of a Year turn them all out of the Church. — Sept. 11th. Mr. Udall of Kingston upon Thames was suspended and imprisoned, for keeping a private Fast in his Parish. — In the Month of January Mr. Wilson, Mr. More, and two other Ministers, were imprisoned, and obliged to give Bond for their good Behaviour.

In the Month of May the Reverend Mr. Settle was summoned before the Archbishop at Lambeth, and charged with denying the Article, *Of the Descent of our Saviour's Soul into Hell*, or the Place of the Damned. Mr. Settle confessed it was his Opinion, that Christ did not descend locally into Hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of his mind; which put the

Queen Elizabeth, 1587. Archbishop into such a Passion that he called him *Ass, Dolt, Fool.* Mr. Settle said, He ought not to rail at him being a Minister of the Gospel. What, said the Archbishop, dost thou think much to be called *Ass* and *Dolt?* I have called many of thy Better-s so. True, said Mr. Settle; but the Question is, how lawfully you have done so? Then said the Archbishop, thou shalt preach no more in my Diocese. Mr. Settle answer'd, I am called to preach the Gospel and I will not cease to do it. The Archbishop replied with a stern Countenance, Neither you, nor any one in *England*, shall preach without my leave. He then charged Mr. Settle with not observing the Order of the *Service Book*; with not using the Cross in Baptism; with disallowing the Baptism of Midwives; and not using the Words in Marriage, *With this Ring I thee wed.* The Dean of *Winchester* asked him, If he had subscribed. Settle answered, Yes, as far as the Law required; that is, to the Doctrines of Faith and the Sacraments, but as touching other Rights and Ceremonies, he neither could nor would. Then said the Archbishop, thou shalt be subject to the Ecclesiastical Authority. Mr. Settle replied, I thank God you can use no Violence but upon my poor Body. So his Grace committed him to the Gate-House, there to be kept close Prisoner.

Sandys Archbishop of *York* was no less active in his Province; I have many of his Examinations before me; he was a severe Governor, hasty and passionate; but it was laid in Excuse for him and some others, that the *Civilians* by their Emissaries and Spies turn'd Informers, and then pushed the Bishops forward, to bring Business into the Spiritual Courts.

Dr. Bridges answer'd by Mr. Fenner. About this Time Dr. Bridges, afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*, writ against the *Puritans*, and maintained that *THEY* were not grievously afflicted unless it were caused by their own *Deserts*. The Doctor was answer'd by Mr. Fenner, who appealed to the World in these Words: "Is it no grievous Affliction, by

"Suspen-

" Suspension to be hung up between Hope and Despair
 " for a Year or two, and in the mean Time to see Queen
 " the Wages of our Labours eaten up by Loiterers? Elizabeth,
 " Nay, our righteous Souls are vexed with seeing 1587.
 " and hearing the Ignorance, the profane Speeches,
 " and evil Examples of those thrust upon our
 " Charges, while we our selves are defamed, re-
 " proached, scoffed at, and called seditious and re-
 " bellious; cited, accused, and indicted, and yet no
 " Redress to be found. All this we have patiently
 " bore, tho' we come daily to the Congregations to
 " Prayers, to Baptisms, and to the Sacrament, and
 " by our Examples and Admonitions, have kept
 " away many from Excesses whereunto rashness of
 " Zeal would have carried them. — And though
 " to such as you who swarm with *Deanries*, with
 " double Benefices, Pensions, Advowsons, Reversions,
 " &c. these Molestations seem light; yet surely, up-
 " on every irreligious Man's Complaint in such
 " Things as many Times are incredible, to be sent
 " for by *Pursuivants*, to pay two Pence for every
 " Mile, to find Messengers to defray our own
 " Charges, and this by such as can hardly with what
 " they have clothe and feed themselves and their Fa-
 " milies, it is not only grievous, but as far as well
 " can be a very Heart-burning. 'Tis grievous to a
 " Freeman, and to a Free-Minister, for a light
 " Cause, as, for an humble Supplication to her Ma-
 " jesty and the whole Parliament, and to the Fathers
 " of the Church, to be shut up in close Prison; or
 " upon every trifling Complaint, to be brought into
 " a slavish Subjection to a *Commissary*, so as at his Answer to
 " Pleasure to be summoned into the Spiritual Courts, Dr. Brid-
 " and coming thither, to be sent home again at least ges, p. 45.
 " with unnecessary Expences, Master-like Answers,
 " yea, and sometimes with open Revilings. We will
 " not justify our selves (says Mr. Fenner) in all Things,
 " but acknowledge, that when coming by Dozens
 " and Scores before the Bishop, after half a Day's

Queen Elizabeth, " disorderly Reasoning, some not being heard to the full, some rail'd on and mis-called, none with Lenity satisfied, but all suspended from our Office, because we would not subscribe his two last Articles, there might pass from us some Infirmities afterwards ; this and many other Things we are willing to impute to our selves—". But after all it may be question'd, whether the History of former Ages can furnish an Example of so many Severities against *Divines* of one and the same Faith, for a few trifling Ceremonies ; or of a more peaceable and Christian Behaviour under Sufferings.

At the Approach of the Spanish Invasion.

Camden indeed complains of their dispersing Pamphlets against the Church and Prelates, in a Time of common Danger, when the Nation was in Arms against the Spanish Invasion ; but these Pamphlets were only to shew, that the Danger of the Return of Popery (which all Men were now apprehensive of) arose from stopping the Mouths of those Ministers who were most zealous against it. It had been easy at this Time to have distressed the Government and the Hierarchy, for the Cry of the People was against the Bishops ; but the Puritans both here and in Scotland were more afraid of the Return of Popery than their Adversaries : Those in Scotland enter'd into an Association, to assemble in Arms at what Time and Place their King should require, to assist the Queen of England against the Spaniard ; and their Brethren in London took the Opportunity to petition the Queen for the Liberty of their Preachers, " That the People might be better instructed in the Duties of Obedience to their Civil Governors, and not be left a Prey to Priests and Jesuits, who were no better than Traitors to her Majesty and the Kingdom. They assure her Majesty, That the People will give their Ministers a good Maintenance ; that they [the People] will always pray for her Majesty's Safety, and be ready to part with their Goods, and pour out their Blood like Water for her

They petition the Queen.
M. S.
p. 838.

" her Preservation, if they may but have the Go- Queen
" spel." But the Queen gave them no Answer; Elizabeth,
the whole Reformation must be hazarded rather than 1587.
the Puritans be relieved.

After this, they applied to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, beseeching them to address the Queen, to make some better Provision for the City; and to enforce their Petition, they laid before them a new Survey of the Ministry of London, taken this very Year, with the Names of every Parish Priest and Curate set down against his Living and Curacy, M.S. which is now before me; and it appears at the Foot p. 482. of the Account that there were,

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| Double beneficed Men within the City | — | 18 |
| Double beneficed Men without | — | 27 |
| Simple Preachers (as the Survey calls them) | — | 10 |
| Dumb, or unpreaching Ministers | — | 17 |
| Resident Preachers, abiding in London only | — | 19 |

With the Survey they offered divers Reasons to prevail with the Court to appear for them; as, (1.) Because the Laws of the Realm have provided very well for a learned preaching Ministry, whereas by the Account above, it appears that many are Pluralists and Non-Residents, others illiterate, being brought up to Trades, and not to Learning, and others of no very good Character in Life. (2.) Because divers of the principal Preachers of this Land have of late been put to silence. (3.) Because of the prevailing Ignorance and Impiety that is among the common People for want of better Instruction. (4.) M.S. Because we now pay our Money and Dues to them p. 839. that do little or nothing for it: But the Aldermen were afraid to interpose.

Such was the Scarcity of Preachers, and the Thirst Cry of the of the People after Knowledge, that the suspended People for Ministers of Essex petition'd the Parliament, March Preaching. 8th, 1587. for some Remedy, " Such (say they)

Queen Elizabeth, " is the Cry of the People to us Day and Night for the Bread of Life, that our Bowels earn within us ;
1587. " and rememb'ring the solemn Denunciation of the " Apostle, *Woe be to us if we preach not the Gospel,* we " begin to think it our Duty to preach to our People " as we have Opportunity, notwithstanding our " Suspension, and to commit our Lives and whole " Estates to Almighty God, as to a faithful Creator ; " and under God to the gracious Clemency of the " Queen, and of this honourable House." Many suspended Preachers came out of the Countries and took Shelter in the City. But to prevent as much as possible their getting into any of the Pulpits of *London*, the following Commission was sent to all the Ministers and Church-Wardens of the City.

High Commission " **W**Hereas sundry Preachers have lately come *missioners* " into the City of *London*, and Suburbs of *prohibit all* " the same ; some of them not being Ministers, *Preaching* " others such as have no sufficient Warrant for their *in the City* " *workout* " Calling, and others such as have been detected in *Licence.* " other Counties, and have notwithstanding in the " City taken upon them to preach publickly, to the " Infamy of their Calling ; others have in their " Preaching rather stirr'd up the People to *Innovation*, than fought the Peace of the Church. These " are therefore in her Majesty's Name, by virtue of " her high Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical to " us and others directed, straightly to enjoin, com- " mand, and charge all Parsons, Vicars, Curates " and Church-Wardens, of all Churches in the City " of *London*, and the Suburbs thereof, as well in " Places exempt as not exempt, that they nor any " of them do suffer any to preach in their Churches, " or to read any Lectures, they not being in their " own Cures, but only such whose Licences they " shall first have seen and read, and whom they shall " find to be licenced thereto, either by the Queen's " Majesty, or by one of the Universities of *Cambridge* " or

" or Oxford, or by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
 " bury, or the Bishop of London for the Time being,
 " under Seal.

" And that this may be published and take the M. S.
 " better Effect, we will that a true Copy thereof Queen Elizabeth,
 " shall be taken and delivered to every Curate and
 " Church-Warden of every of the Churches afore-
 " said. The 16th Day of August, 1587." Sub-
 scribed,

*John Canterbury,
 John London,*

*Val. Dale,
 Edward Stanhope,
 Rich. Cozin.*

But under all these Discouragements the Puritans ^{Proceedings of the} kept close together, hoping one Time or other that Providence would make way for their Relief. They ^{Puritans in} maintained their *Clas-
 ses*, wherein ^{their Clas-} they agreed upon certain general Rules for their Behaviour: One was, that they should endeavour in their Preaching and Conversation to wipe off the Calumny of *Schism*, forasmuch as the Brethren communicated with the Church in the Word and Sacraments, and in all other Things, except their Corruptions; and that they assumed no Authority to themselves, of compelling others to observe their Decrees. In their provincial Synod held at Warwick, June 4th, 1588. it was agreed, that it was not lawful to baptize in private; nor sufficient for a Minister to read Homilies in Churches; nor lawful to use the Cross in Baptism. They agreed further, That they were not obliged to rest in the Bishops Deprivation, nor to appear in their Courts, without a Protestation of their Unlawfulness. In another Synod it was determined, that no Man should take upon him *Ministerium vagum*; that they who take upon them a Cure of Souls should be called by the Church whom they are to serve,

Queen Elizabeth, serve, and be approved by the Classes or some greater Assembly, and if by them they are found meet, ^{1587.} they are to be recommended to the Bishop for Ordination, if it might be obtained without subscribing *L of Whit-* the Book of *Common Prayer*. It was further agreed, ^{gift, p. 291.} how much of the *Common Prayer* might be lawfully read for the preserving their Ministry ; and how far they might exercise their Discipline without the Civil Magistrate. In another provincial Synod about *Michaelmas* it was agreed, That the Oppressions offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the Bishops and their Officials in their Spiritual Courts, should be collected and register'd : If this had been preserved entire, more of the Sufferings of these great and good Men would have appeared, and many Works of Darknes, Oppression and Cruelty, would have been brought to light, which now must be concealed to the Day of Judgment.

Mr. Cawdery and Wilson suspended. The Danger the Nation was now in from a foreign Invasion, gave a little Check to the Zeal of the Bishops against the Puritans for the present ; however this Year Mr. Cawdery, Minister of *South Luffingham* was suspended, imprison'd, and deprived by the Bishop of *London* ; he had a Wife and seven Children, which were cast upon Providence ; but this Divine gave his Lordship some further Trouble, as will be seen hereafter — *Mr. Wilson*, who had been suspended some Time before, moved for a Release in the Bishop's Court ; but because he refused to subscribe, his Suspension was continued, and himself treated by the *Civilians* with great Inhumanity.

Mr. Hildersham's Form of Recantation. Mr. Arthur Hildersham, whom Mr. Fuller represents as a heavenly Divine, being at this Time Fellow of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, was suspended by the Commissioners for preaching occasionally before he had taken Orders, and obliged to sign the following Recantation ; “ I confess that I have rashly “ and indiscreetly taken upon me to preach, not “ being licensed nor admitted into Holy Orders,

“ con-

" contrary to the Orders of the Church of *England*,
 " contrary to the Example of all Antiquity, and Queen
 " contrary to the Direction of the Apostle in the Elizabeth,
 " *Acts*; whereby I have given great and just Of- 1587.
 " fence to many; and the more, because I have ut-
 " ter'd in my Sermons certain impertinent, and very
 " unfit Speeches for the Auditory, as moving their
 " Minds to Discontent with the State, rather than
 " tending to godly Edification, for which my Pre-
 " sumption and Indiscretion I am very heartily sor-
 " ry, and desire you to bear witness of this my Con-
 " fession, and acknowledging my said Offences."

This Recantation was by the Archbishop's Appointment to be uttered in *Trinity Hall Chapel*, before *Easter*. In the mean while he was suspended from the Profits of his Fellowship, and stood bound to appear before the Commissioners the first Court-Day of *Easter Term*, if he did not before that Time recant. Whether Mr. *Hildertham* recanted I am not certain, but Sept. 14, 1587. he left the University and settled at *Ashby de la Zouch* in *Leicestershire*, where he continued a deep Sufferer for Non-Conformity 43 Years, having been suspended and put to silence by the High Commission no less than four Times, and continued under that Hardship almost 20 Years.

This Year put an End to the Life of the famous Martyrologist JOHN FOX, a Person of indefatigable Labour and Industry, and an Exile for Religion in Queen Mary's Days; he spent all his Time abroad Death of Mr. Fox the Martyrologist. in compiling the *Acts* and Monuments of the Church of *England*, which was publish'd first in *Latin*, and afterwards, when he returned to his native Country, in *English*, with Enlargements; vast was the Pains he took in searching Records, and collecting Materials for this Work; and such was its Esteem, that it was ordered to be set up in all the Parish Churches in *England*. Mr. Fox was born at *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, 1517. educated in *Brazen Nose College*, *Oxon*, where he proceeded *M. A.* in the Year 1543. He was afterwards

Queen Elizabeth, 1588. terwards Tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's Children, who in the Days of Queen Mary convey'd him privately out of the Kingdom. He was a most learned, pious, and judicious Divine, of a catholick Spirit, and against all Methods of Severity in Religion. But he was shamefully neglected for some Years because he was a *Non-Conformist*, and refused to subscribe the Canons and Ceremonies; nor did he get any higher Preferment in the Church than a *Prebend of Salisbury*, though the Queen used to call him *Father*, and professed a high Veneration for him; as indeed he deserved. He died in *London* in the 70th Year of his Age, and lies buried in *Cripplegate Church*, where his Monument is still to be seen, against the South Wall of the Chancel, with a flat marble Stone over his Body.

1588. It has been observed, that our first Reformers admitted but two Orders of Church Officers to be of *Divine Appointment* (viz.) *Bishops* and *Deacons*, a Presbyter and Bishop according to them being but two Names for the same Office; but Dr. Bancroft the Archbishop's Chaplain, in a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, Jan. 12th, 1588. maintained, that the *Bishops of England* were a distinct Order from *Priests*, and had Superiority over them *JURE DIVINO*, and directly from God. He affirmed this to be God's own Appointment, though not by express Words yet by necessary Consequence; and that the Denial of it was *Heresy*. The Doctor confessed, that *Aerius* had maintained, there was no Difference between a *Priest* and a *Bishop*; but that *Epiphanius* had pronounced his Assertion full of Folly; and that it had been condemned as Heresy by the general Council of the Church; that *Martin* and his Companions had maintained the same Opinion; but that St. *Hierom* and *Calvin* had confessed, that Bishops have had Superiority over Presbyters, ever since the Times of St. *Mark* the Evangelist. This was new and strange Doctrine to the Churchmen of these Times. It had been

been always said, that the Superiority of the Order of Bishops above Presbyters had been a politick ^{Queen Elizabeth,} human Appointment, for the more orderly Government of the Church, begun about the 3d or 4th Century; but ^{1588.} Bancroft was one of the first, who by the Archbishop's Whitgift. Directions advanced it into a DIVINE RIGHT. p. 292. His Sermon gave Offence to many of the Clergy and to all the Friends of the Puritans about the Court, who would have brought the Preacher into a *Præmunire*, for saying, that any Subject of this Realm hath Superiority over the Persons of the Clergy, otherwise than from and by her Majesty's Authority. But the Doctor retorted this Argument upon the Disciplinarians, and added, that it was no better than a Sophism, because the Prince's Authority may, and very often does confirm and corroborate that which is primarily from the Laws of God. Sir Francis Knollys, who had this Affair at heart, told the Archbishop that Bancroft's Assertion was contrary to the Command of Christ, who condemned all Superiority among the Apostles. "I do not deny (says he) that Bishops may have lordly Authority and Dignity, provided they claim it not from an higher Authority than her Majesty's Grant. If the Bishops are not Under-Governors to her Majesty of the Clergy, but Superior-Governors over their Brethren by God's Ordinance, [i. e. *Jure Divino*] it will then follow that her Majesty is not supreme Governor over her Clergy." The same Gentleman not relying upon his own Judgment, writ to the learned Dr. Raynolds of Oxford, for his Opinion of Bancroft's Doctrine, which he gave him in a Letter now before me, to this Effect.

— “ Though Epiphanius says, that Aerius's Assertion is full of Folly, he does not disprove his Reasons from Scripture; nay, his Arguments are so weak, that even Bellarmine confesses they are not agreeable to the Text. As for the general Dr. Raynold's Remarks:

“ Con-

Queen Elizabeth, " Consent of the Church, which the Doctor says, condemned Aerius's Opinion for Heresy, What 1588. " Proof does he bring for it? It appears (he says) " in Epiphanius; but I say it does not; and the " contrary appears by St. Jerom, and sundry others " who lived about the same Time. I grant that St. " Austin in his Book of Heresies ascribes this to " Aerius for one; that he said there ought to be no " Difference between a Priest and a Bishop, because " this was to condemn the Churches Order, and to " make a Schism therein. But it is a quite different " Thing to say, that by the WORD OF GOD there " is a Difference between them, and to say that it is by " the ORDER AND CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH; " which is all that St. Austin maintains. When Harding " the Papist alleged these very Witnesses, to prove the " Opinion of Bishops and Priests being of the same " Order to be Heresy; our learned Bishop Jewel " cited to the contrary, Chrysostom, Jerom, Ambrose, " and St. Austin himself, and concluded his Answer " with these Words, All these and other more holy Fa- " thers, together with the Apostle PAUL, for thus say- " ing, by HARDING'S Advice, must be held for Here- " ticks. Michael Medina, a Man of great Account " in the Council of Trent, adds to the forementioned " Testimonies, Theodorus, Primarius, Sedulius, " Theophylact, with whom agree Oecumenius, the Greek " Scholiast, Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, Gre- " gory, and Gratian; and after them how many? It " being once inrolled in the Canon Law for Catho- " lick Doctrine, and thereupon taught by learned " Men.

" Besides, all that have laboured in reforming the " Church for 500 Years have taught, that all Pa- " stors, be they entitled Bishops or Priests, have " equal Authority and Power by God's Word; as " first the Waldenses, next Marsilius Patavinus, then " Wickliffe and his Scholars, afterwards Husse and " the Hussites; and last of all, Luther, Calvin, Bren- " tius,

“ *tius, Bullinger, and Musculus.* Among our selves we
 “ have *Bishops*, the Queen’s Professors of Divinity; in
 “ our Universities, and other learned Men consent-
 “ ing herein, as *Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilk-
 “ ton, Humbleys, Fulke, &c.* But what do I speak
 “ of particular Persons? It is the common Judgment
 “ of the Reformed Churches of *Helvetia, Savoy,
 “ France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the
 “ Low Countries*, and our own. I hope Dr. *Bancroft*
 “ will not say, that all these have approved that for
 “ found Doctrine which was condemned by the ge-
 “ neral Consent of the whole Church for Heresy, in
 “ a most flourishing Time; I hope he will acknow-
 “ ledge that he was overseen, when he avouched the
 “ Superiority which *Bishops* have among us over the
 “ Clergy to be GOD’S OWN ORDINANCE.

“ As for the Doctor’s saying that St. *Jerom*, and
 “ *Calvin* from him, confessed that *Bishops* have had
 “ the said Superiority ever since the Time of Saint
 “ *Mark* the Evangelist, I think him mistaken, be-
 “ cause neither *Jerom* says it, nor does *Calvin* seem
 “ to confess it on his Report; for *Bishops* among
 “ us may do sundry other Things, besides ordaining
 “ and laying on of Hands, which inferior Ministers
 “ or Priests may not; whereas St. *Jerom* says, *What
 “ does a Bishop except Ordination which a Priest does
 “ not?* meaning, that in his Time *Bishops* had only
 “ that Power above *Priests*; which *Chrysostom* also
 “ witnesses in *Homily xi. on 1 Timothy*. Nor had they
 “ this Privilege alone in all Places, for in the Coun-
 “ cil of *Carthage* it is said, that the *Priests* laid their
 “ Hands together with the *Bishop’s* on those who were or-
 “ dained. And St. *Jerom* having proved by Scrip-
 “ ture, that in the Apostles Time *Bishops* and
 “ *Priests* were all one, yet granteth that afterwards
 “ *Bishops* had that peculiar to themselves somewhere,
 “ but nothing else; so that St. *Jerom* does not say
 “ concerning the Superiority in question, that *Bi-
 “ shops* have had it ever since St. *Mark’s* Time.

Queen
Eliz. 1588.

Queen Elizabeth, 1588. " Nor does *Calvin* confess it ; he says, that in old Time Ministers chose one out of their Company in every City, to whom they gave the Title of *Bishop* ; yet the Bishop was not above them in Honour and Dignity, but as Consuls in the Senate propose Matters, ask their Opinions, direct others by giving Advice, by admonishing, by exhorting, and so guide the whole Action, and by their Authority see that performed which was agreed on by common Consent ; the same Charge had the *Bishop* in the Assembly of Ministers ; and having shewed from St. *Jerom*, that this was brought in by consent of Men, he adds, that it was an ancient Order of the Church even from St. *Mark* ; from whence 'tis apparent, that the Order of the Church he mentions, has relation to that above described, in which he affirms, that the *Bishop* was not so above the rest in Honour as to have rule over them. It follows therefore, that *Calvin* does not so much as seem to confess of St. *Jerom*'s Report, that ever since St. *Mark*'s Time Bishops have had a ruling Superiority over the Clergy."

We shall meet with this Controversy again hereafter. *Whitgift* said, the Doctor's Sermon had done much good, though he himself rather wished than believed it to be true : It was new Doctrine at this Time. Most of the Clergy that approved the Superiority of the Episcopal Order were against the *Divine Right* ; but the Bishops in the next Age revived the Debate, and carried their Pretensions so high, as to subvert the very Foundations upon which they built.

Spanish Invasion. The Queen having suffered *Mary Queen of Scots* to be beheaded at *Fotheringay Castle*, Feb. 1587. all the Roman Catholick Princes were alarm'd, and threaten'd Revenge ; among others, the Spaniards hastned their *Invincible Armada*, to reduce *England* to the Catholick Faith, which had been three Years preparing at a prodigious Expence : The Fleet was well man'd, and furnished with strange Instruments of Torture for the

the English Hereticks ; they came through the Channel like so many floating Castles, being to take in a Land Army from the *Low Countries* ; but partly by Storms, and partly by the Valour and wise Conduct of the Queen's Admirals and Sea Captains, the whole Fleet was burnt and destroyed, so that not a Spaniard set foot upon English Ground ; nor was there a Ship left entire to carry the News back to Spain. The Queen ordered the Coasts to be well guarded, and raised a Land Army, which she animated by appearing at the Head of them. A Terror was spread through the whole Nation by Reports of the Engines of Cruelty that were aboard the Fleet ; their barbarous Usage of the poor Protestants in the *Low Countries* under Duke *D'Alva* was remember'd, as well as their bloody Massacres of the poor Indians in *America* : But the Storm blew over ; and by the Blessing of God upon the Queen's Arms the Nation was soon restor'd to its former Tranquillity.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1588.

The following Winter the Queen summoned a Puritans Parliament to meet [Feb. 4th.] in order to defray ^{apply to} the extraordinary Expences of the Year, and make ^{Parlia-} some new Laws against the Papists. ^{ment.} The Puritans having expressed their Zeal for the Queen and the Protestant Religion, by listing in her Army and Navy, thought it adviseable once more to address the Houses for some Favour in point of *Subscription*. Upon the delivery of the Petition one of the Members stood up and moved, that an Enquiry might be made, How far the Bishops had exceeded the Laws in the Prosecution of her Majesty's Protestant Subjects. Another moved, for reviving the Bill against Pluralities and Non-Residents, which was brought in, and having passed the Commons was sent up to the Lords. This alarmed the Convocation, who addressed the Queen *to protect the Church* ; and having flattered her with the Title of a Goddess, *O Dea certe !* they tell her, " That the passing of the Bill will be attended with the Decay of Learning, and the ^{Convoca-} ^{tion's Peti-} ^{K k 2} ^{tion to the} ^{" Spoil-} Queen.

Queen " Spoiling of their Livings ; that it will take a
 Elizabeth, " way the set Forms of Prayer in the Church, and
 1588. " bring in Confusion and Barbarism. They put her
 L. of Whit- " in mind, how dangerous Innovations are in a
 gift, p. 280. " settled State ; and add, that all the reformed
 " Churches in Europe cannot compare with Eng-
 " land in the Number of learned Ministers. We
 " therefore (say they) not as Directors, but as
 " humble Remembrancers, beseech your Highness's
 " favourable beholding of our present State, and not
 " to suffer the Bill against Pluralities to pass." Upon
 this the Queen forbid the House of Lords to proceed,
 and sent for those Members of the House of Com-
 mons into Custody that had dared to break through
 her Orders, of not meddling with Affairs of Religion
 without her special Allowance ; which put an End to
 all Expectations of Relief for the present.

*Death of
Mr. Samp-
son.*

This Year died the Reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Sampson, of whom mention has been made already ; he was born about the Year 1517. and educated at Oxford ; he afterwards studied at the Temple, and was a Means of converting the famous Martyr John Bradford to the Protestant Religion ; he took Orders from Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley in the Year 1549. who dispensed with the Habits at his Request, and became Rector of Allhallows Breadstreet : He was a famous Preacher in the Reign of King Edward ; but upon the Accession of Queen Mary he fled to Straßburg, and was highly esteemed by the learned Tremelius. When Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown she offered him the Bishoprick of Norwich, but he refused it for no other Reason, but because he could not conform to the Habits and Ceremonies. In the Year 1561. he was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxon ; but soon after in the Year 1564. was deprived by Sentence of Archbishop Parker for Non-Conformity. He afterwards contented himself with the Mastership of an Hospital in Leicester, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in peace. He was

was taken with the dead Palsey on one side many Years before he died ; but continued preaching and writing to the last, and was in high Esteem over all England for his Learning, Piety, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion. He died at his Hospital with Ath. Ox. great Tranquility and Comfort in his Non-Conformity, the latter end of March or the beginning of April 158 $\frac{1}{2}$. in the 72d Year of his Age.

Soon after him died the very learned Dr. Lawrence Humpreys, a great Friend and Companion of Sampson's ; he was born in Buckinghamshire, and educated in Magdalen College, Oxon, of which he was perpetual Fellow. In the Reign of Queen Mary he obtained leave to travel, and continued at Zurich till Queen Elizabeth's Accession, when he was made Queen's Professor in Divinity ; he was afterwards President of Magdalen College, and Dean of Gloucester, which was the highest Preferment he could obtain, because he Cambden. was a Non-Conformist from the Ceremonies of the Church. The Oxford Historian says, he was a moderate and conscientious Non-Conformist, and stocked his College with a Generation of that Sort of Men that could not be rooted out in many Years : He was certainly a strict Calvinist, and a bitter Enemy of the Papists ; he was a great and general Scholar, an able Linguist, and a deeper Divine than most of his Age : He writ many learned Works, and at length died in his College, in the 63d Year of his Age, 1589. having had the Honour to see many of his Pupils Bishops, while he who was every Way their Superior was denied Preferment for his puritannical Principles.

To these we may add the venerable Edwin Sandys, And of Archbishop of York, an excellent and frequent Preacher in his younger Days, and an Exile for Religion in Queen Mary's Reign. He was afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester, London and York, and a zealous Defender of the Laws against Non-Conformists of all Sorts ; when Arguments failed he

Queen Elizabeth, had no great Opinion either of the Discipline or Ceremonies of the Church, as appears by his last Will and Testament, in which are these remarkable Expressions. “ I am persuaded that the *Rites and Ceremonies* by political Institution appointed in the Church, are not ungodly nor unlawful, but may for Order and Obedience sake be used by a good Christian — But I am now, and ever have been perswaded, that some of these Rites and Ceremonies are not expedient for this Church now; but that in the Church reformed, and in all this Time of the Gospel, they may better be disused by little and little, than more and more urged.” Such a Testimony from the dying Lips of one that had been a severe Persecutor of honest Men, for Things which he always thought had better be disused than urged, deserves to be remember’d. He died in the Month of July, 1588. in the 69th Year of his Age, and was buried in the Collegiate Church of Southwell, where there is a raised Monument to his Memory, with his own Effigies on the Top, and a great Number of his Children kneeling round the Sides of it.



C H A P. VIII.

*From the SPANISH INVASION to the Death
of Queen ELIZABETH.*

WHILE there was any Hopes of compromis-
ing Matters between the Church and Puritans, the Controversy was carried on with some De-
cency ; but when all Hopes of Accommodation were ~~satirical~~
at an end, the contending Parties loaded each other ~~Pamphlets,~~
with nothing but Reproaches. The publick Printing
Presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them
purchased a private one, and carried it from one Coun-
try to another to prevent Discovery : It was first set up
at Mouldsey in Surrey, near Kingston ~~on~~ Thames ; from
thence it was conveyed to Fawley in Northamptonshire ;
from thence to Norton, from thence to Coventry,
from Coventry to Woolston in Warwickshire, and from
thence to Manchester in Lancashire, where it was dis-
covered. Sundry satirical Pamphlets were printed
by this Press, and dispersed all over the Kingdom ;
as,

Martin Mar-Prelate ; written, as is supposed, by Martin
a Club of Separatists, for the Authors were never Mar-Prel-
discovered : 'Tis a violent Satyr against the Hierar- late.
chy and all its Supporters ; it calls the Lord Bishops
petty Antichrists, petty Popes, proud Prelates, Enemies
to the Gospel, and most covetous wretched Priests — It
says, “ That the Lord has given many of our Bi-
“ shops over to a reprobate Sense, because they wil-
“ fully oppose and persecute the Truth ; and supposes
“ them to have committed the unpardonable Sin, be-
“ cause they have manifested in their publick Wri-
“ tings, &c. most blasphemous and damnable Do-
“ctrines.” The Author then addresses himself to
the Clergy that had subscribed, and that were for
pressing Subscription upon others, in such punning

Queen Elizabeth, " Priests, my Clergy Masters of the Confocation or
 1589. Conspiracy House, whether Fickers [Vicars] Pal-
 L. of Whit- " tripolitans, or others of the holy League of Sub-
 gift, p. 290. " scription. Right poisoned, persecuting and terri-
 " ble Priests ; my Horned Masters, your Govern-
 " ment is Antichristian, your Cause is Desperate,
 " your Grounds are Ridiculous — Martin under-
 " stands all your Knavery ; you are intolerable
 " Withstanders of Reformation, Enemies of the
 " Gospel, and most covetous, wretched, and popish
 " Priests, &c." There are a great many sad Truths
 in the Book, but delivered in rude and unbecoming
 Language, and with an angry Spirit.

The Titles of the rest were,

*Other Sa-
tyrical
Pamphlets.* *Theses Martinianæ* ; i. e. certain demonstrative
 Conclusions set down and collected by *Martin Mar-*
Prelate the Great, serving as a manifest and sufficient
 Confutation of all that ever the College of *Cater Caps*,
 with their whole Band of *Clergy-Priests* have or can
 bring for the Defence of their ambitious and antichri-
 stian Prelacy. Published by *Martin junior*, 1589. in
 Octavo, and dedicated to *John Kankbury* [i. e. Can-
 terbury.] The Author of this tells the Bishops, that
 he would plant young *Martins* in every Diocese and Pa-
 rish, who should watch the Behaviour of the Clergy,
 that when any Thing was done amiss it might be
 made publick.

Protestation of Martin Mar-Prelate ; wherein notwithstanding the Surprising of the Printer, he maketh it known to the World, that he feareth neither proud Priest, Antichristian Pope, Tyrannous Prelate, nor Godless *Cater Cap*, &c. Printed 1589. Octavo.

Ath. Oxon. *His Appellation to the High Court of Parliament from*
V. I. p. 259. *the bad and injurious Dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other his Colleagues of the High Commission, &c.*
 Printed 1589. Octavo.

Dialogue, wherein is plainly laid open the tyrannical
 Dealings of the Lords Bishops against God's Children.
 Printed 1589. Quarto.

A Treatise, wherein is manifestly proved, That Reformation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are unjustly charged to be Enemies to her Majesty, and the State. Queen Elizabeth, 1589.
Printed 1590. Quarto.

Ha' ye any Work for the Cooper? This was written against Dr. Tho. Cooper Bishop of Winchester; and is said to be printed in Europe, not far from some of the bounceing Priests, 1590.

Epitome of the first Book of Dr. John Bridges against the Puritans; with this Expression in the Title Page, Oh! read over Dr. John Bridges, for it is a worthy Work. Printed over Sea in Europe, within two Fur-longs of a bounceing Priest, at the Cost and Charges of Martin Mar-Prelate, Gent. in Quarto.

The Cobler's Book, which denies the Church of England to be a true Church, and charges her with maintaining Idolatry under the Name of Decency, in the Habits, Fonts, Baptism by Women, Gang-Days, Saints Eves, Bishoping of Children, Organs, Wafer-Cakes, &c.

Ha' ye any more Work for the Cooper? In printing of which the Press was discovered and seized, with several Pamphlets unfinished; as,

*Episto [Episo] Mastix,
Paradoxes,
Dialogues,
Miscellanea,
Variæ Lettiones,*

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>Martin's Dream,
The Lives and Doings of English Popes,
Itinerarium, or, Visitations,
Lambethisms.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | <i>p. 288.</i> |

The two last of these were imperfect; but to complete the *Itinerarium*, the Author threatens to survey all the Clergy of England, and note their intolerable Pranks: And for his *Lambethisms* he would have a *Martin at Lambeth*. Other Books were published of the same Nature; as, *A Demonstration of Discipline*; *the Counter-Poison*, &c.

The Writers on the Church-Side came not behind their Adversaries in Buffoonry and Ridicule, as ap-

Queen Elizabeth, pears by the following Pamphlets printed at this Time.

1589. *Pappe with an Hatchet*, alias, *A Fig for my Godson*: *Ludicrous Pamphlets on the Church Side.* Or, Crack me this Nut, that is, a found Box of the Ear for the Ideot Martin to hold his Peace. Written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Crab-Tree Cudgel, in Thwack-Coat-Lane.

Ath. Oxon. V.I.p.260. *Pasquil's Apology*. In the first Part whereof he renders a Reason of his long Silence and gallops the Field with the Treatise of Reformation. Printed where I was, and where I shall be ready, by the Help of God and my Muse, to send you a May-Game of Martinism. Anno 1590. Quarto.

An Almond for a Parrot: Or, An Alms for Mart. Mar-Prelate, &c. By Cuthbert Curry-Knave. Quarto.

The Return of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquil to England, and his meeting with Marforius at London, upon the Royal Exchange, Lond. 1589. against Martin and Martinism.

A Counter Cuff given to Martin junior, by the Pasquil of England, Cavaliero. 1589. Octavo.

Remarks. 'Tis sad, when a Controversy about serious Matters runs these Dregs: Ridicule and personal Satyr may expose an Adversary and make him ashamed, but will never convince or reconcile; it carries with it a Contempt which sticks in the Heart and will hardly be removed; nor do I remember any Cause that has been served by such Methods. Dr. Bridges answered Martin in a ludicrous Stile; but Cooper Bishop of Winchester did more Service by his grave and sober Reply, with the Assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who being miserably aspers'd, furnished the Bishop with Replies to the particular Charges brought against him. The Book is entitled, *An Advertisement to the People of England; wherein the Slanders of Martin Mar-Prelate the Libeller are distinctly answered.* But after all, it was impossible for the Bishops to wipe off from themselves the Charge of Persecution and Violation of the Laws.

To

To put a Stop to these Pamphlets the Queen sent ^{Queen Elizabeth,} a Letter to the Archbishop, commanding him to make diligent Enquiry after the *Printing Press*, and issued out her Royal Proclamation, dated Feb. 13th. ^{1589. Queen pro-}
 " For the bringing in all seditious and schismatical books
 " Books, whether printed or written, to the Ordination.
 " nary, or to one of the Privy Council, as tending to bring in a monstrous and dangerous Innovation of all manner of Ecclesiastical Government now in use,
 " and with a rash and malicious Purpose to dissolve the State of the Prelacy, being one of the three ancient Estates of this Realm under her Highness, whereof her Majesty mindeth to have a reverend Regard; she therefore prohibits any of her Subjects from keeping any Books in their Custody against the Order of the Church, or the Rites and Ceremonies of it, her Majesty being minded to have the Laws severely executed against the Authors and Abettors of them, as soon as they shall be apprehended."

As soon as the *Printing Press* was discovered, his *The Enter- Grace* writ to the Treasurer to prosecute the Persons ^{tainers of the Print- ing Press} with whom it was found; but like an artful Politician ^{punished.} wishes it might be done by the Lords of the Council, because ^{Life of Whitgift,} they had already suffered for supporting the Govern- ment, which was wounded through their Sides. Ac. p. 314. cordingly Sir Richard Knightley, Sir — Wigston, Fuller, who had entertained the *Press*, together with the B. IX. Printer, and Humphry Newman the Disperser, were p. 194. deeply fined in the Star-Chamber; and others put to Death.

The Archbishop being now in his Visitation had framed 22 Articles of Enquiry, upon which the ^{new Arti- cles of vi-} Church-Wardens of every Parish were to be examined ^{sitation.} upon Oath. By these Articles they were to swear, That their Minister was exactly conformable to the Orders of the Church, or else to impeach him; and to declare further, Whether they knew of any of their Neighbours or Fellow-Parishioners, that

Queen Elizabeth, 1590. were common Swearers, Drunkards, Usurers, Witches, Conjurers, Hereticks ; any Man that had two Wives ; or Women that had two Husbands : Whether they knew any that went to Conventicles or Meetings for saying Prayers in private Houses ; any that were of Age and did not receive the Sacrament at Church three Times a Year : With others, calculated to dissolve all Friendship in Country Towns, and set a whole Diocese in a Flame. When Sir Francis Knollys had read the Articles he sent them to the Treasurer, calling them by their proper Name, *Articles of Inquisition*, highly prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative : But there was no stopping his Grace's Career.

1590. Among the Divines that suffered Death for the Liberties abovementioned, were the Reverend Mr. UDAL, whose Case being peculiarly hard, I shall give the Reader an Abstract of it. He had been Minister of Kingston upon Thames ; but having been silenced by the Official Dr. Hone, he lay by for half a Year, having no farther Prospect of Usefulness in the Church. At length the People of Newcastle upon Tyne wanting a Minister, prevailed with the Earl of Huntington to send him to them ; when he had been there about a Year he was sent for up to London by the Lord Hunsdon and the Lord Chamberlain, in the Name of the whole Privy Council : Mr. Udal set out December 29th, 1589. and on the 13th of January appeared at Lord Cobham's House before the Commissioners, Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, Dr. John Young Bishop of Rochester, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Egerton the Queen's Solicitor, Dr. Aubery, and Dr. Lewin. The Bishop began the Examination in this Manner : *Bishop.* Have you the Allowance of the Bishop of the Diocese to preach at Newcastle ? *Udal.* There was neither Bishop of the Diocese, nor Archbishop of York at that Time. *Fortescue.* By what Law then did you preach at Newcastle, being silenced at Kingston ? *Udal.* I know no Law against it, seeing I was silenced only by the *Official*.

L. of Whit-gift, p. 309.
313.

Mr. Udal's
Examina-
tion.
Peirce's
Vindic.
p. 129.

Official, whose Authority reaches not beyond his Queen Archdeaconry. L. C. J. Anderson. You are called Elizabeth's to answer concerning certain Books, thought to be of your writing. Udal. If it be any of Martin's Books, I have disowned them a Year and a half ago at Lambeth. L. C. J. Anderson. Who was the Author of the Demonstration, or the Dialogue? Udal. I shall not answer. Anderson. Why will you clear your self of Martin, and not of these? Udal. Because I would not be thought to handle the Cause of Discipline as Martin did; but I think otherwise of the other Books, and care not though they should be fathered upon me; I think the Author did well, and therefore would not discover him if I knew him; but would hinder it all I could.

L. C. J. Anderson. Why dare you not confess if you be the Author? Udal. I have said I liked of the Books, and the Matter handled in them; but whether I made them, or no, I will not answer, for by the Law I am not obliged to it. Anderson. That is true, if it concerned the Loss of your Life [and yet the Justice tried and condemned him for his Life.] Udal. I pray your Lordship, does not the Law say, *No Man shall be put to answer without Presentment before Justices on Matters of Record, or by due Proofs and Writ original, &c.* A. 42 Edw. 3. cap. 3.

Anderson. That is Law if it be not repealed. Bishop of Rochester. Pray let me ask you a Question concerning your Book. But Udal was upon his Guard, and said, 'Tis not yet proved to be mine.

Mr. Solicitor. I am sorry, Mr. Udal, you will not answer nor take an Oath, which by Law you ought to do; but he did not say by what Law. Udal, Sir, if I have a Liberty by Law, there is no reason why I should not challenge it: Shew me by what Law I am obliged to accuse my self. Dr. Lewin. You have taken the Oath heretofore, why should you not take it now? Udal. I then voluntarily confessed certain Things concerning my preaching of the Points of Discipline, which could never have been proved;

and

^{Queen Elizabeth, 1590.} and when my Friends laboured to have me restored to my Ministry, the Archbishop answered, there was sufficient Matter against me by my own Confession why I should not be restored ; whereupon I co-venanted with my own Heart never to be my own Accuser again.

At length the Bishop told him his Sentence for that Time was to be sent to the *Gate-House* : Take it in his own Words, “ I was carried to the *Gate-House* by a Messenger, who delivered me with a Warrant to be kept close Prisoner, and not to be suffered to have Pen, Ink, or Paper, or any body to speak with me. Thus I remained half a Year, in all which Time my Wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that in the hearing of the Keeper she might speak to me, and I to her of such Things as she should think meet — All which Time my Chamber-Fellows were Seminary Priests, Traitors, and professed Papists. At the End of the half Year I was removed to the *White Lion* in Southwark, and so carried to the Assizes at Croydon.”

His Trial. On the 23d of July Mr. Udal was brought to Croydon with Fetters on his Legs, and indicted upon the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2. before Baron Clarke and Mr. Serjeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous and seditious Libel, called *a Demonstration of Discipline*, dedicated to the supposed Governors of the *Church of England*, in which is this Passage ; “ Who can without blushing deny you [the Bishops] to be the Cause of all Ungodliness ? Forasmuch as your Government gives liberty for a Man to be any Thing but a sound Christian ; it is more free in these Days to be a Papist or a wicked Man, than what we should be ; I could live 20 Years as such in *England*, and it may be in a Bishop’s House, and not be molested : So true is it, that you care for nothing but the Maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the Damnation of your own Souls, and infinite

“ Mil-

Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

“ Millions more.” These are the Words of the Indictment. To which Mr. Udal pleaded *Not Guilty*, and put himself upon the Trial of his Country. In opening the Causē Mr. Daulton the Queen’s Counsel made a long Invective against the new Discipline, which he affirmed was not to be found in the Word of God. To whom *Udal* replied, This being a Controversy among learned Divines, he thought Mr. Daulton might have suspended his Judgment, since he had formerly shew’d some liking to the Cause. Upon which the Judge said, *Sirrah! Sirrah!* answer to the Matter. Mr. Daulton, go on to the Proof of the Points in the Indictment, which were these three:

1. That *Udal* was the Author of the Book.
2. That he had a malicious Intent in making it.
3. That the Matters in the Indictment were Felony by the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2.

The first Point was to prove *Udal* to be the Author of the Book; and here ’tis observable, that the Witnesses were not brought into Court, but only their Examinations, which the Register swore to. And, First, *Stephen Chatfield*’s Articles were produced, which contained a Report of certain Papers he had seen in *Udal*’s Study. Upon seeing them, he asked, Whose Writings they were? *Udal* answer’d, a Friend’s. *Chatfield* then desired him to rid his Hands of them, for he doubted they concerned the State. He added, That *Udal* told him another Time, that if they put him to silence, he would give the Bishops such a Blow as they never had. *Chatfield* was called to witness these Things, but appeared not. *Daulton* said he went out of the Way on purpose. The Judge said, Mr. *Udal*, You are glad of that. Mr. *Udal* answered, my Lord, I wish heartily he were here; for as I am sure he could never say any Thing against me to prove this Point; so I am able to prove it to be true, that he is very sorry that he ever made any Complaint against me, confessing he did it in anger when *Martin* came first out, and by their Suggestions, whom

Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Udal added, That the Book was published before
1590. whom he had proved since to be very bad Men.

The Examination of *Nicolas Thompkins* before the Commissioners was next produced. This *Tompsonks* was now beyond Sea, but the Paper said, that *Udal* had told him, He was the Author. But *Thompsonks* himself sent Word, that *He would not for a 1000 l. affirm any more, than that he had heard *Udal* say, that he would not doubt but set his Name to the Book if he had indifferent Judges.* And when *Udal* offered to produce his Witnesses, the Judge said, *That because the Witnesses were against the Queen's Majesty they could not be heard.*

The Confession of *Henry Sharp* of *Northampton* was then read, who upon Oath before the Lord Chancellor had declared, *That he heard *Mr. Penry* say, that *Mr. Udal* was the Author of the DEMONSTRATION.*

This was the whole Evidence of the Fact upon which he was condemned, not a single living Witness was produced in Court; so that the Prisoner had no Opportunity to ask any Questions, or refute the Evidence. And what Methods were used to extort these Confessions may easily be imagined from the *Confessors* flying their Country, and then testifying their Sorrow for what they had said.

To prove the Sedition, and bring it within the Statute, the Council insisted upon his Threatning the Bishops, who being the Queen's Officers, it was construed a Threatning of the Queen her self. The Prisoner desired Liberty to explain the Passage, and his Council insisted, that an Offence against the Bishops was not Sedition against the Queen; but the Judge gave it for Law, that *They who spake against the Queen's Government in Causes Ecclesiastical, or her Laws, Proceedings, and Ecclesiastical Officers, defamed the Queen her self.* Upon this the Jury were directed to find him guilty of the Fact, and the Judges took upon

upon them the Point of Law and condemned him as a Felon. Mr. Fuller confesses, that the Proof against him was not pregnant, for it was generally believed he writ not the Book, but only the Preface. They might as well have condemned him without the Form of a Trial, for the Statute was undoubtedly stretched beyond the Intent of it, to reach his Life. He b.^{p. 223.} haved modestly and discreetly at the Bar ; and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable Persons, he submitted to the Judgment of the Court.

Mr. Udal was cast in the Summer Assizes, 1590. but did not receive Sentence till the Lent after ; in the mean Time he was offered his Pardon, if he would sign the following Submission.

“ I John Udal have been heretofore, by due Course of Law convicted of Felony, for penning or setting forth a certain Book, called, *The Demonstration of Discipline*, wherein false, slanderous, and seditious Matters are contained against her Majesty’s Prerogative Royal, her Crown and Dignity, and against the Laws and Government Ecclesiastical and Temporal by Law establish’d under her Highness, and tending to the erecting a new Form of Government, contrary to her said Laws ; all which Points I do now perceive by the Grace of God, to be very dangerous to the Peace of this Realm and Church, seditious in the Commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to the Queen’s most excellent Majesty ; so as thereby I now seeing the grievousness of my Offence, do most humbly on my Knees, before, and in this Presence, submit my self to the Mercy of her Highness, being most sorry that I have so deeply and worthily incurred her Majesty’s Indignation against me ; promising, if it shall please God to move her Royal Heart to have Compassion on me a most sorrowful convicted Person, that I will for ever hereafter forsake all such undutiful and

Queen Elizabeth,
1590.

Mr. Udal
condemned.

*Judges of
for him a
Submission.*

*Ann.
Vol. ult.
P. 26.*

Queen Elizabeth, " dangerous Courses, and demean my self dutifullly
 1590. " and peaceably ; for I do acknowledge her Laws to
 " be both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by
 " every Subject. Feb. 1591."

No Arguments or Threatnings of the Judges could prevail with *Udal* to sign this Submission ; but the Day before Sentence was to be passed he offered the following, drawn up by himself.

His own Submission. " Concerning the Book whereof I was by due Course of Law convicted, by referring my self to the Trial of the Law, and for that by the Verdict of 12 Men, I am found to be the Author of it, for which Cause an humble Submission is worthily required and offered of me : Although I cannot disavow the Cause and Substance of the Doctrine debated in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be holy, and (so far as I conceive it) agreeable to the Word of God ; yet I confess, the Manner of writing it, is such in some part as may worthily be blamed, and might provoke her Majesty's just Indignation therein. Whereof the Trial of the Law imputing to me all such Defaults as are in that Book, and laying the Punishment of the same in most grievous Manner upon me ; as my most humble Suit to her most excellent Majesty is, that her Mercy and gracious Pardon may free me from the Guilt and Offence which the said Trial of the Law hath cast upon me, and further of her great Clemency, to restore me to the Comfort of my Life and Liberty, so do I promise in all humble Submission to God and her Majesty, to carry my self in the whole Course of my Life, in such humble and dutiful Obedience, as shall befit a Minister of the Gospel and dutiful Subject, fervently and continually praying for the good Preservation of her Highness's precious Life, and happy Government, to the Honour of God, and Comfort "

" of

" of her Loyal and Dutiful Subjects. Feb. 19.

Queen Elizabeth,
1590.

" 1591.

Mr. *Udal* had often, and with great Earnestness, *His Petition*, petitioned his Judges for their Mediation with the *tions*. Queen: In his Letter of Nov. 11th. he says, " I pray " you call to mind my tedious State of Imprisonment, " whereby my self, my Wife and Children, are re- " duced to Beggary; pray call to mind by what " Course this Misery is brought upon me, and if " you find by due Consideration, that I am worthy " to receive the Punishment from the Sentence " of upright Justice, I pray you to hasten the " Execution of the same, for it were better for " me to die than to live in this Case; but if it " appear to your Consciences (as I hope it will) " that no Malice against her Majesty can possibly " be in me, then do I humbly and heartily de- " fire you to be a Means that I may be released; " then I shall not only forget that hard Opinion " conceived of your Courses against me, but pray " heartily to God to bury the same, with the " rest of your Sins, in the Grave of his Son Jesus " Christ." Mr. *Udal* writ again Nov. 18. and 25th. in most humble and dutiful Language; but the Court would do nothing till he had signed their Submission.

At the Close of the Lent Assizes being called to the Bar with the rest of the Feions, and asked what he had to say, why Judgment should not be given against him according to the Verdict, he gave in a Paper consisting of nine Reasons; of which these are the principal.

1. " Because the Jury were directed only to find *His Real*: " the Fact, whether I was Author of the Book; and *sons for* " were expressly freed by your Lordship from enqui- *arrest of* " ring into the Intent, without which there is no *Judgment*. " Felony.

Queen Elizabeth, " 2. " The Jury were not left to their own Consciences, but were wrought upon partly by *Promises*,
1590. " assuring them it should be no further Danger to
 " me but tend to my good ; and partly by *Fear*,
 " as appears, in that it has been a Grief to some of
 " them ever since.

3. " The Statute in the true Meaning of it, is
 " thought not to reach my Case, there being nothing
 " in the Book spoken of her Majesty's Person but in
 " Duty and *Honour* ; I beseech you therefore to
 " consider, whether the drawing of it from her
 " Royal Person to the Bishops, as being part of her
 " Body politick, be not a violent depraving and
 " wresting of the Statute.

4. " But if the Statute be taken as it is urged, the
 " Felony must consist in the *malicious Intent* ; where-
 " in I appeal first to God, and then to all Men who
 " have known the Course of my Life, and to your
 " Lordships own Consciences, whether you can find
 " me guilty of any *Act* in all my Life that favoured
 " of any Malice or malicious Intent against her Ma-
 " jesty ; of which, if your Consciences must clear
 " me before God, I hope you will not proceed to
 " Judgment.

5. " By the Laws of God, and I trust also by the
 " Laws of the Land, the Witnesses ought to be pro-
 " duced face to face against me ; but I have none
 " such, nor any other Things, but Papers and Re-
 " ports of Depositions taken by Ecclesiastical Com-
 " missioners and others. This kind of Evidence is
 " not allowed in case of Lands, and therefore much
 " less ought it to be allowed in case of Life.

6. " None of the Depositions prove me directly to
 " be the Author of the Book in question ; and the
 " Author of the chief Testimony is so grieved, that
 " he is ashamed to come where he is known.

7. " Supposing me to be the Author of the Book,
 " let it be considered that the said Book for Sub-
 " stance contains nothing but what is taught and
 " be-

“ believed by the best reformed Churches in Europe, Queen
 “ so that in condemning me you condemn all such Elizabeth,
 “ Nations and Churches as hold the same Doctrine. 1590.
 “ If the Punishment be for the Manner of writing, Strype’s
 “ this may be thought by some worthy of an Admo- Ann.
 “ nition, or Fine, or some short Imprisonment; but Vol. ult.
 “ Death for an Error of such a Kind, as Terms and P. 22.
 “ Words not altogether dutiful of certain Bishops,
 “ cannot but be extreme Cruelty, against one that
 “ has endeavoured to shew himself a dutiful Subject,
 “ and faithful Minister of the Gospel.

“ If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth;
 “ to whom I commend my self, and say as sometime
 “ Jeremiab said in a Case not much unlike, Bekold, I
 “ am in your Hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth
 “ good unto you; but know you this, that if you put me
 “ to Death you shall bring innocent Blood upon your own
 “ Heads, and upon the Land. As the Blood of Abel,
 “ so the Blood of Udal will cry to God with a loud
 “ Voice, and the righteous Judge of the Land will
 “ require it at the Hands of all that shall be guilty
 “ of it.”

But nothing would avail, unless he would sign the *His Sentence*.
 Submission the Court had drawn up for him; which his Conscience not suffering him to do, Sentence of
 Death was passed upon him Feb. 20th. and Execution openly commanded; but next Morning the Judges, by Direction from Court, gave private Orders to respite it till her Majesty’s Pleasure was further known. The Dean of St. Paul’s and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the Submission; which he peremptorily refused. But because the Queen had been misinformed of his Belief, he sent her Majesty a short Confession of his Faith in these Words:

1. “ I believe, and have often preached, that the *His Confession*
 “ Church of England is a part of the true visible *Church*, the Word and Sacraments being truly *Faith*.
 “ dispensed; for which Reason I have communicated

Queen Elizabeth, " with it several Years at *Kingston*, and a Year at *Newcastle on Tyne*; and do still desire to be a Preacher in the same Church; therefore I utterly renounce the Schism and Separation of the *Brownists*.

2. " I do allow the Articles of Religion as far as they contain the Doctrine of Faith and Sacra- ments, according to Law.

3. " I believe the Queen's Majesty hath, and ought to have supreme Authority over all Persons, in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil. — And if the Prince commands any Thing contrary to the Word of God, it is not lawful for Subjects to rebel or resist, but with Patience and Humility to bear the Punishment laid upon them.

L. of Whit. 4. " I believe the Church rightly reformed ought to be governed ecclesiastically by Ministers, assisted by Elders, as in the foreign reformed Churches.

5. " I believe the Censures of the Church ought merely to concern the Soul, and may not impeach any Subject, much less any Prince, in liberty of Body, Goods, Dominion, or any earthly Privilege; nor do I believe that a Christian Prince ought otherwise to be subject to Church Censures, than our gracious Queen professes her self to be to the Preaching of the Word and the Administration of the Sacraments."

*Petitions
to be ba-
nnished.*

*Fuller,
B. IX.
P. 2C3.*

With this Declaration of his Faith he sent an humble Request, That if her Majesty would not graciously be pleased to pardon him, she would change his Sentence into *Banishment*, that the Land might not be charged with his Blood. King James of Scotland writ to the Queen, requesting most earnestly, that for the sake of his *Intercession*, *Udal* might be relieved of his present Strait, promising to do the like for her Majesty in any Matter she should recommend to him. The Turkey Merchants also offered to send him as Chaplain to one of their Factories abroad,

if he might have his Life and Liberty ; which Queen Elizabeth,
Udal consented to, as appears by his Letter to the Lord Treasurer, in which he says, "Lamentable is my Case, having been three Years in Durance, which makes me humbly desire your Lordship's Favour, that I may be released from my Imprisonment, the Turkey Merchants having my Consent to go into Syria or Guinea, there to remain two Years with their Factors, if my Liberty may be obtained." The Writer of Archbishop *Whitgift*'s Life says the Archbishop yielded to this Petition ; that the Lord Keeper promised to further it ; and that the Earl of *Essex* had a Draught of a Pardon ready drawn, with this Condition to be added, that he should never return without the Queen's Licence ; but her Majesty never sign'd it, and the Turkey Ships going away without him, poor *His Death* unhappy *Udal* died a few Months after in the *Mar-* and *Char-*
shalsea Prison, quite Heart-broken with Sorrow and *racter*. Grief, about the end of the Year 1592. Mr. *Fuller* B. IX. says he was a learned Man, and of a blameless Life, p. 222. powerful in Prayer, and no less profitable than painful in preaching. He was decently interred in the Church-Yard of St. George Southwark, not far from the Grave of Bishop *Bonner*, being honoured with the Attendance of great Numbers of the *London* Ministers, who visited him in Prison, and now wept over the Remains of a Man, that after a long and severe Trial of his Faith and Patience, died for the Testimony of a good Conscience, and stands upon Record as a Monument of the Oppression and Cruelty of the Government under which he suffered.

Though the moderate Puritans publickly disowned *Examina-* the *Libels* above-mentioned, and disliked the *Spirittion of Mr.* with which they were writ, they were nevertheless *Cart-* brought into Trouble for their *Associations*. Among *wright* others, the Reverend Mr. *Cartwright* Father of the *Puritan*, and Master of the new Hospital at *Warwick*, was suspended by his Diocesan, and summoned before the

Queen Elizabeth, 1590. High Commissioners, who committed him to the Fleet with his Brethren, Mr. Egerton, Fen, Wight, Farmer, Lord, Snape, King, Rushbrooke, Wiggins, Littleton, Field, Loyde, Payne, Proudlove, and Jewel. At their first Appearance the Commissioners asked them, Where they held their *Associations* or *Assemblies*, and how often? Who were present, and what Matters were treated of? Who corrected or set forth the *Book of Discipline*, and who had subscribed or submitted to it? Whether in a Christian Monarchy the King is supreme Governor of the Church? or, Whether he is under the Government of Pastors, Doctors, and such like? Whether it be lawful for a sovereign Prince to ordain Ceremonies, and make Orders for the Church? Whether the Ecclesiastical Government established in *England* be lawful, and allowed by the Word of God? Whether the Sacraments minister'd according to the Book of *Common Prayer*, are godly and rightly minister'd? &c.

Mr. Cartwright's Answer to these Interrogatories was said by the Civilians to be insufficient; upon which they exhibited 31 Articles against him, September 1st. 1590. and required him to answer them upon Oath.

Articles exhibited against Mr. Cartwright. The first 24 Articles charge him with renouncing his Episcopal Orders, by being re-ordained beyond Sea, with interrupting the Peace, and breaking the Orders of the Church since he came home; and with knowing the Authors or Printers of *Martin Mar-Prelate*.

Art. 25. Charges him with penning, or procuring to be penned, the *Book of Discipline*; and with recommending the Practice of it.

Art. 26. Charges him with being present at sundry pretended Synods, Classes or Conferences of Ministers in divers Counties.

Art. 27. — That at such Synods they subscribed the *Book of Discipline*, and promised to govern themselves by it as far as they could.

Art. 28.

Art. 28. — Charges him with setting up particular Conferences in several Shires, which were to receive the Determinations of the general Assembly, and put them in practice.

Art. 29, 30, and 31. Mentions some Rules and Orders of their Synods; as, that the Members should bring Testimonials from their several Classes; that they should subscribe the *Book of Discipline*; that no Books should be printed but by consent; that they should be subject to the Censures of the Brethren both for Doctrine and Life; and that if any should be sent abroad upon publick Service at the Meeting of Parliament, their Charges should be bore, &c.

Mr. Cartwright offer'd to clear himself of some of these Articles upon Oath, and to give his Reasons for not answering the rest, but if this would not satisfy, he was determined to submit to the Punishment the Commissioners should award [which was Imprisonment in the Fleet]; praying the Lord Treasurer to make some Provision for the poor People of Warwick who had no Minister. The rest of Cartwright's Brethren refusing the OATH for the same Reasons (viz.) Because they would not accuse themselves, nor bring their Friends into Trouble, were committed to divers Prisons. But the Archbishop, by Advice of the Treasurer, was not present at the Commitment of his old Adversary.

On the 13th of May they were brought before the STAR-CHAMBER, which was a Court made up of certain Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, and Counsellors of the Queen's Nomination, to the Number of 20 or 30, with her Majesty at their Head, who is the sole Judge when present, the other Members being only to give their Opinion to their Sovereign by Way of Advice, which he [or she] disallows at their Pleasure; but in the Absence of the Sovereign the Determination is by a Majority, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper having a casting Voice. The Determinations of

Queen Elizabeth, 1591.

He refuses to answer upon Oath.

Life of Whitgift, p. 338.

of the Court of Star-Chamber.

L. of Whit.

p. 361.

~~Elizabeth~~, Queen of this Court (says Mr. Rushworth) were not by the Verdict of a Jury, nor according to any Statute Law of the Land, but according to the King [or Queen's] Royal Will and Pleasure, and yet they were made as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament. In the Reign of King Henry VII. the Practice of that Court was thought to intrench upon the Common Law, but it seldom did any Business ; but in the latter end of this, and the two next Reigns, the Court sat constantly, and was so unmerciful in its Censures and Punishments, that the whole Nation cried out against it as a Mark of the vilest Slavery.

~~H. Gr. Rebellion, Vol I. 8vo. p. 68, &c.~~ Lord Clarendon says, " There were very few Persons of Quality in those Times that had not suffered, or been perplexed by the Weight and Fear of its Censures and Judgments ; for having extended their Jurisdiction from Riots, Perjuries, and the most notorious Misdemeanors, to an asserting of all Proclamations, and Orders of State, to the vindicating illegal Commissions and Grants of Monopolies, no Man could hope to be any longer free from the Inquisition of that Court, than he resolved to submit to those and the like extraordinary Courses."

~~Cartwright and his Brethren appear before it.~~ When Cartwright and his Brethren appeared before the Court, Mr. Attorney General inveighed bitterly against them for refusing the Oath, and when Mr. Fuller Counsel for the Prisoners stood up to answer, he was commanded silence, and told, that far less Crimes than theirs had been punished with the Gallies or perpetual Banishment, which latter he ~~gift, p. 360.~~ thought proper for them, provided it was in some remote Place from whence they might not return. From the Star-Chamber they were remitted back to the High Commission, where Bancroft had a long Argument with Cartwright about the Oath ; from thence they were returned again to the Star-Chamber, and a Bill was exhibited against them with 20 Articles ;

cles; in Answer to which they maintain, That their Associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any Law of the Realm; that they exercised no Jurisdiction, nor moved any Sedition, nor transacted any Affairs in them, but with a due Regard to their Duty to their Prince, and to the Peace of the Church; that they had agreed upon some Regulations to render their Ministry more edifying, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no Law; and as for the Oath, they refused it not in Contempt of the Court, but as contrary to the Laws of God and Nature.

But this Answer not being satisfactory they were remanded to Prison, where they continued two Years without any further Process, or being admitted to Bail; in the mean Time King James of Scotland interceeded for them, in a Letter to the Queen, dated June 12th, 1591. in which he requests her Majesty to shew Favour to Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren, because of their great Learning and faithful Travels in the Gospel. Cartwright himself petition'd for his Liberty, as being afflicted with excessive Pains of the Gout and Sciatica, which were much encreased by lying in a cold Prison; he writ a most humble and pious Letter to the Lady Russel, and another to the Lord Treasurer, beseeching them to procure his Enlargement with the Queen, though it were upon Bond, expressing a very great Concern that her Majesty should be so highly offended with him, since he had printed no Books for 13 Years past that could give the least Uneasiness; since he had declared his dislike of Martin Mar-Prelate; and that he never had a Finger in any of the Books under his Name, nor in any other satyrical Pamphlets; and further, that in the Course of his Ministry for five Years past at Warwick he had avoided all Controversy. Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and two others of the University, writ an excellent Letter to the Trea-

Queen Elizabeth, 1591.

but up in divers Persons.

L. of Ayl. P. 321. Fuller, B. IX. p. 203. Life of Whitgift, P. 370.

Queen Elizabeth, Treasurer in favour of the Prisoners, beseeching his Lordship that they might not be more hardly dealt with than Papists; but this not prevailing, after six Months they petition'd the Lords of the Council [Decemb. 4th] to be enlarged upon Bail, and writ to the Treasurer to second it, assuring his Lordship of their Loyalty to the Queen, and peaceable Behaviour in the Church. "We doubt not (say they) but your Lordship is sensible, that a Year's Imprisonment and more which we have suffered, must strike deeper into our Healths, considering our Education, than a Number of Years to Men of a different Occupation. Your Lordship knows, that many Papists who deny the Queen's Supremacy have been enlarged, whereas we have all sworn to it; and if the Government require, are ready to take the Oath again." This was sign'd by

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Tho. Cartwright,</i> | <i>Edward Lord,</i> |
| <i>Hump. Fen,</i> | <i>Edmund Snape,</i> |
| <i>Andrew King,</i> | <i>Wm. Proudlove,</i> |
| <i>Dan. Wight,</i> | <i>Melanchton Jewel.</i> |
| <i>John Payne,</i> | |

They also applied to the Archbishop, who refused to consent to their Enlargement unless they would under their Hands declare the Church of England to be a true Church, and the whole Order of publick Prayers, &c. consonant to the Word of God, and renounce for the future all their Assemblies, Classes and Synods; which they declined. These Applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at last to address the Queen her self, for which purpose they drew up the following Declaration, containing a full Answer to the several Charges brought against them.

A Letter of the above-mentioned Puritan Ministers imprisoned, to her Majesty, in Vindication of their Innocency. Dated April 1592.

Elizabeth,

1592.

May it please your excellent Majesty,

" **T**HERE is nothing, right gracious Sovereign, Their Ad-
 " next to the saving Mercy of Almighty God, dress to the
 " that can be more comfortable than your High- Queen.
 " ness's Favour, as to all other your faithful and Strype's
 " dutiful Subjects, so to us your Majesty's most Ann.
 " humble Suppliants, who are by our Calling Mi- Vol. ult.
 " nisters of God's holy Word; and by our present p. 85, &c.
 " Condition now, and of long Time, Prisoners in
 " divers Prisons in and about the City of *London*;
 " for which Cause our most humble Suit is, That it
 " may please your most excellent Majesty, graci-
 " ously to understand our necessary Answer to such
 " grievous Charges as we hear to be informed
 " against us, which if they were true, might be just
 " Cause of withdrawing for ever from us your High-
 " ness's gracious Protection and Favour, which
 " above all other earthly Things we most desire to
 " enjoy. The Reason of our Trouble, is a Suspi-
 " cion that we should be guilty of many heinous
 " Crimes; but these supposed Crimes we have not
 " been charged with in any due and ordinary Course
 " of Proceeding, by open Accusation and Witnes-
 " ses. But being called up to *London* by Authority
 " of some of your Majesty's Commissioners in Causes
 " Ecclesiastical, we have been required by them to
 " take an *Oath of Inquisition or Office*, as it is called;
 " for not taking whereof we were first committed
 " to Prison, and since have continued there a long
 " Time, notwithstanding that all of us save one
 " have been deprived of our Livings, and degraded
 " of our Ministry.

" Wherefore, for that the Oath is the next and
 " immediate Cause of our Trouble, we have made

Queen " our Answer first to that, and then after also to Elizabeth, " the Crimes that are suggested, and secretly informed against us.
 1592.

The O A T H.

" As for the *Oath*, the Reason why we took it
 " not, is because it is without Limitation of any
 " certain Matter, infinite and general, to answer
 " whatsoever shall be demanded of us. Of this
 " kind of *Oath* we find neither Rule nor Example
 " in the Word of God; but contrariwise both Pre-
 " cepts and Precedents of all lawful *Oaths* reported
 " in the same tend to this, that an *Oath* ought to
 " be taken with Judgment, and so as he that swear-
 " eth may see the Bounds of his *Oath*, and to what
 " Condition it does bind him, &c. But this *Oath*
 " is to enquire of our private Speeches and Confe-
 " rences with our dearest and nearest Friends; yea,
 " of the very secret Thoughts and Intents of our
 " Hearts, that so we may furnish both Matter of
 " Accusation and Evidence of Proof against our
 " selves, which was not used to be done in Causes of
 " *Heresy* or *High Treason*; for these are the Words of
 " the Statutes of your most noble Father, *Henry*

An. 25 H. " VIII. For that the most expert and best learned, can-
 §. cap. 14. " not escape the Danger of such captious Interrogatories
 " (as the Law calleth them) which are accustomed to be
 " administer'd by the Ordinaries of this Realm; as also
 " that it standeth not with the right Order of Justice, or
 " good Equity, that any Person should be convicted, or
 " put to the Loss of Life, good Name, or Goods, unless
 " it be by due Accusation and Witness, or by Presentment,

An. 35 H. " Verdict, Confession, or Process of Outlawry: — And
 §. cap. 15. " further, for the avoiding untrue Accusations and Pre-
 Sent. 3d. " sentments which might be maliciously conspired, and kept
 " secret and unrevealed, till Time might be espied to have
 " Men thereof by Malice convicted, it was ordained that
 " none should be put to answer but upon Accusation
 " and

" and Presentments taken in open and manifest
" Courts by the Oath of twelve Men.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

SCHISM.

" As to the Charge of Schism, and that we so far con-
" demned the State of the Church, that we hold it not
" for any true, visible Church of God, as it is esta-
" blished by publick Authority within the Land, and
" therefore refuse to have any Part or Communion with
" it in publick Prayers, or in the Ministry of the Word
" and Sacraments: If this were true, we were of all
" Men living the most unthankful, first to Almigh-
" ty God, and next to your excellent Majesty, by
" whose blessed Means we are Partakers of that
" happy Liberty of the Profession of the Gospel,
" and of the true Service of God, that by your
" Highness's gracious Government we do enjoy.
" We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the Sight of
" God, that this our Church, as it is by your
" Highness's Laws and Authority established among
" us, having that Faith professed and taught pub-
" licly in it, that was agreed of in the Convoca-
" tion of 1562. and such Form of publick Prayers
" and Administration of the Sacraments, as in the
" first Year of your most gracious Reign was esta-
" blished (notwithstanding any Thing that may
" need to be revised and further reformed) is a
" true visible Church of Christ, from the holy Com-
" munion whereof, by way of Schism, it is not law-
" ful to depart.

" Our whole Life may shew the evident Proof
" hereof; for always before the Time of our Trou-
" ble we have lived in the daily Communion of it,
" not only as private Men, but at the Time of our
" Restraint (as many Years before) preached and
" exercised our Ministry in the same; and at this
" present most earnestly beseech all in Authority
" that is set over us, especially your excellent

" Ma-

Queen " Majesty, that we may so proceed to serve
Elizabeth, " God and your Highness all the Days of our
 1592. " Life.

REBELLION.

" Another Crime suggested against us is, That
 " we should practise or purpose rebelliously to procure
 " such further Reformation of our Church as we desire,
 " by violent and undutiful Means. Whereunto our
 " Answer is, that as we think it not lawful to make
 " a Schism in the Church for any Thing that we
 " esteem needful to be reformed in it, so do we in all
 " Simplicity and Sincerity of Heart [declare] in the
 " Presence of Almighty God (to whom all Secrets are
 " known) and of your excellent Majesty (to whom
 " the Sword is given of God for just Vengeance and
 " Punishment of Transgressors) that for procuring
 " Reformation of any Thing that we desire to be re-
 " dressed in the State of our Church, we judge it
 " most unlawful and damnable by the Word of God
 " to rebel, and by Force of Arms, or any violent
 " Means, to seek Redress thereof: And moreover,
 " that we never intended to use, or procure any
 " other Means for the Furtherance of such Re-
 " formation than only Prayer to Almighty God,
 " and most humble Suit to your excellent Majesty,
 " and others in Authority, with such like dutiful
 " and peaceable Means as might give Information of
 " this our Suit, and of the Reasons moving us there-
 " unto.

SUPREMACY.

" The third Crime misinformed against us is, That
 " we impeach your Majesty's Supremacy. For Answer
 " whereunto we unfeignedly protest (God being
 " witness, that we speak the Truth herein from our
 " Hearts) that we acknowledge your Highness's
 " Sov-

“ Sovereignty and supreme Power, next and immediately under God, over all Persons, and in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, in as large and ample Manner as it is agnized by the High Court of Parliament in the *Statute of Recognition*, and is set down in the Oath of Supremacy enacted by the same; and as it is further declared in your Majesty’s Injunctions, and also in the Articles of Religion agreed in the Convocation, and in sundry Books of learned Men of our Nation published and allowed by publick Authority. We add yet hereunto, that we acknowledge the same as fully as ever it was in old Time acknowledged by the Prophets to belong to the virtuous Kings of Judah; and as all the reformed Churches in Christendom acknowledge the same to their Sovereign Princes in the Confessions of their Faith, exhibited unto them, as they are set down in a Book named the *Harmony of Confessions*, and the Observations annexed thereunto.

“ And besides this Protestation, we appeal to the former whole Course of our Lives, wherein it cannot be shewed, that we ever made question of it; and more particularly by our publick Doctrine, declaring the same; and by our taking the Oath of Supremacy as Occasion hath required.

EXCOMMUNICATIO N.

“ It hath been odiously devised against us, concerning the Persons subject to Excommunication, and the Power thereof, how far it extendeth: Touching the former, —— we judge not otherwise herein, than all the reformed Churches that are this Day in the Christian World, nor than our own English Church, both always heretofore hath judged, and doth still at this present, as may appear by the Articles of Religion agreed by the Convocation, and by a Book of Homilies allowed by the same,

Queen Elizabeth,
1592.

Quicn " and also by sundry other Books of greatest Credit
 Elizabeth, " and Authority in our Church ; which is that the
 1592. " Word of God, the Sacraments, and the Power of
 " binding and loosing, are all Ordinances of Al-
 " mighty God, graciously ordained for the Comfort
 " and Salvation of the whole Church ; and that
 " therefore no Part or Member of it is to be denied
 " the comfortable wholesome Aid and Benefit there-
 " of, for the Furtherance of their Faith, and (as
 " need may require) of their Repentance, &c.

" For the other part, how far this Censure ex-
 " tendeth, we profess that it depriveth a Man only
 " of spiritual Comforts, as of being Partaker of the
 " Lord's Table, and being present at the publick
 " Prayers of the Church, or such like, without
 " taking away either Liberty, Goods, Lands, Go-
 " vernment private or publick whatsoever, or any
 " other civil or earthly Commodity of this Life.
 " Wherefore from our Hearts we detest and abhor
 " that intolerable Presumption of the Bishop of *Rome*,
 " taking upon him, in such Cases, to depose Sov-
 " reign Princes from their highest Seats of supreme
 " Government, and discharging their Subjects from
 " that dutiful Obedience that by the Laws of God
 " they ought to perform.

CONFERENCES.

" Concerning our Conferences, we have been char-
 " ged to have given ORDERS, and made MINI-
 " STERS, and to have administer'd the Censures of the
 " Church, and finally to have exercised all Ecclesiastical
 " Jurisdiction. To which Suggestion we answer,
 " that indeed of long Time we have used, as other
 " Ministers have done (as we think in most Parts of
 " the Land) to meet sometimes and confer together ;
 " which being granted to all good and dutiful Sub-
 " jects upon occasion to resort and meet together,
 " we esteem it is lawful for us to do so.

" For

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

" For besides the common Affairs of all Men, which may give them just Cause to meet with their Acquaintance and Friends, mutually to communicate for their Comfort and Help one with another ; Men professing Learning have more necessary and special Use of such Conferences for their furtherance in such Knowledge as they profess. — But such as are professed Ministers of the Word have sundry great and necessary Causes so to do more than others, because of the manifold Knowledge both of Divinity, and also of divers Tongues and Sciences, that are of great Use for the better enabling them for their Ministry ; in which respect the Conferences of the Ministers were allowed by many Bishops within their Dioceses, and to our Knowledge never disallowed nor forbidden by any. Some late Years also have given us more special Cause of conferring together, where Jesuits, Seminaries, and other Heretics, sought to seduce many ; and wherein also some Schismatics condemned the whole State of our Church as no part of the true visible Church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any Part or Communion with it ; upon which Occasion it is needful for us to advise of the best Way and Means we could to keep the People that we had charge to instruct, from such damnable Errors.

" Further also particularly, because some reckoned us to have part with their Schism, and reported us to agree in nothing but to differ one from another in the Reformation we desire ; we have special Cause to confer together, that we might set down some Things touching such Matters, which at all Times, whensoever we should be demanded, might be our true and just Defence, both to clear us from partaking with the Schism, and to witness for us, that we agreed in the Reformation that we desire.

Queen Elizabeth, " But as touching the Thing surmised of our Meetings, that we exercise in them all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in making Ministers, in censuring and excommunicating, in ordaining Constitutions and Orders upon such Censures to bind any; we protest before God and the Holy Angels, that we never exercised any part of such Jurisdiction, nor had any Purpose agreed among us to exercise the same, before we should by publick Law be authorised thereunto.

" Further also, touching such our Meetings, we affirm that they were only of *Ministers* (saving in some Parts where a School-Master, two or three, desirous to train themselves to the Ministry joined with us) and the same, but of six or seven or like small Number in a Conference, without all Deed or Appearance that might be offensive to any.

SINGULARITY.

" Which though it be not subject to any Punishment of Law, yet is suggested against us by such as favour not our most humble Desire of a further Reformation to disgrace us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with your excellent Majesty; whereunto our Answer is, that the Discipline of the primitive Church is ancient, and so acknowledged by the Book of *Common Prayer*, —in these Words, *That there was a godly Discipline in the primitive Church; instead whereof, until the said Discipline may be restored again (which Thing is much to be wished) it is thought convenient to use such a Form of Communion as is prescribed.*

" Further also, if it please your Majesty with favour to understand it from us, we are ready to shew, that in such Points of Ecclesiastical Discipline of our Church, which we desire most humbly may be reformed, we hold no singular or private Opinion, but the Truth of the Word of God,

" ac-

" acknowledged to be such by all the best Churches
 " and Writers of ancient Time and of this present
 " Age.

Queen

Elizabeth,

1592.

" Thus have we declared, right gracious Sov-
 " reign, truly and sincerely, as we will answer it
 " before God, and to your Majesty upon our Alle-
 " giance, what Judgment we are of concerning the
 " Matters informed against us ; and further testify,
 " that no Minister within this Land desiring a fur-
 " ther Reformation, with whom we have had any
 " private Acquaintance or Conference of these Mat-
 " ters (whatsoever may be otherwise informed) is
 " of any other Mind or Opinion in these Cases that
 " have been named ; by which Declaration if (ac-
 " cording to our earnest Prayers to Almighty God)
 " your Majesty shall clearly discern us to stand free
 " from all such Matters as we are charged with,
 " our most humble Suit is, that your Majesty's gra-
 " cious Favour (which is more dear and precious to
 " us than our Lives) may be extended to us, and
 " that by means thereof we may enjoy the comfort-
 " able Liberty of our Persons and Ministry, as we
 " did before our Troubles ; which if by your High-
 " ness's special Mercy and Goodness we may obtain,
 " we promise and vow to Almighty God, and your
 " excellent Majesty, to behave our selves in so
 " peaceable and dutiful sort in every respect, as may
 " give no just Cause of your Highness's Offence, but
 " according to our Callings, both in Doctrine and
 " Example as heretofore, so always hereafter to
 " teach due Obedience to your Majesty among other
 " Parts of holy Doctrine ; and to pray for your Ma-
 " jesty's long and blessed Reign over us, &c."

It was not till some Time after this that Mr. Cartwright was released, upon promise of his quiet and peaceable Behaviour, and restored to his Hospital in Warwick, where he continued without further Disturbance the rest of his Days ; but many of his Brethren

Queen Elizabeth, continued under Suspension while their Families were
 starving, as the Reverend Mr. Fanner of Cranbrook
 suspended 7 Years, Mr. Leverwood of Manchelsee 7
 Years, Mr. Percival Wyburne of Rochester 5 Years,
 Mr. Rockeray Prebendary of Rochester 4 Years, Mr.
 Barbar of Bow-Church, London, 2 Years 6 Months,
 Mr. Field of Aldermanry, London, Mr. Smith Lecturer
 of St. Clements, whose printed Sermons were a Family
 Book all over England many Years; Mr. Travers
 of the Temple, Mr. Colset of Easton on the Hill,
 Mr. Settle of Buxstead, Suffolk, Mr. Gellibrand, Dyke,
 Fleming, Mr. Kendal, Mr. Hubbock of Oxford, with
 many others whose Names are before me. Mr. Hubbock
 was an excellent Divine, and was called before the
 Commission for saying, that *A great Nobleman* (mean-
 ing the Archbishop) had kneeled down to her Majesty for
 staying and hindring her Intent to reform Religion. But
 his Grace not being willing to insist upon this, com-
 manded him to subscribe, and in case of refusal to en-
 ter into Bonds not to preach any more, nor to come
 within 10 Miles of Oxford; which Mr. Hubbock de-
 clined, saying, "He had rather go to Prison than
 consent to be silent from Preaching, unless he was
 convinced that he had taught false Doctrine, or
 committed any Fault worthy of Bonds." Sir
 Francis Knollys and the Treasurer interceeded for him,
 but to no purpose; upon which Sir Francis writ back
 to the Treasurer in these Words; "You know how
 greatly, yea, and tyrannously the Archbishop
 hath urged Subscription to his own Articles with-
 out Law — and that he has claimed in the Right
 of all the Bishops a Superiority over the inferior
 Clergy from God's own Ordinance, in prejudice to
 her Majesty's supreme Government, though at
 present he says he does not claim it, therefore in
 my Opinion he ought openly to retract it."

These high Proceedings of the Commissioners
 brought their Powers under Examination; most
 were of Opinion that they exceeded the Law, but
 some

1592.
 But many
 of his Bre-
 thren un-
 der Suspen-
 sion.
 M. S.
 p. 584.

L. of Whit-
 gift, p. 341,
 342.

some thought the very Court it self was illegal, imagining the Queen could not delegate her Supremacy to others. Mr. Cawdery, late Minister of Luffingham in ^{Queen Elizabeth, 1592.} Suffolk, had been suspended by the Bishop of London for refusing the Oath *ex Officio*; but not acquiescing in his the Commissioners' Sentence, the Bishop summoned him before the High Commissioners, who deprived him for ^{powers of} ^{debated in} ^{Mr. Cawdery's case.} Non Conformity and lack of Learning, and gave away his Living to another, though Mr. Cawdery was one of the most learned Clergymen, and best Preachers in the Country, and offered to give Proof of his Learning before his Judges. When this would not be accepted he pleaded with Tears his Wife and eight poor Children that had no Maintenance, but the Hearts of the Commissioners not being mollified, Mr. Cawdery was advised to appeal to the Court of Ex-^{Heyl. Hist.} chequer, and serve a Subpœna upon the Chaplain that ^{Presb.} had Possession of his Living; here the Jurisdiction of ^{2. 318.} the Court was argued before all the Judges in Hilary Term, 1591. Dr. Aubrey the Civilian confessed, that their Proceedings were not warrantable by the Letter of the Statute primo Eliz. but were built upon the old Canon Law still in force; though it has been shewn that their Proceeding by way of *Inquisition* was warranted by no Law at all; but the Judges confirmed the Proceedings of the Court, and left Mr. Cawdery with his large Family to starve as a Layman. The Suit cost Mr. Cawdery's Friends a round Sum of Money, besides two and twenty Journies which he made to London. But it was a brave Stand for the Rights of the Subject, and stagger'd the Archbishop so much, that he declined the Business of the Commission afterwards, and sent most of his Prisoners to the Star-Chamber.

While these Causes were in Debate sundry Books were writ for and against the Oath *ex Officio*; among others Mr. Morrice, Attorney of the Court of Wards, and Member of Parliament, writ a learned Treatise to prove, that no Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Judges,

Queen Elizabeth, ^{1592.} have Authority to compel any Subject of the Land to take an Oath, except in Causes Testamentary or Matrimonial; and he gives these Reasons for it, (1.) Because it is against the Word of God. (2.) It was never allowed by any general Council for a thousand Years after Christ. (3.) It was forbidden by the Pagan Emperors against the Christians. (4.) 'Tis against the Pope's Decretals except in Cases of Heresy, & *ubi periculum est Accusatori*, and not otherwise. (5.) 'Tis against the Laws of the Realm. And, (6.) Because it is against the Queen's Prerogative. Morrice's Book was answer'd by Dr. Cofins a Civilian, in his *Apology for the Ecclesiastical Proceedings*; to which Morrice had prepared a Reply, but the Archbishop hearing of it, sent for him, and forbid the Publication. The Attorney complained of this Usage to the Treasurer in these Words; "Cofins may write at his Pleasure of Ecclesiastical Courts without Check or Controulment, though never so erroneously; but I poor Man, such is my ill Hap, may not maintain the right Cause of Justice without some blot or blemish." But this was his Grace's shortest Way of ending Controversies.

Though Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren above-mentioned had the Resolution to lie in Gaol for two Years, rather than take the Oath *ex Officio*, others out of Weakness, or some other Principle, yielded to it, and discovered their Classes, with the Names of those that were present at them: Among these were Mr. Stone, Rector of Warkton in Northamptonshire; Mr. Henry Alvey, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; Mr. Thomas Edmunds, Mr. William Perkins, Mr. Littleton, Johnjon, Barber, Cleavely and Nutter.

Many of the Brethren take it.
L of Whitgift, p. 371.

And discover their Synods.

These Divines confessed upon Examination, that they had several Meetings with their Brethren in London, at the Houses of Mr. Travers, Egerton, Gardner, and Barber; that there had been Assemblies of Ministers at Cambridge, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire; that at these Meetings there were usually

usually between 12 and 24 Ministers present ; that they had a Moderator ; that they begun and ended with Prayer ; and that their usual Debates were, how far they might comply with the Establishment rather than forego their Ministry ; here they revised their *Book of Discipline*, and consulted of *peaceable Methods in Subordination to the Laws* for promoting a Reformation in the Church, and how far they might exercise their own *Platform* in the mean Time : But the worst Part of their Confession was their discovering the Names of the Brethren that were present, which brought them into trouble. The Reasons they gave for taking the Oath were, (1.) Because it was administer'd by a lawful Magistrate. (2.) Because the Magistrate had a Right to search out the Truth in Matters relating to the publick Safety. (3.) Because it was impossible to keep Things any longer secret, many Letters of the Brethren having been intercepted. (4.) Because there was nothing criminal in their Assemblies, and the Magistrate might suspect worse Things of them than were true ; and though their Confessions might bring some into trouble, they might deliver others that were suspected. How far these Reasons will justify the *Confessors*, I leave with the Reader ; but 'tis certain they purchased their own Liberties at the Expence of their Brethrens ; for they had the Favour to be dismissed, and lived without Disturbance afterwards.

To render the *Puritans* odious to the Publick, all *Execution Enthusiasts* without Distinction were ranked among of Hacket. them ; even Hacket and his two Prophets, Arthington Strype's and Coppering : Hacket was a blasphemous, ignorant Wretch, that could not so much as read ; he pretended to be King Jesus, and to set up his Empire in the room of the Queen's, who (he said) was no longer to be Queen of England : He defaced her Majesty's Arms, and stabbed her Picture through with his Dagger, in the House where he lodged. Being apprehended and put upon the Rack, he confessed every

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

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Queen every Thing they would have him, and upon his Elizabeth, Trial pleaded Guilty, declaring he was moved there-
 1592. unto by the Spirit; he was hanged July 18th. and
 The Puritan- died raving like a Madman. *Coppinger* starved him-
 itans not concerned self in Prison, but *Arthington* lived to recover himself
 with him. and was pardoned. Dr. *Nichols* says, that by the Sol-
 licitations of these Men the Puritans stirred up the
 Peirce's People to Rebellion, their Design being communi-
 Vindic. p. 140. cated to *Cartwright*, *Egerton* and *Wigginton*; whereas
 B. IX. p. 386. there was not a single Puritan concerned with them.
Fuller the Historian speaks candidly of the Matter;
 " This Business of *Hacket* (says he) happen'd unse-
 sonably for the Presbyterians; true it is, they as
 cordially detested his Blasphemies as any of the
 Episcopal Party; and such of them as loved
Hacket the Non-Conformist, abhorred *Hacket* the
 Heretick, after he had mounted to so high a
 Pitch of Impiety." However, Mr. *Cartwright*
 writ an Apology for himself and his Brethren against
 the Aspersions of Dr. *Sutcliff*, in which he declares,
 He had never seen *Hacket* nor *Arthington*, nor ever
 had any Conference with them by Letter or Message.
 Had there been any ground for this vile Charge,
 we should no doubt have found it among their Arti-
 cles of Impeachment.

Queen's At the opening of the new Parliament, Feb. 2d.
 Message to the Queen signified her Pleasure to the House, That
 the Parlia- they might redress such popular Grievances as were
 ment. complained of in their several Counties, but should
 leave all Matters of State to her self and the Council; and
 all Matters relating to the Church to her self and the Bi-
 shops. What an insignificant Thing is a Representa-
 tive Body of the Nation, that must not meddle with
 Matters of Church or State! But her Majesty was
 resolved to let them see she would be obeyed, for
 Heyl. Hist. when Mr. *Wentworth* and *Bromley* moved the House
 Presb. to address the Queen to name her Successor, she sent
 p. 319. for them, together with Mr. *Welsh* and *Stevens*,
 and committed them to Prison, where *Wentworth*
 remain-

remained many Years. When it was moved in the House to address the Queen for the Releate of their Members, it was answered by those Privy Counsellors that were of the House, *That her Majestiy had committed them for Causes best known to her self; that the House must not call the Queen to Account for what she did of her Royal Authority; that the Causes of their Restraint might be high and dangerous; that her Majesty did not like such Questions, nor did it become the House to deal in such Matters.*

After this it was a bold Adventure of Mr. Attorney Debates in Morrice, and for which he paid very dear, to move Parl. a- the House, to enquire into the Proceedings of the ment about Bishops in their Spiritual Courts, and how far they Bish. S. could justify their Inquisition, their Subscriptions, their Courts. binding the Queen's Subjects to their good Behaviour con- Life of trary to the Laws of God and of the Realm; their com- Whig. p. 386. pelling Men to take Oaths to accuse themselves; and upon their refusal to degrade deprive and imprison them at Pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied.

At the same time he offered two Bills to the House; Bill a- one against the Oath ex Officio, and the other against gainst their illegal Imprisonments; which last he prayed them. might be read presently. Sir Francis Knollys seconded the Attorney and said, " That in his Opinion these L. of Whit- " Abuses ought to be reformed; and that if the Pre-gitt, p. 388. " lates had acted against Law they were in a *Præmu-* " nire. He added, that after the Reformation of " King Henry VIII. no Bishop practised Superiority " over his Brethren; that in King Edward VIth's " Time a Statute was made, that Bishops should " keep their Courts in the King's Name; and that " though this Statute was repealed by Queen Mary, " and not since revived, yet it was doubtful what Not to be " Authority Bishops had to keep Courts in their own kept in the " Name, because it was manifestly against the *Prero- Bps. Name.* " gative that any Subject should hold a Court, " without express Warrant from the Crown. If it " was said, They kept their Courts by Prescription, " or

Queen Elizabeth, " or by the Statute of King Henry VIII. which gives Bishops the same Rule under the King as they had under the Pope, he answered, That there was a Clause in the Act which restrains them from offending against the King's Prerogative, and the Laws and Customs of the Realm ; and according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, no Subject can hold a Court but by special Warrant from the Crown." Mr. Beal spoke on the same side, and added, " That the Bishops had incurred a *Præmunire*, because the Statute of 13 Eliz. requires Subscription to Articles of Faith only ; that this Limitation was made by the Lords after the Bill had past the Commons ; and that no Councils nor Canons gave Authority to the Bishops to frame Articles, and require Subscription at their Pleasure." For which Speech the Queen forbid him the Court, and commanded him to absent from Parliament.

These Debates awakened the Civilians in the House, and particularly Mr. Daulton, who opposed the reading of the Bill, because the Queen had often forbid them to meddle with the Reformation of the Church ; which Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Secretaries, confirmed.

Stop by the Queen. As soon as the Queen was acquainted with the Proceedings of the House she sent for the Speaker Heyl. Hist. Coke, and commanded him to tell the House, That it Presb. p. 320. was wholly in her Power to call, to determine, to assent or dissent, to any Thing done in Parliament ; that the Calling of this was only, that such as neglected the Service of the Church might be compelled to it with some sharp Laws ; and that the Safety of her Majesty's Person and the Realm might be provided for ; that it was not meant that they should meddle with Matters of State or Causes Ecclesiastical ; that she wonder'd they should attempt a Thing so contrary to her Commandment ; that she was highly offended at it, and that it was her Royal Pleasure, that no Bill touching any Matters of State and Causes Ecclesiastical should be there

there exhibited. At the same Time Mr. Attorney Morrice was seized on in the House by a Serjeant at Arms, dis- charged from his Office of Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, disabled from any Practice in his Profession, as a common Lawyer, and kept for some Years Prisoner in *Tutbury Castle*.

Queen Elizabeth,

1592.

If there had been a Spirit of *English Liberty* in the House of Commons they would not have submitted so tamely to the Insults of an arbitrary Court, which arrested their Members for liberty of Speech, and committed them to Prison; which forbid their redressing the Grievances of Church or State, and sent for their Bills out of the House and cancell'd them. These were such Acts of sovereign Power which none of her Majesty's Ancestors assumed, and which cost one of her Successors his Crown and Life.

But this Parliament, instead of asserting their own *Act for punishing Refusers to come to Church.* *Act for the Punishment of Persons obsti-* and the Peoples Liberties, stands upon Record for *nising* *cap. I.* one of the severest Acts of Oppression and Cruelty that ever was made by the Representatives of a Protestant Nation, and a free People. It is en- 35 Eliz. titled, *An Act for the Punishment of Persons obsti-* *nately refusing to come to Church, and persuading others to impugn the Queen's Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes.* 'Tis here enacted, " That if any Person above the " Age of 16 shall obstinately refuse to repair to " some Church, Chapel, or usual Place of Common " Prayer, to hear Divine Service, for the Space of " one Month, without lawful Cause; or shall at any " Time, 40 Days after the End of this Session, by " printing, writing, or express Words, go about " to persuade any of her Majesty's Subjects to deny, " withstand, or impugn her Majesty's Power or Au- " thority in Causes Ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade " them from coming to Church, to hear Divine " Service, or receive the Communion according as " the Law directs; or shall be present at any un- " lawful Assembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, un- " der

Queen Elizabeth, " der Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, that every Person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to Prison without Bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves to come to Church, and make the following Declaration of their Conformity.

" **I** A. B. do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I have grievously offended God, in contemning her Majesty's godly and lawful Government and Authority, by absenting my self from Church, and from hearing Divine Service, contrary to the godly Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and in frequenting disorderly and unlawful Conventicles, under Pretence and Colour of Exercise of Religion ; and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my Conscience, that no other Person has or ought to have any Power or Authority over her Majesty. And I do promise and protest without any Dissimulation, or Colour of Dispensation, that from henceforth I will obey her Majesty's Statutes and Laws in repairing to Church and hearing Divine Service ; and to my utmost Endeavour will maintain and defend the same."

" But in case the Offenders against this Statute, being lawfully convict, shall not submit and sign the Declaration within 3 Months, then they shall ABJURE THE REALM AND GO INTO PERPETUAL BANISHMENT. And if they do not depart within the Time limited by the Quarter Sessions, or Justices of Peace ; or if they return at any Time afterwards without the Queen's Licence, they shall SUFFER DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY." So that as the Lord Chancellor King observed at the Trial of Dr. Sacheverel, the Case of the Non-Conformists by this A&t was worse than that of Felons at common Law, for these were allowed

ed the Benefit of Clergy, but the others were not. This Statute was levell'd against the Laity as well as the Clergy; and the severe Execution of it with that of the 23d of Elizabeth, in this and the following Reigns, brought infinite Mischiefs upon the Kingdom; many Families being forc'd into Banishment; some put to Death, as in Cases of *Treason*; and others as the Authors of seditious Pamphlets.

Queen Elizabeth,
1592.

The moderate Puritans made a shift to evade the *Progress of Brownism* Force of this Law, by coming to Church when *Common Prayer* was almost over, and by receiving the Sacrament in some Churches where it was administer'd with some latitude; but the Weight of it fell upon the *Separatists*, who renounced all Communion with the Church in the Word and Sacraments as well as in the Common Prayer and Ceremonies; these were called **BROWNISTS** or **BARROWISTS**, from one *Barrow* a Gentleman of the *Temple*, who was now at their Head. We have given an Account of their distinguishing Principles in the Year 1580. since which Time their Numbers were prodigiously increased, though the Bishops pursued them, and shut them up in Prison without Bail, or troubling themselves to bring them to a Trial. Sir *Walter Raleigh* declared in the Parliament House, that they were not less than 20000, divided into several Congregations in *Norfolk*, in *Essex*, and in the Parts about *London*: There were several learned Men now at their Head, as the Reverend Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Jacob*, the Learned Mr. *Ainsworth*, the *Rabbi* of his Age, and others.

The Congregation about *London* being pretty numerous formed themselves into a Church, Mr. *Fran-*
Church
cis Johnson being chosen Pastor by the Suffrage of the *Settlement*
Brotherhood, Mr. *Greenwood* Doctor, [or Teacher] *and Admi-*
Mr. *Bowman* and *Lee* Deacons, Mr. *Studley* and *Kina-*
stton Elders, all in one Day, at the House of Mr. *of the Sa-*
Fox in *Nicholas Lane* in the Year 1592. seven Persons *craments.*
were baptised at the same Time without God-Fathers *Strype's*
An. Vol. ult. p. 174,
or 175.

Queen Elizabeth, or God-Mothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their Faces with Water, and pronouncing the Form, I baptize thee in the Name, &c. the Lord's Supper was also administer'd in this Manner ; five white Loaves being set upon the Table, the Pastor blessed them by Prayer, after which having broke the Bread he delivered it to some, and the Deacons to the rest, some standing and others sitting about the Table, using the Words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 24. Take eat, this is the Body of the Lord Jesus, which was broken for you : This do in Remembrance of him. In like manner he gave the Cup, using the like Words of the Apostle, This Cup is the new Testament in his Blood ; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of him. In the Close they sung a Hymn, and made a Collection for the Poor. When any Person came first into the Church he made this Protestation or Promise, that He would walk with them so long as they did walk in the Way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the Word of God.

*They are discovered and impri-
son'd.*

The Congregation being obliged to meet in different Places to cover themselves from the Bishops Officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's Day at Islington, in the very same Place where the Protestant Congregation met in Queen Mary's Reign ; about 56 were taken Prisoners, and sent two by two to the Gaols about London, where several of their Friends had been confined for a considerable Time.

*Their Exam-
ination. Strype's
An. p. 579.*

At their Examination they confessed, That for some Years they had met in the Fields in the Summer Time at 5 of the Clock in the Morning of the Lord's Day, and in the Winter at private Houses ; that they continued all Day in Prayer and expounding the Scriptures ; that they dined together, and after Dinner made a Collection for their Diet, and sent the Remainder of the Money to their Brethren in Prison ; that they did not use the Lord's Prayer, apprehending it not to be intended by our blessed Saviour to be used as a Form after the sending down of

the Spirit at Pentecost. Their Adversaries charged them with several Extravagancies about *Baptism*, *Queen Elizabeth*, *Marriage*, *Lay-Preaching*, &c. from which they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious Reply, *M. S.* shewing how far they disowned, and with what Limitations they acknowledged the Charge.

But the Bishops observing no Measures with this People, they ventured to lay their Case before the Lords of the Council in an humble Petition, wherein they say, that "Upon a careful Examination of the Holy Scriptures, we find the English Hierarchy to be dissonant from Christ's Institution, and to be derived from Antichrist, being the same the Pope left in this Land, to which we dare not subject our selves. — We further find, that God has commanded all that believe the Gospel to walk in that holy Faith and Order which he has appointed in his Church; wherefore in the Reverend Fear of his Name we have joined our selves together, and subjected our Souls and Bodies to those Laws and Ordinances; and have chosen to our selves such a Ministry of Pastor, Teacher, Elders and Deacons, as Christ has given to his Church on Earth to the World's End, hoping for the promised Assistance of his Grace in our Attendance upon him; notwithstanding any Prohibition of Men, or what by Men can be done unto us. — We are ready to prove our Church Order to be warranted by the Word of God, allowable by her Majesty's Laws, and no ways prejudicial to her Sovereign Power; and to disprove the publick Hierarchy, Worship and Government, by such Evidence of Scripture, as our Adversaries shall not be able to withstand; protesting if we fail herein, not only willingly to sustain such deserved Punishment as shall be inflicted upon us, but to become conformable for the future; if we overthrow not our Adversaries, we will not say if our Adversaries overcome us.

Queen Elizabeth, " But the Prelates of this Land have for a long
 1592. " Time dealt most injuriously, unlawfully and out-
 ragedously with us, by the great Power and high
 Their Suf- " Authority they have gotten in their Hands, and
 ferings. " usurped above all the publick Courts, Judges,
 " Laws and Charters of this Land, persecuting, im-
 " prisoning and detaining at their Pleasure our poor
 " Bodies, without any Trial, Release or Bail; and
 " hitherto without any Cause either for Error or
 " Crime directly objected. — Some of us they have
 " kept in close Prison 4 or 5 Years with miserable
 " Usage, as *Henry Barrowe* and *John Greenwood* now
 " in the *Fleet*; others they have cast into *Newgate*,
 " and laden with as many Irons as they could bear;
 " others into dangerous and loathsome Gaols, among
 " the most facinorous and vile Persons, where it is
 " lamentable to relate how many of these *Innocents*
 " have perished within these 5 Years; aged Widows,
 " aged Men and young Maidens, &c. where, so ma-
 " ny as the Infection hath spared, lie in woful Di-
 " stress, like to follow their Fellows if speedy Re-
 " dres be not had; others of us have been grievous-
 " ly beaten with Cudgels in *Bridewel*, and cast into
 " a Place called *Little Ease*, for refusing to come to
 " their *Chapel Service*; in which Prison several have
 " ended their Lives; but upon none of our Compa-
 " nions thus committed by them, and dying in their
 " Prison, is any Search or Inquest suffered to pass, as
 " by Law in like Case is provided.

" Their Manner of pursuing and apprehending us
 " is with no less Violence and Outrage; their *Pur-*
 " *suevants*, with their Assistants, break into our
 " Houses at all Times of the Night, where they
 " break open, ransack, and rifle at their Pleasure,
 " under Pretence of searching for seditious and un-
 " lawful Books. The Husbands in the deep of the
 " Night they have pluck'd out of their Beds from
 " their Wives and haled them to Prison. — Some
 " Time since their *Pursuivants* late in the Night
" enter'd

“ enter’d in the Queen’s Name, into an honest Citizen’s House upon Ludgate-Hill, where, after they had at their Pleasure search’d and ransack’d all Places, Chests, &c. of the House, they apprehended two of our Ministers, Mr. Francis Johnson and John Greenwood, without any Warrant at all, both whom between one and two of the Clock after Midnight, they with Bills and Staves led to the Counter of Woodstreet, taking Assurance of Mr. Boys, the Master of the House, to be Prisoner in his House till next Day; at which Time the Archbishop with certain Doctors his Associates committed them to close Prison, two to the Clink, and the third to the Fleet, where they now remain in Distress. Since this they have cast into Prison Thomas Settle, Daniel Studley, and Nicolas Lane, taken upon a Lord’s Day in our Assembly, and shut them up in the Gate-House; others of our Friends they are in continual Pursuit of; so that there is no Safety for them in any one Place.

“ We therefore humbly pray, in the Name of God, and our Sovereign the Queen, that we may have the Benefit of the Laws, and of the publick Charter of the Land, namely, that we may be received to Bail till we be by Order of Law convicted of some Crime deserving Bonds. We plight unto your Honours our Faith unto God, and our Allegiance to her Majesty, that we will not commit any Thing unworthy the Gospel of Christ, or to the Disturbance of the common Peace and good Order of the Land, and that we will be forthcoming at such reasonable Warning as your Lordships shall command. Oh! Let us not perish before Trial and Judgment, especially imploring and crying out to you for the same. — However, we here take the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and his Angels, together with your own Consciences, and all Persons in all Ages, to whom this our Supplication may come, to witness that we have here

Queen Elizabeth,
1592.

Queen Elizabeth, " truly advertised your Honours of our Case and Usage, and have in all Humility offered our Cause to Christian Trial." But the Privy Council dropt the Petition, being afraid to move in an Affair that lay more immediately before the *High Commission.*

Sufferings of Mr. Smith and other Brownists to Church? Mr. Smith, one of their Ministers, after he had been in Prison 12 Months, was called before the Commissioners, and being asked *Whether he would go play the Hypocrite if he should do it to avoid Trouble, for he thought it utterly unlawful;* to which one of the Commissioners answered, *Come to Church and obey the Queen's Laws, and be a Dissembler, be a Hypocrite or a Devil if thou wilt.* Upon his Refusal he was remanded to the *Clink*, and his Brethren to the *Fleet*, where by Order of Mr. Justice Young, one of the Commissioners, they were shut up in close Rooms, not being allowed the Liberty of the Prison; here they died like rotten Sheep, some of the Disease of the Prison, some for Want, and others of infectious Distempers. " These bloody Men [the Ecclesiastical Commissioners] (says Mr. Barrowe) in his *Supplication to Parliament.*" " Supplication, will allow us neither Meat, Drink, Fire, Lodging, nor suffer any whose Hearts the Lord would stir up for our Relief, to have any Access to us, by which Means 17 or 18 have perished in the noisom Gaols within these 6 Years; some of us had not one Penny about us when we were sent to Prison, nor any Thing to procure a Maintenance for our selves and Families but our handy Labour and Trades, by which means not only we our selves, but our Families and Children are undone and starved. Their unbridled Slander; their lawless Privy Searches; their violent breaking open Houses; their taking away whatever they think meet; and their barbarous Usage of Women, Children, &c. We are forced to omit lest we be tedious. — That which we crave for us all, is the Liberty to die openly, or live openly in " the

p. 134.

Barrowe's Supplication to Parliament.

Strype's Ann. Vol. ult.

p. 133.

“ the Land of our Nativity ; if we deserve Death Queen
 “ let us not be closely murthered, yea, starved to Elizabeth,
 “ Death with Hunger and Cold, and stifled in loath-
 “ some Dungeons —” Among those who perished
 in Prison was one Mr. Roger Rippon, who dying in
 Newgate, his Fellow-Prisoners put this Inscription
 upon his Coffin :

“ This is the Corps of *Roger Rippon*, a Servant of *Inscription*
 “ Christ, and her Majesty’s faithful Subject ; who ^{upon Rip-}
 “ is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great ^{pon’s Cof-}
 “ Enemy of God, the *Archbishop of Canterbury with Brownist*.
 “ his high Commissioners have murthered in *Newgate* ^{fin. a} *Strype’s*
 “ within these *five Years*, manifestly for the Testi- ^{Ann. Vol.}
 “ mony of Jesus Christ ; his Soul is now with the ^{ult. p. 133.}
 “ Lord, and his Blood crieth for speedy Vengeance
 “ against that great Enemy of the Saints, and
 “ against Mr. Richard Young [a Justice of Peace in
 “ London] who in this and many the like Points hath
 “ abused his Power for the Upholding of the Romish
 “ Antichrist, Prelacy and Priesthood. He died
 “ A. D. 1592.” Many Copies of this Inscription
 were dispersed among Friends, for which some were
 apprehended and confined.

The Privy Council taking no Notice of the above-mentioned Supplications, the Prisoners in the several Gaols about *London*, joined in the following Petition to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, to which they subscribed their Names.

The humble Petition of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the Bishops in sundry Prisons in and about London, to the Lord Treasurer.

“ WE humbly beseech your Honour, either to ^{petition} .
 “ grant us a speedy Trial together, or some ^{of the} *Brownists*
 “ free Christian Conference, or else in the mean ^{in the r-}
 “ while, that we may be bailed according to Law ; ^{sens abe}
 N n 3 “ or London

Queen " or else put into Bridewel, or some other convenient
 Elizabeth, " Place, where we may be together for our mutual
 1592. " Help and Comfort; or if your Honour will not
 Strype's " your self alone grant this our Request, that then
 Ann. " it may please you to be a Mean for our speedy
 Vol. ult. " Relief, unto the rest of her Majesty's most honour-
 p. 91. " able Privy Council.

" The Almighty God, that hath preserved your
 " Lordship unto these honourable Years in so high
 " Service to our Sovereign Prince, and to the un-
 " speakable Comfort of this whole Land, give your
 " honourable Heart so tender Compassion and care-
 " ful Consideration in Equity, of the poor afflicted
 " Servants of Christ, and that (before the Lord plead
 " against this Land for *Abel's* innocent Blood that is
 " shed in the several Prisons) your Honour may
 " open your Mouth for the Dumb in the Cause of
 " the Children of [devoted to] Destruction. [that] You
 " may open your Mouth and judge righteously, and
 " judge the Cause of the afflicted; as the People of
 " *Israel* when they went to War first made Peace
 " with God, and removed all Occasion whereby his
 " Wrath might be incensed, lest he should fight
 " against them in Battle. For if this Suppression
 " of the Truth, and Oppression of Christ in his
 " Members, contrary to all Law and Justice, be
 " without Restraint prosecuted by the Enemy in the
 " Land; then not only the persecuted shall daily
 " cry from under the Altar for Redress, but God's
 " Wrath be so kindled for the shedding the innocent
 " Blood of Men, even the Blood of his own Servants
 " (of whom he has said, *Touch not mine Anointed*)
 " that if *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job*, should pray for this
 " People, yet should they not deliver them.

" Pleaseth it then your Lordship to understand,
 " that we her Majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true
 " hearted Subjects, to the Number of threescore
 " Persons and upwards, have contrary to all Law
 " and Equity been imprisoned, separated from our
 " Trades,

" Trades, Wives, Children, and Families; yea, Queen
 " shut up close Prisoners from all Comfort, many Elizabeth,
 " of us the Space of 2 Years and a half, upon the Bi- 1592.
 " shop's sole Commandment, in great Penury and Noi-
 " somness of the Prisons; many ending their Lives
 " never called to Trial; some haled forth to the Ses-
 " sions; some cast in Irons and Dungeons; some in
 " Hunger and Famine; all of us debarred from any
 " lawful Audience before our honourable Governors
 " and Magistrates, and from all Benefit and Help of
 " the Laws; daily defamed and falsely accused by
 " published Pamphlets, by private Suggestions,
 " open Preaching, Slanders, and Accusations of
 " Heresy, Sedition, Schism, and what not. And
 " above all, which most utterly toucheth our Sal-
 " vation, they keep us from all spiritual Comfort
 " and edifying by Doctrine, Prayer, or mutual
 " Conference, &c.

" And seeing for our Conscience only we are de-
 " prived of all Comfort, we most humbly beseech
 " your good Lordship, that some more mitigate
 " and peaceable Course might be taken therein,
 " that some free and Christian Conference publickly
 " or privately before your Honour, or before whom
 " it would please you, where our Adversaries may
 " not be our Judges [might be had]; that our Case,
 " with the Reason and Proof on both Sides, might
 " be recorded by indifferent Notaries and faithful
 " Witnesses: And if any Thing be found in us wor-
 " thy of Death or Bonds, let us be made an Example
 " to all Posterity; if not, we intreat for some Com-
 " passion to be shewn in Equity according to Law for
 " our Relief; [and] that in the mean Time we may be
 " bailed to do her Majesty Service, walk in our Cal-
 " lings, to provide Things needful for our selves,
 " our poor Wives, disconsolate Children and Fami-
 " lies lying upon us, or else that we might be Priso-
 " ners together in Bridewel, or any other conveni-
 " ent Place at your Honour's Appointment, where

Queen Elizabeth, " we might provide such Relief by our Diligence and Labours as might preserve Life, to the Comfort both of our Souls and Bodies." 1592.

Signed by your poor Supplicants in the following Prisons;

In the Gate-House.

John Gualter,
John Nicolas,
John Barnes,
John Crawford,
Thomas Conadyne,
Thomas Reeve,
William Dodshewe,
Father Debnam,
Edmund Thompson,
Thomas Freeman.

In the Fleet.

Henry Barrowe,
John Greenwood,
Daniel Studley,
Robert Badkyne,
Walter Lane.

In Newgate.

William Deptford,
Widow Borrough,
Roger Waterer.

In Bridewel.

William Broomal,
James Forrester,
Antony Claxton,
Nic. Lee,

John Francis,
William Forester,
John Clarke,
John Fisher,
John Bucer,
Roger Rippon,
Robert Andrews,
Richard Skarlet,
Luke Hayes,
Richard Maltusse,
Richard Umberfield,
William Fowler,
William Burt,
William Hutton.

In the Clink.

George Collier,
John Sparrow,
Edmund Nicolson,
Christopher Browne,
Thomas Mitchel,
Andrew Smith,
William Blackborrow,
Thomas Lemare,
Christopher Raper,
Quintin Smith.

In the White Lion.

Thomas Legat,
Edmund Marsh,
Antony Jobnes,

— Cook,
— Auger.

Out of Woodstreet Compter.

Queen Elizabeth,
1592.

Woodstreet Compter. George Dingtie.

George Snells,

Out of Newgate.

Christopher Bowman,

Robert Jackson.

Richard Jackson,
Widow Mainard,
Widow Row,
Nic. Crane,
Thomas Stephens.

In the Poultry Compter.

Rowlet Skipwith,
George Kingstone,
Thomas Eyneworth,
Richard Hayward,
John Lancaster.

Out of the Clink.

In all 59

Henry Thompson,
Jerom Studley.

Prisoners deceased.

Out of Bridewel.

Out of the Poultry Compter. John Pardy.

In all 10

John Chaundler.

Among the Names subscribed to this Petition is Mr. Henry Barrowe, an ingenious and learned Man, but of a very warm Spirit, as appears by his Book, entitled, *A brief Discovery of false Churches*, printed 1590. and reprinted 1707. This Gentleman having been several Years in Prison, sent another Supplication to the Attorney General and Privy Council for a Conference with the Bishops, or that their Ministers might be confer'd with in their hearing, without Taunts of Railings, for searching out the Truth in love; " If it be objected [says Barrowe] that none of our Side are worthy to be thus disputed with, we think we shall prove the contrary; for there are three or four of them in the City of London, and more elsewhere, who have been zealous Preachers in the Parish

Barrowe's
Supplica-
tion for a
Conference.

Strype's
An. Vol.
ult. p 171,
173.

Queen Elizabeth, 1592. " Parish Assemblies, and are not ignorant of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, nor otherwise unlearned, and generally confessed to be of honest Conversation. If this Motion takes effect the Controversy will soon end with most of us, for by this Means we poor Wretches shall perceive, whether as simple Souls we are led aside ; or whether as the dear Children of God we are first trusted with the View of, and standing up for the Cause of Holiness and Righteousness. — But let us not perish secretly in Prison, or openly by Execution, for want of that Help that lies in your Power to afford ; when we protest in the Sight of God, we do not separate from the Establishment out of Pride or Obstinacy, but from the Constraints of Conscience."

Reasons for refusing it.
Strype's Ann.
Vol. ult.
p. 172.

But all these Petitions were rejected by the Bishops and Privy Council for the following Reasons if they deserve that Name ; " (1.) Because a Disputation has been denied to Papists. (2.) To call the Ministry of the Church of *England* into question, is to call all other Churches into question, against whom their Exceptions extend. (3.) The Church of *England* has submitted to Disputation three Times in King *Edward's*, Queen *Mary's* and Queen *Elizabeth's* Time. (4.) These Mens Errors have been condemned by the Writings of learned Men. (5.) 'Tis not reasonable that a Religion established by Parliament should be examined by an inferior Authority. (6.) 'Tis not reasonable to condemn those foreign Churches that have acknowledged ours for a true Church. (7.) Their principal Errors have been confuted by St. *Austin*. (8.) This will strengthen the Hands of the Papists. (9.) It has been the Manner of Hereticks to require Disputations with Clamour and Importunity. (10.) The Cause has been already decided by written Books which they may consult. (11.) They will not stand

" stand to the Judgment of the Civil Magistrate. Queen
 " (12.) If the Church should satisfy every Sect that Elizabeth,
 " riseth there would be no End of Disputations." 1592.

Thus these pious and conscientious Persons, after a long and illegal Imprisonment, were abandoned to the Severity of an unrighteous Law ; some of them being publickly executed as *Felons*, and others proscribed and sent into Banishment.

Among the former were, Mr. Barrowe, Gent. of *Mr. Bar-*
Gray's Inn, Mr. *Greenwood* and *Penry* Ministers ; the *rowe's* two first had been in Prison some Years, and *first Exam-*
nination. several Times before the Commissioners ; their Examinations writ by themselves are now before me. Barrowe was apprehended at the *Clink* Prison in *Southwark*, where he went to visit his Brother *Greenwood* ; he was carried immediately to *Lambeth*, where the Archbishop would have examined him upon the Oath *ex Officio*, but he refused to take it, or to swear at all upon the Bible ; but (says he) by God's Grace I will answer nothing but the Truth. So the Archbishop took a Paper of Interrogatories into his Hand and asked him, 1. *Whether the Lord's Prayer might be used in the Church?* He answered, That in his Opinion it was rather a Summary than a Form ; and not finding it used by the Apostles, he thought it should not be constantly used by us. 2. *Whether Forms of Prayer may be used in the Church?* He answered, That none such ought to be imposed. 3. *Whether the Common Prayer be idolatrous or superstitious?* He answered, That in his Opinion it was so. 4. *Whether the Sacraments of the Church are true Sacraments and Seals of the Favour of God?* He answered, He thought as they were publickly administer'd they were not. 5. *Whether the Laws of the Church are good?* He answered, That many of them were unlawful and Antichristian. 6. *Whether the Church of England is a true Church?* He answered, That as it was now formed it was not ; yet that there are many excellent good Christians of it. 7. *Whether the Queen be supreme Governer of the Church,*

Queen Church, and may make Laws for it? He answered, Elizabeth, That the Queen was supreme Governor of the Church, 1592. but might not make Laws other than Christ had left in his Word. 8. Whether a private Person may reform if the Prince neglects it? He answered, That no private Persons might reform the State, but they are to abstain from any unlawful Thing commanded by the Prince. 9. Whether every particular Church ought to have a Presbytery? He answered in the Affirmative. After this Examination he was remanded to close Prison, and denied a Copy of his Answers, though he earnestly desired it.

His second His next Examination was before the Archbishop, Examina- the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, tion. and the Bishop of London, at Whitehall, where he found 12 of his Brethren in the same Circumstances with himself, but was not admitted to speak to them. Being called into another Room and kneeling down at the End of the Table, the Lord Treasurer spoke to him thus. Treas. Why are you in Prison? Barrowe, Upon the Statute against Recusants. Treasurer, Why will you not go to Church? Barrowe, Because I think the Church of England as established by Law not a Church of Christ, nor their Manner of Worship lawful. After a long Debate on this Head the Treasurer said, You complain of Injustice, where have you Wrong? Barrowe, In being kept in Prison without due Trial; and in the Misery we suffer by a close Imprisonment contrary to Law. The Archbishop said, he had matter to call him before him for an Heretick. Barrowe replied, That you shall never do, *I may err, but Heretick by the Grace of God I will never be.* It being observed that he did not pay such Reverence to the Archbishop and Bishop of London as to the temporal Lords, the Chancellor asked him, If he did not know those two Men, pointing to the Bishops. To which he answered, That he had cause to know them, but did not own them for Lord Bishops. Being then asked by what Name he would

would call the Archbishop ; he replied, That he was *a Monster, a Persecutor, a Compound of* he knew not what, *neither Ecclesiastical nor Civil,* like the second Beast spoken of in the Revelations : Upon which the Archbishop rose out of his Place, and with a severe Countenance said, *My Lords, Will you suffer him ?* So he was plucked off his Knees, and carried away.

Mr. Greenwood the Minister was examin'd after the same Manner before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Lords Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, and the Master of the Rolls : He had Interrogatories put to him as *and others.* Mr. Barrowe, Greenwood, Broughton's Works, p. 731. Barrowe had, but refused to swear, and made much the same Answer with the other. At length, on the 21st of March, 1592. they together with *Saxio Bellot, Gent. Daniel Studley, Girdler, and Robert Bowle,* Fishmonger, were indicted at the Sessions House in the Old-Bailey, upon the Statute of 23 Eliz. For writing and publishing sundry seditious Books and Pamphlets, tending to the Slander of the Queen and Government : Though they had only writ against the Church ; but this was the Archbishop's artful Contrivance, to throw off the Odium of their Death from himself to the Civil Magistrate ; for as the Reverend and Learned Mr. Hugh Broughton writes, " Though Mr. Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned for Disturbance of the State ; yet this would have been pardon'd, and their Lives spared, if they would have promised to come to Church." Upon their Trial they behav'd with Constancy and Resolution, shewing no Token of Recognition (says the Attorney) nor Prayer for Mercy : They protested their inviolable Loyalty to the Queen, and Obedience to her Government ; that they never writ, nor so much as intended any Thing against her Highness, but only against the Bishops and the Hierarchy of the Heyl. His. Church ; which was apparent enough. However, Pr. p. 323. the Jury brought them all in Guilty. Bellot desired a

Con-

Queen Elizabeth, Conference, and with Tears confessing his Sorrow for what he had done, was pardon'd. *Bowlle* and *Studley* being look'd upon but as Accessories, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken Loyalty to the Queen, and refusing to ask for Mercy, were reprieved, and sent back to Prison ; but *Barrowe* and *Greenwood* were to be made Examples.

Bellot,
Bowlle,
and Stud-
ley re-
prieu'd.

1592. Sentence of Death being passed upon them, *March* the 23d, sundry Divines were appointed to persuade them to recant ; but not succeeding, they were brought in a Cart to Tyburn on the last of *March*, and expos'd under the Gallows for some Time to the People, to see if the Terrors of Death would affright them ; but remaining constant, they were brought back to *Newgate*, and on the Sixth of *April*, carried a second Time to Tyburn and executed. At the Place of Execution they gave such Testimonies of their unfeigned Piety towards God, and Loyalty to the Queen, praying so earnestly for her long and prosperous Reign, that when Dr. *Reynolds*, who attended them, reported their Behaviour to her Majesty, she repented that she had yielded to their Death.

They had been in close Prison ever since the Year 1590. expos'd to all the Severities of Cold, Hunger, and Nakedness, which Mr. *Barrowe* represented in a Supplication to the Queen, already mentioned, concluding with an earnest Desire of Deliverance from their present Miseries, though it were by Death ; but the Archbishop intercepted the Paper, and endeavour'd to prevent the Knowledge of their Condition from coming to the Queen's Ear : Upon this Mr. *Barrowe* expos'd his Grace's Behaviour towards miserable Men, in a Letter to one Mr. *Fisher*, where-

Barrowe's in he charges him " with abusing the Queen's Cle-
Letter a- " mency by false Informations and Suggestions ;
against the " and with artful Disingenuity, in committing so
Archbishop. " many innocent Men to *Bridewel*, the *Compter*, New-
" gate, the *White Lyon* and the *Fleet*, and then post-
" ing

“ ing them to the Civil Magistrate to take off the Cla-
 “ mour of the People from himself. He says, That he Queen
 “ had destin’d *himself* and his Brother *Greenwood*, to Elizabeth,
 “ Death, and others to be kept in close Prison ; 1593.
 “ their poor Wives and Children to be cast out of the
 “ City, and their Goods to be confiscated. Is not
 “ this a Christian Bishop (says he) Are these the *Life of*
 “ Virtues of him who takes upon him the Care and Go- Whitgift,
 “ vernment of all the Churches of the Land, to tear P. 416.
 “ and devour God’s poor Sheep, and to rend off the
 “ Flesh and break their Bones, and chop them in
 “ Pieces as Flesh to the Cauldron ? Will he thus in-
 “ struct and convince Gainsayers ? Surely he will
 “ persuade but few that fear God, to his Religion,
 “ by his Dealing and Evil. Does he consult his own
 “ Credit, or the Honour of his Prince by this tyran-
 “ nous Havock ? For our Parts, our Lives are not
 “ dear to us, so that we may finish our Testimony
 “ with Joy : We are always ready, through God’s
 “ Grace, to be offered up upon the Testimony of
 “ the Faith that we have made.” — Thus fell
 these two unhappy Gentlemen a Sacrifice to the Re-
 sentments of an angry Prelate.

About six Weeks after this, the Reverend Mr. John Penry, or *Ap-Henry*, a Welch Divine, was ex-^{Mr Penry's Hist.} persecuted for the same Crime, in a cruel and inhuman Manner. He was a pious and learned Man, well disposed to Religion (says Mr. *Strype*) but mistaken in his Principles, and hot in his Temper; a zealous Platformer, and a declared Enemy of the Archbishop. He was born in the County of *Brecknock*, and educated first at *Cambridge*, and afterwards in *St. Alban's-Hall, Oxford*, where he proceeded *M. A.* 1586. and entered into Holy Orders, being well acquainted with Arts and Languages. He preach'd in both Universities with Applause, and afterwards travelling into *Wales*, was the first (as he said) that preach'd the Gospel publickly to the *Welch*, and sowed the good Seed among his Countrymen. In the

Queen Elizabeth, 1593. the Year 1588. he publish'd a *View of such publick Wants and Disorders as are in her Majesty's Country of Wales, with an humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their Redres:* Wherein is shewed not only the Necessity of reforming the State of Religion among that People, but also the only way in regard of Substance to bring that Reformation to pass. He also published an *Exhortation to the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have the preaching of the Gospel planted among them.* Printed 1588.

*Proclama-
tion to ap-
prehend
him.*

*Life of
Whitgift,
P. 49.*

When *Martin-mar-prelate*, and the other satirical Pamphlets against the Bishops were publish'd, a special Warrant was issued out from the Privy Council, 1590. under several of their Hands, whereof the Archbishop's was one, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry, as an Enemy of the State ; and that all the Queen's good Subjects should take him so to be. To avoid being taken he retired into *Scotland*, where he continued till this present Year 1593. Here he made many Observations of Things relating to Religion, for his own private Use ; and at length prepared the Heads of a Petition, or an Address to the Queen, to shew her Majesty the true State of Religion, and how ignorant she was of many Abuses in the Church of *England*, especially in the Management of Ecclesiastical Matters ; and likewise to interceed for so much Favour, that he might by her Authority, have Liberty to go into *Wales*, his native Country, to preach the Gospel. With this Petition he came from *Scotland*, resolving to finish and deliver it with his own Hand, as he should find Opportunity ; but upon his Arrival he was seized with his Papers in *Stepney Parish*, by the Information of the *Vicar*, in the Month of *May*, and arraigned, condemn'd and executed hastily, the very same Month.

The Heads of the Petition, taken upon him, were as follow, “ The last Days of your Reign
“ are

" are turned rather against Jesus Christ and his Queen
 " Gospel, than to the Maintenance of the same. Elizabeth,
 " I have great Cause of Complaint, Madam; nay, 1593.
 " the Lord and his Church have Cause to complain ^{Hi, Peti-}
 " of your Government, because we your Subj.cts, ^{on to the} ^{Qn en un-}
 " this Day are not permitted to serve our God under ^{finisped.}
 " your Government according to his Word, but are
 " sold to be Bondslaves, not only to our Affecti-
 " ons, to do what we will, so that we keep our
 " selves within the Compass of established civil
 " Laws, but also to be Servants to the Man of Sin
 " [the Pope] and his Ordinances.
 " It is not the Force that we seem to fear that ^{ife of}
 " will come upon us (for the Lord may destroy both ^{Whigift,}
 " you for denying, and us for slack seeking of his ^{P. 41.}
 " Will) by Strangers: I come unto you with it:
 " If you will hear it, our Cause may be eased; if
 " not, that Posterity may know that you have
 " been dealt with, and that this Age may know
 " that there is no Expectation to be look'd for at
 " your Hands.
 " Among the rest of the Princes under the Gos-
 " pel, that have been drawn to oppose it you must
 " think your self to be one; for until you see this,
 " Madam, you see not your self and they are but
 " Sycophants and Flatterers whoever tell you other-
 " wise: Your standing is and has been by the Gos-
 " pel. It is little beho'den to you for any Th ng
 " that appears. The Practice of your Government
 " shews, that if you could have ruled without the
 " Gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the
 " Gospel should be established or not; for now that
 " you are establisched in your Throne by the Gos-
 " pel, you suffer it to reach no further than the End
 " of your Scipre limiteth unto it.
 " If we had had Queen Mary's Days, I think that
 " we should have had as Hourishing a Church this
 " Day as ever any; for it is well known tha there
 " was then in London, under the Burthen, and else-

Queen Elizabeth, " where in Exile, more flourishing Churches than
1593. any now tolerated by your Authority.

" Now whereas we should have your Help both
 " to join our selves with the true Church, and reject
 " the false, and all the Ordinances thereof ; we are
 " in your Kingdom permitted to do nothing, but
 " accounted *Seditious*, if we affirm either the one or
 " the other of the former Points ; and therefore,
 " Madam, you are not so much an Adversary to us
 " poor Men, as unto Christ Jesus and the Wealth of
 " his Kingdom.

" If we cannot have your Favour, but by omit-
 " ting our Duty to God, we are unworthy of it,
 " and by God's Grace we mean not to purchase it so
 " dear.

" But, *Madam*, thus much we must needs say,
 " that in all likelihood, if the Days of your Sister
 " Queen *Mary*, and her Persecution had continued
 " unto this Day, that the Church of God in *Eng-*
 " *land* had been far more flourishing than at this Day
 " it is : For then, *Madam*, the Church of God
 " within this Land, and elsewhere, being Strangers,
 " enjoy'd the Ordinances of God's holy Word, as far
 " as then they saw.

" But since *your Majesty* came unto your Crown,
 " we have had whole Christ Jesus, God and Man ;
 " but we must serve him only in Heart.

" And if those Days had continued to this Time,
 " and those Lights risen therein, which by the Mer-
 " cy of God have since shined in *England*, it is not
 " to be doubted but the Church of *England*, even in
 " *England*, had far surpassed all the reformed Chur-
 " ches in the World.

" Then, *Madam*, any of our Brethren durst not
 " have been seen within the Tents of Antichrist ;
 " now they are ready to defend them to be the
 " Lord's, and that he has no other Tabernacle
 " upon Earth but them. Our Brethren then durst
 " not temporize in the Cause of God, because the

" Lord

“ Lord ruled himself in his Church, by his own Laws, in a good Measure ; but now behold ! they may do what they will, for any Sword that the Church has to draw against them, if they contain themselves within your Laws.

“ This Peace, under those Conditions, we cannot enjoy ; and therefore, for any Thing I can see, Queen Mary’s Days will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The whole Truth we must not speak ; the whole Truth we must not profess. Your State must have a Stroke above the Truth of God.

“ Now, Madam, your Majesty may consider what good the Church of God hath taken at your Hands, even outward Peace with the Absence of Christ Jesus in his Ordinance ; otherwise as great Troubles are likely to come as ever were in the Days of your Sister.

“ As for the Council and Clergy, if we bring any such Suit unto them, we have no other Answer but that which Pharaoh gives to the Lord’s Messengers, touching the State of the Church under his Government.

“ For when any are called for this Cause before your Council, or the Judges of the Land, they must take this for granted, once for all, that the Uprightness of their Cause will profit them nothing, if the Law of the Land be against them ; for your Council and Judges have so well profited in Religion, that they will not stick to say, That they come not to consult whether the Matter be with or against the Word or not, but their Purpose is to take the Penalty of the Transgressions against your Laws.

“ If your Council were wise, they would not kindle your Wrath against us ; but, Madam, if you give Ear to their Words, no Marvail though you have no better Counsellors.”

Queen Elizabeth,
1558.

*Queen Elizabeth, 1593.
His Trial and Sentence.*

It appears by this Petition, as well as by his Letter writ to the Congregation of Separatists in London, that Mr. Penry was a Brownist. His Book of Observations was also seized, out of which were drawn Articles of Accusation against him. He was indicted upon the Statute of 23 Eliz. Chap. 2d. for seditious Words and Rumours uttered against the Queen's most excellent Majesty, tending to the stirring up of Rebellion among her Subjects; and was convicted of Felony, May 21, at the King's Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Popham. He received Sentence of Death May 25. and was executed on the 29th of the same Month. It was design'd to indict him for the Books published in his Name; but by the Advice of Counsel, Mr. Penry drew up a Paper, entitled, Mr. Penry's Declaration, May 16, 1593. *That he is not in Danger of the Law for the Books published in his Name.* Here he observes, that the Statute was not intended against such as writ only against the Hierarchy of the Church; for then it must condemn many of the most learned Protestants both at home and abroad; but relates to such as defame her Majesty's Royal Person: Whereas he had always writ most dutifully of her Person and Government, having never encouraged Sedition, or Insurrection against her Majesty, but the contrary: Nor had he ever been at any Assembly or Conventicle, where any, under or above the Number of Twelve were assembled with Force of Arms, or otherwise, to alter any Thing established by Law: Nor was it his Opinion that private Persons should of their own Authority, attempt any such Thing; for he had always writ and spoke to the contrary. But however, if all this had been true, he ought to have been accused within one Month of the Crime, upon the Oath of two Witnesses, and have been indicted within one Year; otherwise the Statute it self clears him in express Words.

His Complaints to the Treasurer.

The Court apprehending this Declaration might occasion an Argument at Law, set aside his printed Books,

Queen
Elizabeth,

1593.

Books, and convicted him upon the *Petition and private Observations* above-mentioned, which was still harder, as he represented it himself in the following Letter to the Lord Treasurer, with a Protestation enclosed, immediately after his Condemnation. " Vouchsafe, I beseech your Lordship (right Honourable) to read the enclosed Writing. My Days, I see, are drawing to an End, and I thank God an undeserved End, except the Lord stir up your Honour to acquaint her Majesty with my guiltless State.

" The Cause is most lamentable, That the private Observations of any Student being in a foreign Land, and wishing well to his Prince and Country, should bring his Life with Blood to a violent End; especially seeing they are most private and so imperfect, as they have no Coherence at all in them, and in most Places carry no true English—

" Though my Innocence may stand me in no stead before an earthly Tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the Reward thereof before the Judgment Seat of the great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieves the Widow and Fatherless, will reward my desolate Orphans and friendless Widow that I leave behind me, and even hear their Cry, for he is merciful.

" Being like to trouble your Lordship with no more Letters, I do with Thankfulness acknowledge your Honour's Favour in receiving the Writings I have presumed to send to you from Time to Time; and in this my last, I protest I have writ nothing but the Truth from Time to Time.

" Thus preparing my self, not so much for an unjust Verdict, and an undeserved Doom in this Life, as unto that blessed Crown of Glory, which of the great Mercy of my God is ready for me in Heaven, I humbly betake your Lordship unto the Hands of the just Lord. May 22d. 1593.
Your Lordship's most humble in the Lord.

John Penry.

Queen
Elizabeth,

1593.

*His Prote-
station.*

*Life of
Whitgift,
in Rec.*

p. 176.

In the Protestation enclosed in this Letter he declares, That he writ his Observations in Scotland ; that they were the Sum of certain Objections made by People in those Parts against her Majesty and her Government, which he intended to examine, but had not so much as looked into them for 14 or 15 Months past, that even in these Writings so imperfect, unfinished, and inclosed within his private Study, he had shewn his Dutifulness to the Queen, nor had he ever a secret wandering Thought of the least Disloyalty to her Majesty : " I thank the Lord (says he) I remember not, that that Day has past over my Head, since under her Government I came to the Knowledge of the Truth, wherein I have not commended her Estate unto God. Well, I may be indicted and condemned, and end my Days as a Felon or a Traitor against my natural Sovereign, but Heaven and Earth shall not be able to convict me thereof. Whensoever an End of my Days comes (as I look not to live this Week to an end) I shall die Queen Elizabeth's most faithful Subject, even in the Consciences of mine Enemies, if they will be Beholders thereof.

" I never took my self for a Rebuker, much less for a Reformer of States and Kingdoms ; far was that from me ; yet in the Discharge of my Conscience all the World must bear with me, if I prefer my Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ before the Favour of any Creature. An Enemy to good Order and Policy either in the Church or Commonwealth was I never. I never did any Thing in this Cause (Lord thou art witness) for Contention, Vain-Glory, or to draw Disciples after me. — Great Things in this Life I never sought for ; Sufficiency I have had with great outward Trouble ; but most content I was with my Lot ; and content I am and shall be with my untimely Death, though I leave behind me a friendless Widow and 4 Infants, the eldest of which is not above

Queen
Elizabeth,
1593.

“ 4 Years old. I do from my Heart forgive all that
 “ seek my Life ; and if my Death can procure any
 “ Quietness to the Church of God or the State, I
 “ shall rejoice. May my Prince have many such
 “ Subjects, but may none of them meet with such a
 “ Reward ! My earnest Request is, that her Maje-
 “ sty may be acquainted with these Things before
 “ my Death, or at least after my Departure.

“ Subscribed with the Heart and Hand that never
 “ devised, or writ any Thing to the Discredit or
 “ Defamation of my Sovereign Queen Elizabeth : I
 “ take it on my Death, as I hope to have a Life af-
 “ ter this, by me

John Penry.

It was never known before this Time, that a Minister and Scholar was condemned to Death for private Papers found in his Study ; nor do I remember more than once since that Time, in whose Case it was given for Law, that *Scribere est agere* ; but Penry must die right or wrong ; the *Archbishop* was the first Man that sign'd the Warrant for his Execution, and after him *Puckering* and *Popham*. The Warrant was sent immediately to the Sheriff, who the very same Day erected a Gallows at St. Thomas Waterings ; and while the Prisoner was at Dinner sent his Officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that Afternoon ; accordingly he was carried in a Cart to the Place of Execution ; when he came thither the Sheriff would not suffer him to speak to the People, nor make any Profession of his Faith towards God, or his Loyalty to the Queen, but ordered him to be turn'd off in a Hurry about 5 of the Clock in the Evening, *May 29th. 1593.* in the 34th Year of his Age.

The Court being struck with this Behaviour of the *Brownists*, began to be ashamed of hanging Men for Sedition against the State, who died with such strong Professions of Loyalty to the Queen and Government, and therefore must suffer only for the

Queen Elizabeth. Cause of Religion. This raised an Odium against the Bishops and the High Commissioners, who all Men knew were at the Bottom of these Proceedings. 'Tis said the Queen her self was displeased with them when she heard of the Devotion and Loyalty of the Sufferers. It was therefore resolved to proceed for the future on the late Statute of the 31st Eliz. To retain the Queen's Subjects in their Obedience; and instead of putting the Brownists to Death, to send them into Banishment. Upon this Statute Mr. Johnson Parlor of the Brownist Church, was convicted, and all the Gaols were cleared for the present; though the Commissioners took care within the Compass of another Year to fill them again.

Sufferings of the Papists. The Papists were distressed by this, and the Statute of 23 Eliz. as much as the Brownists, though they met with much more Favour from the Ecclesiastical Courts; the Queen either loved or feared them, and would often say she would never ransack their Consciences if they would be quiet; but they were always libelling her Majesty, and in continual Plots against her Government. While the Queen of Scots was alive they supported her Pretensions to the Crown, and after her Death they maintained in print the Title of the Infante of Spain: They were concerned with the Spaniards in the Invasion of 1588. which obliged the Queen to confine some of their Chiefs in Wisbech Castle, and other Places of Safety, but she was tender of their Lives. In the first 11 Years of her Reign not one Roman Catholick was prosecuted capitally for Religion; in the next 10 Years, when the Pope had excommunicated the Queen and the whole Kingdom, and there had been dangerous Rebellions in the North, there were but 12 Priests executed, and most of them for Matters against the State. In the 10 following Years, when swarms of Priests and Jesuits came over from foreign Seminaries, to invite the Catholicks to join with the Spaniards, the Laws were girt closer upon them, 50 Priests being executed,

ted, and 55 banished ; but as soon as the Danger was over the Laws were relaxed ; and by reason of the Ignorance and Laziness of the beneficed Clergy, the Missionaries gained over such Numbers of Proselytes in the latter End of this Reign, as endangered the whole Government and Reformation in the beginning of the next.

The last and finishing Hand was put to the Presbyterian Discipline in Scotland this Year. That ^{A Summary} of Kirk Kingdom had been governed by different Factions during the Minority of King James, which prevented a full Settlement of Religion. The General Assembly in the Year 1566. had approved of the Geneva Discipline, but the Parliament did not confirm the Votes of the Assembly, nor formally deprive the Bishops of their Power, though all Church Affairs from that Time were managed by Presbyteries and General Assemblies. In the Year 1574. they voted the Bishops to be only Pastors of one Parish ; and to shew their Power, they deposed the Bishop of Dunkeld, and de-lated the Bishop of Glasgow. In the Year 1577. they ordained that all Bishops be called by their own Names ; and the next Year voted the very Name of a Bishop a Grievance. In the Year 1580. the General Assembly with one Voice declared Diocesan Episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. The same Year King James with his Family, and the whole Nation, subscribed a Confession of Faith, with a solemn League and Covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant Doctrine and the Presbyterian Government. After this, in the Year 1584. Heyl. Hist. the Bishops were restored by Parliament to some Parts Presb. of their ancient Dignity ; and it was made Treason P. 231. for any Man to procure the Innovation or Diminution of the Power and Authority of any of the three Estates ; but when this Act was proclaimed the Ministers protested against it, as not having been agreed to by the Kirk. In the Year 1587. Things took another Turn, and his Majesty being at the full Age of

Queens of 21 consented to an Act to take away Bishops Lands Elizabeth, and annex them to the Crown. In the Year 1590. it ~~1594.~~ was ordained by the General Assembly, that all that Presbytery bore Office in the Kirk, or should hereafter do so, should established subscribe to the Book of Discipline. In the Year 1592. all by Law. Acts of Parliament whatsoever made by the King's Highness, or any of his Predecessors in favour of Popery or Episcopacy were annulled; and in particular, the Act of May 22d. 1584. For granting Commissions to Bishops, or other Ecclesiastical Judges, to receive Presentations to Benefices, and give Collation thereupon; and it was Heyl. Hist. Presb. P. 294. ordained, that for the future, " All Presentations to Benefices shall be directed to the particular Presbyteries, with full Power to give Collation thereupon; and to order all Matters and Causes Ecclesiastical within their Bounds, according to the Discipline of the Kirk.

" Further, the Act ratifies and confirms all former Acts of Parliament in favour of Kirk Discipline, and declares, That it shall be lawful for the Kirk and Ministers to hold General Assemblies once a Year, or oftner if Necessity require, the King's Commissioner being present if his Majesty pleases. It ratifies and approves of Provincial and Synodal Assemblies twice a Year within every Province; and of Presbyteries and particular Sessions appointed by the Kirk, with the whole Discipline and Jurisdiction of the same. Provincial Assemblies have Power to redress all Things omitted or done amiss in the particular Assemblies, to depose the Office-Bearers of the Province, and generally they have the Power of the particular Elderships whereof they are collected.

Power of General Assemblies, &c. " The Power of Presbyteries is declared to consist in keeping the Kirks within their Bounds in good Order; to enquire after and endeavour to reform vicious Persons. It belongs to the Elderships to see that the Word of God be duly preached, and the Sacraments rightly administer'd, and Discipline

“ pline entertained ; they are to cause the Ordinan- Queen Elizabeth,
 “ ces made by the Provincial, National and General Assemblies, to be put in Execution ; to make or 1594.
 “ abolish Constitutions which concern decent Order in
 “ their Kirks, provided they alter no Rules made
 “ by the superior Assemblies, and communicate
 “ their Constitutions to the Provincial Assembly ;
 “ they have Power to excommunicate the Obstinate
 “ after due Proces. Concerning particular Kirks,
 “ if they are lawfully ruled by sufficient Ministers
 “ and Session, they have Power and Jurisdiction in
 “ their own Congregation in Matters Ecclesiasti-
 “ cal.”

This Act, for the greater Solemnity, was confirmed again in the Year 1593. and again this present Year 1594. so that from this Time, to the Year 1612. Presbytery was undoubtedly the legal Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, as it had been in fact ever since the Reformation.

To return to England ; several Champions appeared about this Time for the Cause of Episcopacy, as Dr. Bilson, Bancroft, Bridges, Cosins, Soam, and Dr. Adrian Sararia, a Spaniard, but beneficed in the Church of England : This last was answered by Beza ; Bridges was answered by Fenner, Cosins by Morrice, and Bilson by Bradshaw, though the Presb was shut against the Puritans.

But the most celebrated Performance, and of greatest Note, was Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, in eight Books ; the four first of which were published this Year ; the fifth in the Year 1597. and the three last not till many Years after his Death, for which Reason some have suspected them to be interpolated, though they were deposited in the Hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose Copy they were printed, about the beginning of the Civil Wars. This is esteemed the most learned Defence of the Church of England, wherein all that would be acquainted with its Constitution (says a learned Prelate) may see upon

Queen Elizabeth, his Work while *Master of the Temple*, but meeting with some Trouble, and many Interruptions in that Place, the Archbishop, at his Request, removed him to *Boscombe* in the Diocese of *Salisbury*, and gave him a *minor Prebend* in that Church; here he finished his four first Books; from thence he was removed to the Parsonage of *Bishop's-Born* in *Kent*, about 3 Miles from *Canterbury*, where he finished his Work and his Life, in the Year 1600. and 47th Year of his Age.

*General
Maxims
contained
in it.*

The chief Principles upon which this learned Author proceeds, are,

1. " That though the Holy Scriptures are a perfect Standard of Doctrine, they are not a Rule of Discipline or Government.
2. " Nor is the Practice of the Apostles an inviolable Rule or Law to the Church in succeeding Ages, because they acted according to the Circumstances of the Church in its infant and persecuted State.
3. " Neither are the Scriptures a Rule of human Actions so far, as that whatsoever we do in Matters of Religion without their express Direction or Warrant is Sin, but many Things are left indifferent.
4. " The Church is a Society like others, invested with Powers to make what Laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary for her Well-being and Government, provided they do not interfere with, or contradict the Laws and Commandments of Holy Scripture.
5. " Where the Scripture is silent human Authority may interpose; we must then have recourse to the Reason of Things and the Rights of Society.
6. " It follows from hence, that the Church is at liberty to appoint Ceremonies, and establish Order within the Limits above-mentioned; and her Authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient.
7. " All

7. " All who are born within the Confines of an Establish'd Church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit to its Ecclesiastical Laws ; they may not disgrace, revile, or reject them at pleasure : The Church is their Mother, and has more than a maternal Power over them.

8. " The positive Laws of the Church not being of a moral Nature, are mutable, and may be changed or reversed by the same Powers that made them ; but while they are in force they are to be submitted to, under such Penalties as the Church in her Wisdom shall direct."

The 4th and 5th Propositions are the main Pillars of Mr. Hooker's Fabrick, and the Foundation of all human Establishments (viz.) That the Church, like other Societies, is invested with Power to make Laws for its Well-being ; and that where the Scripture is silent human Authority may interpose. All Men allow, that human Societies may form themselves after any Model, and make what Laws they please for their Well-being ; and that the Christian Church has some Things in common with all Societies as such, as the appointing Time and Place, and the Order of publick Worship, &c. but it must be remember'd, that the Christian Church is not a meer voluntary Society, but a Community formed and constituted by Christ the sole King and Lawgiver of it, who has made sufficient Provision for its Well-being to the End of the World. It does not appear in the New Testament, that the Church is empowered to mend or alter the Constitution of Christ, by creating new Officers, or making new Laws, though the Christian World has ventur'd upon it. Christ gave his Church Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting the Saints, and edifying his Body ; but the Successors of the Apostles in the Government of the Church apprehending these not sufficient, have added Patriarchs, Cardinals, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, and other Officials. The Church is represented in Scripture as a Spirit-

Queen Elizabeth, 1594. Spiritual Body ; her Ordinances, Privileges and Censures being purely such ; but later Ages have wrought the Civil Powers into her Constitution, and kept Men within her Pale by all the Terrors of this World, as *Fines, Imprisonments, Banishments, Fire and Sword*. 'Tis the peculiar Excellency of the Gospel Worship to be *plain and simple*, free from the Yoke of *Jewish Ceremonies* ; but the Antichristian Powers thinking this a Defect, have loaded it with numberless Ceremonies of their own Invention ; and though there are Laws in Scripture sufficient for the Direction of the Church, as constituted by Christ and his Apostles, they have thought fit to add so many Volumes of Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons, and Injunctions, as have confounded, if not subverted the Laws of Christ.

But if Men considered the Church as a *Spiritual Body*, constituted by Christ its sole Lawgiver for *Spiritual Purposes*, they would then see that it had no Concern with their Civil Properties and Estates ; nor any Power to force Men to be of its Communion by the Pains and Penalties of this World. The Laws of the New Testament would appear sufficient for the Well-being of such a Society ; and in Cases where there are no particular Laws or Injunctions, that it is the Will of Christ and his Apostles there should be Liberty and Forbearance ; there would then be no Occasion for *Christian Courts* (as they are called) nor for the Interposition of human Authority, any further than to keep the Peace. Upon the whole, as far as any Church is governed by the Laws and Precepts of the New Testament it is certainly a Church of Christ ; but when it sets up its own *By-Laws* as Terms of Communion, or works the Laws of the Civil Magistrate into its Constitution, it is so far a Creature of the State.

Mr. Hooker's two last Propositions are inconsistent with the first Principles of the Reformation, (*viz.*) that *All that are born within the Confines of an established*

ed Church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit to its Ecclesiastical Laws under such Penalties as the Church in her Wisdom shall direct. Must I then be of the Religion of the Country where I am born? That is, at Rome a Papist; in Saxony a Lutheran; in Scotland a Presbyterian; and in England a Diocesan Prelatist; and this under such Penalties as the Church in her Wisdom shall think fit? Must I believe as the Church believes, and submit to her Laws right or wrong? Have I no Right as a Man and a Christian, to judge and act for my self, as long as I continue a dutiful and faithful Subject to my Prince? Surely religious Principles and Church Communion should be the Effect of Examination and a deliberate Choice, or they lose their Name, and must degenerate into Hypocrisy or Atheism.

From general Principles Mr. Hooker proceeds to vindicate the particular Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and to clear them from the Exceptions of the Puritans, which will easily be done when he has proved, that the Church has a Discretionary Power to appoint what Ceremonies, and establish what Order she thinks fit; he may then vindicate not only the Ceremonies of the Church of England, but all those of Rome, for no doubt that Church apprehends all their Ceremonies conducive to her Well-being, and not inconsistent with the Laws of Christ.

This Year died Dr. John Aylmer, Bishop of London, Death of whose Character has been tufficently drawn in this History; he was born in Norfolk, educated in Cambridge, and in Queen Mary's Reign an Exile for Religion; he was such a little Man, that Fuller says, when the Searchers were clearing the Ship in which he made his Escape, the Merchant put him into a great Wine Butt that had a Partition in the middle, so that Mr. Aylmer sat enclosed in the hinder Part, while the Searchers drank of the Wine which they saw drawn out of the Head on the other Part; he was of an active, busy Spirit, quick in his Language,

Queen Elizabeth,
1594.

Bishop of London.

Fuller's Worthies,

B. II.

p. 238.

Queen Elizabeth, 1595. guage, and after his Advancement of a stout and distant Behaviour: In his younger Days he was inclined to *Puritanism*, but when he was made a Bishop he became a resolute Champion of the Hierarchy, and a bitter Persecutor of his former Friends. In his latter Days he was very covetous, and a little too lax in his Morals: He usually played at Bowls on Sundays in the Afternoons; and used such Language at his Game, as justly exposed his Character to Reproach; but with all these Blemishes, the Writer of his Life (Mr. *Strype*) will have him a learned, pious, and humble Bishop. He died at *Fulham*, June 3. 1594. in the 74th Year of his Age.

1595. *He is succeeded by Bishop Fletcher.* *Aylmer* was succeeded by Dr. *Fletcher* Bishop of *Worcester*, who in his primary Visitation gave out 27 Articles of Enquiry to the Church Wardens concerning their *Preachers*; as, Whether they prayed for the Queen as *s* preme Head over all Persons and Causes within her Dominions, Ecclesiastical and Temporal —? Whether they were learned — or frequented Conventicles — or taught Innovations — or commended the new Discipline — or spoke in Derogation of any part of the *Common Prayer* — or did not administer the Sacrament in their own Persons at certain Times of the Year? &c. By these, and such like Enquiries, the Prisons that had been lately cleared, were filled again; for by an Account sent to the Queen from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners towards the Close of this Year, it appears that in the *Marshalsea*, *Newgate*, the *Gate-House*, *Bridewell*, the *Fleet*, the *Compters*, the *White Lion*, and the *King's Bench*, there were 89 Prisoners for Religion; some Popish Recusants, and the rest Protestant Non-Conformists; of whom 24 had been committed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the rest by the Council and the Bishops Courts. But his *Lordship's* Proceedings were quickly interrupted, by his falling under her Majesty's Displeasure a few Months after his Translation, for marrying a second Wife, which the Queen

Queen looked upon as indecent in an elderly Clergyman; for this she banished him the Court, and commanded the Archbishop to suspend him from his Bishoprick; but after six Months, her Majesty being a little pacified, ordered his Suspension to be taken off, but would never admit him into her Presence, which had such an Influence upon his great Spirit, as was thought to hasten the Death, which happen'd the next Year, as he was setting in his Chair smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco. The Year following he was succeeded by Dr. Bancroft, the great Adversary of the Puritans.

Queen

Elizabeth,
1595.

These violent Proceedings of the Bishops drove *And drives* great Numbers of the *Brownists* into Holland, where *them into* their Leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and others were gone before-hand, and with the leave of the States were erecting Churches after their own Model at *Amsterdam*, *Arnhem*, *Middleburgh*, *Leyden*, and other Places. The Church at *Amsterdam* had like to have been torn in pieces at first by intestine Divisions, but afterwards flourished under a Succession of Pastors for above a hundred Years. Mr. Robinson, Pastor of the Church at *Leyden*, first struck out the *Congregational* or *Independent* Form of Church Government, and at length part of this Church transplanting themselves into *America* laid the Foundation of the noble Colony of *New England*, as will be seen hereafter.

Hitherto the Controversy between the Church and Puritans had been chiefly about *Habits* and *Ceremonies*, and *Church-Discipline*, but now it began to open upon Points of Doctrine; for this Year Dr. Bound published his Treatise OF THE SABBATH, wherein he maintains the Morality of a seventh Part of Time for the Worship of God; that Christians are bound to rest on the *Lord's Day* as much as the Jews on the Mosaical Sabbath, the Commandment of Rest being moral and perpetual; that therefore it was not lawful to follow our Studies or worldly Business on

Queen Elizabeth, as were lawful on other Days, as *Shooting, Fencing and Bowling, &c.* This Book had a wonderful Spread among the People, and wrought a mighty Reformation; so that the *Lord's-Day*, which used to be prophaned by *Interludes, May-Games, Morris Dances, and other Sports and Recreations*, began to be kept more precisely, especially in Corporations. All the *Puritans* fell in with this Doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that Part of sacred Time in publick, family, and private Acts of Devotion. But the governing Clergy exclaimed against it, as a Restraint of Christian Liberty; as putting an unequal Lustre on the *Sunday*, and tending to eclipse the Authority of the Church in appointing other Festivals. Mr. Rogers, Author of a Commentary on the 39 Articles, writes in his Preface, *That it was the Comfort of his Soul, and would be to his dying Day, that he had been the Man, and the Means that the Sabbatarian Errors were brought to the Light and Knowledge of the State.* But I should have thought this Clergyman might have had as much Comfort upon his Death-bed, if he had spent his Zeal in recommending the religious Observation of that *sacred Day*. Dr. Bound might carry his Doctrine too high if he advanced it to a Level with the *Jewish Rigors*; but it was certainly unworthy the Character of Divines to encourage Men in *Shooting, Fencing, and other Diversions on the Lord's Day*, which they are forward enough to give way to, without the Countenance and Example of their spiritual Guides. But Archbishop Whitgift called in all the Copies of Dr. Bound's Book by his Letters and Officers at Synods and Visitations, and forbid it to be reprinted; and the Lord Chief Justice Popham did the same; both of them declaring, that the *Sabbath Doctrine* agreed neither with the Doctrine of our Church, nor with the Laws and Orders of this Kingdom; that it disturbed the Peace of the Commonwealth and Church, and tended to Schism in the

Dr. Bound's Book suppressed by the Abp. L. of Whit-gift, p. 531.

Fuller,
B. IX.
p. 227.

p. 531.

the one, and *Sedition* in the other ; but notwithstanding all this Caution, the Book was read privately more than ever. "The more Liberty People were offered (says Mr. Fuller) the less they used, refusing to take the Freedom Authority tender'd them, as being jealous of a Design to blow up their Civil Liberties." The Archbishop's Head was no sooner laid, but Dr. *Bound* prepared his Book for the ^{But pre-}_{vails.} Press a second Time, and published it with large Additions, 1606. and such was its Reputation, that scarce any Comment, or Catechism was published by the stricter Divines for many Years, in which the *Morality of the Sabbath* was not strongly recommended and urged : But this Controversy will return again in the next Reign.

All the Protestant Divines in the Church, whether Puritans or others, seemed of one Mind hitherto about the *Doctrines of Faith*, but now there arose a Party which were first for softning, and then for overthrowing the received Opinions about *Predestination*, *Perseverance*, *Free-Will*, *Effectual Grace*, and the *Extent of our Saviour's Redemption*. The Articles of the Church of England were thought by all Men hitherto to favour the Explication of *Calvin* ; but these Divines would make them stand Neuter, and leave a Latitude for the Subscriber to take either Side of the Question. All the Puritans to a Man maintained the Articles of the Church to be Calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other Interpretation, and so did far the greatest Number of the conforming Clergy ; but as the new Explications of *Arminius* grew into Repute, the Calvinists were reckoned old fashioned Divines, and at length branded with the Character of DOCTRINAL PURITANS.

The Debate began in the University of Cambridge, where one Mr. Barret, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, in his Sermon *ad Clerum*, declared himself against *Calvin's Doctrine* about *Predestination* and *Fal-*

Queen
Elizabeth,
1595.

Queen ^{1595.} *ling from Grace*; reflecting with some Sharpness upon Elizabeth, that great Divine, and advising his Hearers not to read him. For this he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and obliged to retract in St. Mary's Church, according to a Form prescribed by his Superiors; which he read after a Manner that shewed he did it only to save his Place in the University. This was so offensive to the Scholars, that 40 or 50 Graduates of the several Colleges sign'd a Petition, dated May 26. 1595. desiring some further Course might be taken with him, that the great Names which he had reproached, as L. of Whit- P. Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c. might receive some Reparation. Both Parties writ to the Archbishop, who blamed the University for their too hasty Proceedings, and seemed to take part with Barret; but the Heads of Colleges in a second Letter vindicated their Proceedings, desiring his Grace not to encourage such a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young Fellow, and insisted on the Rights and Prerogatives of the University. At length Mr. Barret was sent for to Lambeth, and having been examined before the Archbishop and some other Divines, Heyl. Hist. Presb. they agreed that he had maintained some Errors, and enjoined him in a humble Manner to confess his Ignorance and Mistake, and not to teach the like Doctrines for the future; but he chose rather to quit the University. This Barret was a conceited Youth, who did not treat his Superiors with Decency: In one of his Letters he calls the grave and learned Mr. Perkins, *Homuncio quidam*, A little conguinq. Hist. against Heylin, p. 210. A little contemptible Fellow: But at last he turned Papist. The Fire was no sooner kindled, but it was observed that Barret and his Friends were countenanced by the High-Conformists and Roman Catholicks, and that his Adversaries took part with the Puritans, which was like to produce a new Division in the Church.

To put an End to these Disputes the Heads of the University sent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal to Lambeth,

beth, to consult with the Archbishop and some other learned Divines upon these Points ; who at length, Nov. 20th. concluded upon the following nine Propositions, commonly called the *Lambeth Articles*, which the Scholars in the University were strictly enjoin'd to conform their Judgments unto, and not to vary from. The Articles were as follow ;

Queen Elizabeth,
1595.

1. " That God from Eternity has predestinated some Persons to Life, and reprobated others to Death.
2. " The moving or efficient Cause of Predestination to Life is not foreseen Faith or good Works, or any other commendable Quality in the Persons predestinated, but the good Will and Pleasure of God.
3. " The Number of the Predestinate is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased.
4. " They who are not predestinated to Salvation shall be necessarily condemned for their Sins.
5. " A true, lively, and justifying Faith, and the sanctifying Influence of the Spirit, is not extinguished, nor does it fail, or go off either finally or totally.
6. " A justified Person has a full Assurance and Certainty of the Remission of his Sins, and of his everlasting Salvation by Christ.
7. " Saving Grace is not communicated to all Men ; neither have all Men such a Measure of Divine Assistance, that they may be saved if they will.
8. " No Person can come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draws him ; and all Men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to Christ.
9. " 'Tis not in every ones Will and Power to be saved."

Queen
Elizabeth
1575

These high Propositions were drawn up, and consented to by *Archbishop Whitgift*, Dr. Fletcher Bishop of London, Dr. Vaughan elect of Bangor, and some others ; they were sent to Dr. Hutton Archbishop of York, and Dr. Young of Rochester, who subscribed them, only wishing that the Word [necessarily] in the fourth Article ; and those Words in the seventh Article [If they will] might be omitted. The Archbishop in his Letter which he sent to the University with the *Articles*, says they are to look upon them not as new Laws and Decrees, but only as an Explanation of certain Points which they apprehend to be true, and correspondent to the Doctrine professed in the Church of England, and already established by the Laws L. of Whit- of the Land. But forasmuch as they had not the gift, p. 463 Queen's Sanction, he desires they may not become a publick Act, but used privately and with Discretion. He adds, that her Majesty was fully persuaded of the Truth of them ; which is strange, when she commanded Sir Robert Cecil to signify to the Archbishop Disliked by Letter, " That she disliked much that any Alien the Court. " lowance had been given by his Grace and his Brethren for any such Points to be disputed, being a Matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant Minds : And thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publickly, or suffering them to be debated in the Pulpit."

Dr. Baro's Sufferings. The Queen's Design was to stifle the Controversy in its Birth ; for if she was dissatisfied with the Archbishop's private Determinations, she was downright angry with Dr. Baro a Frenchman, and one of the Divinity Professors at Cambridge, for continuing the Debate. She said, That being an Alien, and humanly harboured and intranchised both himself and Family, he ought to have carried himself more quietly and peaceably. His Case was this ; In his Sermon before the University preached January 12th. he asserted, (1.) That God created all Men according to his own Likeness in Adam, and consequently to eternal Life, from which he rejects

rejects no Man but on the Account of his Sins. (2.) That Queen Elizabeth,
 Christ died for all Mankind, and was a Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World, original and actual ; the Remedy provided by him being as extensive as the Ruins of the Fall. (3.) That the Promises of eternal Life made to us in Christ are to be generally and universally taken and understood, being made as much to Judas as to Peter. For these Propositions he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, who examined him by several Interrogatories, and commanded him peremptorily to abstain from those Controversies in his Lectures and Sermons for the future.

They acquainted Secretary Cecil by Letter with their Proceedings, in which they call his Doctrines Popish, and say, that for 14 or 15 Years he has taught in his Lectures, and preached in his Sermons, divers Points of Doctrine contrary to those which have been taught and read ever since her Majesty's Reign, and agreeable to the Errors of Popery, by which Means they fear the whole Body of that Religion will break in upon them ; they therefore pray his Lordship's Assistance for the suppressing them. Camb. March 8th. 1595. Sign'd by

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Roger Goad, Procan. | Tho. Preston, |
| R. Some, | Hump. Tindal, |
| Tho. Legge, | James Montague, |
| John Jegon, | Edm. Barrel, |
| Tho. Nevyle, | Lawr. Chadderton. |

On the other hand Baro writ to the Archbishop to Strype's keep him in his Place, promising Obedience to his Ann.
 Grace's Commands, and to keep the Peace of the Vol ult.
 University by dropping the Controversy in silence. p. 230.
 He also writ to Secretary Cecil to put a Stop to the Proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor, which he, together with the Archbishop accomplished ; but the University not being satisfied with him, he was obliged next Year to quit his Professorship and retire.

Queen Elizabeth, 1596. London, where he died two or three Years after, having been Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge about 25 Years. He left a large Posterity behind him, and was buried in St. Olave's Hart-Street, his Pall being supported by six Doctors of Divinity, by *L. of Whitgift, p. 473.* Order from the Bishop of London. The Chancellor in his Letter to the University was very angry, because they listed *Baro* with Interrogatories, "as if (says he) he was a Thief: This seems done of Stomach among you." How sad then was the Case of the Puritans!

Sentiments of the Ch. on this Head. The Divines of Oxford, and indeed all the first Reformers, were in the same Sentiments with those of Cambridge about the disputed Points; *Calvin's Institutions* being read publickly in the Schools by appointment of the Convocation, though perhaps they might not go the full Length of the *Lambeth Articles*, nor express themselves with the exactness of those who lived afterwards, when those Doctrines were publickly opposed by *Arminius* and his Followers.

1596. *Controversy of Christ's Descent into Hell.* The Article of our Saviour's local Descent into Hell began to be questioned at this Time. It had been the received Doctrine of the Church of England, That the Soul of Christ being separated from his Body descended locally into Hell, that he might there triumph over Satan, as before he had over Death and Sin. But the learned Mr. Hugh Broughton, the Rabbi of his Age, whom King James would have courted into Scotland, convinced the World that the Word *Hades*, used by the Greek Fathers for the Place into which Christ went after his Crucifixion, did not mean Hell, or the Place of the Damned, but only the State of the Dead, or the invisible World. It was further debated, Whether Christ underwent in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finished all his Sufferings upon the Cross before he died. This was *Calvin's* Sentiment, and with him agreed all the Puritan Divines, who preach'd it in their

Life of Whitgift, p. 482.

their Sermons, and inserted it in their Catechisms. Queen Elizabeth, ^{1597.} On the other hand, Bishop *Bilson* in his Sermons at *Paul's Cross* maintained, That no Text of Scripture asserted the Death of Christ's Soul, or the Pains of the Damn-ed to be requisite in the Person of Christ before he could be Presb. our Ransomer, and the Saviour of the World. But still ^{p. 350.} he maintained the local Descent of Christ into Hell, or the Territory of the Damned; and that by the Course of the Creed the Article must refer not to Christ living upon the Cross, but to Christ dead; and that he went thither not to suffer, but to wrest the Keys of Hell and Death out of the Hands of the Devil. When these Sermons were printed they were presently answered by Mr. *Henry Jacob*, a learned Brownist. *Bilson*, by the Queen's Command, defended his Sermons, in a Treatise entitled, *A Survey of Christ's Sufferings*, which did not appear in the World till 1604. The Controversy was warmly debated in both Universities; but when the learned Combatants had spent their Artillery it dropt in silence, without any Determination from Authority, though it was one of the Articles, usually objected to the Puritans, for which they were suspended their Ministry.

Among other Reproaches cast upon their Clergy, ^{1597.} one was, that they deluded the People by claiming *Mr. Darrel's Suf-*
a Power to exorcise the Devil. "Some of their Mi-
nisters (says Mr. *Strype*) pretended to cast out De-
vils, that so the amazed Multitude having a great ^{to cast out} *unclear*
Veneration for these Exorcizers of Devils, by the ^{pretending} *Spirits.*
Power of their Prayers and Fastings, might the
more readily and awfully submit to their Opinions
and Ways; a Practice borrowed from the then
Papists to make their Priests rever'd, and to con-
firm the Laity in their Superstitions." One would
think here was a Plot of some cunning, designing
Men, to conjure the People into the Belief of the
Discipline; but all vanishes in the peculiar Principles
of a weak and (as Mr. *Strype* confesses) honest Man,
whole

Queen Elizabeth, whose Name was Darrel, a B. A. and Minister of Nottingham. This Divine was of Opinion, that by the Power of Prayer the Devil might be cast out of Persons possessed; and having tried the Experiment upon one gift, p. 492, Darlin of Burton, a Boy of about 14 Years old with

495. Success, and upon some others, he was importuned by one of the Ministers, and several Inhabitants of the Town of Nottingham to visit one William Somers, a Boy that had such convulsive Agonies, as were thought to be preternatural, insomuch that when Mr. Darrel had seen them, he concluded with the rest of the Spectators that he was possessed, and advised his Friends to desire the Help of godly and learned Ministers to endeavour his Recovery, but excused himself from being concerned, lest if the Devil should be dispossessed the common People should attribute to him some special Gift of casting out Devils; but upon a second Request from the Mayor of Nottingham, he agreed with Mr. Alderidge and two other Ministers, with about 150 neighbouring Christians, to set apart a Day for Fasting and Prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young Man from his Torments; and after some Time the Lord was entreated, and they blessed God for the same; this was November 1597. A few Days after, the Mayor and some of the Aldermen began to suspect that Somers was a Cheat, and to make him confess, they took him from his Parents and committed him to the Custody of two Men, who with Threatnings prevailed with him to acknowledge, that he had dissembled and counterfeited all he did. Upon this he was carried before the Commission, where at first he own'd himself a Counterfeit, and then presently denied it again; but being thoroughly frightened he fell into Fits before the Commissioners, which put an End to his Examination for the present: After some Time, being still in Custody, he returned to his confessing, and charged Mr. Darrel with training him up in the Art for four Years. Upon this Mr. Darrel was summoned before the

Commissioners, and brought Witnesses with him to prove, that Somers had declared in a very solemn Manner that he had not dissembled ; upon which he was dismissed, and the Commission dissolved ; but the Affair making a great Noise in the Country, Mr. Darrel was sent for to Lambeth, and after a long Hearing before the Archbishop, and others of the High Commission, he was deposed from his Ministry, and committed close Prisoner to the Gate-House, for being Accessary to a vile Imposture, where he continued many Years.

While Mr. Darrel was in the Prison he writ an *His solemn Apology*, to shew that *People in these latter Days may be possessed with Devils ; and that by Prayer and Fasting the unclean Spirit may be cast out.* In the End of which he makes this Protestation ; “ If what I am accused of be true (*viz.* That I have been Accessary to a vile Imposture, with a Design to impose on Mankind) let me be register’d to my perpetual Infamy, not only for a notorious Deceiver, but such an Hypocrite as never trod on the Earth before ; yea, Lord ! for to thee I convert my Speech, who knowest all Things, if I have confederated more or less with Somers, Darling, or any of the rest ; if ever I set Eye on them before they were possessed, then let me not only be made a Laughing-Stock, and a *By-Word* to all Men, but rase my Name also out of the Book of Life, and let me have my Portion with Hypocrites.”

It has been observed, that the Bishops had now Puritans wisely transferred the Prosecution of the Puritans *turn’d over from themselves to the temporal Courts*, so that instead of being summoned before the *High Commission*, they were indicted at the *Affizes*, and tried at common Law ; this being thought more adviseable, to take off the Odium from the Church. Judge Ander-
son discovered his Zeal against them this Summer in an extraordinary manner, for in his Charge to the Jury at Lincoln he told them, That the Country was infest-

Queen Elizabeth,
1597.

Queen Elizabeth, ed with Brownists, with Disciplinarians and Erectors of Presbyteries; which he spoke with so much Wrath, with so many Oaths, and such reviling Language, as scandalized the Gentlemen upon the Bench. He called the Preachers *Knaves*, saying, that they would start up into the Pulpit and speak against every body. *1597.* He was for extending the Statute of Recusancy to them that went at any Time to hear Sermons from their own Parish Churches, though they usually attended in their Places, and heard Divine Service dutifully. When Lord *Clinton* and the Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of those Parts, obtained the Bishop's Allowance for a Day of Fasting and Prayer at *Lowth*, upon an extraordinary Occasion, his Lordship urged the Jury to find a Bill against them, upon the Statute of Conventicles.

Mr. Allen's Case. Mr. *Allen*, Minister of that Parish, being indicted by means of a revengeful Justice of Peace, for not reading all the Prayers at once (he using sometimes to omit part of them for the Sermon) was obliged to hold up his Hand at the Bar, when Judge *Anderson* standing up, spoke to him with a fierce Countenance; and having insinuated some grievous Faults against the Man (though he named none) called him oftentimes *Knave*, *rebellious Knave*, with more such reproachful Language, though it was known all over the Country that Mr. *Allen* was a good Preacher; that he had subscribed; was well liked by the Bishop; was conformable in his Affections; and behaved upon this Occasion with all Humility and Submission. But his Lordship had said in his Charge, that he would hunt all the *Puritans* out of his Circuit. One Thing was remarkable in Mr. *Allen's* Arraignment, that when upon some Point wherein *Judgment in Divinity* was required, Mr. *Allen* referred himself to the Bishop his Ordinary then sitting upon the Bench, the Judge took him up with marvellous Indignation, and said, *He was both his Ordinary and Bishop in that Place.*

Thus

Thus the Puritan Clergy were put upon a Level with *Rogues* and *Felons*, and made to hold up their Hands at the Bar among the vilest Criminals ; there was hardly an *Affize* in any County in *England*, but one or more Ministers, through the Resentments of some of their Parishioners, appeared in this Character, to the Disgrace of their Order, and the Loss of their Reputation and Usefulness ; besides being exposed to the Insults of the rude Multitude. “ But I would to God (says my Author) that they which judge in religious Causes, though in the Name of Civil Affairs, would either get some more Knowledge in Religion and God’s Word than my Lord Anderson hath, or call in the Assistance of those that have.”

Archbishop *Whitgift* was busy this Summer about Proceedings Elections for the ensuing Parliament, which was to meet Octob. 24th. Mr. *Strype* says, his Grace took what care he could to prevent such as were disaffected to the Constitution of the Church, that is, all *Puritans*, from coming into the House ; but some thought it a little out of Character for an Archbishop to appear so publickly in the Choice of the Peoples Representatives. The House being thus modell’d did not meddle with the Foundations of Discipline, or Form of publick Worship ; but several Bills were brought in to regulate Abuses in Spiritual Courts, as against Licences to marry without Banes ; against excessive Fees, frivolous Citations ex Officio, and Excommunications for little Matters, as two Pence or three Pence. But these, and all other Bills of this Nature, were according to Custom, quashed by a Message from the Queen, forbidding them to touch her Prerogative ; and assuring them, that she would take the aforesaid Grievances into her princely Consideration. Accordingly her Majesty referr’d these Matters to the Convocation ; it being her steady Maxim, not to proceed in Affairs of the Church by Statutes, which none but the Parliament could repeal,

Queen Elizabeth,
1597.
Remarks.

*Strype’s
Ann.
Vol. ult.
p. 267.*

*Life of
Whitgift,
p. 508.*

And Con-

vocation.

Queen Elizabeth, repeal, but rather by *Canons*, which she could confirm or dispense with at her Pleasure. The Convocation drew up some Regulations upon these, and some other Heads, relating to Ecclesiastical Courts, which the Queen confirmed by her Letters Patents, Jan. 18th. in the 40th Year of her Reign. They were printed the same Year by her Authority, and may be seen in Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c.

1598. But still the Ecclesiastical Courts were an insufferable Grievance; the Oppressions that People underwent from the bottomless Deep of the *Canon Law* put them upon removing their Causes into

Westminster Hall, by getting *Prohibitions* to stop Proceedings in the Bishops Courts, or in the *High Commission*. This awaken'd the Archbishop, who in order to support the *Civilians*, drew up certain *Querries* to be considered by the Lords and Judges of the Land touching *Prohibitions*; of which this was the

The Abp. complains of them. principal, "That seeing Ecclesiastical Authority is "as truly vested in the Crown as Temporal, Whe- "ther the Queen's Temporal Authority should any "more restrain her Ecclesiastical, than her Ecclesiasti- "cal should her Temporal? And seeing so many, and "so great Personages with some others, are trusted "to do her Majesty Service in her Ecclesiastical Com- "mission, Whether it be convenient, that an Offen- "der ready to be censured, should obtain, and pub- "licly throw into Court a *Prohibition*, to the delay "of Justice, and to the Disgrace and Disparagement "of those who served freely, without all Fee there- "in?" The Archbishop caused a List to be made of divers Cases, wherein the *Christian Court*, as he

L. of Whitgift, p. 537. called it, had been interrupted by the *Temporal Ju-*
risdiction; and of many Causes that had been taken out of the Hands of the *Bishops Courts*, the *High Commission*, and the *Court of Delegates*; the former authorised by immediate Commission from the Queen, and the latter by a special Commission upon an Appeal to her Court

Court of Chancery. But notwithstanding all these Queen Efforts of Whitgift and his Successor Bancroft, the Elizabeth, Number of Prohibitions encreased every Year; the Nobility, Gentry, and Judges, being too wise to subject their Estates and Liberties to a Number of artful ^{1599.} ~~vain.~~ ^{But in} Civilians, versed in a Codex or Body of Laws, of most uncertain Authority, and Strangers to the Statute Laws of the Realm, without the Liberty of a Prohibition; when it was notorious, that the Canon Law had been always since the Reformation controuled by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm. Thus the Civilians sunk in their Busines under the two next Archbishops, till Laud governed the Church, who terrified the Judges from granting Prohibitions; then the Spiritual Courts, Star Chamber, Council Table and High Commissioners rid triumphant, fining, imprisoning, and banishing Men at their Pleasure, till they became as Terrible as the Spanish Inquisition, and brought upon the Nation all the Confusions of a Civil War.

From this Time to the Queen's Death there was a Cessation kind of Cessation of Arms between the Church and of Centra- Puritans; the Combatants were out of Breath, or willing to wait for better Times. Some apprehended that the Puritans were vanquished, and their Num- bers lessened by the severe Execution of the penal Laws; whereas it will appear by a Survey in the beginning of the next Reign, that the Non-Conforming Clergy were above 1500. But the true Reason was this, the Queen was advanced in Years, and could not live long in a Course of Nature, and the next Heir to the Crown being a Puritan, the Bishops were cautious of acting against a Party for whom his Majesty had declared, not knowing what Revenge he might take when he was fixed on the Throne; and the Puritans were quiet, in hopes of great Matters to be done for them upon the expected Change.

Queen Elizabeth, 1601. Notwithstanding all former Repulses from Court, the Queen's last Parliament, which sat in the Year 1601. renewed their Attacks upon the Ecclesiastical Courts ; a Bill was brought in to examine into Bishops Leases, and to disable them from taking Fines. Another against *Pluralities* and *Non-Residents* ; and another against *Commissaries* and *Archdeacons Courts* ; multitudes of Complaints came to the House against the Proceedings of the Ordinaries *ex mero Officio* without due Presentments preceding, and against the frequent keeping their Courts, so that the Church-Wardens were sometimes cited to two or three Spiritual Courts at once ; Complaint was made of their charging the Country with quarterly Bills ; of the great Number of *Apparitors*, and *Petty Sumners*, who seized upon People for trifling Offences ; of the Admission of Curates by *Officialis* and *Commissaries*, without the Bishop's Knowledge, and without Testimonials of their Conversation ; of scandalous Commutations of Penance, and divers Abuses of the like Kind ; but the Queen would not suffer the House to debate them, but referr'd them to the Archbishop, who writ to his Brethren the Bishops, to endeavour as much as possible to reform the above-mentioned Grievances, which (says he) have produced multitudes of Complaints in Parliament ; and had they not been prevented with good Circumspection, and promise of careful Reformation, there might, perhaps, have ensued the taking away of the whole, or most of those Courts. " So prudent-
 " ly diligent was the Archbishop (says Mr. Strype)
 " to keep up the Jurisdiction of the Bishops Courts,
 " and the wealthy Estate of the Clergy, by pre-
 " serving *Non-Residencies* to them."

*Bill to pu-
nish volun-
tary Ab-
sence from
Church.*

There was another Bill brought into the House, to punish voluntary Absence from Church ; the Forfeiture was to be twelve Pence each Sunday, to be levied by Distress, by a Warrant from a Justice of Peace ; but the Bill was opposed, because there was

was a severe Law already against Recusants, of twenty Queen Pounds ~~per Month~~^{Elizabeth,} and because, if this Bill should pass, a Justice of Peace's House would like a Quarter Sessions be crowded with a Multitude of Informers : It was likewise against *Magna Charta*, which Collier's admits of a Trial *per pares*, whereas by this Act, two p. 667. Witnesses before a Justice of Peace were sufficient. The Bill however was engrossed, and being put to the Question the No's carried it by a single Voice ; upon which the Yea's said the Speaker was with them, which made the Number even. The Question was then put whether the Speaker had a Voice, which being carried in the Negative the Bill miscarried.

The Convocation did nothing but give the Queen four Subsidies to be collected in four Years, and receive an Exhortation from the Archbishop to observe the Canons past in the last Convocation. They met October 18th. and were dissolved with the Parliament, December 19th. following.

This Year died the Reverend and Learned Mr. William Perkins, born at Marston in Warwickshire in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow ; He was one of the most famous practical Writers and Preachers of his Age ; and being a strict Calvinist, he published several Treatises in favour of those Doctrines, which involved him in a Controversy with Arminius then Professor of Divinity at Leyden, that continued to his Death. He was a Puritan Non-Conformist, and a Favourer of the Discipline, for which he was once or twice before the High Commission ; but his peaceable Behaviour, and great Fame in the learned World, procured him a Dispensation from the Persecutions of his Brethren. Mr. Perkins was a little Man, and writ with his left Hand, being lame of his right. His Works, which were printed in 3 Vol. Fol. shew him to have been a most pious, holy, and industrious Divine, considering he lived but 44 Years.

Queen Elizabeth, long Reign ; 'tis evident that the Parliament, the People, and great Numbers of the inferior Clergy, were for carrying the Reformation further than the present Establishment. The first Bishops came into it with this View ; they declared against the *popish Habits and Ceremonies*, and promised to use all their Interest with the Queen for their removal ; but how soon they forgot themselves, when they were warm in their Chairs, the foregoing History has discovered. Most of the first Reformers were of *Eraſtian Principles*, looking upon the Church as *a meer Creature of the State* : They gave up every Thing to the Crown, and yielded to the Magistrate the absolute Direction of the Consciences, or at least of the Profession of all his Subjects. They acknowledged but two Orders of Clergy of *Divine Institution*, viz. *Bishops or Priests, and Deacons*. They admitted the Ordinations of foreign Churches by meer Presbyters, till towards the middle of this Reign, when their Validity began to be disputed and denied. *Whitgift* was the first that defended the Hierarchy, from the Practice of the *third, fourth, and fifth Centuries* when the *Roman Empire became Christian* ; but *Bancroft* divided off the Bishops from the Priesthood, and advanced them into a superior Order by *Divine Right*, with the sole Power of Ordination, and the Keys of Discipline ; so that from his Time there were reckon'd three Orders of Clergy in the *English Hierarchy* (viz.) *Bishops, Priests and Deacons*. Thus the Church improved in her Claims, and removed by Degrees to a greater Distance from the foreign Protestants.

The Controversy with the Puritans had but a small beginning (viz.) *The imposing of the popish Habits and a few indifferent Ceremonies* ; but it open'd by Degrees into a Reformation of Discipline, which all confessed was wanting ; and at last the very *Doctrines of Faith* were debated. The Queen and the later Bishops would not part with a Pin out of the Hierarchy, nor leave a Latitude in the most trifling Ceremonies, but insist-

insisted upon an exact Uniformity both in Doctrine and Ceremonies, that all might unite in the publick Standard. The Puritans in their Writings and Conferences attempted to shew the Defects of the Establishment from Scripture, and from the earliest Ages of the Church ; and what they suffered for it has been in part related ; the Suspensions and Deprivations of this long Reign amounting to several Thousands ; but when it appeared that nothing would be abated, and that penal Laws were multiplied and rigorously executed, they endeavoured to erect a sort of voluntary Discipline within the Church, for the Ease and Satisfaction of their own Consciences, being unwilling to separate ; but at length the Violence of Persecution drove some of them into the Extremes of *Brownism*, which divided the Puritans, and gave Rise to a new Controversy, concerning the *Necessity of a Separation from the Established Church*, of which we shall hear more hereafter ; but under all their Hardships their Loyalty to the Queen was untainted, and their Behaviour was peaceable ; they addressed the Queen and Parliament, and Bishops for Relief, at sundry Times ; and remonstrated against the arbitrary Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, but made use of no other Weapons but Prayers and Tears, attended with Scripture and Argument.

The chief Principles of the *Puritans* have been al-
ready related : They were no Enemies to the Name or Function of a *Bishop*, provided he was no more than a *magister*, or stated President of the *College of Presbyters* in his Diocese, and managed the Affairs of it with their Direction and Assistance. They did not object against *prescribed Forms of Prayer*, provided a Latitude was indulged the Minister to alter or vary some Expressions ; and to make use of a Prayer of his own Conception before and after Sermon : Nor had they an Aversion to such *decent and distinct Habits* for the Clergy as were not derived from Popery. But upon the whole, they were the most resolved Protestants in the

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

Queen Elizabeth, 1602. Nation, zealous *Calvinists*, warm and affectionate Preachers, and determined Enemies to Popery, and to every Thing that had a Tendency that way.

Their Character. 'Tis not to be imagin'd, that the PURITANS were without their Failings ; no, they were Men of like Passions and Infirmities with their Neighbours ; while they endeavoured to avoid one Extreme they might fall into another ; their Zeal for their *Platform of Discipline*, would, I fear, have betrayed them into the Imposition of it upon others, if it had been established by Law. Their Notions of the Civil and Religious Rights of Mankind were dark and confused, and derived too much from the *Theocracy of the Jews*, which was now at an end. Their Behaviour was severe and rigid, far removed from the fashionable Customs and Vices of the Age, and possibly they might be too Censorious, in not making those Allowances between Youth and Age, Grandeur and meer Decency, as the Nature of Things would admit ; but with all their Faults, they were the most pious and devout People in the Land ; *Men of Prayer*, both in secret and publick, as well as in their Families ; their *Manner of Devotion* was fervent and solemn, depending on the Assistance of the Divine Spirit, not only to teach them *how* to pray, but *what* to pray for as they ought. They had a profound Reverence for the *Holy Name of God*, and were great Enemies not only to profane Swearing, but to foolish Talking and Jesting, which are not convenient ; they were strict Observers of the *Christian Sabbath or Lord's Day*, spending the whole of it in Acts of publick and private Devotion and Charity. It was the distinguishing Mark of a Puritan in these Times, to see him going to Church twice a Day with his Bible under his Arm ; while others were at *Plays and Interludes*, or at *Revels*, or walking in the Fields, or at the Diversions of Bowling, Fencing, &c. on the Evening of the Sabbath, these with their Families were employed in reading the *Scrip-tures*,

tures, singing Psalms, catechising the Children, repeating Sermons, and Prayer: Nor was this only the Work of the *Lord's Day*, but they had their Hours of Family Devotion on the Week Days, esteeming it their Duty to take care of the Souls as well as Bodies of their Servants. They were circumspect as to all the Excesses of Eating, Drinking, Apparel, and lawful Diversions, being frugal in House-keeping, industrious in their particular Callings, honest and exact in their Dealings, and solicitous to give to every one his own. These were the People that were branded with the Name of PRECISIANS, PURITANS, SCHISMATICKS, ENEMIES TO GOD AND THEIR COUNTRY, and throughout the Course of this Reign underwent cruel Mockings, Bonds and Imprisonment.

Sir Francis Walsingham has given a Summary Account of the Queen's Policy towards them, in a Letter to Monsieur Cretoy, which I shall transcribe in his own Words.

" — I find, says Sir Francis, that the Queen's Proceedings both against Papists and Puritans are grounded upon these two Principles.

" The one, That Consciences are not to be forced but to be won, and reduced by Force of Truth, with the Aid of Time and Use of all good Means of Instruction and Persuasion.

" The other, That Causes of Conscience when they exceed their Bounds, and grow to be matter of *Faction*, lose their Nature; and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practices and Contempt, though colour'd with the Pretence of Conscience and Religion.

" According to these Principles her Majesty behaved towards the Papists with great Mildness, not liking to make a Window into their Hearts, except the Abundance of them overflowed into Overt Acts of Disobedience, in impugning her Supremacy. When the Pope excommunicated her she only defended her self against his Bulls;

Queen Elizabeth, 1602.

Conduct towards them.

Hist. Ref. Vol. III.

p. 419.

Queen Elizabeth, " but when she was threaten'd with an Invasion, and the Papists were altered from being Papists in Conscience to being Papists in Faction, she was then obliged to provide severer Laws for the Security of her People —

" For the other Party, which call themselves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the Proceeding towards them: A great while, when they inveighed against such Abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities*, *Non-Residence*, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned, only their Violence was sometimes censured. When they refused the Use of some *Ceremonies* and *Rites* as superstitious, they were tolerated with much Connivance and Gentleness; yea, when they called in question the Superiority of Bishops, and pretended to a Democracy in the Church, their Propositions were considered, and by contrary Writings debated and discussed; yet all this while it was perceived that their Course was dangerous and very popular; as because *Papistry* was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the Reliques of *Papistry*, a Thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one Extreme to another.

" Because Multitudes of Rogues and Poverty was an Eye-sore, and a Dislike to every Man, therefore they put into People's Heads, that if Discipline were planted there would be no Vagabonds, no Beggars, a Thing very plausible; and in like manner they promised the People many of the impossible Wonders of their Discipline; besides, they opened to the People a Way to Government by their Consistories and Presbyteries, a Thing tho' in Consequence no less prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men than to the Sovereignty of Princes, yet in first shew very popular; nevertheless this, except it were in some few that enter'd into extreme Contempt, was born with, because they pretended in

" in dutiful Manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to the Providence of God and the Authority of the Magistrate.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

" But now of late Years, when there issued from them, that affirmed the Consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confession to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base Means of defacing of the Church by ridiculous Pasquils; when they began to make many Subjects in doubt to take Oaths, which is one of the fundamental Parts of Justice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began both to vaunt of their Strength, and Number of their Partizans and Followers, and to use Comminiations, that their Cause would prevail through Uproar and Violence, then it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conscience, but meer Faction and Division; and therefore though the State were compelled to hold some what a harder Hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great Moderation as the Peace of the State or Church could permit. Thus her Majesty has always observed the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Consciences, and yet in discovering Faction from Conscience, and Softness from Singularity."

The false Colourings of this Letter are easily dis-^{Remarks.} covered: It admits that the Consciences of Men ought not to be forced but when they grow into Faction; that is, to an inconsistency with the Peace and Safety of the Civil Government; but was there any Thing like this in the Petitions, Addresses, and submissive Behaviour of the Puritans? But they did not attend the Consent of the Magistrate. Let the Reader judge by the foregoing History, whether they did not attend and apply for it several Years; and if after all, the Consent of the Magistrate must be expected before we follow the Dictates of our Consciences, 'tis easy to

Queen Elizabeth. see there would have been no Reformation in the Protestant World. But the Queen's worst Maxim was, That while she pretended not to force the Consciences of her Subjects, she obliged them under the severest Penalties to come to Church, and make an outward Profession of that Way of Worship which they inwardly disallow'd. This was to establish Hypocrisy by a Law, and to force Men to deal falsely with God, and their own Consciences, in Matters of the most solemn Importance.

Of Practical Religion. Practical Religion was all this Reign at a very low Ebb; the greatest Part of the Clergy being barely capable of reading Prayers and a Homily. In the remoter Countries and Villages the People were either Papists, or no better than Heathens. " If any among the Clergy or Laity were remarkably pious, strict Observers of the Sabbath, and declared Enemies of Prophaneness, and Popery " (says Mr. Osburn) they were either real Puritans, " or branded with that invidious Name; and great Numbers of the inferior Clergy and People in Cities and Corporations, were of this Number :" The conforming Clergy lost Ground; and the Order of Bishops, by spending their Zeal more about the external Forms of Worship than in painful preaching and propagating Practical Religion, grew into Contempt; Popery got Ground in the Countries, by the Diligence of the Missionaries, and by the Ignorance and Laziness of the established Clergy; and Puritanism prevailed in Cities and Corporations: So that, as Archbishop Parker observed, the Queen was the only Friend of the Church; and supported it by a vigorous Execution of the Penal Laws, and by resolving to admit of no Motion for Reformation, but what should arise from herself.

The Queen's Death and Character. Thus Things continued to the QUEEN'S Death: Her Majesty was grown old and infirm, and under a visible Decay of natural Spirits, some say for the Loss of the Earl of Essex, whom she had lately

lately beheaded ; but others, from a just Indignation to see her self neglected by some who were too ready to worship the rising Sun. This threw her into a Melancholy, attended with a Drowsiness and Heaviness in all her Limbs ; which was followed with a Loss of Appetite, and all the Marks of an approaching Dissolution : Upon this she retired to Richmond ; and having caused her Inauguration Ring, which was grown into the Flesh, and became painful, to be filed off, she languished till the 24th of March, and then died, in the 70th Year of her Age, and 45th of her Reign. Queen Elizabeth was a great and successful Princess at home, and the Support of the Protestant Interest abroad while it was in its Infancy ; for without her Assistance, neither the *Hugonots* in France, nor the *Dutch Reformers* could have stood their Ground : She assisted the Protestants of Scotland against their Popish Queen, and the Princes of Germany against the Emperor ; though at the same Time she demanded an absolute Submission from her own Subjects ; and would not tolerate that Religion at home which she countenanced and supported abroad. As to her own Religion, she affected a middle Way, between *Papery* and *Puritanism*, though her Majesty was more inclinable to the former : She disliked the secular Pretensions of the Court of Rome over foreign States, but was in Love with the Pomp and Splendor of their Worship : On the other hand she approved of the Doctrines of the foreign reformed Churches, but thought they had stripp'd Religion too much of its Ornaments, and made it look with an unfriendly Aspect upon the Sovereign Power of Princes. She understood not the Rights of Conscience in Matters of Religion ; and is therefore justly chargeable with persecuting Principles. More sanguinary Laws were made in her Reign than in any of her Predecessors : Her Hands were stained with the Blood of *Papists* and *Puritans* ; the former were executed for denying her Supremacy, and the latter for Sedition

or

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

Queen or Non-Conformity. Her greatest Admirers blame Elizabeth, her for plundering the Church of its Revenues, and for keeping several Sees vacant many Years together for the sake of their Profits ; as the Bishopricks of Ely, Oxford, and others ; which last was without a Bishop for twenty two Years. The Queen was devout at Prayers, but seldom or never heard Sermons except in Lent ; and would often say, That two or three Preachers in a County were sufficient. She had high Notions of the sovereign Power of Princes, and of her own absolute Supremacy in Church Affairs : And being of Opinion that all Methods of Severity were lawful to bring her Subjects to an outward Uniformity, she countenanced all the Engines of Persecution, as *Spiritual Courts*, *High Commission*, and *Star-Chamber*, and stretched her Prerogative to support them beyond the Laws, and against the Sense of the Nation. But with all these Blemishes Queen Elizabeth stands upon Record as a wise and politick Prince, for delivering the Kingdom from the Difficulties in which it was involved at her Accession ; for preserving the Protestant Reformation against the potent Attempts of the Pope, the Emperor, and King of Spain abroad, and the Queen of Scots and her Popish Subjects at home ; and for advancing the Renown of the English Nation beyond any of her Predecessors. Her Majesty held the Balance of Europe, and was in high Esteem with all foreign Princes, the greatest Part of her Reign ; and tho' her Protestant Subjects were divided about Church Affairs, they all discover'd a high Veneration for her Royal Person and Government ; on which Accounts she was the Glory of the Age in which she lived, and will be the Admiration of Posterity.

The E N D.

A P P E N-



APPENDIX.

N^o. I.

A Copy of the LETTER sent to the Bishops and Pastors of *England*, who have renounced the *Roman Antichrist*, and profess the Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity.

The superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within the Realm of Scotland: To their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in Sincerity, desire the perpetual Increase of the Holy Spirit.

BY Word and Writ, it is come to our Knowledge (Reverend Pastors) that divers of our dearest Brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that Realm, are deprived from Ecclesiastical Function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you, that they are straight to promote the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their Consciences will not suffer to take upon them (at the Commandment of the Authority) such Garments as Idolaters, in Time of Blindness, have used in their Idolatry, which Brute cannot be but most dolorous to our Hearts, mindful

of

of that Sentence of the Apostle, saying, If ye bite and devour one another, take Heed lest ye be consumed one of another. We purpose not at this present to enter into the Ground of that Question which we hear of, either Part to be agitate with greater Vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that such Apparel is to be counted amongst Things that are simple indifferent or not; but in the Bowels of the Lord Jesus we crave that Christian Charity may so prevail in you, we say, the Pastors and Leaders of the Flock within that Realm.

That ye do not to others that which you would not others should do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a Thing the Conscience of Man is. All that have Knowledge are not alike perswaded, your Consciences reclaim not at wearing of such Garments, but many Thousands, both Godly and Learned, are otherwise perswaded, whose Consciences are continually stricken with these Sentences: What hath Christ Jesus to do with *Belial*? What Fellowship is there betwixt Darkness and Light? If Surplice, Corner Cap, and Tippet, have been Badges of Idolaters in the very Act of their Idolatry, what hath the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the open Rebuker of all Superstition, to do with the Dregs of the *Romish* Beast? Our Brethren that of Conscience refuse that unprofitable Apparel, do neither damn yours, or molest you that use such vain Trifles: If you shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the Hearts of many which are wounded with Extremity, which is used against those godly, and our beloved Brethren. Colour of Rhetorick, or manly Perswasion will we use none, but charitably we desire you to call that Sentence of Pity to Mind: Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your Charge, caring for them, not by constraint, but willingly, not as though ye were Lords over God's Heritage, but that ye may be Examples to the Flock. And further alio, we desire you to meditate that Sentence of the Apostle, saying, Give none Offence, neither to the *Jews*, nor to the *Grecians*, nor to the Church of God. In what Condition of Time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Christ's Kingdom, we suppose you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that for such Vanities the godly should be troubled. For all Things that may seem law-
ful,

ful, edify not. If the Commandment of Authority urge the Conscience of yours and our Brethren, more than they can bear ; we unfainedly crave of you, that ye remember that ye are called the Light of the World and the Earth.

All civil Authority hath not the Light of God always shining before their Eyes in the Statutes and Commandments ; but their Affections oft-time favour too much of the Earth, and of worldly Wisdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppone your selves to all Power, that will or dare extol it self, not only against God, but also against all such as do burthen the Consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them by his own Word. But herein we confess our Offence, in that we have enter'd farther in reasoning than we purposed and promised at the beginning : And therefore we shortly return to our former humble Supplication, which is, that our Brethren, who among you refuse the *Romish* Rags, may find of you, the Prelates, such Favours, as our Head and Master commands every one of his Members to shew one to another, which we look to receive of your Gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's Majesty, in troubling of your Brethren for such vain Trifles ; but also because ye will not refuse the humble Requests of us your Brethren, and Fellow Preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit, there appear no great worldly Pomp, yet we suppose you will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the Number of those that fight against that *Roman* Antichrist, and travel, that the Kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The Days are Evil ; Iniquity abounds ; Christian Charity (alas) is waxen cold ; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch : For the Hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your Brethren, and ye may give an Account of our Administration.

And thus, in Conclusion, we once again crave Favour to our Brethren, which granted, ye, in the Lord, shall command us in Things of double more Importance. The Lord Jesus rule your Hearts in his true Fear to the End, and give unto you and unto us Victory over that conjured Enemy of all true Religion ; to wit, over that *Roman* Antichrist, whose wounded Head Satan, by all Means, labours to cure again, but to Destruction shall he, and his

A P P E N D I X.

his Maintainers go, by the Power of the Lord Jesus : To whose mighty Power and Protection we heartily commit you.

Subscribed by the Hands of Superintendents, one Part of Ministers, and scribed in our general Assemblies and fourth Session thereof. At *Edinburgh*, the 28th Day of *December*, 1566.

Your loving Brethren,

And Fellow Preachers,

in Christ Jesus,

JO. CRAIG,
DA. LYNDESAY,
GUIL. GISLISOMUS,
JO. SPOTTISWOOD,
JO. ROW,
ROB. PONT,
JO. WIRAM,
JACO. MAILVIL,
JO. ERSKIN,
NIC. SPITAL.





Nº. II.

A DIRECTORY of Church-Government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the Times would suffer, practised by the first Non-Conformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his Decease.

The SACRED DISCIPLINE of the CHURCH, described in the Word of God.

TH E Discipline of Christ's Church that is necessary for all Times, is delivered by Christ, and set down in the Holy Scriptures ; therefore the true and lawful Discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other Foundation, ought to be esteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular Churches, there is one and the same Right, Order and Form : Therefore also no one may challenge to it self any Power over others ; nor any Right which doth not alike agree to others.

The Ministers of Publick Charges, in every particular Church, ought to be called and appointed to their Charges by a lawful Ecclesiastical Calling, such as hereafter is set down.

All these for the divers Regard of their several Kinds are of equal Power amongst themselves.

No Man can be lawfully called to Publick Charge in any Church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common Gifts of all the godly ; that is, with Faith, and

and a blameless Life : And further also, with those that are proper to that Ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same ; whereupon, for Trial of those Gifts, some convenient Way and Examination is to be used.

The Party to be called must first be elected ; then he is to be ordained to that Charge whereunto he is chosen, by the Prayers of that Church whereunto he is to be admitted ; the mutual Duties of him and of the Church being before laid open.

The Ministers of the Church are ; first, they that are Ministers of the Word. In their Examination, it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and try'd Men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the Faith.

Now these Ministers of the Word are, first, Pastors, which do administer the Word and Sacraments; then Teachers, which are occupied in wholesome Doctrine.

Besides, there are also Elders, which watch over the Life and Behaviour of every Man, and Deacons which have Care over the Poor.

Further, in every particular Church there ought to be a Presbytery, which is a Consistory, and, as it were, a Senate of Elders. Under the Name of Elders here are contained, they who in the Church minister Doctrine, and they who are properly called Elders.

By the common Counsel of the Eldership, all Things are directed that belong to the State of their Church. First, such as belong to the Guidance of the whole Body of it in the holy and common Assembly, gathered together in the Name of the Lord, that all Things may be done in them duly, orderly, and to Edification. 2. Then also such as pertain to particular Persons. First, to all the Members of that Church, that the Good may enjoy all the Privileges that belong unto them, that the Wicked may be corrected with Ecclesiastical Censures, according to the quality of the Fault, private and publick, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's Supper by Suspension, (as it is commonly called) or out of the Church by Excommunication. The which belong specially to the Ministers of Publick Charge in the Church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving, or punishing them, and that for a Time by Suspension, or altogether by Deposition.

For directing of the Eldership, let the Pastors be set over it ; or if there be more Pastors than one in the same Church, let the Pastors do it in their Turns.

But yet in all the greater Affairs of the Church, as in excommunicating of any, and in chusing and deposing of Church Ministers, nothing may be concluded without the Knowledge and Consent of the Church.

Particular Churches ought to yield mutual Help one to another ; for which Cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

The End of this communicating together is, that all Things in them may be so directed, both in regard of Doctrine, and also of Discipline, as by the Word of God they ought to be.

Therefore the Things that belong hereunto are determined by the common Opinion of those who meet so to communicate together ; and whatsoever is to be amended, furthered or procured, in any of those several Churches that belong to that Assembly. Wherein, albeit no particular Church hath Power over another, yet every particular Church of the same Resort, Meeting and Counsel, ought to obey the Opinion of more Churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these Meetings and Assemblies, there are to be chosen by every Church belonging to that Assembly, principal Men from among the Elders, who are to have their Instructions from them, and so to be sent to the Assembly. There must be also a Care had, that the Things they shall return to have been godly agreed on by the Meetings, be diligently observed by the Churches.

Further, in such Assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the Assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His Duty is to see that the Assemblies be held godly, quiet and comely : Therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the Conference with Prayer ; to know every Man's Instructions ; to propound in Order the Things that are to be handled ; to gather their Opinions, and to propound what is the Opinion of the greater Part. It is also the Part of the rest of the Assembly to speak their Opinions of the Things propounded godly and quietly.

The Synodical Discipline gathered out of the Synods and Use of the Churches which have restored it according to the Word of God, and out of sundry Books that are written of the same, and referred unto certain Heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

LE T no Man thrust himself into the executing of any Part of publick Charge in the Administration of the Word, Sacraments, Discipline or Care over the Poor. Neither let any such sue or seek for any publick Charge of the Church ; but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The Manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and against a Ministry of no certain Place; and the Desertion of a Church.

LE T none be call'd but unto some certain Charge ordain-ed of God, and to the Exercising of the same in some particular Congregation : And he that is so called, let him be so bound to that — Church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the Consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the Confession of Doctrine and Discipline : Whereof let them be admonished to have Copies with themselves.

In the Examination of Ministers, the Testimony of the Place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may be understood what Life and Conversation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any Heresy, or to the reading of any heretical Books, or to curious and strange Questions, and idle Speculations ; or rather, whether he be accounted sound and consenting in all Things to the Doctrine received in the Church. Whereunto if he agree, he is also to expound some Part of the holy Scriptures twice or oftner, as it shall seem meet to the Examiners, and that before the Conference, and that Church which is interess'd. Let him also be demanded of the principal Heads of Divinity : And whether he will diligently execute and discharge his Ministry ; and in the Execution thereof propound unto himself, not his own Desires

fires and Commodities, but the Glory of God and Edification of the Church. Lastly, Whether he will be studious and careful to maintain and preserve wholesome Doctrine, and ecclesiastical Discipline. Thus let the Minister be examined, not only by one Eldership, but also by some greater Meeting and Assembly.

Of Election.

BEFORE the Election of a Minister, and the Deliberation of the Conference concerning the same, let there be a Day of Fast kept in the Church interested.

Of the Place of exercising this Calling.

ALbeit it be lawful for a Minister, upon just Occasion, to preach in another Church than that whereof he is Minister; yet none may exercise any ordinary Ministry elsewhere, but for a certain Time, upon great Occasion, and by the Consent of his Church and Conference.

Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word; and first of the Order of Liturgy, or Common Prayer.

LET the Minister that is to preach, name a Psalm, or a Part of a Psalm (beginning with the first, and so proceeding) that may be sung by the Church, noting to them the End of their singing (to wit) the Glory of God and their own Edification. After the Psalm let a short Admonition to the People follow, of preparing themselves to pray duly unto God: Then let there be made a Prayer containing a general Confession: First of the Guilt of Sin, both original and actual; and of the Punishment which is due by the Law for them both: Then also of the Promise of the Gospel, and in respect of it, Supplication of Pardon for the said Guilt and Punishment, and Petition of Grace promised, as for the Duties of the whole Life, so especially for the godly expounding and receiving of the Word. Let this Petition be concluded with the Lord's Prayer. After the Sermon, let Prayer be made again; first, for Grace to profit by the Doctrine delivered, the principal Heads thereof being remember'd; then for all Men, but chiefly for the universal Church, and for all Estates and Degrees of the People; which is likewise to be ended with the Lord's Prayer and the Singing of a Psalm, as before. Last of all, let the Congregation be dismissed with some convenient

Form of Blessing taken out of the Scripture ; such as is
Numb. vi. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

LET him that shall preach choose some Part of the canonical Scripture to expound, and not of the *Apocrypha*. Further, in his ordinary Ministry, let him not take Postils (as they are called) but some whole Book of the holy Scripture, especially of the New Testament, to expound in Order : In Choice whereof regard is to be had both of the Minister's Ability, and of the Edification of the Church.

He that preacheth must perform two Things ; the first, that his Speech be uncorrupt ; which is to be considered both in regard of the Doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome and profitable to Edification ; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious ; and also in respect of the Manner of it, that it be proper to the Place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very Words ; or if it be gathered by Consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the Property of the Word, Grace of Speech, and Suit of the Matter ; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far fetch'd. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the Times and Occasions of the Church, be delivered. Further, let the Exposition, Confirmation, Enlargement and Application, and the whole Treatise and handling of it, be in the vulgar Tongue ; and let the whole Confirmation and Proof be made by Arguments, Testimonies and Examples taken only out of the holy Scriptures, applied fitly and according to the natural Meaning of the Places that are alledged.

The second Thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend Gravity : This is considered first in the Stile, Phrase and Manner of Speech, that it be spiritual, pure, proper, simple, and applied to the Capacity of the People ; not such as human Wisdom teacheth, nor favouring of new Fangledness, nor either so affectate as it may serve for Pomp and Ostentation, or so careless and base, as becometh not Ministers of the Word of God. Secondly, It is also to be regarded as well in ordering the Voice, in which a Care must he had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one Tune) it may be equal, and both

rise and fall by Degrees; as also in ordering the Gesture, wherein (the Body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole Body is to follow the Voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly Gestures of the Head, or other Parts, and often turning of the Body to divers Sides. Finally, Let the Gesture be grave, modest, and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the Gestures of Plays or Fencers.

These Things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised to be made fit to preach: Let there be, if it may be, every Sabbath Day, two Sermons, and let them that preach, always endeavour to keep themselves within one Hour, especially on the Week Days. The Use of Preaching at Burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently; because there is Danger that they may nourish the Superstition of some, or be abused to Pomp and Vanity.

Of the Catechism.

LET the Catechism be taught in every Church. Let there be two Sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the Sum of Religion by a Suite and Order of certain Places of the Scriptures, according to which some Point of the holy Doctrine may be expounded every Week. Another of the same Sort, but shorter, fit for the Examination of the Rude and Ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

Of the other Parts of Liturgy or Divine Service.

ALL the rest of the Liturgy or Divine Service consisteth in the Administration of the Sacraments, and by the Custom of the Church in the Blessing of Marriage: The most commodious Form thereof is that which is used by the Churches that have reformed their — Discipline according to the Word of God.

Of Sacraments.

LET only a Minister of the Word, that is, a Preacher, minister the Sacraments, and that after the Preaching of the Word, and not in any other Place than in the publick Assemblies of the Church.

Of Baptism.

WOmen only may not offer unto Baptism those that are to be baptized, but the Father, if it may be, or in his Name some other. They which present unto Baptism, ought to be persuaded not to give those that are baptized the Names of God or of Christ, or of Angels, or of holy Offices, as of Baptist, Evangelist, &c. nor such as favour of Paganism or Popery; but chiefly such whereof there are Examples in the Holy Scriptures, in the Names of those who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

LE T the Time of celebrating the Communion be made known eight Days before, that the Congregation may prepare themselves, and that the Elders may do their Duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of signifying their Names that are to communicate.

LET them which before have not been received to the Lord's Table, when they first desire to come to it, give their Names to the Minister seven Days before the Communion, that Care of enquiring of them may be committed to the Elders; that if there be any Cause of Hindrance, there may be Stay made betime; but if there be no such Thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their Faith, before some of the Elders and Ministers every Month before the Communion. Let this whole Treatise of Discipline be read in the Consistory; and let the Ministers, Elders and Deacons, be censured one after another; yet so that the Minister concerning Doctrine, be censured of Ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the Communion, that have made Confession of their Faith, and submitted themselves to the Discipline; unless they shall bring Letters Testimonial of good Credit from some other Place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient Testimony.

Children are not to be admitted to the Communion before they be of the Age of 14 Years, except the Consistory shall otherwise determine.

On the Sabbath Day next before the Communion, let Mention be made in the Sermon of the Examination, whereunto the Apostle exhorteth, and of the Peace that is by Faith; In the Day of the Communion, let there be

Speech

Speech of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and especially
of the Lord's Supper.

Of Fasting.

LET the Day of Fasting be published by the Pastor according to the Advice of the Consistory, either for Supplication, for turning away of Calamities present, or threaten'd ; or for Petition of some special Grace. Let the Sermons upon the same Day, before and after Noon (as on the Lord's Day) be such as may be fit for the present Occasion.

Of Holidays.

Holidays are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage.

LET Espousing go before Marriage. Let the Words of Espousing be of the present Time, and without Condition, and before sufficient Witnesses on both Sides. It is to be wish'd, that the Minister, or an Elder, be present at the Espousals, who having called upon God, may admonish both Parties of their Duties. First, may have Care of avoiding the Degrees forbidden both by the Law of God and Man : And then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any Bond of Marriage ; which if they profess and be Strangers, he may also require sufficient Testimony. Further also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the Death of the Party with whom they were married, which, if they acknowledge, and be Strangers, he may demand convenient Testimony of the Death of the other Party. Finally, Let them be asked if they be under the Government of any ? Whether they whom it concerneth have consented ?

The Espousals being done in due Order, let them not be dissolved, though both Parties should consent. Let the Marriage be solemnized within two Months after. Before the Marriage let the Promise be published three several Sabbath Days ; but first, let the Parties espoused, with their Parents or Governors, desire the publishing thereof, of the Minister and two Elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those Things that are needful ; and let them require to see the Instrument of the Covenant of the Marriage, or at least, sufficient Testimony of the Espousals.

fals. Marriage may be solemnized and blessed upon any ordinary Day of publick Prayer, saving upon a Day of Fast.

Of Schools.

LET Children be instructed in Schools, both in other Learning, and especially in the Catechism, that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it ; when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lord's Supper, after they have been examined by the Minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity and their Exercises.

IN every Church where it may conveniently be done, Care is to be had that some poor Scholars, studious of Divinity, being fit for Theological Exercises ; and especially for expounding of holy Scripture, may, by the Liberality of the godly Rich, be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that Exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the Presence at least of one Minister, by whose Presence they may be kept in Order, and in the same Sort (as touching the Manner of Preaching) that publick Sermons are made ; which being ended, let the other Students (he being put apart that was Speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those Things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publickly, as is set down before : Of whose Opinion let the Minister that is present, and is Moderator of their Exercise, judge and admonish the Speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

LET the Elders know every particular House and Person of the Church, that they may inform the Minister of the Condition of every one, and the Deacons of the Sick and Poor, that they may take Care to provide for them : They are not to be perpetual ; neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

IN the Consistory the most Voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclesiastical Things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common Direction of the publick Assembly, in the Order of Liturgy or divine Service, Sermon, Prayers, Sacraments, Marriages, and Burials. Then with such also

also as pertain to the Oversight of every one, and their particular Deeds. Further, they are to cause such Things as shall be thought meet, to be register'd and written in a Book. They are also to cause to be written in another Book, the Names of them that are baptized, with the Names of their Parents and Sureties: Likewise of the Communicants. Further also are to be noted their Names that are married, that die, and to whom Letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

NONE is to be complained of unto the Confistory, unless first the Matter being uttered with silencing the Parties Name, if it seem meet so to be done by the Judgment of the Confistory.

In private and less Faults the Precept of Christ, *Matt. xviii.* is to be kept.

Greater and publick Offences are to be handled by the Confistory. Further, publick Offences are to be esteemed, First, Such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole Church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a publick Place, albeit few know it. Thirdly, That are made such by Pertinacy and Contempt. Fourthly, That for the Heinousness of the Offence are to be punished with some grievous civil Punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in publick Charge in the Church, are to be deposed also from their Charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the Ministry, by reason of their Ignorance, or of some incurable Disease; or by any other such Cause, are disabled to perform their Ministry: But in the Rooms of such as are disabled by Means of Sicknes or Age, let another be placed without the Reproach of him that is discharged; and further, so as the Reverence of the Ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good Order.

When there is Question concerning an Heretick, complained of to the Confistory, straight let two or three Neighbour Ministers be called, Men godly and learned, and free from that Suspicion, by whose Opinion he may be suspended, till such Time as the Conference may take Knowledge of his Cause.

The Obstinate, after Admonition by the Confistory, though the Fault have not been so great, are to be suspended

suspended from the Communion ; and if they continue in their Obstinacy, this shall be the Order to proceed to their Excommunication. Three several Sabbath Days after the Sermon, publickly let be declared the Offence committed by the Offender. The first Sabbath let not the Offender's Name be published : The second let it be declared, and withal a certain Day of the Week named, to be kept for that Cause in Fasting and Prayer. The third let Warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next Sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient Cause to the contrary : So upon the fourth Sabbath Day let the Sentence of Excommunication* be pronounced against him, that his Spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great Offences, opprobrious to the Church, and to be grievously punished by the Magistrate's Authority ; albeit he profess his Repentance in Words, yet for the Trial thereof, and to take away the Offence, let him for a Time be kept from the Communion ; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the Consistory, according to their Discretion, determine ; after which, if the Party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly professed his Repentance before the Church, by Consent whereof he should have been excommunicated.

If the Ministers of any publick Charge of the Church commit any such Thing, they are to be deposed from their Charge.

Of the Assemblies of the Church.

Particular Churches are to communicate one with another, by common Meetings and Resorts : In them only ecclesiastical Matters are to be handled, and of those, only such as pertain to the Churches of that Resort ; concerning other Churches, unless they be desired, they are to determine nothing further than to refer such Matters to their next common and great Meeting.

Let the Order of Proceeding in them be this : First, Let the Survey be taken of those that are present, and the Names of those that are absent, and should be there, be noted, that they may give a Reason at their next Meeting of their Absence, or be censured by the Judgment of the Assembly next. Let the Acts of the last Assembly of that Kind be read, that if any of the same remain

remain unfinished, they may be dispatch'd : Then let those Things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present Assembly ; where first the Instructions sent from the Churches are to be delivered by every one in Order, as they sit together, with their Letters of Credence. Secondly, Let the State of the Churches of that Resort be considered, to wit, how they are instructed and guided : Whether the holy Doctrine and Discipline be taught and exercised in them ; and whether the Ministers of publick Charges do their Duty, and such like. Furthermore, they shall determine of those Things that do appertain to the common State of all the Churches of that Resort, or unto any of the same ; which way may be sufficient for the Oversight of the Churches. Lastly, If it seem meet, the Delegates present may be censured.

They that are to meet in such Assemblies are to be chosen by the Consent of the Churches of that Assembly and Conference, to whom it may appertain.

Let such only be chosen that exercise publick Function in the Church, of Ministry or Eldership, and which have subscribed to the Doctrine and Discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the Word of God : Notwithstanding, it may be lawful also to be present for other Elders and other Ministers ; and likewise (if the Assembly think it meet) for Deacons, and for Students in Divinity, especially those that exercise themselves in expounding the holy Scriptures in the Conferences, and be asked their Opinion ; which in Students is to this end, that their Judgments in handling Matters Ecclesiastical, may be both tried and sharpened. But they only are to give Voice which are chosen by the Churches, and have brought their Instructions signed from them.

If there fall out any very weighty Matter to be consulted of, let Notice of it be given to the Moderator of the Assembly next going before, or to the Minister of that Church where the next Meeting is to be : The same is to send Word of it in due Time to the Minister of every Church of that Assembly, that they may communicate it afore-hand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the Delegates resorting to the next Meeting, may understand and report their Judgments.

In appointing of the Place for the Assembly, Regard must be had of the convenient Distance, and other Commodities,

modities, that no Part may justly complain that they are burdened above others.

In every such Ecclesiastical Assembly it is meet there be a Moderator: He is to have Charge of the Assembly, to see it kept in good Order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The Choice is to be in this Manner:

The Moderator of the former Assembly of that Kind, or in his Absence, the Minister of the Church where they meet, having first pray'd fitly to that Purpose, is to move the Assembly to choose a Moderator. He being chosen, is to provide that the Things done in the Assembly may be written, that the Delegates of every Church may write them out, and communicate them with the Conferences from whence they came.

The Moderator is also, by the Order and Judgment of the Assembly, to give Answer, either by Speech or by Letters, to such as desire any Answer; and to execute Censures, if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly; exhorting to Meekness, Moderation of Spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the Assembly, to take Order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, He is to remember them of the next Meeting following, with Thanks for their Pains, and Exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their Callings; and so courteously to dismiss the Assembly. Before such Time none may depart without Leave of the Assembly.

Those Assemblies, according to their Kinds, have great Authority, if they be greater, and less if they be less. Therefore (unless it be a plain Act, and manifest unto all) if any think himself injured by the less Meeting, he may appeal still unto a greater, till he come to a general Counsel; so that he ascend orderly from the less to the next greater. But it is to be understood that the Sentence of the Assemblies be holden firm until it be otherwise judged by an Assembly of greater Authority.

Assemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.
COnferences are the Meetings of the Elders of a few Churches, as for Example, of Twelve. There are to meet in a Conference, chosen by the Eldership of every particular Church, one Minister, and one Elder. The Conferences are to be kept once in six Weeks.

They

They are specially to look into the State of the Churches of that Resort and Conference ; examining particularly these several Points : Whether all Things be done in them according to the holy Doctrine and Discipline of the Gospel (to wit) whether any Questions be moved concerning any Point of Doctrine ? Whether the Ecclesiastical Discipline be duly observed ? Whether any Minister be wanting in any of those Churches, that a sufficient one in due Time may be procured ? Whether the other Ministers of publick Charge in the Church be appointed in every Congregation ? Whether Care be had of Schools, and for the Poor ? Finally, They are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth the Advice of the Conference, for the Advancement of the Gospel amongst them.

Before the End of the Meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the Ministers assembled in Conference, either chosen by Voice, or taking it by turn, preach publickly. Of his Speech, let the rest judge among themselves (the Elders being put apart) and admonish him brotherly, if there be any Cause, examining all Things according to those Rules that are before declared in the Chapter, concerning the Things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A Synod is the Meeting of chosen Men of many Conferences : In them let the whole Treatise of Discipline be read : In them also (other Things first being finish'd, as was said before) let all those that are present be censur'd (if it may be done conveniently) and let them also have a Communion in and with the Church where they were called.

There are two Sorts of Synods ; the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the Provincial and National Synod. A Provincial Synod is the Meeting of the chosen Men of every Conference, within the Province. A Province containeth four and twenty Conferences.

A fit Way to call a Provincial Council may be this : The Care thereof (except themselves will determine of it) may be committed to the particular Eldership of some Conference within the Province ; which by Advice of the same Conference, may appoint the Place and Time for the Meeting of the Provincial Synod.

APPENDIX.

To that Church or Eldership are to be sent the Matters that seemed, to the particular Conferences, more difficult for them to take Order in, and such as belong to the Churches of the whole Province ; which is to be done diligently, and in good Time, that the same may, in due Season, give Notice of the Place and Time of the Synod, and of the Matters to be debated therein ; that they which shall be sent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the Advice of the Conferences.

Two Ministers, and as many Elders, are to be sent from every Conference unto the Provincial Synod. The same is to be held every half Year, or oftner, till the Discipline be settled. It is to be held three Months before every National Synod ; that they may prepare and make ready those Things that pertain to the National. The Acts of the Provincial Synod are to be sent unto the National, by the Eldership of that Church in which it was holden ; and every Minister is to be furnished with a Copy of them, and with the Reasons of the same. A National Synod, or Convocation, is a Meeting of the chosen Men of every Province, within the Dominion of the same Nation and civil Government. The Way to call it (unless it shall determine otherwise) may be the same with the Provincial, that is, by the Eldership of some particular Church, which shall appoint the Time and Place of the next National Convocation ; but not otherwise than by the Advice of their Provincial Synod.

Out of every Provincial Synod there are to be chosen three Ministers, and as many Elders, to be sent to the National. They are to handle the Things pertaining to the Churches of the whole Nation or Kingdom, as the Doctrine, Discipline, Ceremonies, Things not decided by inferior Meetings, Appeals, and such like. By the Order of the same, one is to be appointed which may gather into one Book the Notes of every particular Church.

Thus much for particular Meetings ; the universal followeth, which is called a general, or œcumencial Council ; which is a Meeting of the chosen Men of every National Synod. The Acts of all such Counsels are to be register'd and reported in a Book.

The Discipline, intitled, *The Discipline of the Church*, described in the Word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the most pure Fountain of the Word

Word of God ; and containeth in it the Discipline of the Church that is necessary, essential, and common to all Ages of the Church.

The Synodical also adjoined as it resteth upon the same Foundations is likewise necessary and perpetual ; but as far as it is not expressly confirmed by Authority of the holy Scripture, but is applied to the Use and Times of the Church, as their divers States may require, according to the Analogy and general Rules of the same Scripture, is to be judged profitable for the Churches that receive it, but may be changed in such Things as belong not to the Essence of the Discipline upon a like godly Reason, as the divers Estates of the Church may require.

The Form of the Subscription.

THE Brethren of the Conference of N. whose Names are here underwritten, have subscribed this Discipline after this Manner : This Discipline we allow as a godly Discipline, and agreeable to the Word of God ; (yet so as we may be first satisfied in the Things hereunder noted) and desire the same so acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawful Means ; that by publick Authority of the Magistrate, and of our Church, it may be establish'd.

Which Thing, if it may be obtain'd of her right excellent Majestie, and other the Magistrates of this Kingdom, we promise that we will do nothing against it, whereby the publick Peace of the Church may be troubled. In the mean Time we promise to observe it so far as it may be lawful for us so to do, by the publick Laws of this Kingdom, and by the Peace of our Church.





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